

RECEIVED
FEC MAIL CENTER
BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

2018 MAR -5 AM 11:04

Brad Woodhouse
American Democracy Legal Fund
455 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001

MUR # 7339

Complainant.

v.

Trump Victory and Bradley T. Crate, Treasurer
FEC ID Number C00618389
c/o Red Cure Solutions
138 Conant Street, 2nd Floor
Beverly, MA 01915

Republican National Committee and Anthony Parker, Treasurer
FEC ID Number C00003418
310 First Street SE
Washington, DC 20003

Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. and Timothy Jost, Treasurer
FEC ID Number C00580100
725 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Mr. Donald J. Trump
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Alabama Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00044776
3505 Lorna Road
Hoover, AL 35216

Republican Party of Arkansas
FEC ID Number C00084954
1201 W. 6th Street
Little Rock, AR 72201

California Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00140590
1001 K Street, Floor 4
Sacramento, CA 95814

2018 MAR -5 PM 1:55
OFFICE OF
GENERAL COUNSEL

10000000000000000000

Connecticut Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00023838
176 Laning Street
Southington, CT 06489

Illinois Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00005926
P.O. Box 64897
Chicago, IL 60664

Kansas Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00004606
P.O. Box 4157
Topeka, KS 66604

Republican Party of Louisiana
FEC ID Number C00187450
c/o Red Curve Solutions
138 Conant Street
Beverly, MA 01915

Republican Party of Minnesota
FEC ID Number C00001313
2200 E. Franklin Avenue, Suite 201
Minneapolis, MN 55404

Mississippi Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00084368
P.O. Box 60
Jackson, MS 39205

Missouri Republican State Committee
FEC ID Number C00008664
514 E. High Street, Suite 11
Jefferson City, MO 65101

New Jersey Republican State Committee
FEC ID Number C00164418
150 W. State Street
Trenton, NJ 08608

NY Republican Federal Campaign Committee
FEC ID Number C00055582
315 State Street
Albany, NY 12210

North Carolina Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00038505
1506 Hillsborough Street
Raleigh, NC 27605

North Dakota Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00018929
1029 N. 5th Street
Bismarck, ND 58501

Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania
FEC ID Number C00044842
112 State Street
Harrisburg, PA 17101

South Carolina Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00034033
P.O. Box 12373
Columbia, SC 29211

Tennessee Republican Party
FEC ID Number C00040220
95 White Bridge Road, Suite 414
Nashville, TN 37205

Republican Party of Virginia Inc.
FEC ID Number C00001305
115 East Grace Street
Richmond, VA 23219

West Virginia Republican Party, Inc.
FEC ID Number C00417063
700 Washington Street, East, Suite 201
Charleston, WV 25301

Republican Party of Wisconsin
FEC ID Number C00074450
148 E. Johnson Street
Madison, WI 53703

Wyoming Republican Party, Inc.
FEC ID Number C00005785
1714 Capitol Avenue
Cheyenne, WY 82001

And

1003410142001

Unnamed Co-Conspirators
Contributors to Trump Victory

Respondents.

COMPLAINT

This Complaint alleges a massive illegal money laundering scheme where the Trump Victory Committee ("TVC"); Mr. Bradley T. Crate, in his official capacity as treasurer for TVC; the Republican National Committee ("RNC"); Mr. Anthony Parker, in his official capacity as treasurer for the RNC; Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. ("the Trump Campaign"); Mr. Timothy Jost, in his official capacity of treasurer for Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.; Mr. Donald J. Trump, 2016 presidential candidate and current President of the United States; the Alabama Republican Party; the Republican Party of Arkansas; the California Republican Party; the Connecticut Republican Party; the Illinois Republican Party; the Kansas Republican Party; the Republican Party of Louisiana; the Republican Party of Minnesota; the Mississippi Republican Party; the Missouri Republican State Committee; the New Jersey Republican State Committee; the NY Republican Federal Campaign Committee; the North Carolina Republican Party; the North Dakota Republican Party; the Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania; the South Carolina Republican Party; the Tennessee Republican Party; the Republican Party of Virginia Inc.; the West Virginia Republican Party, Inc.; the Republican Party of Wisconsin; the Wyoming Republican Party, Inc.; and unnamed TVC megadonors (collectively, "Respondents") acted together to move funds earmarked by TVC megadonors to the RNC for the benefit of the Trump Campaign through the above-listed state party committees.

Complainant files this complaint under 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(1) against the Respondents based on information providing reason to believe that Respondents violated earmarking

requirements, made and accepted contributions in the name of another, accepted contributions in excess of contribution limits restrictions, and filed false and inaccurate reports, all in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), 52 U.S.C. § 30101, *et seq.* and Federal Election Commission regulations. The Respondents' actions are a betrayal of the public trust and should be investigated promptly to determine the extent of the violations.

FACTS

On May 25, 2016, the Trump Campaign, the RNC, the Republican Party of Arkansas, the Connecticut Republican Party, the Republican Party of Louisiana, the Mississippi Republican Party, the New Jersey Republican State Committee, the NY Republican Federal Campaign Committee, the South Carolina Republican Party, the Tennessee Republican Party, the Republican Party of Virginia Inc., the West Virginia Republican Party, Inc., and the Wyoming Republican Party, Inc. created TVC, a joint fundraising committee.¹

TVC Appears to Have Transferred Millions of Dollars in Earmarked Contributions to the RNC Through the State Party Committees

It appears that Respondents set up TVC as a massive money laundering scheme to transfer millions of contributions earmarked by its megadonors through state party committees to the RNC, for the benefit of the Trump Campaign.

According to reports filed with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC" or the "Commission") by TVC, the RNC, and the Respondent state party committees, TVC transferred more than \$27 million dollars to state party committees that, in turn, transferred those funds to the RNC, usually on the same day, which then made coordinated expenditures with the Trump

¹ See Trump Victory, Statement of Organization, FEC Form 1 (May 25, 2016). This was later amended to include all listed Respondents. See Trump Victory, Amended Statement of Organization, FEC Form 1 (Sept. 4, 2016); Trump Victory, Amended Statement of Organization, FEC Form 1 (Sept. 21, 2016).

Campaign. These transfers started on September 30, 2016 and continued through December 16, 2016.

In each series of transactions, TVC first disbursed contributions it received to Respondent state party committees. In most instances TVC made these disbursements to multiple state party committees on the same date. Then, each state party committee transferred the funds to the RNC. Ultimately, 99.6% of the funds transferred by TVC to the Respondent state party committees ended up with the RNC.

In fact, nearly 80% of disbursements made from TVC to a state party resulted in an immediate same-day transfer of the funds from the state party to the RNC and in essentially every case, the funds were transferred to the RNC within 2-3 days. Notably, in 95% of these transfers, the funds transferred from the TVC through the state party to the RNC was either the exact same amount, or within \$20 of the original transfer amount, which was presumably associated with a corresponding bank fee.

The uniformity, regularity, magnitude, immediacy, and extent of these reported transfers exclusively to the RNC each occurring on or around the same day and through the same process implies that Respondents had an understanding or an explicit agreement regarding how these funds would be moved and that the donors must have known and earmarked their funds for the RNC to help the Trump Campaign.

This is further evidenced by public statements by donors about their contributions. For instance, in an apparent reference to a \$10,000 contribution to Trump Victory, one donor said, "I remember thinking I wouldn't give [Republican operatives] money," but then "realized that I have never ever been as excited about a candidate as I've been about Donald Trump."²

² Theodore Schleifer, *Trump Spent Massive Amounts in September Just Before Donors Grew Jittery*, CNN (Oct. 21, 2016), <https://www.cnn.com/2016/10/20/politics/donald-trump-september-donors-jittery/index.html>.

The full extent to which donors earmarked funds directly for the RNC and the Trump Campaign demands investigation, but given the pace and extent to which the Respondents moved the funds, in addition to the public remarks by some donors, this scheme appears to be a widespread conspiracy to use the Republican state party committees as mere conduits to move funds to the RNC and the Trump Campaign in plain circumvention of the contribution limits.

Exhibit A to the Complaint provides a detailed overview of the transactions made by the Respondents between September 30, 2016 and December 16, 2016, as compiled from publicly available FEC reports filed by the Respondents. Columns B through G show TVC's reports of the transfers from TVC to each Respondent state party committee. Columns I through S show the Respondent state party committees' reports of the funds received by TVC and the funds transferred to the RNC. Columns T through Y show the RNC's reports of the receipts of funds from the Respondent state party committees. And, Column Z shows the difference in the amount of the original transfer from TVC as compared to the eventual transfer to the RNC.

In addition to moving the funds, many of the transfers were not correctly reported. In particular, the Republican Party of Minnesota, the New Jersey Republican State Committee, North Carolina Republican Party, and the West Virginia Republican Party, Inc., failed to report funds received from TVC, even though the RNC later reported receipt of those transfers. See Exhibit A, Rows 35, 55, 69, 76, 98, 110, 116 and 121. And, the Republican Party of Minnesota, the Tennessee Republican Party, the North Dakota Republican Party, the New Jersey Republican State Committee, the Connecticut Republican Party, and the West Virginia Republican Party failed to report the transfer of funds to the RNC, even though the RNC later reported receipt of those transfers. See *id.*, Rows 11, 15, 31, 69, 82, and 121. At a minimum, millions of dollars in

transactions among these political committees were omitted from public reports, in direct violation of federal law.

Moreover, given the uniformity of the transactions, it appears that the alleged transfers of TVC funds to Respondent state party committees may have never actually transferred to the state parties. It can be inferred, based on the extent of the transfers and repeated failure in the reporting, that those funds were transferred directly from TVC to the RNC, rendering all FEC reports concerning those transfers fraudulent. This seems even more likely considering that the identical \$20 difference appeared in 75% of the transfers showing that they were all paying for exactly the same transaction fee. In the alternative, funds may have been moved in and out of state party accounts without the state parties' knowledge or permission, never devolving custody or control of the funds to the state parties.

In general, the alleged transfers followed the same pattern: first, TVC reported transferring a certain amount of funds to one of its state parties. For example, TVC reported transferring a total of \$8,609,664.39 to 15 of its state parties on September 30, 2016. *See id.*, Rows 3 - 17.

Second, each of those state party members reported receiving transfers of funds from TVC. For example, the Alabama Republican Party reported receiving \$409,241.33 from TVC on September 30, 2016, the same day as the original transfer. *See id.*, Row 3. Then, each of those state party members reported contributing either the exact same amount, or approximately same amount, to the RNC. For example, the Alabama Republican Party reported transferring \$409,221.33, exactly \$20 less than the original transfer, to the RNC on September 30, 2016. *See id.*, Row 3.

Through hundreds of transactions with this identical structure outlined in

Exhibit A, TVC moved over \$27 million dollars through state parties directly to the RNC, from September 30, 2016 through December 16, 2016.

September Transfers

In September 2016, TVC reported transferring a total of \$8,609,664.39 to the Respondent member state party committees. See Exhibit A, Rows 3-17. Each transaction occurred on the same day. *Id.* And, every Respondent state party committee transferred either the exact same amount, or within \$20 of the original transfer amount. *Id.* However, the Republican Party of Minnesota and the Tennessee Republican Party failed to accurately report their transfers, as discussed in more detail below. *Id.* Nevertheless, the RNC reported receiving transfers from all of the state parties who originally received funds from TVC during this time period. *Id.* In total, during this period, \$8,609,364.39 was transferred from the TVC, purportedly through state party committees, to the RNC.

October Transfers

In October 2016, TVC reported transferring a total of \$13,591,573.92 to the Respondent member state party committees. See Exhibit A, Rows 18-61. Each transaction occurred on or around the same day. *Id.* And almost every Respondent state party committee transferred either the exact same amount, or within \$20 of the original transfer amount. *Id.* However, the North Dakota Republican Party and the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to accurately report their transfers, as discussed in more detail below. *Id.* Nevertheless, the RNC reported receiving transfers from all of the state parties who originally received funds from TVC during this time period. *Id.* In total, during this period, \$13,590,209.85 was transferred from the TVC, purportedly through state party committees, to the RNC. *Id.*

November Transfers

From November 1, 2016 through November 30, 2016, TVC reported transferring a total of \$4,486,800.16 to the Respondent member state party committees. See Exhibit A, Rows 62-98. Each transaction occurred on or around the same day. *Id.* And almost every Respondent state party committee transferred either the exact same amount, or within \$20 of the original transfer amount. *Id.* However, the New Jersey Republican State Committee, the Republican Party of Minnesota, and the Connecticut Republican Party failed to accurately report their transfers, as discussed in more detail below. *Id.* Nevertheless, the RNC reported receiving transfers from all of the state parties who originally received funds from TVC during this time period. *Id.* In total, during this period, \$4,073,404.36 was transferred from the TVC, purportedly through state party committees, to the RNC. *Id.*

December Transfers

From December 1, 2016 through December 16, 2016, TVC reported transferring a total of \$781,263.70 to the Respondent member state party committees. See Exhibit A, Rows 99-122.³ Each transaction occurred on or around the same day. *Id.* And almost every Respondent state party committee transferred either the exact same amount, or within \$20 of the original transfer amount. *Id.* However, the North Carolina Republican Party, the Republican Party of Minnesota, and the West Virginia Republican Party, Inc. failed to accurately report their transfers, as discussed in more detail below. *Id.* Nevertheless, the RNC reported receiving transfers from all of the state parties who originally received funds from TVC during this time period. *Id.* In total, during this period, \$1,093,702.12 was transferred from the TVC, purportedly through state party committees, to the RNC. *Id.*

³ The Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania and the California Republican Party each delayed one transfer of funds to the RNC in December. See Exhibit A, Rows 97, 99. Though these funds were not immediately transferred to the RNC, almost the exact difference was transferred by the two committees to the RNC later in the month. See *id.*, Rows 103, 113.

Moreover, transfers throughout the entire period were even explicitly described as joint fundraising committee transfers by the Respondent party committees, indicating the explicit understanding among the Respondents. *See id.* Rows 9, 50, 70, 79, 86, 93, 110, 120.

The following chart outlines the alleged transfers from TVC to Respondent state party committees to the RNC between September 30, 2016 to December 16, 2016:

Date	Transaction Amount Overall Total	Location of Referenced Transactions in Exhibit A
9/30/2016	\$8,609,664.39	Rows 3-17
10/6/2016	\$1,449,268.88	Rows 18-20
10/14/2016	\$157,724.07	Row 21
10/17/2016	\$8,591,303.59	Rows 22-41
10/27/2016	\$3,393,299.38	Rows 42-61
11/7/2016	\$3,037,224.66	Rows 62-80
11/22/2016	\$1,136,684.55	Rows 81-94
11/29/2016	\$312,890.95	Rows 95-98
12/2/2016	\$334,244.89	Rows 99-101
12/16/2016	\$447,018.81	Rows 102-122
Total	\$27,469,302.17	

The RNC Appears to have Transferred Much of the TVC Funds Directly to the Trump Campaign, Engaged in Coordinated Expenditures with the Trump Campaign, and Allowed the Trump Campaign to Direct and Control Funds That Originated with TVC

As funds were being transferred from TVC to the state parties to the RNC, the RNC appears to have used much of those funds directly to support the Trump Campaign, engaged in coordinated expenditures with the Trump Campaign, and otherwise allowed the Trump Campaign to direct, oversee, and control its funds, including funds that originated with TVC.

Between September 30, 2016 and December 16, 2016, while funds were being transferred from TVC to the state parties to the RNC, the RNC also engaged in coordinated expenditures with the Trump Campaign. The following chart is a summary of the RNC's reported coordinated expenditures with the Trump Campaign. For a complete listing please see Exhibit B attached to the Complaint.

10044760420

Date	Amount of Coordinated Expenditure
7/29/2016	\$10,000.00
9/14/2016	\$10,506.41
9/29/2016	\$40,000.00
10/5/2016	\$1,801,922.01
10/7/2016	\$382,686.55
10/13/2016	\$10,000.00
10/14/2016	\$1,851,123.24
10/18/2016	\$2,171,666.00
10/19/2016	\$1,554,500.04
10/20/2016	\$186,125.00
10/21/2016	\$506,945.44
10/25/2016	\$1,826,080.13
10/26/2016	\$105,000.00
10/27/2016	\$825,253.77
10/31/2016	\$27,300.00
11/1/2016	\$3,678,754.50
11/2/2016	\$1,111,995.55
11/3/2016	\$77,074.62
11/4/2016	\$3,506,075.00
11/7/2016	\$407,944.29
11/9/2016	\$60,860.00
11/10/2016	\$4,083.31
11/14/2016	\$137,718.80
11/15/2016	\$1,433.15
12/1/2016	\$19,863.94
Total	\$20,314,911.75

These coordinated expenditures between the RNC and the Trump Campaign establish that the RNC appeared to be spending its TVC money in cooperation with, or at the direction or suggestion of, the Trump Campaign. Contributions to TVC that TVC and its member state parties agreed to transfer to the RNC may therefore be treated as made on behalf of the Trump Campaign, in excess of the RNC's total coordinated party expenditure limit for the 2016 presidential election.

This apparent coordination and control by the Trump Campaign is further evidenced by press reports of clear partnership between the RNC, the Trump Campaign, Mr. Trump, and Respondent state party committees. Former RNC Chair "Priebus [] praised the post-primary fusing of the Trump organization and the RNC as 'seamless.'"⁴ "The entirety of the party apparatus shifted quickly into high gear on Trump's behalf: RNC staffers long ago dispatched to swing states; the party's data operation, opposition research and policy shops; its ballot access team and deep fundraising network."⁵

In exercising, what appeared to be, oversight, direction, and control over the expenditures of the RNC funds, the Trump Campaign and Mr. Trump changed the RNC accounts into Trump Campaign accounts for the purposes of federal campaign finance law.

The Respondents Apparent Transfer Program is the Exact Type of Arrangement the U.S. Supreme Court Contemplated, but Rejected as Unrealistic in *McCutcheon v. FEC*

In 2014, the U.S. Supreme Court contemplated, but rejected as unrealistic, the exact transfer scheme apparently put in place by the Respondents where a donor to a joint fundraising committee telegraphs his desire to earmark contributions for a specific committee and the members of the joint fundraising committee act as conduits for that single donor's interests. In *McCutcheon v. FEC*, 134 S. Ct. 1434 (2014), the Supreme Court discussed a hypothetical situation where "a donor gives a \$500,000 check to a joint fundraising committee composed of a candidate, a national party committee, and most of the party's state party committees," but "[t]he committees divide up the money so that each one receives the maximum contribution permissible under the base limits, but then each transfer its allocated portion to the same single committee." *Id.* 1454-55 (quotation marks and citations omitted). The Court found this scenario

⁴ Eli Stokols, *Reince Priebus' Surrender*, POLITICO (July 21, 2016), <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/07/2016-convention-reince-priebus-donald-trump-214078>.

⁵ *Id.*

“unlikely,” stating that it relied on “illegal earmarking” by the donor and willing facilitation by the other committees in the joint fundraising committee. *Id.* Ultimately, the Court concluded, “this circumvention scenario could not succeed without assuming that nearly 50 separate party committees would engage in a transparent violation of the earmarking rules.” *Id.*

In reality, the Respondents appeared to use this exact process contemplated by the Court to transfer tens of millions of donor-earmarked funds to the RNC and the Trump Campaign in direct violation of federal law.

CAUSES OF ACTION

Count 1: Against All Respondents
Earmarked Contributions in Violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(8) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.6

Respondents likely violated federal earmarking requirements by failing to correctly report funds earmarked for the RNC.

Federal earmarking law provides “all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient.” *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(8); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 110.6.

In this instance, over 99% of the contributions made by TVC to the Respondent state party committees, totaling more than \$27 million dollars, were transferred to the RNC on or around the same day. The uniformity, regularity, magnitude, immediacy, and extent of these reported transfers indicate that contributions to TVC were directly or indirectly earmarked by Republican megadonors to be transferred through TVC’s member state party committees to the RNC to benefit Trump. Moreover, public statements by former Chairman Reince Priebus

corroborate the existence of this plan. By "fusing" the RNC and the Trump Campaign, it is evident that the Respondent state party committees were merely acting as conduits to transfer the earmarked funds to the RNC.

These earmarked contributions to TVC appeared to be directed through intermediaries to the RNC, which in turn, acted as a further intermediary to transfer such funds to the Trump Campaign, engage in coordinated spending with the Trump Campaign, and spend those funds subject to the direction, oversight, and control of the Trump Campaign, rendering the RNC's account a candidate account for purposes of federal law. As such, contributions to TVC that TVC and its member state parties transferred to the RNC should have been treated as earmarked contributions for the Trump Campaign by TVC megadonors.

In failing to report these contributions as earmarked, Respondents appear to have knowingly violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(8).

**Count II: Against Respondents RNC and Mr. Anthony Parker
Accepting Contributions in the Name of Another in Violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30122**

The RNC and its treasurer appear to have knowingly accepted contributions made by one person in the name of another in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30122.

Federal law provides, "[n]o person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his name to be used to affect such a contribution, and no person shall knowingly accept a contribution made by one person in the name of another person." 52 U.S.C. § 30122. In applying 52 U.S.C. § 30122, it is necessary to "look past the intermediary's essentially ministerial role to the substance of the transaction." *United States v. O'Donnell*, 608 F.3d 546, 550 (9th Cir. 2010).

In this instance, based on public statements by former Chairman Reince Priebus it appears that Respondents knowingly entered into a scheme where TVC transferred more than

\$27 million dollars in earmarked contributions into TVC's state party members accounts for mere hours, if at all, before the state party committees immediately transferred the funds to the RNC.

The RNC then accepted these contributions from the Respondent party committees, apparently knowing that the contributions were pass-through contributions earmarked from TVC megadonors for the RNC for the benefit of the Trump Campaign, not contributions from the Respondent state party committees.

By reporting the pass-through contributions as from Respondent state party committees, rather than reporting the actual source of the funds (*i.e.* the TVC megadonors), the RNC and Mr. Parker appeared to have knowingly accepted a contribution in the name of another, in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30122.

**Count III: Against Respondents RNC and Mr. Anthony Parker
Accepting Excessive Contributions in Violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(B)**

The RNC and its treasurer appear to have knowingly accepted excessive contributions in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(B).

For the 2015-2016 election cycle, persons were permitted to contribute no more than \$33,400 per year to a national political party committee's principal account. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(B); 80 Fed. Reg. 5750, 5752 (Feb. 3, 2015).⁶

In this instance, TVC transferred over \$27 million dollars in funds apparently earmarked by TVC megadonors in amounts in excess of \$800,000 through Respondent state party committees to the RNC, well in excess of the contribution limits. Given the scope and expediency of this scheme, these transfers appear to be part of a longstanding, prearranged

⁶ While the RNC has additional accounts with higher limits for convention, recount, and headquarter spending, the TVC funds generally appear to be routed to the RNC's general account.

arrangement among the Respondents and the donors to move funds to the RNC, for the benefit of the Trump Campaign. The Respondent state party committees were apparently merely conduits that should be disregarded for reporting purposes. If true, the contributions from the Respondent state party committees should have been treated as contributions earmarked by TVC megadonors for the RNC. See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(8), 30122.

Thus, any contribution to TVC that would have resulted in more than \$33,400 per contributor passing through the Respondent state party committees to the RNC would likely violate federal limits on contributions from individuals to national political party committees. See 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(B); 80 Fed. Reg. 5750, 5752 (Feb. 3, 2015). In sum, the RNC and Mr. Parker appeared to have knowingly accepted contributions in excess of federal limits, in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(B).

**Count IV: Against Respondents RNC and Mr. Anthony Parker
False, Inaccurate, and Incomplete Reports in Violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104**

The RNC and Mr. Parker appear to have knowingly submitted false, inaccurate, and incomplete FEC reports in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104.

52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4) requires “[a]ll political committees other than authorized committees of a candidate” to file periodic reports with the FEC. Section 30104(b)(2)(C), (F) specify such reports must disclose the total amount of “contributions from other political committees” and “transfers from affiliated committees and, where the reporting committee is a political party committee, transfers from other political party committees, regardless of whether such committees are affiliated.” And section 30104(b)(3)(B), (D) specify such reports for political party committees must disclose each transfer of funds from another political committee. Section 30104(b)(4)(C) specifies such reports for political party committees must disclose

“transfers to other political party committees, regardless of whether they are affiliated.” Section 30104(b)(5)(C) specifies such reports for political party committees must disclose “each transfer of funds . . . to another political party committee, regardless of whether such committees are affiliated, together with the date and amount of such transfers.” Section 30104(b)(6)(B)(i) specifies such reports for non-authorized committees must disclose the “date and amount” of any contribution to a political committee.

Here, based on Counts I-III, it seems evident that the RNC and Mr. Parker failed to report earmarked contributions, accepted contributions in the name of another, and accepted contributions in excess of federal limits. *See* 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(8), 30122, 30116(a)(1)(B). In making these alleged violations, the RNC and Mr. Parker appeared to have knowingly submitted false, inaccurate, and incomplete 2016 FEC reports that did not correctly report earmarked contributions and identified the wrong contribution source when accepting contributions in the name of another and accepting contributions in excess of the federal limits in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104.

Count V: Against All Respondents
False, Inaccurate, and Incomplete Reports in Violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104

The Respondents appear to have knowingly submitted false, inaccurate, and incomplete FEC reports in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104.

As noted above, federal campaign finance law requires committees to regularly disclose each transfer of funds from one political committee to another political committee. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30104. This is regardless of whether the committees are affiliated. *Id.* § 30104(b)(3)-(4).

In this instance, the uniformity, regularity, magnitude, immediacy, and extent of these hundreds of reported transfers indicate that the transfers from TVC to the state parties may not occurred at all. It is reasonable to infer -- since nearly 80% of the transfers occurred on the same

day, most transfers appeared to be charged the same apparent fee, and the transfers appeared to happen simultaneously -- that TVC actually transferred the funds directly to the RNC, rather than transfer the funds through the Respondent state party committee members who in turn transferred the funds to the RNC.

In the alternative, given the public statements by former Chairman Priebus, it seems evident that the RNC, the Trump Campaign, and their treasurers likely maintained control over the funds to TVC and executed the transactions to move those funds through the Respondent state party committees' accounts to the RNC without the state party committees' prior knowledge or consent; if true, this scheme would have never fully devolved direction or control of the funds to the Respondent state party committees as required by 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(5).

Regardless, Respondents FEC reports claims that funds were directed through TVC's state party committee members are likely false, and in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104.

Count VI: Against Respondents RNC, Mr. Parker, the Trump Campaign, Mr. Jost and Mr. Trump Making and Accepting Excessive Contributions in Violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1)(B)-(C), (d)

The RNC, Mr. Parker, the Trump Campaign, Mr. Jost, and Mr. Trump appear to have knowingly made and accepted excessive contributions in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1)(B)-(C), (d).

As noted earlier, 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(B), as adjusted for inflation, permitted a person to contribute no more than \$33,400 per year to a national political party committee's principal account during the 2015-16 election cycle. See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1)(B); 80 Fed. Reg. 5750, 5752 (Feb. 3, 2015). And, national party committees are also limited in the amount of

contributions they can make to presidential candidate committees. See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1)(C), (d).

In this instance, the RNC appeared to allow the Trump Campaign and its agents to exercise oversight, direction, and control over the expenditure of RNC funds, including the funds the RNC received through the TVC earmarked transfers by the Respondent state party committees. It seems evident -- based on the massive scale of the uniform transfers, public statements made by the Respondents, and coordinated expenditures made on behalf of the Trump Campaign -- that the Trump Campaign completely controlled all funds transferred through TVC.

The amount of RNC funds over which the Trump Campaign and Mr. Trump appeared to exercise oversight, direction, and control far exceeded the amount of contributions and coordinated expenditures a national political party committee may make with a presidential candidate, and the Trump Campaign may receive, in direct violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30116.

**Count VII: Against Respondent State Political Party Committees
Inaccurate and Incomplete Reports in Violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104**

Finally, several of the Respondent state political party committees filed incomplete reports that failed to accurately disclose transfers from TVC and transfers made to the RNC.

The following section outlines the Respondent state party committees that failed to accurately disclose the alleged transfers:

- On September 30, 2016, the RNC reported receiving \$413,699.04 from the Republican Party of Minnesota.⁷ See Exhibit A, Row 11. However, the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to report transferring those funds to the RNC. See *id.*

⁷ In fact, every transfer through the Republican Party of Minnesota during this time period is incomplete in some way. See Exhibit A, Rows 11, 35, 55, 76, 98, 116.

- On September 30, 2016, the RNC reported receiving \$877,859.47 from the Tennessee Republican Party. *See id.*, Row 15. However, the Tennessee Republican Party failed to report transferring those funds to the RNC. *See id.*
- On October 17, 2016, the RNC reported receiving \$518,355.09 from the North Dakota Republican Party. *See id.*, Row 31. However, the North Dakota Republican Party failed to report transferring those funds to the RNC. *See id.*
- On October 17, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$517,829.69 to the Republican Party of Minnesota. *See id.*, Row 35. However, the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to report receiving those funds, even though it later reports expending \$517,809.69 to the RNC on that same day. *See id.*
- On October 27, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$169,942.34 to the Republican Party of Minnesota. *See id.*, Row 55. However, the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to report receiving those funds, even though it later reports expending \$169,922.34 to the RNC on that same day. *See id.*
- On November 7, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$99,999.59 to the New Jersey Republican State Committee. *See id.*, Row 69. However, the New Jersey Republican State Committee failed to report receiving those funds, even though it later reports expending \$99,979.59 to the RNC on that same day. *See id.*
- On November 7, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$142,103.44 to the Republican Party of Minnesota. *See id.*, Row 76. However, the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to report receiving those funds, even though it later reports expending \$142,083.44 to the RNC on that same day. *See id.*

- On November 22, 2016, the RNC reported receiving \$79,898.84 from the Connecticut Republican Party. *See id.*, Row 82. However, the Connecticut Republican Party failed to report transferring those funds to the RNC. *See id.*
- On November 29, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$77,983.69 to the Republican Party of Minnesota. *See id.*, Row 98. However, the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to report receiving those funds, even though it later reports expending \$77,963.69 to the RNC on that same day. *See id.*
- On December 16, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$18,997.04 to the North Carolina. *See id.*, Row 110. However, the North Carolina Republican Party failed to report receiving those funds, even though it somehow reports expending \$18,977.04 to the RNC on December 15, 2016, *a day before* it receives the funds from TVC. *See id.*
- On December 16, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$22,926.44 to the Republican Party of Minnesota. *See id.*, Row 116. However, the Republican Party of Minnesota failed to report receiving those funds, even though it later reports expending \$22,906.44 to the RNC on that same day. *See id.*
- On December 16, 2016, TVC reported transferring \$18,505.14 to the West Virginia Republican Party, Inc. *See id.*, Row 121. However, the West Virginia Republican Party Inc. failed to report receiving those funds *and* failed to report transferring those funds to the RNC, even though the RNC later reports receiving \$18,485.14 on that same day. *See id.*

In sum, the above-listed Respondent state party committees violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104 by submitting inaccurate and incomplete 2016 FEC reports.

REQUESTED ACTION

As we have shown, there is a strong possibility that the Respondents have violated federal law by violating earmarking requirements, making and accepting contributions in the name of another, accepting contributions in excess of contribution limits restrictions, and filing false and inaccurate reports. Complainant respectfully requests that the Federal Election Commission promptly investigate these violations and fines the Respondents the maximum amount permitted by law.

I understand that 18 U.S.C. § 1001 applies to the information I am providing. I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Sincerely,

Brad Woodhouse

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me, the undersigned Notary Public, this 28 day of February, 2018.

Notary Public

My Commission Expires:
Nov 30, 2021



11034741010101

Party Committee	Date	Amount	Outgoing Function	Vendor	Purpose	Report ID	Page #	Transaction of
RNC	1/29/2016	\$10,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Eckman Charter Services Inc.	Transportation Services	Report ID: FEC-116344		8336 SF25-017828-1
RNC	3/14/2016	\$10,508.41	Party Coordinated Expenditure	1000 Group Inc.	Political Strategy Services	Report ID: FEC-1122038		23489 SF25-019102-1
RNC	3/2/2016	\$40,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Sodo LLC	Political Strategy Services	Report ID: FEC-1122038		23489 SF25-019103-1
RNC	10/2/2016	\$277,658.71	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7376 SF25-0110029-1
RNC	10/2/2016	\$894,233.30	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7374 SF25-011061-1
RNC	10/2/2016	\$112,461.68	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7376 SF25-0110149-1
RNC	10/2/2016	\$270,224.87	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7374 SF25-0110148-1
RNC	10/13/2016	\$10,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	1000 Group Inc.	Political Strategy Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7373 SF25-0191064-1
RNC	10/14/2016	\$823,820.83	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7376 SF25-0110051-1
RNC	10/14/2016	\$1,047,302.71	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7375 SF25-0110051-1
RNC	10/14/2016	\$200,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Lincoln Strategy Group LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7377 SF25-0110184-1
RNC	10/14/2016	\$1,305,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Stamagda Consulting LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7378 SF25-0110187-1
RNC	10/18/2016	\$268,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	September Group LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7377 SF25-0110180-1
RNC	10/19/2016	\$55,500.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Subst Intiative Access LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7374 SF25-0110180-1
RNC	10/19/2016	\$800,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Lincoln Strategy Group LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7377 SF25-0110187-1
RNC	10/19/2016	\$201,691.13	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7375 SF25-0110201-1
RNC	10/19/2016	\$387,308.81	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1119000		7376 SF25-0110202-1
RNC	10/20/2016	\$180,128.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	First Tradition	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60806 SF25-0119238-1
RNC	10/21/2016	\$149,003.92	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60897 SF25-0119431-1
RNC	10/21/2016	\$301,841.52	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60893 SF25-0119428-1
RNC	10/22/2016	\$1,048,887.48	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60894 SF25-0119511-1
RNC	10/25/2016	\$177,192.85	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60896 SF25-0119513-1
RNC	10/26/2016	\$65,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Admiral Communications	Media Services/Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60845 SF25-0119571-1
RNC	10/26/2016	\$20,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Sodo LLC	Political Strategy Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60891 SF25-0119472-1
RNC	10/26/2016	\$20,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60894 SF25-0119571-1
RNC	10/27/2016	\$480,891.48	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60894 SF25-0119780-1
RNC	10/27/2016	\$245,192.30	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Jamstown Associates	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0119781-1
RNC	10/31/2016	\$27,300.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Asa TV USA LTD	Advertising	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0120222-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$3,878,764.20	Party Coordinated Expenditure	American Media & Advocacy Group	Placed Media	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60889 SF25-0120283-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$8,402.94	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Care of Advantage Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60892 SF25-0120339-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$327,400.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	American Media & Advocacy Group	Placed Media	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0120371-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$84,125.41	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Right Voter LLC	Phone Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60892 SF25-0119701-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$42,824.20	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Subst Intiative Access LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60891 SF25-0120368-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$133,333.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	September Group LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60893 SF25-0120360-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$10,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	1000 Group LLC	Political Strategy Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60889 SF25-0120329-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$452,650.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	First Tradition	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60896 SF25-0120381-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$5,440.10	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Election Connections Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60895 SF25-0120381-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$4,183.72	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Care of Advantage Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60892 SF25-0120381-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$54,108.88	Party Coordinated Expenditure	FLS Connect LLC	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60887 SF25-0120390-1
RNC	11/2/2016	\$13,263.72	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Cavalier Communications LLC	Mail Production Services	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60895 SF25-0120379-1
RNC	11/4/2016	\$3,000,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	American Media & Advocacy Group	PLACED MEDIA	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0120392-1
RNC	11/4/2016	\$191,073.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	First Tradition	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60896 SF25-0120383-1
RNC	11/4/2016	\$315,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Stamagda Consulting LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0120393-1
RNC	11/7/2016	\$89,249.40	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Subst Intiative Access LLC	GTVV Consulting	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60891 SF25-0120395-1
RNC	11/7/2016	\$21,250.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Care of Advantage Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60892 SF25-0120396-1
RNC	11/7/2016	\$308,915.33	Party Coordinated Expenditure	FLS Connect LLC	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60897 SF25-0120396-1
RNC	11/7/2016	\$3,159.18	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Election Connections Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60895 SF25-0120397-1
RNC	11/7/2016	\$3,369.80	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Victory Phones	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0120398-1
RNC	11/9/2016	\$82,820.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Victory Phones	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60890 SF25-0120398-1
RNC	11/10/2016	\$4,883.31	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Care of Advantage Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60892 SF25-0120398-1
RNC	11/14/2016	\$137,718.80	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Trone LLC	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60899 SF25-011148-1
RNC	11/15/2016	\$1,433.15	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Care of Advantage Inc.	GTVV Phone Calls	Report ID: FEC-1133371		60893 SF25-011500-1
RNC	12/1/2016	\$14,863.84	Party Coordinated Expenditure	Right Voter LLC	Phone Services	Report ID: FEC-1189422		9720 SF25-0120662-1
RNC	12/1/2016	\$5,000.00	Party Coordinated Expenditure	1000 Group Inc.	Political Strategy Services	Report ID: FEC-1189422		9720 SF25-0120662-1

0000004440001

The image shows a large, dense grid of data, likely a ledger or a table with many columns and rows. The text is extremely small and illegible, appearing as a solid block of black and white noise. The grid is oriented vertically on the page.