1		FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2 3		FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT
4 5 6 7 8		<b>Pre-MUR 613</b> DATE FILED: July 2, 2018 DATE OF LAST RESPONSE: Nov. 16, 2018 DATE ACTIVATED: Mar. 1, 2019
9 10 11 12 13		EXPIRATION OF SOL: Apr. 3, 2023 (earliest)/ May 2, 2023 (latest) ELECTION CYCLE: 2018
14	COMPLAINANT:	Sua Sponte
15 16 17	<b>RESPONDENT:</b>	Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity as treasurer
18 19 20 21 22 23 24		MUR 7438 DATE COMPLAINT FILED: July 23, 2018 DATE OF NOTIFICATION: July 30, 2018 DATE OF LAST RESPONSE: Aug. 15, 2018 DATE ACTIVATED: Mar. 1, 2019
24 25 26 27 28		EXPIRATION OF SOL: Apr. 3, 2023 (earliest)/ May 2, 2023 (latest) ELECTION CYCLE: 2018
29 30	COMPLAINANT:	American Democracy Legal Fund Brad Woodhouse
31 32 33 34	<b>RESPONDENT:</b>	Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity as treasurer
35 36 37 38 39		MUR 7476 DATE COMPLAINT FILED: Aug. 9, 2018 DATE OF NOTIFICATION: Aug. 15, 2018 DATE OF LAST RESPONSE: Oct. 4, 2018 DATE ACTIVATED: Mar. 1, 2019
40 41 42 43 44		EXPIRATION OF SOL: Apr. 3, 2023 (earliest)/ Jul. 15, 2023 (latest) ELECTION CYCLE: 2018
44 45 46 47	COMPLAINANT:	Campaign Legal Center Margaret Christ

1 2	<b>RESPONDENTS:</b>	Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official
3		capacity as treasurer
4		Majority Strategies, $LLC^1$
5		Grassroots Targeting LLC
6		Renacci for US Senate and Russell Corwin in his
7		official capacity as treasurer
8		1 5
9		MUR 7542
10		DATE COMPLAINT FILED: Nov. 14, 2018
11		DATE OF NOTIFICATION: Nov. 21, 2018
12		DATE OF LAST RESPONSE: Feb. 21, 2019
13		DATE ACTIVATED: Mar. 1, 2019
14		
15		EXPIRATION OF SOL: Sept. 8, 2023 (earliest)/
16		Dec. 6, 2023 (latest)
17		ELECTION CYCLE: 2018
18		
19	COMPLAINANT:	Campaign Legal Center
20 21		Margaret Christ
21	<b>RESPONDENTS:</b>	MeToo Ohio and Lisa Lisker in her official
22		capacity as treasurer
23 24		Majority Strategies, LLC
25		Renacci for US Senate and Russell Corwin in his
26		official capacity as treasurer
27		
28	RELEVANT STATUTES	52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i)
29	AND REGULATIONS:	52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(a)(4)(A)(ii), (b), (g)
30		52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(7), (f)
31		52 U.S.C. § 30118(a)
32		11 C.F.R. § 100.55
33		11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)
34		11 C.F.R. § 104.4
35		11 C.F.R. § 109.20
36		11 C.F.R. § 109.21
37		11 C.F.R. § 116.3
38		
39	INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:	Disclosure Reports
40		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Majority Strategies refers to itself as both Majority Strategies, LLC and Majority Strategies, Inc. in its responses. *Compare* Ohio First, Majority Strategies, Inc., & Grassroots Targeting LLC, Resp. at 1, MUR 7476 (Aug. 9, 2018) ("Joint Response"), *with* Majority Strategies Resp. at 1, MUR 7542 (Jan. 29, 2019) ("Majority Strategies Resp."). Information available from the Florida Secretary of State indicates that the entity is currently registered as Majority Strategies, LLC and it is referred to as such in this report.

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### 1 FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

### 2 I. INTRODUCTION

These four matters each involve allegations relating to independent expenditures 3 4 made in support of Jim Renacci or in opposition to Renacci's opponent Sherrod Brown in the 5 2018 Senate election in Ohio. Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity as 6 treasurer ("Ohio First") made such independent expenditures before the Ohio Republican 7 Primary,<sup>2</sup> and MeToo Ohio and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer ("MeToo 8 Ohio") made such independent expenditures before the Ohio General Election.<sup>3</sup> 9 Pre-MUR 613 is a sua sponte submission filed by Ohio First, disclosing its failure to 10 report independent expenditures in support of Jim Renacci on 24- and 48-hour reports and on 11 its Pre-Primary Report. The Complaint in MUR 7438 raises the same reporting violations at 12 issue in the Pre-MUR,<sup>4</sup> while the Complaint in MUR 7476 includes additional allegations 13 that Ohio First failed to report in-kind contributions from its vendors Majority Strategies, 14 LLC ("Majority Strategies") and Grassroots Targeting LLC ("Grassroots Targeting"), failed 15 to report debts and obligations, and made prohibited contributions to Renacci for US Senate 16 and Russell Corwin in his official capacity as treasurer ("Renacci Committee") in the form of

<sup>3</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 2 (Nov. 14, 2018).

<sup>4</sup> MUR 7438 Compl. at 5-6 (July 23, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ohio First, *Sua Sponte* Submission at 1 (June 29, 2018), Pre-MUR 613 (Ohio First PAC) ("First Submission"); Ohio First PAC, *Sua Sponte* Supp. Submission at 1 (Sept. 28, 2018), Pre-MUR 613 (Ohio First PAC) ("Second Submission"); Ohio First, *Sua Sponte* Second Supp. Submission (Nov. 16, 2018), Pre-MUR 613 (Ohio First PAC) ("Third Submission"); Joint Response at 1-2.

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coordinated communications that the Renacci Committee allegedly accepted.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, the 1 2 Complaint in MUR 7542 raises similar allegations that MeToo Ohio failed to report in-kind contributions from its vendor Majority Strategies and made prohibited contributions to the 3 4 Renacci Committee in the form of coordinated communications.<sup>6</sup> 5 As discussed below, we recommend that the Commission: (1) find reason to believe 6 that Ohio First violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4)(A)(ii) by failing to timely file a pre-primary 7 report and violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g) by failing to report its independent expenditures; 8 (2) find reason to believe that Ohio First and MeToo Ohio violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3) 9 by failing to report contributions received from their vendors in the form of extensions of 10 credit; (3) dismiss the allegations that Ohio First and MeToo Ohio made and the Renacci 11 Committee accepted a contribution in the form of coordinated communications in violation 12 of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a) or (f), respectively, 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21; (4) find no 13 reason to believe that Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"); and (5) close the file as to the 14 15 Renacci Committee, Majority Strategies, and Grassroots Targeting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12 (Aug. 9, 2018). We received a joint response to the MUR 7476 Complaint from Ohio First, Majority Strategies, and Grassroots Targeting, but did not receive a response from the Renacci Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 2.

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### 1 II. FACTS

### 2 A. Ohio First PAC

3 Ohio First is an independent expenditure-only political committee ("IEOPC") that registered with the Commission on January 21, 2018.<sup>7</sup> In the weeks leading up to the May 8, 4 5 2018, Ohio primary election, Ohio First supported the candidacy of Jim Renacci for the 6 Republican nomination for U.S. Senate from Ohio by making nearly half a million dollars in 7 independent expenditures, but it did not file reports with the Commission disclosing these 8 independent expenditures until after the primary election.<sup>8</sup> 9 Under the Commission's reporting schedules for the Ohio primary election, Ohio 10 First was required to file 48-hour independent expenditure reports through April 18, 2018, 11 and 24-hour independent expenditure reports from April 19 to May 6, 2018, as well as a Pre-12 Primary Report by April 26, 2018 (covering the period through April 18, 2018). Ohio first 13 did not report any cash on hand, receipts, disbursements, or debts, and reported no 14 independent expenditures, until June 29, 2018, more than six weeks after the primary 15 election.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ohio First, Statement of Organization (Jan. 21, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See First Submission at 1 (stating that Ohio First filed its independent expenditure reports after the primary election); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10-13 (June 29, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 15-17 (July 15, 2018). The Reports Analysis Division ("RAD") issued Requests for Additional Information ("RFAIs") to Ohio First in connection with these independent expenditures. RFAI: Pre-Primary 2018 (Aug. 15, 2018); RFAI: July Quarterly 2018 (Aug. 15, 2018). RAD issued the RFAIs after Ohio First filed the *sua sponte* submission.

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- 1 Most of Ohio First's activity occurred during April and May 2018.<sup>9</sup> During that
- 2 period, Ohio First made the following independent expenditures, totaling \$472,129.66:<sup>10</sup>

Distribution or Dissemination	Vendor	Amount
Apr. 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 25,000.00
Apr. 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 93,270.00
Apr. 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 2,500.00
Apr. 2, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 52,307.33
Apr. 9, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 52,307.33
Apr.16, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 52,307.33
Apr. 16, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 25,000.00
Apr. 23, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 50,314.67
Apr. 30, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 51,311.00
May 1, 2018	Ascent Media LLC	\$ 7,700.00
May 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 58,362.00
May 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 1,750.00
	Total:	\$ 472,129.66

3 In a supplemental submission, Ohio First represents that it failed to timely report its

4 independent expenditures because Ohio First's treasurer was unaware of the expenditures.<sup>11</sup>

5 Ohio First stated that, although it had received invoices from its vendors, it did not pay the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> First Submission at 1; Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-9; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 9-14. The first contribution to Ohio First was made on May 10, 2018, two days after the primary election. Ohio First Receipts, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/receipts/?two\_year\_transaction\_period=2018&committee\_id=C00666750&data\_type=processed</u> (last visited Apr. 18, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Second Submission at 1.

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1	invoices because it lacked funds and did not forward the unpaid invoices to Ohio First's
2	treasurer. <sup>12</sup> Ohio First states that it discovered that it did not file the required reports on or
3	around June 20, 2018, and then conducted an "audit" to review its activity and implemented
4	a new process to route independent expenditure invoices directly to the treasurer upon
5	receipt. <sup>13</sup>
6	After conducting its internal review, Ohio First filed its sua sponte submission with
7	the Commission by letter dated June 29, 2018. <sup>14</sup> At the same time, Ohio First filed
8	independent expenditure reports for the 12 expenditures it made from April 1 through
9	May 1, 2018, and filed its Pre-Primary Report covering the period from April 1 through
10	April 18, 2018. The Pre-Primary Report disclosed no receipts, no disbursements, no cash on
11	hand, and \$367,667.99 in debts and obligations along with \$302,691.99 in independent
12	expenditures in support of Renacci. <sup>15</sup>
13	Ohio First timely filed its next report, the July Quarterly Report covering the period
14	from April 19 to June 30, 2018, in which it disclosed receiving its first contributions

15 (\$79,200 in receipts from five contributors), five additional independent expenditures totaling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *Id.* (explaining, also, that Ohio First's treasurer is a "professional at a compliance firm").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Id.* at 2. Ohio First stated that the revised compliance process was not memorialized in any formal written policy because of the "expectation of a limited time duration for Ohio First PAC's activities." Third Submission at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> First Submission at 1. The letter was received July 2, 2018. *Id.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2. In addition to debt to Majority Strategies for the \$302,691.99 in independent expenditures disseminated during the Pre-Primary period, the report also disclosed additional debts to Majority Strategies in the amounts of \$30,000 for "survey research" and \$4,975 for "web service." Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-9.

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1	\$169,437.67, and debts and obligations in the amount of \$597,104.66. <sup>16</sup> Ohio First's July
2	Quarterly Report disclosed, in addition to all of the previously reported debt that remained
3	due in full, new debts to Majority Strategies for independent expenditures worth \$161,737.67
4	and \$60,000 owed to Grassroots Targeting — a political research firm headed by Blaise
5	Hazelwood, who was also Executive Director of Ohio First — for "political strategy
6	consulting." <sup>17</sup> According to the Complaint in MUR 7476, Grassroots Targeting had
7	conducted survey research for Ohio First sometime on or before April 9, 2018; <sup>18</sup>
8	Respondents assert "Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First for services rendered on June
9	22, 2018." <sup>19</sup> Ohio First did not report any April disbursements to Grassroots Targeting and
10	first reported its \$60,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting in the 2018 July Quarterly Report,
11	which covered activity from April 19 to June 30, 2018. <sup>20</sup>
12	Ohio First's 2018 October Quarterly, Pre-General, Post-General, and 2018 Year-End
13	reports show total receipts of \$925,500 from July 1 through November 26, 2018, and the

<sup>18</sup> See MUR 7476 Compl. at 3 (citing *Morning Score*, POLITICO, Apr. 9, 2018, <u>https://www.politico.com/newsletters/morning-score/2018/04/09/countdown-to-scott-campaign-launch-162837</u> ("*Morning Score*") ("Grassroots Targeting conducted the survey for Ohio First PAC, a pro-Renacci group.")).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7, 15-17. The five additional independent expenditures were included in Ohio First's July 2, 2018 *sua sponte* submission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 9-14; Grassroots Targeting, <u>https://www.</u> <u>grassrootstargeting.com/</u> (last visited Apr. 22, 2020); *see also* Third Submission at.1 (referring to emails between Ohio First's treasurer and Executive Director and attaching emails between Hazelwood, using a grassrootstargeting.com email address, and the treasurer).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See Joint Response at 4. The Joint Response is ambiguous as to whether the \$60,000 in services (reported in Ohio First's July Quarterly 2018 Report as debt owed to Grassroots Targeting) were rendered in June 2018, invoiced in June 2018, or both.

1	repayment of nearly all its debt. <sup>21</sup> Ohio First reported, on its Post-General Report, that it had
2	repaid all its debts to Majority Strategies, which totaled \$537,104.66, and repaid \$30,000 of
3	its \$60,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting. <sup>22</sup> In its 2020 April Quarterly Report, Ohio First
4	continued to report a \$30,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting. <sup>23</sup>
5	In addition to the independent expenditure reporting violations raised in the sua
6	sponte submission and the Complaint in MUR 7438, the MUR 7476 Complaint also alleges
7	that Ohio First failed to properly report the extensions of credit by Majority Strategies as in-
8	kind contributions (with corresponding reporting of disbursements) and failed to properly
9	report in-kind contributions from (or debts owed to) Grassroots Targeting. <sup>24</sup> The MUR 7476
10	Complaint asserts that Majority Strategies does not ordinarily extend credit to newly formed
11	committees with no cash on hand and that the extensions of credit therefore constitute in-kind
12	contributions to Ohio First that were not reported. <sup>25</sup> Similarly, the MUR 7476 Complaint
13	asserts that the survey conducted by Grassroots Targeting was either a contribution or a
14	reportable debt if Grassroots Targeting extended credit to Ohio First. <sup>26</sup>
15	In response, Ohio First, Majority Strategies, and Grassroots Targeting contend that
16	the credit extended by Majority Strategies does not qualify as a contribution because

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Oct. 15, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2 (Oct. 25, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 2 (Dec. 6, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 31, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 12-17; Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 7-9, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ohio First, 2020 April Quarterly Report at 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12. The Complaint in MUR 7476 alleges, in the alternative, that Majority Strategies made, but did not report, the independent expenditures reported by Ohio First. *See id.* at 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> *Id.* at 10-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 12.

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1	Majority Strategies "has routinely granted credit to hundreds of similarly situated clients"
2	and "typically uses extended repayment terms," which it asserts is a practice common
3	throughout the political consulting industry. <sup>27</sup> The Chief Executive Officer of Majority
4	Strategies submitted a declaration supporting this position, though the Joint Response
5	includes no specific terms and no documents, such as contracts, corroborating the
6	representations made in the declaration. <sup>28</sup> The Joint Response does not explain Grassroots
7	Targeting's business practices with regard to extensions of credit or the repayment terms of
8	such credit, but states that Ohio First accurately reported the services provided by Grassroots
9	Targeting, contending that the description of the services rendered was "adequate." <sup>29</sup>
10	Further, Respondents assert that Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First for services
11	rendered on June 22, 2018, that this was the first date on which Ohio First's Treasurer
12	became aware of the debt, and that Ohio First subsequently reported the debt on its 2018 July
13	Quarterly Report. <sup>30</sup>
14	In addition to the alleged reporting violations, the MUR 7476 Complaint also alleges
15	that Ohio First made excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions to the Renacci
16	Committee by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies as a common
17	
17	vendor. <sup>31</sup> In response to the coordination allegations, Majority Strategies and Ohio First

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Joint Response at 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> *Id.* at Ex. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *Id.* at 1, 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14.

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information.<sup>32</sup> They further explain that Majority Strategies employs a firewall to prevent
 employees working with IEOPCs from working with candidates' authorized committees, and
 vice-versa.<sup>33</sup>

4 **B. Me** 

# MeToo Ohio

5 MeToo Ohio is an IEOPC that registered with the Commission on September 5, 2018.<sup>34</sup> In the weeks leading up to the November 6, 2018, Ohio general election, MeToo 6 7 Ohio spent over half a million dollars in independent expenditures opposing Sherrod Brown, Renacci's opponent in the general election.<sup>35</sup> Most of those independent expenditures were 8 9 funded by credit extended by Majority Strategies. 10 MeToo Ohio's first report, the 2018 October Quarterly Report, discloses no receipts, 11 no disbursements, no cash on hand, and \$27,004 in debts and obligations to Majority Strategies for independent expenditures opposing Brown.<sup>36</sup> In MeToo Ohio's next report, 12 13 the Pre-General Report covering the period from October 1 to October 17, 2018, MeToo 14 Ohio disclosed receiving \$220,000 from one contributor, disbursements of \$176,000 to a 15 different vendor (for an independent expenditure, as reported on Schedule E), and debts and obligations of \$156,004 to Majority Strategies.<sup>37</sup> 16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Joint Response at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> MeToo Ohio, Statement of Organization (Sept. 5, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 8 (Oct. 14, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report (Oct. 24, 2018).

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1	MeToo Ohio disclosed its first payments to Majority Strategies on its Post-General
2	Report. In its Post-General Report, covering the period from October 18 to November 26,
3	2018, MeToo Ohio disclosed receiving \$425,000 from three contributors and disbursements
4	of \$442,206, including over \$231,004 to Majority Strategies. <sup>38</sup>
5	The Complaint in MUR 7542 alleges that MeToo Ohio failed to properly report the
6	extensions of credit by Majority Strategies as an in-kind contribution. <sup>39</sup> The Complaint
7	asserts that Majority Strategies does not ordinarily extend credit to a newly formed
8	committee that has no cash on hand and no record of fundraising. <sup>40</sup> The Complaint also
9	alleges that, with the limited exception of Ohio First (which was funding MeToo Ohio), there
10	is no record of Majority Strategies extending six figures of credit to a newly formed
11	committee with no cash on hand. <sup>41</sup>
12	Respondents assert that Majority Strategies's extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was
13	consistent with Majority Strategies's ordinary business practices. <sup>42</sup> In particular, Majority
14	Strategies asserts that it "does ads for clients on a post-paid basis in the ordinary course of
15	business" and that "it is not outside normal business practices for production companies to do

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Post-General Report (Dec. 6, 2018). The vast majority of MeToo Ohio's \$645,000 in contributions were received from Ohio First (\$305,000) and from A Public Voice, Inc. (\$315,000). *See* MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report (Oct. 24, 2018); MeToo Ohio, 2018 Post-General Report (Dec. 6, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 17-18. In the alternative, the MUR 7542 Complaint asserts that Majority Strategies failed to report independent expenditures because it was not paid by MeToo Ohio for the independent expenditures. *Id.* at 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> *Id.* at 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> *Id.* at 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 4, MUR 7542 (Jan. 29, 2019) ("Majority Strategies Resp."); MeToo Ohio, Resp. at 3, MUR 7542 (Jan. 29, 2019) ("MeToo Ohio Resp.").

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1 ads on a post-paid basis."<sup>43</sup> Neither Majority Strategies's nor MeToo Ohio's response

- 2 includes specific terms or documents, such as contracts, supporting these assertions regarding
- 3 the vendor's ordinary business practices.
- 4 The Complaint in MUR 7542 also alleges that MeToo Ohio made prohibited and
- 5 excessive in-kind contributions to the Renacci Committee by coordinating communications
- 6 through Majority Strategies, a common vendor.<sup>44</sup> In support of this allegation, the Complaint
- 7 states that the Renacci Committee's second television ad was launched on the same day as a
- 8 MeToo Ohio ad and that the two ads were "strikingly consistent in theme, tone, and style,
- 9 including references to the same excerpted court documents and similar visuals."<sup>45</sup> The
- 10 MUR 7542 Complaint notes, for example, that each ad included highlighted text of court
- 11 documents, as in these screen shots of the ads from the Renacci Committee at left and
- 12 MeToo at right:<sup>46</sup>



13 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 1-2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> *Id.* at 2; *compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE (Oct. 10, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE (Oct. 11, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See MUR 7542 Compl. at 6; MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE at 0:21 (Oct. 10, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE at 0:18 (Oct. 11, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

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1	Both Majority Strategies and the Renacci Committee state that Majority Strategies	
2	did not create, produce, or place any television advertisements for the Renacci Committee. <sup>47</sup>	
3	Majority Strategies further denies that it provided any campaign information from the	
4	Renacci Committee to MeToo Ohio, and asserts that it had implemented a firewall that	
5	prevented any information that may have been obtained from its work for the Renacci	
6	Committee from being used in MeToo Ohio's projects and vice versa. <sup>48</sup> Respondents also	
7	assert that the 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(3) safe harbor was satisfied because the information	
8	utilized to create the ads was a matter of public knowledge. <sup>49</sup>	
9	III. LEGAL ANALYSIS	
10 11	A. There is Reason to Believe that Ohio First Failed to Timely File Its Independent Expenditure Reports and Pre-Primary Report	
12	Under the Act and Commission regulations, political committees other than	
13	authorized committees must report their independent expenditures. <sup>50</sup> Every political	
14	committee that makes independent expenditures must report them in its regularly scheduled	
15	disclosure reports in accordance with 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(vii). <sup>51</sup> Depending on the	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 2 ("Majority Strategies did not produce or place any media ads for the Renacci campaign"); Renacci for US Senate, Resp. at 2, MUR 7542 (Feb. 21, 2019) ("Renacci Resp.") (stating that "Majority Strategies, LLC did not create, produce, or distribute the referenced Renacci for U.S. Senate advertisement" and asserting that the complained-of advertisement "was produced by OnMessage, Inc."). The Renacci Committee acknowledges contracting with Majority Strategies for website design/maintenance and for the production of campaign materials, including palm cards, literature, bumper stickers, and yard signs. Renacci Resp. at 2. The Renacci Committee denies that Majority Strategies was involved in its television or digital advertising. *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> MeToo Ohio Resp. at 2; Majority Strategies Resp. at 2; Renacci Resp. at 2-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(4)(H)(iii); see also 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(1)(vii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(a).

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1	aggregate dollar amounts and timing of the independent expenditures, a political committee
2	that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures must also report the independent
3	expenditures within 24 or 48 hours. <sup>52</sup> In addition, political committees including IEOPCs
4	that make expenditures in connection with a primary election must file a pre-primary report
5	no later than 12 days before that primary, disclosing all receipts and disbursements as of the
6	20th day before the primary election. <sup>53</sup>
7	Ohio First was under an obligation to disclose the independent expenditures made on
8	or before April 18, 2018, within 48 hours of the communications' public distribution or
9	dissemination. <sup>54</sup> Similarly, Ohio First was required to disclose the independent expenditures
10	made between April 19 and May 6, 2018, within 24 hours of the communications' public
11	distribution or dissemination. <sup>55</sup>
12	Ohio First voluntarily self-disclosed reporting violations related to over \$470,000 in
13	independent expenditures and does not deny that it failed to timely file the associated 24-
14	hour, 48-hour, and Pre-Primary Reports. <sup>56</sup> Specifically, Ohio First failed to timely file 24-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> A political committee that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures aggregating \$10,000 or more for an election in any calendar year, up to and including the 20th day before an election, must report these expenditures within 48 hours (in "48-hour reports"). 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b)(2). These 48-hour reports must be filed by the end of the second day "following the date on which a communication that constitutes an independent expenditure is publicly distributed or otherwise publicly disseminated." 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b)(2). A political committee that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures aggregating \$1,000 or more after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours, before the date of an election must report the expenditures within 24 hours (in "24-hour reports"). 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g)(1); 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(c), 109.10(d). These 24-hour reports must be filed before midnight on the day following the date on which the communication is publicly disseminated. 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4)(A); 11 C.F.R. § 104.5(c)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> First Submission at 1; Second Submission at 1-2; Third Submission at 1.

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1 Hour Reports disclosing \$169,437.67 in independent expenditures and 48-Hour Rep	1	Hour Reports disclosing \$169	,437.67 in independent	expenditures and 4	8-Hour Report
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- 2 disclosing \$302,691.99 in independent expenditures.<sup>57</sup> Ohio First also acknowledged that it
- 3 did not file its Pre-Primary Report, an election-sensitive report, until more than six weeks
- 4 after it was due.<sup>58</sup> Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe
- 5 that Ohio First violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4)(A)(ii) by failing to timely file a pre-primary
- 6 report and 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g) by failing to report its independent expenditures.<sup>59</sup>
- 7 8 9

## B. There is Reason to Believe Ohio First and MeToo Ohio Failed to Report In-Kind Contributions in the form of Extensions of Credit From their Vendors

- 10 The Act requires each treasurer of a political committee to file reports of receipts and
- 11 disbursements with the Commission.<sup>60</sup> Such reports must include the total amount of

12 contributions received, as well as the identification of each person who made a contribution

13 in excess of \$200 during the reporting period, together with the date and amount of such

14 contribution.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> The Commission may offer self-reporting respondents more favorable terms in an eventual conciliation agreement, after considering the nature of the violation, the extent of corrective actions undertaken by respondents, whether the respondents fully disclosed the violation, and whether respondents fully cooperated with the Commission. *See*.Policy Regarding Self-Reporting of Campaign Finance Violations (*Sua Sponte* Submissions), 72 Fed. Reg. 16695, 16697 (Apr. 5, 2007) (listing the factors that the Commission may take into account to determine what incentives or penalties to apply). Because we are also recommending that the Commission investigate Ohio First's actions with respect to other allegations, we are not making any recommendations at this time regarding the level of credit Ohio First should receive for self-reporting. An investigation into the extension of credit by Ohio First's vendors, including Majority Strategies, may yield additional information that will impact our assessment of Ohio First's reporting violations.

<sup>60</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1).

<sup>61</sup> 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b)(2)(A), (b)(3)(A)-(B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> First Submission at 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> *Id.* Because Ohio First filed the election sensitive 24- hour, 48-hour, and Pre-Primary Reports after the date of the primary election, they are deemed "not filed" rather than filed late. *See* 11 C.F.R. § 111.43(d)(1), (e) (defining "election sensitive reports" and explaining their treatment as late or not filed).

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A "contribution" includes "any gift [or] advance . . . of money or anything of value 1 made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office."<sup>62</sup> The 2 extension of credit to a political committee by a commercial vendor is a contribution, "unless 3 4 the credit is extended in the ordinary course of the person's business and the terms are 5 substantially similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors that are of similar risk and 6 size of obligation."<sup>63</sup> A "commercial vendor" is any person who provides goods or services 7 to a candidate or political committee, and whose usual and normal business involves the sale, rental, lease, or provision of those goods and services.<sup>64</sup> 8 9 Commission regulations state that, in determining whether credit was extended in a commercial vendor's ordinary course of business, the Commission will consider whether: 10 11 (1) the commercial vendor followed its established procedures and its past practice in 12 approving the extension of credit; (2) the commercial vendor received prompt payment in 13 full for prior extensions of credit to the same committee; and (3) the extension of credit conformed to the usual and normal practice in the vendor's trade or industry.<sup>65</sup> The 14 15 Commission has explained that "[t]hese factors are intended to provide guidance .... The 16 factors need not be accorded equal weight and in some cases a single factor may not be dispositive."66 17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (explaining that a contribution will also result if a creditor fails to make a commercially reasonable attempt to collect the debt); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Debts Owed by Candidates and Political Committees, 55 Fed. Reg. 26378, 26281 (June 27, 1990); *see* Advisory Op. 1991-20 (Call Interactive) at 4.

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1 2

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# 1. Ohio First Did Not Report Contributions From Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting in the form of Extensions of Credit

4 As an initial matter, both Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting appear to be in 5 the business of providing the services they provided to Ohio First, and, therefore, appear to be "commercial vendors."<sup>67</sup> From Ohio First's reporting of debts, it appears that both of 6 7 these vendors extended credit to Ohio First by providing services in advance of payment. 8 Ohio First made almost half a million dollars in independent expenditures before the Ohio primary election, without having reported raising any contributions at all.<sup>68</sup> Ohio First 9 10 reported that it did not receive any contributions before the primary and that it was operating through debt.<sup>69</sup> The available information supports a conclusion that Majority Strategies's 11 12 and Grassroots Targeting's extensions of credit to Ohio First were contributions because they 13 were not made in the ordinary course of the vendors' business and on terms similar to those 14 the vendors would make available to non-political customers of similar risk and size of 15 obligation. 16 At the time the vendors extended credit, Ohio First was a brand-new committee with 17 no apparent money or assets. It had no payment history with Majority Strategies, Grassroots 18 Targeting, or any other vendor. Majority Strategies nevertheless provided Ohio First services

19 worth over \$400,000 before Ohio First had received any contributions.<sup>70</sup> Similarly,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2 (summarizing Ohio First's debts and obligations); Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7 (showing that Ohio First began receiving money on May 10, 2018).

See Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 9 17.

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1 Grassroots Targeting provided services to Ohio First worth \$60,000 despite Ohio First's lack 2 of funds and credit history; this included survey research reportedly conducted on or before April 9, 2018, that Ohio First did not report as debt in its Pre-Primary Report.<sup>71</sup> 3 4 Respondents assert that Majority Strategies's extension of credit was not an in-kind 5 contribution because the credit was extended in the ordinary course of Majority Strategies's 6 business.<sup>72</sup> In his declaration, the Chief Executive Officer of Majority Strategies avers that 7 Majority Strategies "has routinely extended credit to its clients as an ordinary part of its 8 business" and that its "clients . . . are expected to repay their extensions of credit in full."<sup>73</sup> 9 Notwithstanding this representation regarding extensions of credit to clients of 10 Majority Strategies, the submitted declaration does not explain the circumstances under 11 which Majority Strategies will extend credit, including whether it extends credit as a matter 12 of course to all clients, whether it routinely extends credit to a committee with no pre-13 existing history and no evidence that it had or could obtain funds to repay the extensions of 14 credit, and whether it routinely extends credit in amounts over \$400,000 to all or some clients.<sup>74</sup> Respondents did not provide copies of agreements or any other supporting 15 16 documentation explaining the terms and conditions for the extensions of credit to Ohio First. 17 The response, including the declaration, also does not provide specific examples of credit 18 that has been extended to other similarly situated clients. Finally, the Respondents rely on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-9; MUR 7476 Compl. at 3 (citing *Morning Score*, which reported that "Grassroots Targeting conducted the survey for Ohio First PAC, a pro-Renacci group.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Joint Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> *Id.* at Ex. B ¶¶ 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> See id. at 2.

1	assertions from Majority Strategies's CEO to indicate that the vendor followed a "common"
2	practice "throughout the political consulting industry" of "extending credit for various terms
3	of payment," but provides no evidence as to industry practice of extending credit to newly
4	established nonconnected political committees with no assets. <sup>75</sup> Moreover, an examination
5	of all reports filed with the Commission found no instances, besides those involving Ohio
6	First and MeToo Ohio, in which Majority Strategies extended credit to a committee that did
7	not report receipts prior to or at the same time that it reported the debt. <sup>76</sup>
8	Respondents provide even less information to explain the extension of credit between
9	Ohio First and Grassroots Targeting. <sup>77</sup> Hazelwood headed both Ohio First and Grassroots
10	
	Targeting, but Respondents do not provide any documentation or specific examples to
11	Targeting, but Respondents do not provide any documentation or specific examples to support their statement that Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First "according to its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> *Id.* at 2, Ex. B ¶ 6.

<sup>76</sup> Although our review located 65 committees (other than Ohio First and MeToo Ohio) that reported debts to Majority Strategies, we located no other similarly situated committees, *i.e.*, newly formed committees with no reported receipts, to which Majority Strategies extended credit of similar size of obligation. Fifty-eight of the 65 committees to which Majority Strategies extended credit — 20 party committees (or reporting components of party committees), 34 candidate committees, and four IEOPCs - had an established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors. The remaining seven committees that reported debt to Majority Strategies — four candidate committees, and three IEOPCs — had modest assets and reported debts to Majority Strategies in amounts between \$250 and \$5,000, amounts which are of significantly smaller size of obligation than those apparently extended to Ohio First and MeToo Ohio. See Feda for Congress, 2009 Year-End Report (Jan. 26, 2010) (reporting \$1,920 debt); Shawn Nelson for Congress, 2018 April Quarterly Report (Apr. 15, 2018) (reporting \$2,115 debt); John Ward for Congress, Inc., 2017 Year-End Report (Jan. 31, 2018) (reporting \$5,000 debt alongside payments to Majority Strategies of \$17,006, although subsequently amended to remove the entry indicating debt owed to Majority Strategies); Adrian Smith for Congress, 2005 October Quarterly Report (Oct. 15, 2005) (reporting \$3,250 debt, later amended to reflect debt of \$3,340); Freedom Path Action Network, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Country Fund, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Pioneers Action Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> See Joint Response at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Id.

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1	that Grassroots Targeting entered into any written agreements with Ohio First, reflecting
2	Grassroots Targeting's normal business practices in extending credit, or substantiating that
3	the credit extended by Grassroots Targeting was done in the ordinary course of business. <sup>79</sup>
4	Moreover, an examination of all reports filed with the Commission found no other instances
5	in which Grassroots Targeting extended credit to a similarly situated nonconnected
6	committee. <sup>80</sup> The Joint Response defends only the adequacy of the "Political Strategy
7	Consulting" description that Ohio First provided when it reported the debt incurred for the
8	survey, which it reported based on the date Ohio First was invoiced instead of the date when
9	the debt was reportedly incurred. <sup>81</sup>
10	Thus, despite the assertions of Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting that they
11	engaged in ordinary business practices consistent with prior practices, the available
12	information does not support the contention that the vendors' extension of credit to Ohio
13	First was ordinary. This conclusion is consistent with several matters in which the
14	Commission found reason to believe that a vendor's extension of credit to a committee was
15	not made in the vendor's ordinary course of business and was, therefore, a contribution.
16	
17	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> *Cf.* Factual & Legal Analysis at 13-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) ("F&LA").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> There are five other committees that have reported debt to Grassroots Targeting: a national party committee, a state party committee, and three principal campaign committees of candidates who had run for election in at least one prior election cycle. Each of the committees thus had a substantial history of reported receipts and payments to vendors prior to the extension of credit by Grassroots Targeting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Joint Response at 4. Commission regulations require a political committee to report debts in excess of 500 as of the date on which the debt is incurred. 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(b). If the exact amount of the debt is unknown, the political committee should report an estimate and state that the amount reported is an estimate. *Id.* 

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4	in MUR 5635, the Commission found reason
5	to believe a vendor extended credit outside its ordinary course of business and industry
6	practice on a record that included facts, as ascertained in a Commission audit, similar to the
7	ones in this matter: a vendor extended over \$1 million credit on a short term contract to a
8	committee with which it had no prior business relationship. <sup>83</sup> In another matter, the
9	Commission found reason to believe on a record, like the one here, with little or no
10	information demonstrating or substantiating that the vendors' extensions of credit had been
11	made in the ordinary course of business. <sup>84</sup> Conversely, the Commission has found no reason
12	to believe a vendor's extension of credit constituted a contribution where the record included
13	documents, sworn affidavits, or other evidence demonstrating that the extensions of credit
14	had been made in the vendor's ordinary course of business or on terms substantially similar
15	to extensions of credit to other clients of similar risk and size of obligation. <sup>85</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Gen. Counsel's Brief at 8-9, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership PAC, *et al.*). The Commission conciliated with the committee and vendor on the extension of credit violation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> See Factual & Legal Analysis at 6, 8-10, MUR 6101(Heller *et al.*) (also noting the lack of information about the vendor's advance payment policies, billing cycles, and details about the terms of the transactions with the committee). The Commission took no further action after the initial reason to believe finding, once the investigation established that the vendor *had* extended credit in the ordinary course of business and on similar terms to other clients. See Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 5, MUR 6101 (Heller *et al.*) (discussing prior matters in which the Commission took no further action after a reason to believe finding on an extension of credit outside ordinary business practices).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> See, e.g., F&LA at 8-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) (finding no reason to believe that the credit extension was outside the vendor's ordinary course of business on a record including vendor's sworn declaration providing a detailed explanation of its business practices, publicly available information (including a Federal Communication Commission opinion letter) about industry standards, and the respondent committee's

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1 Here, Respondents did not submit written agreements or other documents to support 2 their contentions that the vendors acted in their ordinary course of business and, in the case 3 of Grassroots Targeting, they did not provide any sworn statement for the record. The 4 available record does not include information to support the notion that Ohio First's vendors 5 extended credit in the ordinary course of their business and on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to any other debtor of similar risk and size of obligation. Given Ohio 6 7 First's status as a newly formed committee that had no assets and, in the case of Majority 8 Strategies, no apparent relationship with the vendor, and given the size of Ohio First's 9 obligations, the available information indicates that the vendors' extensions of credit were 10 not made in the ordinary course of business and therefore should have been reported as 11 contributions by Ohio First. 12 Although Ohio First has repaid all its debt to Majority Strategies and half of its debt 13 to Grassroots Targeting, Ohio First's failure to report these extensions of credit as in-kind 14 contributions deprived Ohio voters of information they were entitled to know, namely who was funding Ohio First's pro-Renacci independent expenditures.<sup>86</sup> As a result of Ohio First's 15 16 failure to file timely 24- and 48-hour reports and a timely Pre-Primary Report, voters were deprived of information reflecting that the organization's independent expenditures were 17 funded via vendors' extensions of credit with lengthy terms of repayment — roughly six 18

history of prompt payments to the vendor in earlier election cycles); MUR 5939 (Moveon.org *et al.*) (finding no reason to believe that *New York Times* extended credit outside of ordinary business practices on record that included the terms of the transaction in question as well as the paper's usual terms and practices).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> See Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 367 (2010) (explaining that the Supreme Court has consistently upheld the Act's disclosure provisions, which provide the electorate with "information about the sources of election-related spending" to "help citizens make informed choices in the political marketplace") (internal quotation marks and citations omitted).

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1	months after Ohio First made the independent expenditures. That credit repayment period
2	undermines the contention that such payment terms were commercially reasonable,
3	especially considering Majority Strategies's expectation that its clients "promptly [repay]"
4	extensions of credit." <sup>87</sup>
5	Because there is not sufficient information to support Respondents' contention that
6	the extensions of credit from Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting were provided in
7	the ordinary course of business, and the available information indicates that they may not
8	have been provided in the ordinary course of business, we recommend that the Commission
9	find reason to believe that Ohio First failed to report contributions received from its vendors
10	in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(A).88
11	As to the vendors, Ohio First as an IEOPC was permitted to accept funds outside the
12	Act's otherwise applicable contribution limits and source prohibitions, including corporate
13	contributions. <sup>89</sup> Because the vendors appear to have been permitted to make contributions to
14	an IEOPC <sup>90</sup> and have no independent reporting obligation for making the contributions under
15	the Act, we recommend that that Commission find no reason to believe that Majority

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (stating that a failure "to make a reasonable attempt to collect [a] debt[ will result in a contribution]"); Joint Response, Ex. B ("Clients of Majority Strategies are expected to repay their extensions of credit in full, and in nearly all cases have promptly repaid those extensions of credit."); Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 11-13 (showing that Ohio First did not completely repay Majority Strategies for April and May expenditures until the period from October 18 to November 26, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> If the extensions of credit were in-kind contributions, then Ohio First failed to report these as both contributions and corresponding disbursements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1), 30118(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2, note to paragraph (b) (clarifying that corporations can make contributions to nonconnected political committees); *see generally SpeechNow.org v. FEC*, 599 F.3d 686 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> See, e.g., 11 C.F.R. § 114.2, note to paragraph (b). Although IEOPCs may not accept contributions from certain sources, such as foreign nationals, the record includes no indication that Majority Strategies or Grassroots Targeting is prohibited from contributing to an IEOPC.

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1 Strategies and Grassroots Targeting violated the Act in connection with the extension of

- 2 credit to Ohio First.<sup>91</sup>
- 3 4

# 2. MeToo Ohio Did Not Report Contributions From Majority Strategies in the Form of Extensions of Credit

5 MeToo Ohio similarly contracted with Majority Strategies to make independent 6 expenditures worth \$231,004, but did not make a single payment until 50 days after the first 7 service was rendered and did not report any disbursements to Majority Strategies until after the election. Although MeToo Ohio reported contributions from one donor prior to the 8 9 election, those receipts post-dated over \$27,000 in debt to Majority Strategies and the cash on 10 hand (\$44,000) reported in its Pre-General Report was not nearly enough to pay its additional 11 outstanding debts to Majority Strategies (totalling \$156,004).<sup>92</sup> 12 The available information supports a conclusion that Majority Strategies's extensions 13 of credit to MeToo Ohio were contributions because they were not made in the ordinary 14 course of business and on terms similar to those the vendors would make available to non-15 political customers of similar risk and size of obligation. At the time that Majority Strategies 16 first extended credit, MeToo Ohio was a brand-new committee with no apparent money or 17 assets. MeToo Ohio had no payment history with Majority Strategies or any other vendor. Majority Strategies nevertheless provided MeToo Ohio with services worth over \$230,000 18 19 before it received any payment from MeToo Ohio.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> The MUR 7476 Complaint poses an alternative theory alleging that Majority Strategies was responsible for unreported independent expenditures. *See* MUR 7476 Compl. at 14-15. However, the available information shows that Majority Strategies was ultimately paid for the cost of its services and there is no information to suggest that the Majority Strategies made the independent expenditures itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2, 7.

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1	Respondents assert that Majority Strategies's extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was
2	not an in-kind contribution because it was consistent with Majority Strategies's ordinary
3	business practices. In support of this assertion, MeToo Ohio and Majority Strategies point to
4	Ohio Conservatives for a Change, another IEOPC that was active during the time period at
5	issue, as an example of another group to which Majority Strategies has regularly extended
6	credit. <sup>93</sup> However, Ohio Conservatives for a Change was not similarly situated to MeToo
7	Ohio. Prior to the time that Majority Strategies extended credit to Ohio Conservatives for a
8	Change, that committee had reported receipts totaling over \$1.3 million and cash on hand,
9	after a payment to a different vendor, of almost \$1.3 million; in other words, it already had a
10	track record of raising funds and paying vendors. <sup>94</sup> Further, as mentioned above, an
11	examination of all reports filed with the Commission found no instances, besides those
12	involving Ohio First and MeToo Ohio, in which Majority Strategies extended credit to a
13	nonconnected committee that did not report assets prior to or at the same time that it reported
14	the debt. <sup>95</sup>
15	Moreover, Respondents do not explain why Majority Strategies extended credit to a
16	cashless new committee or why it continued to extend credit when it had not received a
17	payment in any amount. Nor do Respondents explain what, if any, process or analysis

18 Majority Strategies undertook when deciding to extend credit to MeToo Ohio. And

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 3; MeToo Ohio, Resp. at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Ohio Conservatives for a Change, 2017 Mid-Year Report (July 28, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> *See supra*, n. 76 (including Ohio Conservatives for a Change among the four IEOPCs with established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors to which Majority Strategies had extended credit).

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1	Respondents provided no copies of agreements or any other supporting documentation
2	explaining the terms and conditions for the extensions of credit to the Committee.
3	Because the available information is not sufficient to support Respondents' assertion
4	that the extension of credit from Majority Strategies was offered in the ordinary course of
5	business, and the available information indicates that it may not have been provided in the
6	ordinary course of business, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that
7	MeToo Ohio failed to report contributions received from its vendor in violation of 52 U.S.C.
8	§ 30104(b)(3)(A).
9	As discussed above, because the vendor appears to have been permitted to make
10	contributions to an IEOPC and have no independent reporting obligation for making the
11	contributions under the Act, we recommend that that Commission find no reason to believe
12	that Majority Strategies violated the Act in connection with its extension of credit to Me Too
13	Ohio. <sup>96</sup>
14	C. Coordinated Communications
15	Under the Act and Commission regulations, a "contribution" includes an in-kind
16	contribution. <sup>97</sup> When a person makes an expenditure in cooperation, consultation or in
17	concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or the candidate's authorized
18	committee or their agents, it is treated as in in-kind contribution. <sup>98</sup> A "coordinated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> The MUR 7542 Complaint poses an alternative theory alleging that Majority Strategies was responsible for unreported independent expenditures. *See* MUR 7542 Compl. at 19. However, the available information shows that Majority Strategies was ultimately paid for the cost of its services and there is no information to suggest that the Majority Strategies itself made the independent expenditures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> 52 U.S.C §§ 30101(8)(A)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20; see also Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 46-47 (1976).

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1	communication" constitutes an in-kind contribution from the person paying for the
2	communication to the candidate or political committee with whom, or with which, it is
3	coordinated. <sup>99</sup> Any person who is otherwise prohibited from making contributions to
4	candidates under the Act or Commission regulations is prohibited from making an in-kind
5	contribution in the form of paying for a coordinated communication. <sup>100</sup> "An independent
6	expenditure-only political committee 'may not make contributions to candidates or political
7	party committees, including in-kind contributions such as coordinated communications." <sup>101</sup>
8	A communication is "coordinated" with a candidate, an authorized committee, a
9	political party committee, or agent thereof, if the communication: (1) is paid for, partly or
10	entirely, by a person other than the candidate, authorized committee, political party
11	committee, or agent thereof; (2) satisfies at least one of the "content standards" at 11 C.F.R.
12	§ 109.21(c); and (3) satisfies at least one of the "conduct standards" at 11 C.F.R.
13	§ 109.21(d). <sup>102</sup>
14	One of the standards have been the san dust more may be mat is the "sammar

14

One of the standards by which the conduct prong may be met is the "common

<sup>99</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(1).

<sup>100</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Advisory Op. 2017-10 (Citizens Against Plutocracy) at 2 (quoting Advisory Op. 2016-21 (Great America PAC) at 3-4 (citing Press Release, FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC* Reporting Guidance for Political Committees that Maintain a Non-Contribution Account (Oct. 5, 2011))); *see also* Advisory Op. at 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) at 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a). The "content standard" requirement is satisfied if the communication at issue constitutes: (1) an "electioneering communication;" (2) a public communication that disseminates campaign materials prepared by a candidate or authorized committee; (3) a public communication that "expressly advocates" the election or defeat of a clearly identified federal candidate; (4) certain public communications distributed 120 days or fewer before an election, which refer to a clearly identified federal candidate (or political party); or (5) a public communication that is the functional equivalent of express advocacy. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 100.22 (defining express advocacy); 11 C.F.R. § 100.26 (defining public communication).

Pre-MUR 613 and MURs 7438, 7476, and 7542 (Ohio First PAC, *et al.*) First General Counsel's Report Page 29 of 38

1	vendor" standard. <sup>103</sup> The "common vendor" standard has three elements: (1) the person			
2	paying for the communication uses a "commercial vendor" to create, produce, or distribute			
3	the communication; (2) the vendor, including any owner, officer, or employee, previously			
4	provided certain enumerated services — including, inter alia, "development of media			
5	strategy," polling, fundraising, "developing the content of a public communication,"			
6	"Producing a public communication," "identifying voters," or "consulting or otherwise			
7	providing political or media advice" $^{104}$ — to the candidate identified in the communication			
8	(or that candidate's opponent) during the previous 120 days; and (3) the commercial vendor			
9	uses or conveys to the person paying for the communication:			
10	(A) Information about the campaign plans, projects, activities, or needs of the			
11 12	clearly identified candidate, the candidate's opponent, or a political party committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or			
12	distribution of the communication; or			
14				
15	(B) Information used previously by the commercial vendor in providing			
16	services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or			
17	the candidate's authorized committee, the candidate's opponent, the			
18	opponent's authorized committee, or a political party committee, and that			
19 20	information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the			
20	communication. <sup>105</sup>			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c) (defining commercial vendor). The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if the information used was obtained from a publicly available source. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii).

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1	The common vendor	conduct standard is r	ot satisfied if a commercial	vendor has established
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- 2 and implemented a written firewall policy that meets certain requirements, so long as
- 3 material information is not shared.<sup>106</sup>
- 4 The payor of a communication that is coordinated through use of a common vendor

5 makes a contribution to the candidate, but the candidate or authorized committee "does not

- 6 receive or accept an in-kind contribution" resulting from coordination through a common
- 7 vendor unless the communication was made at the request or suggestion of, with the material
- 8 involvement of, or after substantial discussions with, the candidate or authorized
- 9 committee.<sup>107</sup>
- 10 11

# 1. The Commission Should Dismiss the Allegation that Ohio First Made Coordinated Communications

- 12 The MUR 7476 Complaint alleges that Ohio First made prohibited in-kind
- 13 contributions to the Renacci Committee by coordinating communications through Majority
- 14 Strategies as the common vendor.<sup>108</sup> This allegation is based solely on the fact that Majority
- 15 Strategies provided services to both Ohio First and the Renacci Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h). A firewall policy satisfies this "safe harbor" if it (1) is designed and implemented to prohibit the flow of information between employees or consultants providing services for the person paying for the communication and those employees or consultants currently or previously providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or that candidate's authorized committee, the candidate's opponent, the opponent's authorized committee or a political party committee; and (2) is described in a written policy distributed to all relevant employees, consultants, and clients. *Id.* § 109.21(h)(1)-(2). This safe harbor does not apply if specific information indicates that, despite the firewall, material information about the candidate's campaign plans, projects, activities or needs was used or conveyed to the person paying for the communication. *Id.* § 109.21(h).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(2); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3) (defining the relevant conduct standards).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14. The Complaint does not identify the particular advertisements that were allegedly coordinated.

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1	Respondents do not dispute that Ohio First's communications satisfy the "payment"
2	and "content" prongs of the coordinated communication provision. <sup>109</sup> With respect to the
3	conduct prong of the coordinated communications test, the first element of the common
4	vendor standard is satisfied here because Majority Strategies appears to be a "commercial
5	vendor" in that its usual and normal business entails providing communications consulting
6	services to committees, and Ohio First hired Majority Strategies to create, produce, or
7	distribute communications. <sup>110</sup> The second "common vendor" element is also satisfied here,
8	since the available information indicates that Majority Strategies provided several of the
9	enumerated services to the Renacci Committee within 120 days prior to providing
10	communications services to Ohio First. <sup>111</sup>
11	With respect to the third element of the common vendor standard, however, there is
12	no information that Majority Strategies used or conveyed information to Ohio First about the
13	Renacci Committee's "plans, projects, activities, or needs." <sup>112</sup> The MUR 7476 Complaint
14	merely asserts that Majority Strategies conveyed this information to Ohio First because the
15	two committees employed a common vendor, which is not a sufficient basis to find
16	coordination. <sup>113</sup> In crafting the common vendor rules, the Commission specifically rejected

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> See Joint Response at 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii); *see also* Renacci for US Senate, 2018 April Quarterly Report at 101 (Apr. 12, 2018) (showing a February 22, 2018, disbursement to Majority Strategies for "printing"); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10 (showing an April 1, 2018, disbursement to Majority Strategies for "Media Placement/Media Production").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> See MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14; Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 7, 10, MUR 5502 (Martinez for Senate, *et al.*) (finding no evidence of coordination from the mere presence of a common vendor).

Pre-MUR 613 and MURs 7438, 7476, and 7542 (Ohio First PAC, *et al.*) First General Counsel's Report Page 32 of 38

the notion that use of a common vendor is impermissible or that it established a presumption
 of coordination.<sup>114</sup>

3 Moreover, Respondents provided a written firewall policy that is dated March 2018, 4 which prohibits employees working on opposite sides of the firewall from communicating 5 information about their separate clients; Respondents assert that this policy was signed by 6 each Majority Strategies employee.<sup>115</sup> Although Majority Strategies has not identified which 7 employees worked for Ohio First and which worked for the Renacci Committee, or provided 8 specific information as to the operation of the firewall, we also do not have any information 9 to indicate that the firewall was not operative as Respondents assert. 10 Given the conclusory nature of the allegations, and in light of the Respondents' 11 denials, the sworn declaration and firewall policy provided by Majority Strategies, and the 12 absence of information sufficient to support the third element of the common vendor test, the 13 available information does not reasonably support a finding that the conduct prong of the 14 coordinated communications test has been satisfied. Accordingly, we recommend that the 15 Commission dismiss the allegation that Ohio First made or the Renacci Committee accepted 16 a contribution in the form of coordinated communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a) or (f), respectively, 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21. 17 18 2.

10 19

# 2. The Commission Should Dismiss the Allegation that MeToo Ohio Made a Coordinated Communication

- 20 The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that MeToo Ohio made illegal in-kind
- 21 contributions to the Renacci Committee by coordinating communications through Majority

<sup>115</sup> See Joint Response, Exs. B-C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> See Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 436 (Jan. 3, 2003).

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1	Strategies, a common vendor. Unlike the coordinated communications allegations against
2	Ohio First, the Complaint in MUR 7542 identifies specific communications that were
3	allegedly coordinated between MeToo Ohio and the Renacci Committee, noting that the two
4	committees launched similar ads on the same day. <sup>116</sup>
5	A review of the advertisements reveals significant similarities between those
6	distributed by MeToo Ohio and by the Renacci Committee. <sup>117</sup> In particular, both ads
7	contrast allegations that Renacci's opponent Brown physically abused his then-wife in the
8	1980s with the Senate Democrats' treatment of Brett Kavanaugh during his Supreme Court
9	confirmation process. <sup>118</sup> Moreover, both ads feature excerpts from the same restraining order
10	that Brown's ex-wife sought in the 1980s and use similar visuals, such as highlighted text
11	from the court documents. <sup>119</sup>
12	Respondents do not dispute that MeToo Ohio's communications satisfy the
13	"payment" and "content" prongs of the coordinated communication test. With respect to the
14	conduct prong of the coordinated communications test, the first element of the common
15	vendor standard is satisfied here because Majority Strategies appears to be a "commercial
16	vendor" in that its usual and normal business entails providing communications consulting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 14-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

Pre-MUR 613 and MURs 7438, 7476, and 7542 (Ohio First PAC, *et al.*) First General Counsel's Report Page 34 of 38

1 services to committees, and MeToo Ohio hired Majorities Strategies to create, produce, or

2 distribute communications.

3 It also appears that the second "common vendor" element may be satisfied here. The Renacci Committee paid Majority Strategies for "production and delivery" six times between 4 August and November 2018.<sup>120</sup> Although Respondents deny that the Renacci Committee ad 5 6 at issue was created by Majority Strategies,<sup>121</sup> the Renacci Committee acknowledges contracting with Majority Strategies "for website design/maintenance and for the production 7 8 of campaign materials, including palm cards, literature, bumper stickers, and vard signs."<sup>122</sup> 9 The nature of the "campaign materials" and "literature" produced by Majority Strategies for 10 the Renacci Committee are not described, but it appears from the available information that it 11 is possible that Majority Strategies produced a public communication within 120 days prior to developing the ad for MeToo Ohio.<sup>123</sup> Because the second element of the common vendor 12 13 standard does not require that the commercial vendor worked on communications for the 14 candidate committee, but requires only that the vendor provided the candidate or authorized 15 committee one of the enumerated services within 120 days of the vendor working on 16 communications for the third party, and because Majority Strategies's production of public 17 communications for the Renacci Committee during the relevant time period appears to

Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 October Quarterly Report at 937, 941, 965, and 1007 (Mar. 25, 2019); Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 Pre-General Report at 1209, (Mar. 25, 2019); Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 Post-General Report at 824 (Mar. 25, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> See Majority Strategies Resp. at 2 (asserting that Majority Strategies "did not produce or place any media ads for the Renacci campaign"); Renacci Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2. The Renacci Committee denies that Majority Strategies was involved in its television or digital advertising. *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 100.26; 11 C.F.R. §109.21(d)(4)(ii).

Pre-MUR 613 and MURs 7438, 7476, and 7542 (Ohio First PAC, *et al.*) First General Counsel's Report Page 35 of 38

1 indicate provision of at least one of the enumerated services, the second element of the

2 common vendor standard appears to be satisfied.

With respect to the third element of the common vendor standard, Majority Strategies 3 4 denies that it provided any campaign information from the Renacci Committee to MeToo 5 Ohio and asserts that it had a firewall in place that prevented any information that may have 6 been obtained from the Renacci Committee from being used in projects for MeToo Ohio.<sup>124</sup> 7 The Renacci Committee similarly denies that its vendor OnMessage, Inc., which produced 8 the ad at issue, had any discussions about the Renacci campaign with MeToo Ohio or 9 Majority Strategies.<sup>125</sup> 10 However, Majority Strategies did not provide a copy of the firewall that governed its engagement by the Renacci Committee.<sup>126</sup> Nor does Majority Strategies identify which 11 12 employees worked for MeToo Ohio or the Renacci Committee, or assert that these 13 employees agreed to comply with the firewall implemented by Majority Strategies. Further, 14 MeToo Ohio does not deny obtaining information regarding the Renacci Committee's "plans, 15 projects, activities, or needs" and the Renacci Committee does not deny obtaining 16 information regarding MeToo Ohio's "plans, projects, activities, or needs." 17 Instead, Respondents assert that the similarities between the two ads was coincidental because the information utilized to create the ads was a matter of public knowledge.<sup>127</sup> In 18

<sup>127</sup> MeToo Ohio Resp. at 2; Majority Strategies Resp. at 2; Renacci Resp. at 2-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2, Anderson Affidavit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Although it is possible that the firewall that governed Majority Strategies's relationships with Renacci for US Sentate and MeToo Ohio is the firewall it provided in response to MUR 7476, Majority Strategies does not make such an assertion.

Pre-MUR 613 and MURs 7438, 7476, and 7542 (Ohio First PAC, *et al.*) First General Counsel's Report Page 36 of 38

1 particular, Respondents assert that Kavanagh's confirmation, and Brown's opposition to it, 2 was covered by the media in September and October 2018, and it is therefore unsurprising that an IEOPC and campaign opposing Brown would make it an issue in the election.<sup>128</sup> The 3 4 Renacci Committee asserts that the issue of the restraining order that Brown's ex-wife sought 5 in the 1980s has been raised in nearly all of Brown's election campaigns. The Renacci 6 Committee also asserts that MeToo Ohio had released a similar one-minute video almost a month earlier, on or about September 13, 2018,<sup>129</sup> and that Renacci had publicly made the 7 8 connection between Senate Democrats' treatment of Kavanaugh and the allegations against 9 Brown at least as early as September 19, 2018.<sup>130</sup> 10 Viewed in total, the available information is insufficient to give rise to a reasonable 11 inference that MeToo Ohio made or the Renacci Committee accepted a contribution in the 12 form of a coordinated communication. The two ads are very similar, Majority Strategies 13 failed to provide a copy of the firewall it alleges existed or confirm that its employees 14 complied by the firewall, and neither MeToo Ohio nor the Renacci Committee denies receiving information about the other's plans. However, the allegation is somewhat 15 16 speculative, the issue of the restraining order that Brown's ex-wife sought in the 1980s was a 17 matter of discussion by the media during the relevant time period, the issue had also been raised in Brown's prior campaigns, and the Renacci Committee's vendor denies discussing 18 19 the ad with MeToo Ohio and Majority Strategies. Accordingly, we recommend that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> MeToo Ohio Resp. at 2; Majority Strategies Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> MeToo Ohio, *Me Too Ohio*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=</u> <u>U5ACBK4hzO4</u>. We note, however, that this video does not contain a comparison to the allegations against Brett Kavanaugh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2-3; *id*. at n.9 (citing *Renacci hits 'hypocrisy' of response to Kavanaugh allegation*, FOX NEWS (Sept. 19, 2018), available at <u>https://video.foxnews.com/v/5837147158001/#sp=show-clips</u>).

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- 1 Commission dismiss the allegation that MeToo Ohio made and the Renacci Committee
- 2 accepted a contribution in the form of coordinated communications in violation of 52 U.S.C.
- 3 §§ 30116(a) or (f), respectively, 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.

# 4 III. INVESTIGATION

- 5 The proposed investigation would seek to determine whether the credit extended to
- 6 Ohio First by its vendors Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting and the credit
- 7 extended to MeToo Ohio by its vendor Majority Strategies were made in the ordinary course
- 8 of business. We would attempt to conduct the investigation by voluntary means, but we
- 9 recommend that the Commission authorize compulsory process, as necessary.
- 10 IV. RECOMMENDATIONS
- 1. Open a MUR for Pre-MUR 613 and merge that matter into MUR 7348;
- Find reason to believe that Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity as treasurer failed to file a pre-primary report in violation of 52 U.S.C.
   § 30104(a)(4)(A)(ii) and independent expenditure reports in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g);
- Find reason to believe that Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity as treasurer and MeToo Ohio and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer failed to report contributions in the form of extensions of credit in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(A);
- 4. Find no reason to believe that Majority Strategies, LLC, and Grassroots Targeting
  LLC violated the Act;
- 5. Dismiss the allegation that Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity
  as treasurer made and Renacci for US Senate and Russell Corwin in his official
  capacity as treasurer accepted a contribution in the form of coordinated
  communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a) or (f), 30118(a), and 11
  C.F.R. § 109.21;
- 6. Dismiss the allegation that MeToo Ohio and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer made and Renacci for US Senate and Russell Corwin in his official capacity as treasurer accepted a contribution in the form of coordinated communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a) or (f), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21;

Pre-MUR 613 and MURs 7438, 7476, and 7542 (Ohio First PAC, et al.	)
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	-	
1	7. Approve the attached	d Factual and Legal Analyses;
2 3		compulsory process, including the issuance of appropriate ment subpoenas, and deposition subpoenas, as necessary;
4 5 6		enacci for US Senate and Russell Corwin in his official, Majority Strategies, LLC, and Grassroots Targeting LLC;
7	10. Approve the appropr	riate letters.
8 9 10 11		Lisa J. Stevenson Acting General Counsel
12 13	May 11, 2020	Charles Kitcher
14 15	Date	Charles Kitcher Acting Associate General Counsel for Enforcement
16 17 18		hun Tr
19 20		Lynn Y. Tran
20 21		Assistant General Counsel
22 23		Kristina Portner
23 24		Kristina M. Portner
25 26		Attorney
20 27		
28	Attachments:	
29	1.	
30	2.	
31		sis for Majority Strategies LLC
32	<b>.</b>	sis for Grassroots Targeting LLC
33		
34	treasurer	

### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

### 1 FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS 2 3 **RESPONDENT:** Majority Strategies, LLC MURs 7476 and 7542 4 5 I. **INTRODUCTION** 6 These matters each involve allegations relating to independent expenditures made in 7 support of Jim Renacci or in opposition to Renacci's opponent Sherrod Brown in the 2018 8 Senate election in Ohio. Ohio First made such independent expenditures before the Ohio Republican Primary,<sup>1</sup> and MeToo Ohio made such independent expenditures before the Ohio 9 General Election.<sup>2</sup> 10 11 The Complaint in MUR 7476 alleges that Ohio First failed to report in-kind contributions from its vendor Majority Strategies, LLC ("Majority Strategies").<sup>3</sup> The 12 13 Complaint in MUR 7542 raises similar allegations that MeToo Ohio failed to report in-kind contributions from its vendor Majority Strategies.<sup>4</sup> Based on the available information, the 14 15 Commission finds no reason to believe that Majority Strategies violated the Federal Election 16 Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), in this matter and closes the file as to 17 Majority Strategies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ohio First, Majority Strategies, Inc., & Grassroots Targeting LLC, Resp. at 1-2, MUR 7476 (Aug. 9, 2018) ("Joint Response").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 2 (Nov. 14, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12 (Aug. 9, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 2.

MURs 7476 and 7542 (Majority Strategies, LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 14

### 1 II. FACTS

5

## 2 A. Ohio First PAC

3 Ohio First is an independent expenditure-only political committee ("IEOPC") that registered with the Commission on January 21, 2018.<sup>5</sup> In the weeks leading up to the May 8, 4 5 2018, Ohio primary election, Ohio First supported the candidacy of Jim Renacci for the 6 Republican nomination for U.S. Senate from Ohio by making nearly half a million dollars in 7 independent expenditures. 8 Ohio First's Pre-Primary Report covering the period from April 1 through 9 April 18, 2018 disclosed no receipts, no disbursements, no cash on hand, and \$367,667.99 in 10 debts and obligations along with \$302,691.99 in independent expenditures in support of 11 Renacci.<sup>6</sup> Ohio First timely filed its next report, the July Quarterly Report covering the 12 period from April 19 to June 30, 2018, in which it disclosed receiving its first contributions 13 (\$79,200 in receipts from five contributors), five additional independent expenditures totaling \$169,437.67, and debts and obligations in the amount of \$597,104.66.<sup>7</sup> Ohio First's July 14 15 Quarterly Report disclosed, in addition to all of the previously reported debt that remained 16 due in full, new debts to Majority Strategies for independent expenditures worth \$161,737.67.8 17

Ohio First, Statement of Organization (Jan. 21, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2. In addition to debt to Majority Strategies for the \$302,691.99 in independent expenditures disseminated during the Pre-Primary period, the report also disclosed additional debts to Majority Strategies in the amounts of \$30,000 for "survey research" and \$4,975 for "web service." Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 9-14.

MURs 7476 and 7542 (Majority Strategies, LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 14

1	Ohio First's 2018 October Quarterly, Pre-General, Post-General, and 2018 Year-End
2	reports show total receipts of \$925,500 from July 1 through November 26, 2018, and the
3	repayment of nearly all its debt. <sup>9</sup> Ohio First reported, on its Post-General Report, that it had
4	repaid all its debts to Majority Strategies, which totaled \$537,104.66.10
5	The MUR 7476 Complaint alleges that Majority Strategies made an in-kind
6	contribution to Ohio First in the form of an extension of credit. <sup>11</sup> The MUR 7476 Complaint
7	asserts that Majority Strategies does not ordinarily extend credit to newly formed committees
8	with no cash on hand and that the extensions of credit therefore constitute in-kind
9	contributions to Ohio First that were not reported. <sup>12</sup>
10	In response, Majority Strategies contends that the credit extended by Majority
11	
	Strategies does not qualify as a contribution because Majority Strategies "has routinely
12	Strategies does not qualify as a contribution because Majority Strategies "has routinely granted credit to hundreds of similarly situated clients" and "typically uses extended
12 13	
	granted credit to hundreds of similarly situated clients" and "typically uses extended
13	granted credit to hundreds of similarly situated clients" and "typically uses extended repayment terms," which it asserts is a practice common throughout the political consulting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Oct. 15, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2 (Oct. 25, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 2 (Dec. 6, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 31, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 12-17; Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 7-9, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12. The Complaint in MUR 7476 alleges, in the alternative, that Majority Strategies made, but did not report, the independent expenditures reported by Ohio First. *See id.* at 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *Id.* at 10-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Joint Response at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> *Id.* at Ex. B.

MURs 7476 and 7542 (Majority Strategies, LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 4 of 14

1 B. MeToo Ohio

2 MeToo Ohio is an IEOPC that registered with the Commission on September 5, 2018.<sup>15</sup> In the weeks leading up to the November 6, 2018, Ohio general election, MeToo 3 4 Ohio spent over half a million dollars in independent expenditures opposing Sherrod Brown, 5 Renacci's opponent in the general election.<sup>16</sup> Most of those independent expenditures were 6 funded by credit extended by Majority Strategies. 7 MeToo Ohio's first report, the 2018 October Quarterly Report, discloses no receipts, 8 no disbursements, no cash on hand, and \$27,004 in debts and obligations to Majority Strategies for independent expenditures opposing Brown.<sup>17</sup> In MeToo Ohio's next report, 9

10 the Pre-General Report covering the period from October 1 to October 17, 2018, MeToo

11 Ohio disclosed receiving \$220,000 from one contributor, disbursements of \$176,000 to a

12 different vendor (for an independent expenditure, as reported on Schedule E), and debts and

- 13 obligations of \$156,004 to Majority Strategies.<sup>18</sup>
- 14 MeToo Ohio disclosed its first payments to Majority Strategies on its Post-General

15 Report. In its Post-General Report, covering the period from October 18 to November 26,

16 2018, MeToo Ohio disclosed receiving \$425,000 from three contributors and disbursements

17 of \$442,206, including over \$231,004 to Majority Strategies.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 8 (Oct. 14, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> MeToo Ohio, Statement of Organization (Sept. 5, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report (Oct. 24, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Post-General Report (Dec. 6, 2018). The vast majority of MeToo Ohio's \$645,000 in contributions were received from Ohio First (\$305,000) and from A Public Voice, Inc. (\$315,000). *See* 

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1	The Complaint in MUR 7542 alleges Majority Strategies made an in-kind
2	contribution to MeToo Ohio in the form of an extension of credit. <sup>20</sup> The Complaint asserts
3	that Majority Strategies does not ordinarily extend credit to a newly formed committee that
4	has no cash on hand and no record of fundraising. <sup>21</sup> The Complaint also alleges that, with
5	the limited exception of Ohio First (which was funding MeToo Ohio), there is no record of
6	Majority Strategies extending six figures of credit to a newly formed committee with no cash
7	on hand. <sup>22</sup>
8	Majority Strategies asserts that its extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was consistent
8 9	Majority Strategies asserts that its extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was consistent with Majority Strategies's ordinary business practices. <sup>23</sup> In particular, Majority Strategies
9	with Majority Strategies's ordinary business practices. <sup>23</sup> In particular, Majority Strategies
9 10	with Majority Strategies's ordinary business practices. <sup>23</sup> In particular, Majority Strategies asserts that it "does ads for clients on a post-paid basis in the ordinary course of business"
9 10 11	with Majority Strategies's ordinary business practices. <sup>23</sup> In particular, Majority Strategies asserts that it "does ads for clients on a post-paid basis in the ordinary course of business" and that "it is not outside normal business practices for production companies to do ads on a

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* at 17-18.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.* at 18.

<sup>23</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 4, MUR 7542 (Jan. 29, 2019) ("Majority Strategies Resp.").

<sup>24</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 3.

MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report (Oct. 24, 2018); MeToo Ohio, 2018 Post-General Report (Dec. 6, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 17-18. In the alternative, the MUR 7542 Complaint asserts that Majority Strategies failed to report independent expenditures because it was not paid by MeToo Ohio for the independent expenditures. *Id.* at 19.

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## 1 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

The Act requires each treasurer of a political committee to file reports of receipts and disbursements with the Commission.<sup>25</sup> Such reports must include the total amount of contributions received, as well as the identification of each person who made a contribution in excess of \$200 during the reporting period, together with the date and amount of such contribution.<sup>26</sup>

7 A "contribution" includes "any gift [or] advance . . . of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office."<sup>27</sup> The 8 9 extension of credit to a political committee by a commercial vendor is a contribution, "unless 10 the credit is extended in the ordinary course of the person's business and the terms are 11 substantially similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors that are of similar risk and size of obligation."<sup>28</sup> A "commercial vendor" is any person who provides goods or services 12 13 to a candidate or political committee, and whose usual and normal business involves the sale, rental, lease, or provision of those goods and services.<sup>29</sup> 14 15 Commission regulations state that, in determining whether credit was extended in a

16 commercial vendor's ordinary course of business, the Commission will consider whether:

17 (1) the commercial vendor followed its established procedures and its past practice in

<sup>28</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (explaining that a contribution will also result if a creditor fails to make a commercially reasonable attempt to collect the debt); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(b).

<sup>29</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b)(2)(A), (b)(3)(A)-(B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

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approving the extension of credit; (2) the commercial vendor received prompt payment in
full for prior extensions of credit to the same committee; and (3) the extension of credit
conformed to the usual and normal practice in the vendor's trade or industry.<sup>30</sup> The
Commission has explained that "[t]hese factors are intended to provide guidance . . . . The
factors need not be accorded equal weight and in some cases a single factor may not be
dispositive."<sup>31</sup>

7 8

17

# A. Majority Strategies Made a Contribution to Ohio First in the form of an Extension of Credit

9 As an initial matter, Majority Strategies appears to be in the business of providing the services it provided to Ohio First, and, therefore, appears to be a "commercial vendor."<sup>32</sup> 10 11 From Ohio First's reporting of debts, it appears that Majority Strategies extended credit to 12 Ohio First by providing services in advance of payment. 13 Ohio First made almost half a million dollars in independent expenditures before the Ohio primary election, without having reported raising any contributions at all.<sup>33</sup> Ohio First 14 reported that it did not receive any contributions before the primary and that it was operating 15 through debt.<sup>34</sup> The available information supports a conclusion that Majority Strategies's 16

extension of credit to Ohio First was a contributions because it was not made in the ordinary

<sup>33</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 15-17.

<sup>34</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2 (summarizing Ohio First's debts and obligations); Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7 (showing that Ohio First began receiving money on May 10, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Debts Owed by Candidates and Political Committees, 55 Fed. Reg. 26378, 26281 (June 27, 1990); *see* Advisory Op. 1991-20 (Call Interactive) at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

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1	course of the vendor's business and on terms similar to those the vendor would make
2	available to non-political customers of similar risk and size of obligation.
3	At the time Majority Strategies extended credit, Ohio First was a brand-new
4	committee with no apparent money or assets. It had no payment history with Majority
5	Strategies or any other vendor. Majority Strategies nevertheless provided Ohio First services
6	worth over \$400,000 before Ohio First had received any contributions. <sup>35</sup>
7	Respondent asserts that Majority Strategies's extension of credit was not an in-kind
8	contribution because the credit was extended in the ordinary course of Majority Strategies's
9	business. <sup>36</sup> In his declaration, the Chief Executive Officer of Majority Strategies avers that
10	Majority Strategies "has routinely extended credit to its clients as an ordinary part of its
11	business" and that its "clients are expected to repay their extensions of credit in full." <sup>37</sup>
12	Notwithstanding this representation regarding extensions of credit to clients of
13	Majority Strategies, the submitted declaration does not explain the circumstances under
14	which Majority Strategies will extend credit, including whether it extends credit as a matter
15	of course to all clients, whether it routinely extends credit to a committee with no pre-
16	existing history and no evidence that it had or could obtain funds to repay the extensions of
17	credit, and whether it routinely extends credit in amounts over \$400,000 to all or some
18	clients. <sup>38</sup> Respondent did not provide copies of agreements or any other supporting
19	documentation explaining the terms and conditions for the extensions of credit to Ohio First.

See Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 9 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Joint Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> *Id.* at Ex. B ¶¶ 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> See id. at 2.

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1	The response, including the declaration, also does not provide specific examples of credit
2	that has been extended to other similarly situated clients. Finally, the Respondent relies on
3	assertions from Majority Strategies's CEO to indicate that the vendor followed a "common"
4	practice "throughout the political consulting industry" of "extending credit for various terms
5	of payment," but provides no evidence as to industry practice of extending credit to newly
6	established nonconnected political committees with no assets. <sup>39</sup> Moreover, an examination
7	of all reports filed with the Commission found no instances, besides those involving Ohio
8	First and MeToo Ohio, in which Majority Strategies extended credit to a committee that did
9	not report receipts prior to or at the same time that it reported the debt. <sup>40</sup>
10	Thus, despite the assertions of Majority Strategies that it engaged in ordinary business
11	practices consistent with prior practices, the available information does not support the
12	contention that the extension of credit to Ohio First was ordinary. This conclusion is
13	consistent with several matters in which the Commission found reason to believe that a
14	vendor's extension of credit to a committee was not made in the vendor's ordinary course of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> *Id.* at 2, Ex. B ¶ 6.

<sup>40</sup> A review located 65 committees (other than Ohio First and MeToo Ohio) that reported debts to Majority Strategies, but did not identify other similarly situated committees, i.e., newly formed committees with no reported receipts, to which Majority Strategies extended credit of similar size of obligation. Fifty-eight of the 65 committees to which Majority Strategies extended credit — 20 party committees (or reporting components of party committees), 34 candidate committees, and four IEOPCs - had an established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors. The remaining seven committees that reported debt to Majority Strategies — four candidate committees, and three IEOPCs — had modest assets and reported debts to Majority Strategies in amounts between \$250 and \$5,000, amounts which are of significantly smaller size of obligation than those apparently extended to Ohio First and MeToo Ohio. See Feda for Congress, 2009 Year-End Report (Jan. 26, 2010) (reporting \$1,920 debt); Shawn Nelson for Congress, 2018 April Quarterly Report (Apr. 15, 2018) (reporting \$2,115 debt); John Ward for Congress, Inc., 2017 Year-End Report (Jan. 31, 2018) (reporting \$5,000 debt alongside payments to Majority Strategies of \$17,006, although subsequently amended to remove the entry indicating debt owed to Majority Strategies); Adrian Smith for Congress, 2005 October Quarterly Report (Oct. 15, 2005) (reporting \$3,250 debt, later amended to reflect debt of \$3,340); Freedom Path Action Network, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Country Fund, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Pioneers Action Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt).

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business and was, therefore, a contribution. The Commission has found reason to believe 1 2 vendors extended credit to an IEOPC outside its ordinary course of business and industry 3 practice when the IEOPC lacked a prior business relationship with its vendors or a well-4 established track record for payment and when the extension was out of line with the 5 vendors' prior extensions of credit (as reported to the Commission by other committees). In 6 MUR 5635, the Commission found reason to believe a vendor extended credit outside its 7 ordinary course of business and industry practice on a record that included facts, as 8 ascertained in a Commission audit, similar to the ones in this matter: a vendor extended over 9 \$1 million credit on a short term contract to a committee with which it had no prior business relationship.<sup>41</sup> In another matter, the Commission found reason to believe on a record, like 10 11 the one here, with little or no information demonstrating or substantiating that the vendors' extensions of credit had been made in the ordinary course of business.<sup>42</sup> Conversely, the 12 Commission has found no reason to believe a vendor's extension of credit constituted a 13 14 contribution where the record included documents, sworn affidavits, or other evidence 15 demonstrating that the extensions of credit had been made in the vendor's ordinary course of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Gen. Counsel's Brief at 8-9, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership PAC, *et al.*). The Commission conciliated with the committee and vendor on the extension of credit violation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> See Factual & Legal Analysis at 6, 8-10, MUR 6101(Heller *et al.*) (also noting the lack of information about the vendor's advance payment policies, billing cycles, and details about the terms of the transactions with the committee). The Commission took no further action after the initial reason to believe finding, once the investigation established that the vendor *had* extended credit in the ordinary course of business and on similar terms to other clients. See Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 5, MUR 6101 (Heller *et al.*) (discussing prior matters in which the Commission took no further action after an RTB finding on an extension of credit outside ordinary business practices).

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business or on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to other clients of similar
 risk and size of obligation.<sup>43</sup>

3 Here, Respondent did not submit written agreements or other documents to support 4 their contentions that it acted in its ordinary course of business. The available record does 5 not include information to support the notion that Ohio First's vendor extended credit in the 6 ordinary course of its business and on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to 7 any other debtor of similar risk and size of obligation. Given Ohio First's apparently high 8 risk, as a newly formed committee that had no assets, no apparent relationship with the 9 vendor, and given the size of Ohio First's obligations, the available information indicates that 10 Majority Strategies's extension of credit was not made in the ordinary course of business and 11 therefore should have been reported as contributions by Ohio First. 12 However, Ohio First as an IEOPC was permitted to accept funds outside the Act's otherwise applicable contribution limits and source prohibitions, including corporate 13 contributions.<sup>44</sup> Because Majority Strategies appears to have been permitted to make 14 contributions to an IEOPC<sup>45</sup> and has no independent reporting obligation for making the 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See, e.g., F&LA at 8-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) (finding no reason to believe that the credit extension was outside the vendor's ordinary course of business on a record including vendor's sworn declaration providing a detailed explanation of its business practices, publicly available information (including a Federal Communication Commission opinion letter) about industry standards, and the respondent committee's history of prompt payments to the vendor in earlier election cycles); MUR 5939 (Moveon.org *et al.*) (finding no reason to believe that *New York Times* extended credit outside of ordinary business practices on record that included the terms of the transaction in question as well as the paper's usual terms and practices).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1), 30118(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2, note to paragraph (b) (clarifying that corporations can make contributions to nonconnected political committees); *see generally SpeechNow.org v. FEC*, 599 F.3d 686 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> See, e.g., 11 C.F.R. § 114.2, note to paragraph (b). Although IEOPCs may not accept contributions from certain sources, such as foreign nationals, the record includes no indication that Majority Strategies is prohibited from contributing to an IEOPC.

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1 contributions under the Act, the Commission finds no reason to believe that Majority

- 2 Strategies violated the Act in connection with the extension of credit to Ohio First.
- 3 4

# B. Majority Strategies Made a Contribution to MeToo Ohio in the form of an Extension of Credit

5 MeToo Ohio similarly contracted with Majority Strategies to make independent 6 expenditures worth \$231,004, but did not make a single payment until 50 days after the first 7 service was rendered and did not report any disbursements to Majority Strategies until after 8 the election. Although MeToo Ohio reported contributions from one donor prior to the 9 election, those receipts post-dated over \$27,000 in debt to Majority Strategies and the cash on 10 hand (\$44,000) reported in its Pre-General Report was not nearly enough to pay its additional outstanding debts to Majority Strategies (totalling \$156,004).<sup>46</sup> 11 12 The available information supports a conclusion that Majority Strategies's extension 13 of credit to MeToo Ohio was a contribution because it was not made in the ordinary course 14 of business and on terms similar to those the vendor would make available to non-political 15 customers of similar risk and size of obligation. At the time that Majority Strategies first 16 extended credit, MeToo Ohio was a brand-new committee with no apparent money or assets.

17 MeToo Ohio had no payment history with Majority Strategies or any other vendor. Majority

18 Strategies nevertheless provided MeToo Ohio with services worth over \$230,000 before it

- 19 received any payment from MeToo Ohio.
- 20

21

Respondent asserts that Majority Strategies's extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was not an in-kind contribution because it was consistent with Majority Strategies's ordinary

<sup>46</sup> 

MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2, 7.

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1 business practices. In support of this assertion, Majority Strategies points to Ohio

2 Conservatives for a Change, another IEOPC that was active during the time period at issue, 3 as an example of another group to which Majority Strategies has regularly extended credit.<sup>47</sup> 4 However, Ohio Conservatives for a Change was not similarly situated to MeToo Ohio. Prior 5 to the time that Majority Strategies extended credit to Ohio Conservatives for a Change, that 6 committee had reported receipts totaling over \$1.3 million and cash on hand, after a payment 7 to a different vendor, of almost \$1.3 million; in other words, it already had a track record of both raising funds and paying vendors.<sup>48</sup> Further, as mentioned above, an examination of all 8 9 reports filed with the Commission found no instances, besides those involving Ohio First and 10 MeToo Ohio, in which Majority Strategies extended credit to a nonconnected committee that did not report assets prior to or at the same time that it reported the debt.<sup>49</sup> 11 12 Moreover, Respondent does not explain why Majority Strategies extended credit to a 13 cashless new committee or why it continued to extend credit when it had not received a 14 payment in any amount. Nor does Respondent explain what, if any, process or analysis 15 Majority Strategies undertook when deciding to extend credit to MeToo Ohio. And 16 Respondent provided no copies of agreements or any other supporting documentation 17 explaining the terms and conditions for the extensions of credit to the Committee. 18 However, MeToo Ohio as an IEOPC was permitted to accept funds outside the Act's 19 otherwise applicable contribution limits and source prohibitions, including corporate

<sup>48</sup> Ohio Conservatives for a Change, 2017 Mid-Year Report (July 28, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Majority Strategies Resp. at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> *See supra*, n. 40 (including Ohio Conservatives for a Change among the four IEOPCs with established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors to which Majority Strategies had extended credit).

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- 1 contributions. <sup>50</sup> Because Majority Strategies appears to have been permitted to make
- 2 contributions to an IEOPC and has no independent reporting obligation for making the
- 3 contributions under the Act, the Commission finds no reason to believe that Majority
- 4 Strategies violated the Act in connection with its extension of credit to Me Too Ohio. <sup>51</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> See generally, SpeechNow.org, 599 F.3d 686; Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten); see also 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1), 30118(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The MUR 7542 Complaint poses an alternative theory alleging that Majority Strategies was responsible for unreported independent expenditures. *See* MUR 7542 Compl. at 19. However, the available information shows that Majority Strategies was ultimately paid for the cost of its services and there is no information to suggest that the Majority Strategies made the independent expenditures itself.

# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1		FACTUAL AND LEGAL A	NALYSIS
2 3	RESPONDENT	Г: Grassroots Targeting LLC	MUR 7476
4 5	I. INTRO	DUCTION	
6	This mat	atter involves allegations that Ohio First fa	ailed to report contributions from its
7	vendor Grassroo	ots Targeting LLC ("Grassroots Targeting	g"). <sup>1</sup> Based on the available
8	information, the	e Commission finds no reason to believe t	hat Grassroots Targeting violated
9	the Federal Elec	ction Campaign Act of 1971, as amended	(the "Act"), in this matter and
10	closes the file as	as to Grassroots Targeting.	
11	II. FACTS	\$	
12	Ohio Fir	rst is an independent expenditure-only po	litical committee ("IEOPC") that
13	registered with t	the Commission on January 21, 2018. <sup>2</sup> In	n the weeks leading up to the May 8,
14	2018, Ohio prim	mary election, Ohio First supported the ca	ndidacy of Jim Renacci for the
15	Republican nom	nination for U.S. Senate from Ohio by ma	king nearly half a million dollars in
16	independent exp	penditures.	
17	Most of	Ohio First's activity occurred during Apr	ril and May 2018. <sup>3</sup> Ohio First's Pre-
18	Primary Report	t disclosed no receipts, no disbursements,	no cash on hand, and \$367,667.99 in
19	debts and obligation	ations along with \$302,691.99 in indepen	dent expenditures in support of
20	Renacci. <sup>4</sup> Ohio	First timely filed its next report, the July	Quarterly Report covering the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12 (Aug. 9, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ohio First, Statement of Organization (Jan. 21, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2.

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1	period from April 19 to June 30, 2018, in which it disclosed receiving its first contributions
2	(\$79,200 in receipts from five contributors), five additional independent expenditures totaling
3	\$169,437.67, and debts and obligations in the amount of \$597,104.66. <sup>5</sup> Ohio First's July
4	Quarterly Report disclosed, in addition to all of the previously reported debt that remained
5	due in full, new debts to Majority Strategies for independent expenditures worth \$161,737.67
6	and \$60,000 owed to Grassroots Targeting — a political research firm headed by Blaise
7	Hazelwood, who was also Executive Director of Ohio First — for "political strategy
8	consulting." <sup>6</sup>
9	According to the Complaint, Grassroots Targeting had conducted survey research for
10	Ohio First sometime on or before April 9, 2018.7 Respondent asserts "Grassroots Targeting
11	invoiced Ohio First for services rendered on June 22, 2018."8 Ohio First did not report any
12	April disbursements to Grassroots Targeting and first reported its \$60,000 debt to Grassroots
13	Targeting in the 2018 July Quarterly Report, which covered activity from April 19 to June
14	30, 2018. <sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 9-14; Grassroots Targeting, <u>https://www.grassrootstargeting.com/</u> (last visited Apr. 22, 2020).

See MUR 7476 Compl. at 3 (citing *Morning Score*, POLITICO, Apr. 9, 2018, <u>https://www.politico.com/newsletters/morning-score/2018/04/09/countdown-to-scott-campaign-launch-162837</u> ("*Morning Score*") ("Grassroots Targeting conducted the survey for Ohio First PAC, a pro-Renacci group.")).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Ohio First, Majority Strategies, Inc., & Grassroots Targeting LLC, Resp. at 4, MUR 7476 (Aug. 9, 2018) ("Joint Response"). The Joint Response is ambiguous as to whether the \$60,000 in services (reported in Ohio First's July Quarterly 2018 Report as debt owed to Grassroots Targeting) were rendered in June 2018, invoiced in June 2018, or both.

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1	Ohio First's 2018 October Quarterly, Pre-General, Post-General, and 2018 Year-End
2	reports show total receipts of \$925,500 from July 1 through November 26, 2018, and the
3	repayment of nearly all its debt. <sup>10</sup> Ohio First reported, on its Post-General Report, that it had
4	repaid \$30,000 of its \$60,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting. <sup>11</sup> In its 2020 April Quarterly
5	Report, Ohio First continued to report a \$30,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting. <sup>12</sup>
6	The Complaint alleges that Grassroots Targeting made an in-kind contribution to
7	Ohio First in the form of an extension of credit. <sup>13</sup> Grassroots Targeting's Response does not
8	explain its business practices with regard to extensions of credit or the repayment terms of
9	such credit, but states that Ohio First accurately reported the services provided by Grassroots
10	Targeting, noting that the description of the services rendered was "adequate." <sup>14</sup> Further,
11	Respondent asserts that Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First for services rendered on
12	June 22, 2018 and that Ohio First subsequently reported the debt on its 2018 July Quarterly
13	Report. <sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Joint Response at 1, 4-5.

<sup>15</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Oct. 15, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2 (Oct. 25, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 2 (Dec. 6, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 31, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 12-17; Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 7-9, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ohio First, 2020 April Quarterly Report at 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12.

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## 1 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

The Act requires each treasurer of a political committee to file reports of receipts and disbursements with the Commission.<sup>16</sup> Such reports must include the total amount of contributions received, as well as the identification of each person who made a contribution in excess of \$200 during the reporting period, together with the date and amount of such contribution.<sup>17</sup>

7 A "contribution" includes "any gift [or] advance . . . of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office."<sup>18</sup> The 8 9 extension of credit to a political committee by a commercial vendor is a contribution, "unless 10 the credit is extended in the ordinary course of the person's business and the terms are 11 substantially similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors that are of similar risk and size of obligation."<sup>19</sup> A "commercial vendor" is any person who provides goods or services 12 13 to a candidate or political committee, and whose usual and normal business involves the sale, rental, lease, or provision of those goods and services.<sup>20</sup> 14 15 Commission regulations state that, in determining whether credit was extended in a

16 commercial vendor's ordinary course of business, the Commission will consider whether:

17 (1) the commercial vendor followed its established procedures and its past practice in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b)(2)(A), (b)(3)(A)-(B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (explaining that a contribution will also result if a creditor fails to make a commercially reasonable attempt to collect the debt); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

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1 approving the extension of credit; (2) the commercial vendor received prompt payment in 2 full for prior extensions of credit to the same committee; and (3) the extension of credit conformed to the usual and normal practice in the vendor's trade or industry.<sup>21</sup> The 3 4 Commission has explained that "[t]hese factors are intended to provide guidance .... The 5 factors need not be accorded equal weight and in some cases a single factor may not be dispositive."22 6 7 As an initial matter, Grassroots Targeting appears to be in the business of providing 8 the services they provided to Ohio First, and, therefore, appears to be a "commercial 9 vendor."<sup>23</sup> From Ohio First's reporting of debts, it appears that Grassroots Targeting 10 extended credit to Ohio First by providing services in advance of payment. 11 Ohio First made almost half a million dollars in independent expenditures before the Ohio primary election, without having reported raising any contributions at all.<sup>24</sup> Ohio First 12 13 reported that it did not receive any contributions before the primary and that it was operating through debt.<sup>25</sup> The available information supports a conclusion that Grassroots Targeting's 14 15 extension of credit to Ohio First was a contribution because it was not made in the ordinary 16 course of the vendor's business and on terms similar to those the vendor would make

17 available to non-political customers of similar risk and size of obligation.

<sup>24</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 15-17.

<sup>25</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2 (summarizing Ohio First's debts and obligations); Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7 (showing that Ohio First began receiving money on May 10, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Debts Owed by Candidates and Political Committees, 55 Fed. Reg. 26378, 26281 (June 27, 1990); *see* Advisory Op. 1991-20 (Call Interactive) at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

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1	At the time that Grassroots Targeting extended credit, Ohio First was a brand-new
2	committee with no apparent money or assets. It had no payment history with Grassroots
3	Targeting or any other vendor. Grassroots Targeting nevertheless provided services to Ohio
4	First worth \$60,000 despite Ohio First's lack of funds and credit history. <sup>26</sup>
5	Grassroots Targeting provides little information to explain the extension of credit
6	between Ohio First and Grassroots Targeting. <sup>27</sup> Hazelwood headed both Ohio First and
7	Grassroots Targeting, but Respondent does not provide any documentation or specific
8	examples to support its statement that Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First "according to
9	its regular business practices." <sup>28</sup> Respondent provided no information, for example,
10	indicating that Grassroots Targeting entered into any written agreements with Ohio First,
11	reflecting Grassroots Targeting's normal business practices in extending credit, or
12	substantiating that the credit extended by Grassroots Targeting was done in the ordinary
13	course of business. <sup>29</sup> Moreover, an examination of all reports filed with the Commission
14	found no other instances in which Grassroots Targeting extended credit to a similarly situated
15	nonconnected committee. <sup>30</sup> The Response defends only the adequacy of the "Political

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Factual & Legal Analysis at 13-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) ("F&LA").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-9; MUR 7476 Compl. at 3 (citing *Morning Score*, which reported that "Grassroots Targeting conducted the survey for Ohio First PAC, a pro-Renacci group.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See Joint Response at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> *Id.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> There are five other committees that have reported debt to Grassroots Targeting: a national party committee, a state party committee, and three principal campaign committees of candidates who had run for election in at least one prior election cycle. Each of the committees thus had a substantial history of reported receipts and payments to vendors prior to the extension of credit by Grassroots Targeting.

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Strategy Consulting" description that Ohio First provided when it reported the debt incurred
 for the survey.<sup>31</sup>

3 Thus, despite the assertions of Grassroots Targeting that it engaged in ordinary 4 business practices consistent with prior practices, the available information does not support 5 the contention that the vendor's extension of credit to Ohio First was ordinary. This 6 conclusion is consistent with several matters in which the Commission found reason to 7 believe that a vendor's extension of credit to a committee was not made in the vendor's 8 ordinary course of business and was, therefore, a contribution. The Commission has found 9 reason to believe vendors extended credit to an IEOPC outside their ordinary course of 10 business and industry practice when the IEOPC lacked a prior business relationship with its 11 vendors or a well-established track record for payment and when the extension was out of 12 line with the vendors' prior extensions of credit (as reported to the Commission by other 13 committees). In MUR 5635, the Commission found reason to believe a vendor extended 14 credit outside its ordinary course of business and industry practice on a record that included 15 facts, as ascertained in a Commission audit, similar to the ones in this matter: a vendor 16 extended over \$1 million credit on a short term contract to a committee with which it had no prior business relationship.<sup>32</sup> In another matter, the Commission found reason to believe on a 17 18 record, like the one here, with little or no information demonstrating or substantiating that the

Joint Response at 4. Commission regulations require a political committee to report debts in excess of 500 as of the date on which the debt is incurred. 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(b). If the exact amount of the debt is unknown, the political committee should report an estimate and state that the amount reported is an estimate. *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Gen. Counsel's Brief at 8-9, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership PAC, *et al.*). The Commission conciliated with the committee and vendor on the extension of credit violation.

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1 vendors' extensions of credit had been made in the ordinary course of business.<sup>33</sup>

Conversely, the Commission has found no reason to believe a vendor's extension of credit
constituted a contribution where the record included documents, sworn affidavits, or other
evidence demonstrating that the extensions of credit had been made in the vendor's ordinary
course of business or on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to other clients of
similar risk and size of obligation.<sup>34</sup>

7 Here, Respondent did not submit written agreements or other documents to support 8 its contentions that it acted in its ordinary course of business and did not provide any sworn 9 statement for the record. The available record does not include information to support the 10 notion that Grassroots Targeting extended credit to Ohio First in the ordinary course of its 11 business and on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to any other debtor of 12 similar risk and size of obligation. Given Ohio First's status as a newly formed committee that had no assets and given the size of Ohio First's obligations, the available information 13 14 indicates that Grassroots Targeting's extension of credit was not made in the ordinary course

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Factual & Legal Analysis at 6, 8-10, MUR 6101(Heller *et al.*) (also noting the lack of information about the vendor's advance payment policies, billing cycles, and details about the terms of the transactions with the committee). The Commission took no further action after the initial reason to believe finding, once the investigation established that the vendor *had* extended credit in the ordinary course of business and on similar terms to other clients. *See* Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 5, MUR 6101 (Heller *et al.*) (discussing prior matters in which the Commission took no further action after an reason to believe finding on an extension of credit outside ordinary business practices).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See, e.g., F&LA at 8-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) (finding no reason to believe that the credit extension was outside the vendor's ordinary course of business on a record including vendor's sworn declaration providing a detailed explanation of its business practices, publicly available information (including a Federal Communication Commission opinion letter) about industry standards, and the respondent committee's history of prompt payments to the vendor in earlier election cycles); MUR 5939 (Moveon.org *et al.*) (finding no reason to believe that *New York Times* extended credit outside of ordinary business practices on record that included the terms of the transaction in question as well as the paper's usual terms and practices).

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1 of business and therefore was a contribution to Ohio First.

2	However, Ohio First as an IEOPC was permitted to accept funds outside the Act's
3	otherwise applicable contribution limits and source prohibitions, including corporate
4	contributions. <sup>35</sup> Because Grassroots Targeting appears to have been permitted to make a
5	contribution to an IEOPC <sup>36</sup> and had no independent reporting obligation for making the
6	contributions under the Act, the Commission finds no reason to believe that Grassroots
7	Targeting violated the Act in connection with the extension of credit to Ohio First.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1), 30118(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2, note to paragraph (b) (clarifying that corporations can make contributions to nonconnected political committees); see generally, SpeechNow.org v. *FEC*, 599 F.3d 686 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> See, e.g., 11 C.F.R. § 114.2, note to paragraph (b). Although IEOPCs may not accept contributions from certain sources, such as foreign nationals, the record includes no indication that Grassroots Targeting is prohibited from contributing to an IEOPC.

# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

## FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

2
3 RESPONDENTS: Ohio First PAC and MURs 7438 and 7476
4 Julie Dozier in her official capacity as treasurer

## 5 I. INTRODUCTION

1

6 These matters were generated by Complaints filed with the Federal Election 7 Commission (the "Commission") and information ascertained by the Commission in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> The matters each involve 8 9 allegations relating to reporting of independent expenditures made in support of Jim Renacci 10 in the 2018 Senate election in Ohio. Ohio First PAC and Julie Dozier in her official capacity 11 as treasurer (collectively, "Ohio First" or "Respondents") made such independent 12 expenditures in support of Jim Renacci before the Ohio Republican Primary and failed to 13 report these independent expenditures on 24- and 48-hour reports and on its Pre-Primary Report.<sup>2</sup> The Complaint in MUR 7438 raises the same reporting violations by Ohio First,<sup>3</sup> 14 15 while the Complaint in MUR 7476 includes additional allegations that Ohio First failed to 16 report in-kind contributions from its vendors Majority Strategies, LLC ("Majority 17 Strategies") and Grassroots Targeting LLC ("Grassroots Targeting"), failed to report debts 18 and obligations, and made prohibited contributions to Renacci for US Senate and Russell

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(1)-(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ohio First, *Sua Sponte* Submission at 1 (June 29, 2018), Pre-MUR 613 (Ohio First PAC) ("First Submission"); Ohio First PAC, *Sua Sponte* Supp. Submission at 1 (Sept. 28, 2018), Pre-MUR 613 (Ohio First PAC) ("Second Submission"); Ohio First, *Sua Sponte* Second Supp. Submission (Nov. 16, 2018), Pre-MUR 613 (Ohio First PAC) ("Third Submission"); Ohio First, Majority Strategies, Inc., & Grassroots Targeting LLC, Resp. at 1-2, MUR 7476 (Aug. 9, 2018) ("Joint Response").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> MUR 7438 Compl. at 5-6 (July 23, 2018).

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1	Corwin in his official capacity as treasurer ("Renacci Committee") in the form of coordinated
2	communications that the Renacci Committee allegedly accepted. <sup>4</sup>
3	Based on the available information, the Commission: (1) finds reason to believe that
4	Ohio First violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4)(A)(ii) by failing to timely file a pre-primary
5	report and violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g) by failing to report its independent expenditures;
6	(2) finds reason to believe that Ohio First violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3) by failing to
7	report contributions received from its vendors in the form of extensions of credit; and (3)
8	dismisses the allegation that Ohio First made a contribution in the form of coordinated
9	communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.
10	II. FACTS
11	Ohio First is an independent expenditure-only political committee ("IEOPC") that
12	registered with the Commission on January 21, 2018. <sup>5</sup> In the weeks leading up to the May 8,
13	2018, Ohio primary election, Ohio First supported the candidacy of Jim Renacci for the
14	Republican nomination for U.S. Senate from Ohio by making nearly half a million dollars in
15	independent expenditures, but it did not file reports with the Commission disclosing these
16	independent expenditures until after the primary election. <sup>6</sup>
17	Under the Commission's reporting schedules for the Ohio primary election, Ohio
18	First was required to file 48-hour independent expenditure reports through April 18, 2018,
19	and 24-hour independent expenditure reports from April 19 to May 6, 2018, as well as a Pre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12 (Aug. 9, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ohio First, Statement of Organization (Jan. 21, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See First Submission at 1 (stating that Ohio First filed its independent expenditure reports after the primary election); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10-13 (June 29, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 15-17 (July 15, 2018).

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- 1 Primary Report by April 26, 2018 (covering the period through April 18, 2018). Ohio first
- 2 did not report any cash on hand, receipts, disbursements, or debts, and reported no
- 3 independent expenditures, until June 29, 2018, more than six weeks after the primary
- 4 election.
- 5 Most of Ohio First's activity occurred during April and May 2018.<sup>7</sup> During that
- 6 period, Ohio First made the following independent expenditures, totaling \$472,129.66:<sup>8</sup>

Distribution or Dissemination	Vendor	Amount
Apr. 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 25,000.00
Apr. 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 93,270.00
Apr. 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 2,500.00
Apr. 2, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 52,307.33
Apr. 9, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 52,307.33
Apr.16, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 52,307.33
Apr. 16, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 25,000.00
Apr. 23, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 50,314.67
Apr. 30, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 51,311.00
May 1, 2018	Ascent Media LLC	\$ 7,700.00
May 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 58,362.00
May 1, 2018	Majority Strategies	\$ 1,750.00
	Total:	\$ 472,129.66

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> First Submission at 1; Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-9; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 9-14. The first contribution to Ohio First was made on May 10, 2018, two days after the primary election. Ohio First Receipts, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/receipts/?two\_year\_transaction\_period=2018&committee\_id=C00666750& data\_type=processed</u> (last visited Apr. 18, 2020).

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1	In a supplemental submission, Ohio First represents that it failed to timely report its
2	independent expenditures because Ohio First's treasurer was unaware of the expenditures.9
3	Ohio First stated that, although it had received invoices from its vendors, it did not pay the
4	invoices because it lacked funds and did not forward the unpaid invoices to Ohio First's
5	treasurer. <sup>10</sup> Ohio First states that it discovered that it did not file the required reports on or
6	around June 20, 2018, and then conducted an "audit" to review its activity and implemented
7	a new process to route independent expenditure invoices directly to the treasurer upon
8	receipt. <sup>11</sup>
9	After conducting its internal review, Ohio First filed its sua sponte submission with
10	the Commission by letter dated June 29, 2018. <sup>12</sup> At the same time, Ohio First filed
11	independent expenditure reports for the 12 expenditures it made from April 1 through
12	May 1, 2018, and filed its Pre-Primary Report covering the period from April 1 through
13	April 18, 2018. The Pre-Primary Report disclosed no receipts, no disbursements, no cash on
14	hand, and \$367,667.99 in debts and obligations along with \$302,691.99 in independent
15	expenditures in support of Renacci. <sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Second Submission at 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Id.* (explaining, also, that Ohio First's treasurer is a "professional at a compliance firm").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Id.* at 2. Ohio First stated that the revised compliance process was not memorialized in any formal written policy because of the "expectation of a limited time duration for Ohio First PAC's activities." Third Submission at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> First Submission at 1. The letter was received July 2, 2018. *Id.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2. In addition to debt to Majority Strategies for the \$302,691.99 in independent expenditures disseminated during the Pre-Primary period, the report also disclosed additional debts to Majority Strategies in the amounts of \$30,000 for "survey research" and \$4,975 for "web service." Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-9.

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1	Ohio First timely filed its next report, the July Quarterly Report covering the period
2	from April 19 to June 30, 2018, in which it disclosed receiving its first contributions
3	(\$79,200 in receipts from five contributors), five additional independent expenditures totaling
4	\$169,437.67, and debts and obligations in the amount of \$597,104.66. <sup>14</sup> Ohio First's July
5	Quarterly Report disclosed, in addition to all of the previously reported debt that remained
6	due in full, new debts to Majority Strategies for independent expenditures worth \$161,737.67
7	and \$60,000 owed to Grassroots Targeting — a political research firm headed by Blaise
8	Hazelwood, who was also Executive Director of Ohio First — for "political strategy
9	consulting." <sup>15</sup> According to the Complaint in MUR 7476, Grassroots Targeting had
10	conducted survey research for Ohio First sometime on or before April 9, 2018; <sup>16</sup>
11	Respondents assert "Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First for services rendered on June
12	22, 2018." <sup>17</sup> Ohio First did not report any April disbursements to Grassroots Targeting and
13	first reported its \$60,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting in the 2018 July Quarterly Report,
14	which covered activity from April 19 to June 30, 2018. <sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7, 15-17. The five additional independent expenditures were included in Ohio First's July 2, 2018 *sua sponte* submission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 9-14; Grassroots Targeting, <u>https://www.</u> <u>grassrootstargeting.com/</u> (last visited Apr. 22, 2020); *see also* Third Submission at.1 (referring to emails between Ohio First's treasurer and Executive Director and attaching emails between Hazelwood, using a grassrootstargeting.com email address, and the treasurer).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See MUR 7476 Compl. at 3 (citing *Morning Score*, POLITICO, Apr. 9, 2018, <u>https://www.politico.com/newsletters/morning-score/2018/04/09/countdown-to-scott-campaign-launch-162837</u> ("*Morning Score*") ("Grassroots Targeting conducted the survey for Ohio First PAC, a pro-Renacci group.")).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See Joint Response at 4. The Joint Response is ambiguous as to whether the \$60,000 in services (reported in Ohio First's July Quarterly 2018 Report as debt owed to Grassroots Targeting) were rendered in June 2018, invoiced in June 2018, or both.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See id.

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1	Ohio First's 2018 October Quarterly, Pre-General, Post-General, and 2018 Year-End
2	reports show total receipts of \$925,500 from July 1 through November 26, 2018, and the
3	repayment of nearly all its debt. <sup>19</sup> Ohio First reported, on its Post-General Report, that it had
4	repaid all its debts to Majority Strategies, which totaled \$537,104.66, and repaid \$30,000 of
5	its \$60,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting. <sup>20</sup> In its 2020 April Quarterly Report, Ohio First
6	continued to report a \$30,000 debt to Grassroots Targeting. <sup>21</sup>
7	In addition to the independent expenditure reporting violations raised in the sua
8	sponte submission and the Complaint in MUR 7438, the MUR 7476 Complaint also alleges
9	that Ohio First failed to properly report the extensions of credit by Majority Strategies as in-
10	kind contributions (with corresponding reporting of disbursements) and failed to properly
11	report in-kind contributions from (or debts owed to) Grassroots Targeting. <sup>22</sup> The MUR 7476
12	Complaint asserts that Majority Strategies does not ordinarily extend credit to newly formed
13	committees with no cash on hand and that the extensions of credit therefore constitute in-kind
14	contributions to Ohio First that were not reported. <sup>23</sup> Similarly, the MUR 7476 Complaint
15	asserts that the survey conducted by Grassroots Targeting was either a contribution or a
16	reportable debt if Grassroots Targeting extended credit to Ohio First. <sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* at 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Oct. 15, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2 (Oct. 25, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 2 (Dec. 6, 2018); Ohio First, 2018 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 31, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ohio First, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 12-17; Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 7-9, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ohio First, 2020 April Quarterly Report at 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12. The Complaint in MUR 7476 alleges, in the alternative, that Majority Strategies made, but did not report, the independent expenditures reported by Ohio First. *See id.* at 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> *Id.* at 10-11.

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1	In response, Ohio First, Majority Strategies, and Grassroots Targeting contend that
2	the credit extended by Majority Strategies does not qualify as a contribution because
3	Majority Strategies "has routinely granted credit to hundreds of similarly situated clients"
4	and "typically uses extended repayment terms," which it asserts is a practice common
5	throughout the political consulting industry. <sup>25</sup> The Chief Executive Officer of Majority
6	Strategies submitted a declaration supporting this position, though the Joint Response
7	includes no specific terms and no documents, such as contracts, corroborating the
8	representations made in the declaration. <sup>26</sup> The Joint Response does not explain Grassroots
9	Targeting's business practices with regard to extensions of credit or the repayment terms of
10	such credit, but states that Ohio First accurately reported the services provided by Grassroots
11	Targeting, contending that the description of the services rendered was "adequate." <sup>27</sup>
12	Further, Respondents assert that Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First for services
13	rendered on June 22, 2018, that this was the first date on which Ohio First's Treasurer
14	became aware of the debt, and that Ohio First subsequently reported the debt on its 2018 July
15	Quarterly Report. <sup>28</sup>
16	In addition to the alleged reporting violations, the MUR 7476 Complaint also alleges
17	that Ohio First made excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions to the Renacci

- 18 Committee by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies as a common
  - \_\_\_\_\_
    - <sup>25</sup> Joint Response at 2.
    - <sup>26</sup> *Id.* at Ex. B.
    - <sup>27</sup> *Id.* at 1, 4-5.
    - <sup>28</sup> *Id*.

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vendor.<sup>29</sup> In response to the coordination allegations, Majority Strategies and Ohio First 1 2 state that there is no information indicating that the Renacci Committee and Ohio First shared information.<sup>30</sup> They further explain that Majority Strategies employs a firewall to prevent 3 4 employees working with IEOPCs from working with candidates' authorized committees, and 5 vice-versa.31 6 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS 7 There is Reason to Believe that Ohio First Failed to Timely File Its A. 8 **Independent Expenditure Reports and Pre-Primary Report** 

9 Under the Act and Commission regulations, political committees other than 10 authorized committees must report their independent expenditures.<sup>32</sup> Every political 11 committee that makes independent expenditures must report them in its regularly scheduled 12 disclosure reports in accordance with 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(vii).<sup>33</sup> Depending on the 13 aggregate dollar amounts and timing of the independent expenditures, a political committee 14 that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures must also report the independent 15 expenditures within 24 or 48 hours.<sup>34</sup> In addition, political committees including IEOPCs

<sup>31</sup> *Id.* 

<sup>32</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(4)(H)(iii); see also 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(1)(vii).

<sup>34</sup> A political committee that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures aggregating \$10,000 or more for an election in any calendar year, up to and including the 20th day before an election, must report these expenditures within 48 hours (in "48-hour reports"). 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b)(2). These 48-hour reports must be filed by the end of the second day "following the date on which a communication that constitutes an independent expenditure is publicly distributed or otherwise publicly disseminated." 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b)(2). A political committee that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures aggregating \$1,000 or more after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours, before the date of an election must report the expenditures within 24 hours (in "24-hour reports"). 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g)(1); 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Joint Response at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(a).

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1 that make expenditures in connection with a primary election must file a pre-primary report 2 no later than 12 days before that primary, disclosing all receipts and disbursements as of the 3 20th day before the primary election.<sup>35</sup> 4 Ohio First was under an obligation to disclose the independent expenditures made on 5 or before April 18, 2018, within 48 hours of the communications' public distribution or 6 dissemination.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Ohio First was required to disclose the independent expenditures 7 made between April 19 and May 6, 2018, within 24 hours of the communications' public distribution or dissemination.<sup>37</sup> 8 9 Ohio First voluntarily self-disclosed reporting violations related to over \$470,000 in 10 independent expenditures and does not deny that it failed to timely file the associated 24hour, 48-hour, and Pre-Primary Reports.<sup>38</sup> Specifically, Ohio First failed to timely file 24-11 12 Hour Reports disclosing \$169,437.67 in independent expenditures and 48-Hour Reports disclosing \$302,691.99 in independent expenditures.<sup>39</sup> Ohio First also acknowledged that it 13 14 did not file its Pre-Primary Report, an election-sensitive report, until more than six weeks after it was due.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, the Commission finds reason to believe that Ohio First 15

C.F.R. §§ 104.4(c), 109.10(d). These 24-hour reports must be filed before midnight on the day following the date on which the communication is publicly disseminated. 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4)(A); 11 C.F.R. § 104.5(c)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> First Submission at 1; Second Submission at 1-2; Third Submission at 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> First Submission at 1.

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$  *Id.* Because Ohio First filed the election sensitive 24- hour, 48-hour, and Pre-Primary Reports after the date of the primary election, they are deemed "not filed" rather than filed late. *See* 11 C.F.R. § 111.43(d)(1), (e) (defining "election sensitive reports" and explaining their treatment as late or not filed).

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1 violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(4)(A)(ii) by failing to timely file a pre-primary report and 52

2 U.S.C. § 30104(g) by failing to report its independent expenditures.

3 4

## B. There is Reason to Believe Ohio First Failed to Report In-Kind Contributions in the form of Extensions of Credit From its Vendors

5 The Act requires each treasurer of a political committee to file reports of receipts and 6 disbursements with the Commission.<sup>41</sup> Such reports must include the total amount of 7 contributions received, as well as the identification of each person who made a contribution 8 in excess of \$200 during the reporting period, together with the date and amount of such 9 contribution.<sup>42</sup>

10 A "contribution" includes "any gift [or] advance . . . of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office."<sup>43</sup> The 11 extension of credit to a political committee by a commercial vendor is a contribution, "unless 12 13 the credit is extended in the ordinary course of the person's business and the terms are 14 substantially similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors that are of similar risk and size of obligation."<sup>44</sup> A "commercial vendor" is any person who provides goods or services 15 16 to a candidate or political committee, and whose usual and normal business involves the sale, rental, lease, or provision of those goods and services.<sup>45</sup> 17

<sup>44</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (explaining that a contribution will also result if a creditor fails to make a commercially reasonable attempt to collect the debt); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b)(2)(A), (b)(3)(A)-(B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

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1	Commission regulations state that, in determining whether credit was extended in a
2	commercial vendor's ordinary course of business, the Commission will consider whether:
3	(1) the commercial vendor followed its established procedures and its past practice in
4	approving the extension of credit; (2) the commercial vendor received prompt payment in
5	full for prior extensions of credit to the same committee; and (3) the extension of credit
6	conformed to the usual and normal practice in the vendor's trade or industry. <sup>46</sup> The
7	Commission has explained that "[t]hese factors are intended to provide guidance The
8	factors need not be accorded equal weight and in some cases a single factor may not be
9	dispositive."47
10	As an initial matter, both Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting appear to be in
11	the business of providing the services they provided to Ohio First, and, therefore, appear ti be
12	"commercial vendors." <sup>48</sup> From Ohio First's reporting of debts, it appears that both of these
13	vendors extended credit to Ohio First by providing services in advance of payment.
14	Ohio First made almost half a million dollars in independent expenditures before the
15	Ohio primary election, without having reported raising any contributions at all. <sup>49</sup> Ohio First
16	reported that it did not receive any contributions before the primary and that it was operating
17	through debt. <sup>50</sup> The available information supports a conclusion that Majority Strategies's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Debts Owed by Candidates and Political Committees, 55 Fed. Reg. 26378, 26281 (June 27, 1990); *see* Advisory Op. 1991-20 (Call Interactive) at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 10-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2 (summarizing Ohio First's debts and obligations); Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 2, 6-7 (showing that Ohio First began receiving money on May 10, 2018).

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1 and Grassroots Targeting's extensions of credit to Ohio First were contributions because they 2 were not made in the ordinary course of the vendors' business and on terms similar to those 3 the vendors would make available to non-political customers of similar risk and size of 4 obligation. 5 At the time the vendors extended credit, Ohio First was a brand-new committee with 6 no apparent money or assets. It had no payment history with Majority Strategies, Grassroots 7 Targeting, or any other vendor. Majority Strategies nevertheless provided Ohio First services worth over \$400,000 before Ohio First had received any contributions.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, 8 9 Grassroots Targeting provided services to Ohio First worth \$60,000 despite Ohio First's lack 10 of funds and credit history; this included survey research reportedly conducted on or before April 9, 2018, that Ohio First did not report as debt in its Pre-Primary Report.<sup>52</sup> 11 12 Respondents assert that Majority Strategies's extension of credit was not an in-kind 13 contribution because the credit was extended in the ordinary course of Majority Strategies's business.<sup>53</sup> In his declaration, the Chief Executive Officer of Majority Strategies avers that 14 15 Majority Strategies "has routinely extended credit to its clients as an ordinary part of its 16 business" and that its "clients . . . are expected to repay their extensions of credit in full."<sup>54</sup> 17 Notwithstanding this representation regarding extensions of credit to clients of 18 Majority Strategies, the submitted declaration does not explain the circumstances under

See Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 2, 6-13; Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-7, 9 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ohio First, 2018 July Quarterly Report at 6-9; MUR 7476 Compl. at 3 (citing *Morning Score*, which reported that "Grassroots Targeting conducted the survey for Ohio First PAC, a pro-Renacci group.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Joint Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> *Id.* at Ex. B ¶¶ 4-5.

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1	which Majority Strategies will extend credit, including whether it extends credit as a matter
2	of course to all clients, whether it routinely extends credit to a committee with no pre-
3	existing history and no evidence that it had or could obtain funds to repay the extensions of
4	credit, and whether it routinely extends credit in amounts over \$400,000 to all or some
5	clients. <sup>55</sup> Respondents did not provide copies of agreements or any other supporting
6	documentation explaining the terms and conditions for the extensions of credit to Ohio First.
7	The response, including the declaration, also does not provide specific examples of credit
8	that has been extended to other similarly situated clients. Finally, the Respondents rely on
9	assertions from Majority Strategies's CEO to indicate that the vendor followed a "common"
10	practice "throughout the political consulting industry" of "extending credit for various terms
11	of payment," but provides no evidence as to industry practice of extending credit to newly
12	established nonconnected political committees with no assets. <sup>56</sup> Moreover, an examination
13	of all reports filed with the Commission found no instances, besides those involving Ohio
14	First and MeToo Ohio, in which Majority Strategies extended credit to a committee that did
15	not report receipts prior to or at the same time that it reported the debt. <sup>57</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See id. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> *Id.* at 2, Ex. B ¶ 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> A review located 65 committees (other than Ohio First and MeToo Ohio) that reported debts to Majority Strategies, but did not identify other similarly situated committees, *i.e.*, newly formed committees with no reported receipts, to which Majority Strategies extended credit — 20 party committees (or reporting components of party committees), 34 candidate committees, and four IEOPCs — had an established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors. The remaining seven committees that reported debt to Majority Strategies — four candidate committees, and three IEOPCs — had modest assets and reported debts to Majority Strategies in amounts between \$250 and \$5,000, amounts which are of significantly smaller size of obligation than those apparently extended to Ohio First and MeToo Ohio. *See* Feda for Congress, 2009 Year-End Report (Jan. 26, 2010) (reporting \$1,920 debt); Shawn Nelson for Congress, 2018 April Quarterly Report (Apr. 15, 2018) (reporting \$2,115 debt); John Ward for Congress, Inc., 2017 Year-End Report (Jan. 31, 2018) (reporting \$5,000 debt alongside payments to Majority Strategies of \$17,006, although subsequently amended to remove the entry indicating debt owed to Majority Strategies); Adrian Smith for Congress, 2005 October Quarterly

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1	Respondents provide even less information to explain the extension of credit between
2	Ohio First and Grassroots Targeting. <sup>58</sup> Hazelwood headed both Ohio First and Grassroots
3	Targeting, but Respondents do not provide any documentation or specific examples to
4	support their statement that Grassroots Targeting invoiced Ohio First "according to its
5	regular business practices."59 Respondents provided no information, for example, indicating
6	that Grassroots Targeting entered into any written agreements with Ohio First, reflecting
7	Grassroots Targeting's normal business practices in extending credit, or substantiating that
8	the credit extended by Grassroots Targeting was done in the ordinary course of business. <sup>60</sup>
9	Moreover, an examination of all reports filed with the Commission found no other instances
10	in which Grassroots Targeting extended credit to a similarly situated nonconnected
11	committee. <sup>61</sup> The Joint Response defends only the adequacy of the "Political Strategy
12	Consulting" description that Ohio First provided when it reported the debt incurred for the
13	survey, which it reported based on the date Ohio First was invoiced instead of the date when
14	the debt was reportedly incurred. <sup>62</sup>

Report (Oct. 15, 2005) (reporting \$3,250 debt, later amended to reflect debt of \$3,340); Freedom Path Action Network, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Country Fund, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Pioneers Action Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Factual & Legal Analysis at 13-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) ("F&LA").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> See Joint Response at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> *Id.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> There are five other committees that have reported debt to Grassroots Targeting: a national party committee, a state party committee, and three principal campaign committees of candidates who had run for election in at least one prior election cycle. Each of the committees thus had a substantial history of reported receipts and payments to vendors prior to the extension of credit by Grassroots Targeting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Joint Response at 4. Commission regulations require a political committee to report debts in excess of 500 as of the date on which the debt is incurred. 11 C.F.R. § 104.11(b). If the exact amount of the debt is unknown, the political committee should report an estimate and state that the amount reported is an estimate. *Id.* 

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1 Thus, despite the assertions of Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting that they 2 engaged in ordinary business practices consistent with prior practices, the available 3 information does not support the contention that the vendors' extension of credit to Ohio 4 First was ordinary. This conclusion is consistent with several matters in which the 5 Commission found reason to believe that a vendor's extension of credit to a committee was 6 not made in the vendor's ordinary course of business and was, therefore, a contribution. The 7 Commission has found reason to believe vendors extended credit to an IEOPC outside its 8 ordinary course of business and industry practice when the IEOPC lacked a prior business 9 relationship with its vendors or a well-established track record for payment and when the 10 extension was out of line with the vendors' prior extensions of credit (as reported to the 11 Commission by other committees). In MUR 5635, the Commission found reason to believe a 12 vendor extended credit outside its ordinary course of business and industry practice on a 13 record that included facts, as ascertained in a Commission audit, similar to the ones in this 14 matter: a vendor extended over \$1 million credit on a short term contract to a committee with which it had no prior business relationship.<sup>63</sup> In another matter, the Commission found 15 16 reason to believe on a record, like the one here, with little or no information demonstrating or 17 substantiating that the vendors' extensions of credit had been made in the ordinary course of business.<sup>64</sup> Conversely, the Commission has found no reason to believe a vendor's extension 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Gen. Counsel's Brief at 8-9, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership PAC, *et al.*). The Commission conciliated with the committee and vendor on the extension of credit violation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See Factual & Legal Analysis at 6, 8-10, MUR 6101(Heller *et al.*) (also noting the lack of information about the vendor's advance payment policies, billing cycles, and details about the terms of the transactions with the committee). The Commission took no further action after the initial reason to believe finding, once the investigation established that the vendor *had* extended credit in the ordinary course of business and on similar terms to other clients. See Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 5, MUR 6101 (Heller *et al.*) (discussing prior matters in which the Commission took no further action after a reason to believe finding on an extension of credit outside ordinary business practices).

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1 of credit constituted a contribution where the record included documents, sworn affidavits, or 2 other evidence demonstrating that the extensions of credit had been made in the vendor's 3 ordinary course of business or on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to other clients of similar risk and size of obligation.<sup>65</sup> 4 5 Here, Respondents did not submit written agreements or other documents to support 6 their contentions that the vendors acted in their ordinary course of business and, in the case 7 of Grassroots Targeting, they did not provide any sworn statement for the record. The 8 available record does not include information to support the notion that Ohio First's vendors 9 extended credit in the ordinary course of their business and on terms substantially similar to 10 extensions of credit to any other debtor of similar risk and size of obligation. Given Ohio 11 First's status as a newly formed committee that had no assets and, in the case of Majority 12 Strategies, no apparent relationship with the vendor, and given the size of Ohio First's 13 obligations, the available information indicates that the vendors' extensions of credit were 14 not made in the ordinary course of business and therefore should have been reported as 15 contributions by Ohio First. 16 Although Ohio First has repaid all its debt to Majority Strategies and half of its debt 17 to Grassroots Targeting, Ohio First's failure to report these extensions of credit as in-kind

18 contributions deprived Ohio voters of information they were entitled to know, namely who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See, e.g., F&LA at 8-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) (finding no reason to believe that the credit extension was outside the vendor's ordinary course of business on a record including vendor's sworn declaration providing a detailed explanation of its business practices, publicly available information (including a Federal Communication Commission opinion letter) about industry standards, and the respondent committee's history of prompt payments to the vendor in earlier election cycles); MUR 5939 (Moveon.org *et al.*) (finding no reason to believe that *New York Times* extended credit outside of ordinary business practices on record that included the terms of the transaction in question as well as the paper's usual terms and practices).

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1	was funding Ohio First's pro-Renacci independent expenditures. <sup>66</sup> As a result of Ohio First's
2	failure to file timely 24- and 48-hour reports and a timely Pre-Primary Report, voters were
3	deprived of information reflecting that the organization's independent expenditures were
4	funded via vendors' extensions of credit with lengthy terms of repayment — roughly six
5	months after Ohio First made the independent expenditures. That credit repayment period
6	undermines the contention that such payment terms were commercially reasonable,
7	especially considering Majority Strategies's expectation that its clients "promptly [repay]"
8	extensions of credit."67
9	Because there is not sufficient information to support Respondents' contention that
10	the extensions of credit from Majority Strategies and Grassroots Targeting were provided in
11	the ordinary course of business, and the available information indicates that they may not
12	have been provided in the ordinary course of business, the Commission finds reason to
13	believe that Ohio First failed to report contributions received from its vendors in violation of
14	52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(A).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> See Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 367 (2010) (explaining that the Supreme Court has consistently upheld the Act's disclosure provisions, which provide the electorate with "information about the sources of election-related spending" to "help citizens make informed choices in the political marketplace.") (internal quotation marks and citations omitted).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (stating that a failure "to make a reasonable attempt to collect [a] debt[ will result in a contribution]"); Joint Response, Ex. B ("Clients of Majority Strategies are expected to repay their extensions of credit in full, and in nearly all cases have promptly repaid those extensions of credit."); Ohio First, 2018 Post-General Report at 11-13 (showing that Ohio First did not completely repay Majority Strategies for April and May expenditures until the period from October 18 to November 26, 2018).

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1 2

## C. The Commission Dismisses the Allegation that Ohio First Made Coordinated Communications

3 Under the Act and Commission regulations, a "contribution" includes an in-kind contribution.<sup>68</sup> When a person makes an expenditure in cooperation, consultation or in 4 5 concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or the candidate's authorized committee or their agents, it is treated as in in-kind contribution.<sup>69</sup> A "coordinated 6 7 communication" constitutes an in-kind contribution from the person paying for the 8 communication to the candidate or political committee with whom, or with which, it is coordinated.<sup>70</sup> Any person who is otherwise prohibited from making contributions to 9 10 candidates under the Act or Commission regulations is prohibited from making an in-kind contribution in the form of paying for a coordinated communication.<sup>71</sup> "An independent 11 expenditure-only political committee 'may not make contributions to candidates or political 12 party committees, including in-kind contributions such as coordinated communications."<sup>72</sup> 13 14 Under Commission regulations, a communication is "coordinated" with a candidate, 15 an authorized committee, a political party committee, or agent thereof, if the communication: 16 (1) is paid for, partly or entirely, by a person other than the candidate, authorized committee, political party committee, or agent thereof; (2) satisfies at least one of the "content standards" 17 18 at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) satisfies at least one of the "conduct standards" at 11 C.F.R.

<sup>68</sup> 52 U.S.C §§ 30101(8)(A)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d).

<sup>69</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20; see also Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 46-47 (1976).

<sup>71</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Advisory Op. 2017-10 (Citizens Against Plutocracy) at 2 (quoting Advisory Op. 2016-21 (Great America PAC) at 3-4 (citing Press Release, FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC* Reporting Guidance for Political Committees that Maintain a Non-Contribution Account (Oct. 5, 2011))); *see also* Advisory Op. at 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) at 2-3.

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1 § 109.21(d).<sup>73</sup>

One of the standards by which the conduct prong may be met is the "common
vendor" standard. <sup>74</sup> The "common vendor" standard has three elements: (1) the person
paying for the communication uses a "commercial vendor" to create, produce, or distribute
the communication; (2) the vendor, including any owner, officer, or employee, previously
provided certain enumerated services — including, inter alia, "development of media
strategy," polling, fundraising, "developing the content of a public communication,"
"Producing a public communication," "identifying voters," or "consulting or otherwise
providing political or media advice" <sup>75</sup> — to the candidate identified in the communication
(or that candidate's opponent) during the previous 120 days; and (3) the commercial vendor
uses or conveys to the person paying for the communication:
<ul> <li>(A) Information about the campaign plans, projects, activities, or needs of the clearly identified candidate, the candidate's opponent, or a political party committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication; or</li> <li>(B) Information used previously by the commercial vendor in providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or the candidate's authorized committee, the candidate's opponent, the opponent's authorized committee, or a political party committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the</li> </ul>

<sup>75</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a). The "content standard" requirement is satisfied if the communication at issue constitutes: (1) an "electioneering communication;" (2) a public communication that disseminates campaign materials prepared by a candidate or authorized committee; (3) a public communication that "expressly advocates" the election or defeat of a clearly identified federal candidate; (4) certain public communications distributed 120 days or fewer before an election, which refer to a clearly identified federal candidate (or political party); or (5) a public communication that is the functional equivalent of express advocacy. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 100.22 (defining express advocacy); 11 C.F.R. § 100.26 (defining public communication).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4).

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1 communication.<sup>76</sup>

2	The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if a commercial vendor has established
3	and implemented a written firewall policy that meets certain requirements, so long as
4	material information is not shared. <sup>77</sup>
5	The payor of a communication that is coordinated through use of a common vendor
6	makes a contribution to the candidate, but the candidate or authorized committee "does not
7	receive or accept an in-kind contribution" resulting from coordination through a common
8	vendor unless the communication was made at the request or suggestion of, with the material
9	involvement of, or after substantial discussions with, the candidate or authorized
10	committee. <sup>78</sup>
11	The MUR 7476 Complaint alleges that Ohio First made prohibited in-kind
12	contributions to the Renacci Committee by coordinating communications through Majority
13	Strategies as the common vendor. <sup>79</sup> This allegation is based solely on the fact that Majority
14	Strategies provided services to both Ohio First and the Renacci Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c) (defining commercial vendor). The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if the information used was obtained from a publicly available source. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h). A firewall policy satisfies this "safe harbor" if it (1) is designed and implemented to prohibit the flow of information between employees or consultants providing services for the person paying for the communication and those employees or consultants currently or previously providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or that candidate's authorized committee, the candidate is opponent, the opponent's authorized committee or a political party committee; and (2) is described in a written policy distributed to all relevant employees, consultants, and clients. *Id.* § 109.21(h)(1)-(2). This safe harbor does not apply if specific information indicates that, despite the firewall, material information about the candidate's campaign plans, projects, activities or needs was used or conveyed to the person paying for the communication. *Id.* § 109.21(h).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(2); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3) (defining the relevant conduct standards).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14. The Complaint does not identify the particular advertisements that were allegedly coordinated.

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1	Respondents do not dispute that Ohio First's communications satisfy the "payment"
2	and "content" prongs of the coordinated communication provision. <sup>80</sup> With respect to the
3	conduct prong of the coordinated communications test, the first element of the common
4	vendor standard is satisfied here because Majority Strategies is a "commercial vendor" in
5	that its usual and normal business entails providing communications consulting services to
6	committees, and Ohio First hired Majority Strategies to create, produce, or distribute
7	communications. <sup>81</sup> The second "common vendor" element is also satisfied here, since the
8	available information indicates that Majority Strategies provided several of the enumerated
9	services to the Renacci Committee within 120 days prior to providing communications
10	services to Ohio First. <sup>82</sup>
11	With respect to the third element of the common vendor standard, however, there is
12	no information that Majority Strategies used or conveyed information to Ohio First about the
13	Renacci Committee's "plans, projects, activities, or needs." <sup>83</sup> The MUR 7476 Complaint
14	merely asserts that Majority Strategies conveyed this information to Ohio First because the
15	two committees employed a common vendor, which is not alone a sufficient basis to find
16	coordination. <sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>84</sup> See MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14; Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 7, 10, MUR 5502 (Martinez for Senate, *et al.*) (finding no evidence of coordination from the mere presence of a common vendor).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> See Joint Response at 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii); *see also* Renacci for US Senate, 2018 April Quarterly Report at 101 (Apr. 12, 2018) (showing a February 22, 2018, disbursement to Majority Strategies for "printing"); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10 (showing an April 1, 2018, disbursement to Majority Strategies for "Media Placement/Media Production").

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1	Moreover, Respondents provided a written firewall policy that is dated March 2018,
2	which prohibits employees working on opposite sides of the firewall from communicating
3	information about their separate clients; Respondents assert that this policy was signed by
4	each Majority Strategies employee. <sup>85</sup> Although Majority Strategies has not identified which
5	employees worked for Ohio First and which worked for the Renacci Committee or provided
6	specific information as to the operation of the firewall, we also do not have any information
7	to indicate that the firewall was not operative as Respondents assert.
8	Given the conclusory nature of the allegations, and in light of the Respondents'
9	denials, the sworn declaration and firewall policy provided by Majority Strategies, and the
10	absence of information sufficient to support the third element of the common vendor test, the
11	available information does not reasonably support a finding that the conduct prong of the
12	coordinated communications test has been satisfied. Accordingly, the Commission dismisses
	coordinated communications test has even substreat. The containing, the communication distinstes
13	the allegation that Ohio First made a contribution in the form of coordinated communications

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> See Joint Response, Exs. B-C.

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## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

## FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

2
3 RESPONDENTS: Renacci for US Senate and MURs 7476 and 7542
4 Russell Corwin in his official capacity as treasurer

## 5 I. INTRODUCTION

1

6 These matters involve allegations relating to independent expenditures made in 7 support of Jim Renacci or in opposition to Renacci's opponent Sherrod Brown in the 2018 8 Senate election in Ohio. The Complaint in MUR 7476 alleges that Renacci for US Senate 9 and Russell Corwin in his official capacity as treasurer (collectively, "Renacci Committee" 10 or "Respondents") accepted a prohibited contributions from Ohio First in the form of coordinated communications.<sup>1</sup> The Complaint in MUR 7542 raises similar allegations that 11 12 the Renacci Committee accepted a prohibited contributions from MeToo Ohio in the form of coordinated communications.<sup>2</sup> 13 14 Based on the available information, the Commission dismisses the allegations that the 15 Renacci Committee accepted a contribution from Ohio First or MeToo Ohio in the form of 16 coordinated communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. 17 § 109.21; (2) dismisses the allegation that the Renacci Committee accepted a contribution 18 from MeToo Ohio in the form of coordinated communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. 19 §§ 30116(f), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21; and (3) closes the file as to the Renacci 20 Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 10-12 (Aug. 9, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 2 (Nov. 14, 2018).

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## 1 II. FACTS

# 2 A. Ohio First PAC

3	Ohio First is an independent expenditure-only political committee ("IEOPC") that
4	registered with the Commission on January 21, 2018. <sup>3</sup> In the weeks leading up to the May 8,
5	2018, Ohio primary election, Ohio First supported the candidacy of Jim Renacci for the
6	Republican nomination for U.S. Senate from Ohio by making nearly half a million dollars in
7	independent expenditures. The MUR 7476 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee
8	accepted excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions from Ohio First in the form of
9	coordinating communications through Majority Strategies as a common vendor. <sup>4</sup>
10	Information available to the Commission suggests that Majority Strategies employs a
11	firewall to prevent employees working with IEOPCs from working with candidates'
12	authorized committees, and vice-versa.
13	B. MeToo Ohio
14	MeToo Ohio is an IEOPC that registered with the Commission on September 5,
15	2018. <sup>5</sup> In the weeks leading up to the November 6, 2018, Ohio general election, MeToo
16	Ohio spent over half a million dollars in independent expenditures opposing Sherrod Brown,
17	Renacci's opponent in the general election. <sup>6</sup> The Complaint in MUR 7542 alleges that the
18	Renacci Committee accepted prohibited and excessive in-kind contributions from MeToo
19	Ohio in the form of coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ohio First, Statement of Organization (Jan. 21, 2018).

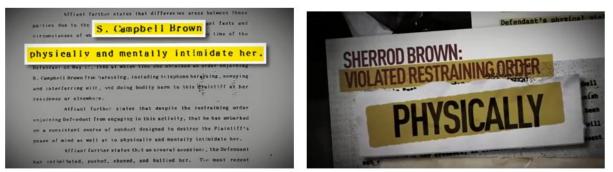
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> MeToo Ohio, Statement of Organization (Sept. 5, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 8 (Oct. 14, 2018).

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- 1 vendor.<sup>7</sup> In support of this allegation, the Complaint states that the Renacci Committee's
- 2 second television ad was launched on the same day as a MeToo Ohio ad and that the two ads
- 3 were "strikingly consistent in theme, tone, and style, including references to the same
- 4 excerpted court documents and similar visuals."<sup>8</sup> The MUR 7542 Complaint notes, for
- 5 example, that each ad included highlighted text of court documents, as in these screen shots
- 6 of the ads from the Renacci Committee at left and MeToo at right:<sup>9</sup>



7 8

The Renacci Committee state that Majority Strategies did not create, produce, or

9 place any television advertisements for the Renacci Committee.<sup>10</sup> Respondents also assert

10 that the 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(3) safe harbor was satisfied because the information utilized to

11 create the ads was a matter of public knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 1-2

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 2; *compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE (Oct. 10, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE (Oct. 11, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>9</sup> See MUR 7542 Compl. at 6; MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE at 0:21 (Oct. 10, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE at 0:18 (Oct. 11, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>10</sup> Renacci for US Senate, Resp. at 2, MUR 7542 (Feb. 21, 2019) ("Renacci Resp.") (stating that "Majority Strategies, LLC did not create, produce, or distribute the referenced Renacci for U.S. Senate advertisement" and asserting that the complained-of advertisement "was produced by OnMessage, Inc."). The Renacci Committee acknowledges contracting with Majority Strategies for website design/maintenance and for the production of campaign materials, including palm cards, literature, bumper stickers, and yard signs. Renacci Resp. at 2. The Renacci Committee denies that Majority Strategies was involved in its television or digital advertising. *Id*.

<sup>11</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2-4.

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1 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

2 Under the Act and Commission regulations, a "contribution" includes an in-kind contribution.<sup>12</sup> When a person makes an expenditure in cooperation, consultation or in 3 4 concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or the candidate's authorized 5 committee or their agents, it is treated as in in-kind contribution.<sup>13</sup> A "coordinated 6 communication" constitutes an in-kind contribution from the person paying for the 7 communication to the candidate or political committee with whom, or with which, it is coordinated.<sup>14</sup> Any person who is otherwise prohibited from making contributions to 8 9 candidates under the Act or Commission regulations is prohibited from making an in-kind 10 contribution in the form of paying for a coordinated communication.<sup>15</sup> "An independent 11 expenditure-only political committee 'may not make contributions to candidates or political party committees, including in-kind contributions such as coordinated communications."<sup>16</sup> 12 13 Under Commission regulations, a communication is "coordinated" with a candidate, 14 an authorized committee, a political party committee, or agent thereof, if the communication: 15 (1) is paid for, partly or entirely, by a person other than the candidate, authorized committee, 16 political party committee, or agent thereof; (2) satisfies at least one of the "content standards" 17 at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) satisfies at least one of the "conduct standards" at 11 C.F.R.

<sup>15</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 52 U.S.C §§ 30101(8)(A)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20; see also Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 46-47 (1976).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Advisory Op. 2017-10 (Citizens Against Plutocracy) at 2 (quoting Advisory Op. 2016-21 (Great America PAC) at 3-4 (citing Press Release, FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC* Reporting Guidance for Political Committees that Maintain a Non-Contribution Account (Oct. 5, 2011))); *see also* Advisory Op. at 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) at 2-3.

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1 § 109.21(d).<sup>17</sup>

2	One of the standards by which the conduct prong may be met is the "common
3	vendor" standard. <sup>18</sup> The "common vendor" standard has three elements: $(1)$ the person
4	paying for the communication uses a "commercial vendor" to create, produce, or distribute
5	the communication; (2) the vendor, including any owner, officer, or employee, previously
6	provided certain enumerated services — including, inter alia, "development of media
7	strategy," polling, fundraising, "developing the content of a public communication,"
8	"Producing a public communication," "identifying voters," or "consulting or otherwise
9	providing political or media advice" <sup>19</sup> — to the candidate identified in the communication
10	(or that candidate's opponent) during the previous 120 days; and (3) the commercial vendor
11	uses or conveys to the person paying for the communication:
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	<ul> <li>(A) Information about the campaign plans, projects, activities, or needs of the clearly identified candidate, the candidate's opponent, or a political party committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication; or</li> <li>(B) Information used previously by the commercial vendor in providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or the candidate's authorized committee, the candidate's opponent, the</li> </ul>
20 21	opponent's authorized committee, or a political party committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the

<sup>18</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4).

<sup>19</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a). The "content standard" requirement is satisfied if the communication at issue constitutes: (1) an "electioneering communication;" (2) a public communication that disseminates campaign materials prepared by a candidate or authorized committee; (3) a public communication that "expressly advocates" the election or defeat of a clearly identified federal candidate; (4) certain public communications distributed 120 days or fewer before an election, which refer to a clearly identified federal candidate (or political party); or (5) a public communication that is the functional equivalent of express advocacy. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 100.22 (defining express advocacy); 11 C.F.R. § 100.26 (defining public communication); 11 C.F.R. § 100.29 (defining electioneering communication).

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1 communication.<sup>20</sup>

2	The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if a commercial vendor has established
3	and implemented a written firewall policy that meets certain requirements, so long as
4	material information is not shared. <sup>21</sup>
5	The payor of a communication that is coordinated through use of a common vendor
6	makes a contribution to the candidate, but the candidate or authorized committee "does not
7	receive or accept an in-kind contribution" resulting from coordination through a common
8	vendor unless the communication was made at the request or suggestion of, with the material
9	involvement of, or after substantial discussions with, the candidate or authorized
10	committee. <sup>22</sup>
11 12	A. The Commission Dismisses the Allegation that Renacci Committee Accepted Prohibited In-Kind Contributions from Ohio First
13	The MUR 7476 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted prohibited
14	in-kind contributions from OhioFirst by coordinating communications through Majority

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c) (defining commercial vendor). The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if the information used was obtained from a publicly available source. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h). A firewall policy satisfies this "safe harbor" if it (1) is designed and implemented to prohibit the flow of information between employees or consultants providing services for the person paying for the communication and those employees or consultants currently or previously providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or that candidate's authorized committee, the candidate is opponent, the opponent's authorized committee or a political party committee; and (2) is described in a written policy distributed to all relevant employees, consultants, and clients. *Id.* § 109.21(h)(1)-(2). This safe harbor does not apply if specific information indicates that, despite the firewall, material information about the candidate's campaign plans, projects, activities or needs was used or conveyed to the person paying for the communication. *Id.* § 109.21(h).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(2); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3) (defining the relevant conduct standards).

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1 Strategies as the common vendor.<sup>23</sup> This allegation is based solely on the fact that Majority

2 Strategies provided services to both Ohio First and the Renacci Committee.

3 With respect to the conduct prong of the coordinated communications test, the first 4 element of the common vendor standard is satisfied here because Majority Strategies appears 5 to be a "commercial vendor" in that its usual and normal business entails providing 6 communications consulting services to committees, and Ohio First hired Majority Strategies to create, produce, or distribute communications.<sup>24</sup> The second "common vendor" element is 7 8 also satisfied here, since the available information indicates that Majority Strategies provided 9 several of the enumerated services to the Renacci Committee within 120 days prior to 10 providing communications services to Ohio First.<sup>25</sup> 11 With respect to the third element of the common vendor standard, however, there is 12 no information that Majority Strategies used or conveyed information to Ohio First about the Renacci Committee's "plans, projects, activities, or needs."<sup>26</sup> The MUR 7476 Complaint 13 14 merely asserts that Majority Strategies conveyed this information to Ohio First because the 15 two committees employed a common vendor, which is not alone a sufficient basis to find coordination.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, information available to the Commission suggests that Majority 16

<sup>26</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>27</sup> See MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14; Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 7, 10, MUR 5502 (Martinez for Senate, *et al.*) (finding no evidence of coordination from the mere presence of a common vendor).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> MUR 7476 Compl. at 13-14. The Complaint does not identify the particular advertisements that were allegedly coordinated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii); *see also* Renacci for US Senate, 2018 April Quarterly Report at 101 (Apr. 12, 2018) (showing a February 22, 2018, disbursement to Majority Strategies for "printing"); Ohio First, 2018 Pre-Primary Report at 10 (showing an April 1, 2018, disbursement to Majority Strategies for "Media Placement/Media Production").

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1	Strategies implemented a written firewall policy, which prohibits employees working on
2	opposite sides of the firewall from communicating information about their separate clients.
3	Given the conclusory nature of the allegations and the information available to the
4	Commission regarding Majority Strategies firewall policy, and the absence of information
5	sufficient to support the third element of the common vendor test, the available information
6	does not reasonably support a finding that the conduct prong of the coordinated
7	communications test has been satisfied. Accordingly, the Commission dismisses the
8	allegation that the Renacci Committee accepted a contribution in the form of coordinated
9	communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.
10	<b>B.</b> The Commission Dismisses the Allegation that the Renacci Committee
11	Accepted Prohibited In-Kind Contributions from MeToo Ohio
11 12	Accepted Prohibited In-Kind Contributions from MeToo Ohio The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in-
	•
12	The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in-
12 13	The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in- kind contributions from MeToo Ohio by coordinating communications through Majority
12 13 14	The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in- kind contributions from MeToo Ohio by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common vendor. Unlike the coordinated communications allegations against
12 13 14 15	The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in- kind contributions from MeToo Ohio by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common vendor. Unlike the coordinated communications allegations against Ohio First, the Complaint in MUR 7542 identifies specific communications that were
12 13 14 15 16	The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in- kind contributions from MeToo Ohio by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common vendor. Unlike the coordinated communications allegations against Ohio First, the Complaint in MUR 7542 identifies specific communications that were allegedly coordinated between MeToo Ohio and the Renacci Committee, noting that the two
12 13 14 15 16 17	The MUR 7542 Complaint alleges that the Renacci Committee accepted illegal in- kind contributions from MeToo Ohio by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common vendor. Unlike the coordinated communications allegations against Ohio First, the Complaint in MUR 7542 identifies specific communications that were allegedly coordinated between MeToo Ohio and the Renacci Committee, noting that the two committees launched similar ads on the same day. <sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 14-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Compare MeToo Ohio, Turning a Blind Eye, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, Washington's Worst, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

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1	the Senate Democrats' treatment of Brett Kavanaugh during his Supreme Court confirmation
2	process. <sup>30</sup> Moreover, both ads feature excerpts from the same restraining order that Brown's
3	ex-wife sought in the 1980s and use similar visuals, such as highlighted text from the court
4	documents. <sup>31</sup>
5	With respect to the conduct prong of the coordinated communications test, the first
6	element of the common vendor standard is satisfied here because Majority Strategies appears
7	to be a "commercial vendor" in that its usual and normal business entails providing
8	communications consulting services to committees, and MeToo Ohio hired Majorities
9	Strategies to create, produce, or distribute communications.
10	It also appears that the second "common vendor" element may be satisfied here. The
11	Renacci Committee paid Majority Strategies for "production and delivery" six times between
12	August and November 2018. <sup>32</sup> Although Respondent denies that the Renacci Committee ad
13	at issue was created by Majority Strategies, <sup>33</sup> the Renacci Committee acknowledges
14	contracting with Majority Strategies "for website design/maintenance and for the production
15	of campaign materials, including palm cards, literature, bumper stickers, and yard signs." <sup>34</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 October Quarterly Report at 937, 941, 965, and 1007 (Mar. 25, 2019); Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 Pre-General Report at 1209, (Mar. 25, 2019); Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 Post-General Report at 824 (Mar. 25, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Renacci Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2. The Renacci Committee denies that Majority Strategies was involved in its television or digital advertising. *Id.* 

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1 The nature of the "campaign materials" and "literature" produced by Majority Strategies for 2 the Renacci Committee are not described, but it appears from the available information that it 3 is possible that Majority Strategies produced a public communication within 120 days prior to developing the ad for MeToo Ohio.<sup>35</sup> Because the second element of the common vendor 4 5 standard does not require that the commercial vendor worked on communications for the 6 candidate committee, but requires only that the vendor provided the candidate or authorized 7 committee one of the enumerated services within 120 days of the vendor working on 8 communications for the third party, and because Majority Strategies's production of public 9 communications for the Renacci Committee during the relevant time period appears to 10 indicate provision of at least one of the enumerated services, the second element of the 11 common vendor standard appears to be satisfied. 12 With respect to the third element of the common vendor standard, information 13 available to the Commission suggests that Majority Strategies appears to have had a firewall 14 in place that prevented any information that may have been obtained from the Renacci 15 Committee from being used in projects for MeToo Ohio. Further, the Renacci Committee 16 denies that its vendor OnMessage, Inc., which produced the ad at issue, had any discussions about the Renacci campaign with MeToo Ohio or Majority Strategies.<sup>36</sup> 17 18 Respondents assert that the similarities between the two ads was coincidental because the information utilized to create the ads was a matter of public knowledge.<sup>37</sup> The Renacci 19 20 Committee asserts that the issue of the restraining order that Brown's ex-wife sought in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 100.26; 11 C.F.R. §109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2, Anderson Affidavit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2-4.

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1	1980s has been raised in nearly all of Brown's election campaigns. The Renacci Committee
2	also asserts that MeToo Ohio had released a similar one-minute video almost a month earlier,
3	on or about September 13, 2018, <sup>38</sup> and that Renacci had publicly made the connection
4	between Senate Democrats' treatment of Kavanaugh and the allegations against Brown at
5	least as early as September 19, 2018. <sup>39</sup>
6	Viewed in total, the available information is insufficient to give rise to a reasonable
7	inference that the Renacci Committee accepted a contribution in the form of a coordinated
8	communication. The allegation is somewhat speculative, the issue of the restraining order
9	that Brown's ex-wife sought in the 1980s was a matter of discussion by the media during the
10	relevant time period, the issue had also been raised in Brown's prior campaigns, and the
11	Renacci Committee's vendor denies discussing the ad with MeToo Ohio and Majority
12	Strategies. Accordingly, the Commission dismisses the allegation that the Renacci
13	Committee accepted a contribution in the form of coordinated communications in violation
14	of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> MeToo Ohio, *Me Too Ohio*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=</u> <u>U5ACBK4hzO4</u>. We note, however, that this video does not contain a comparison to the allegations against Brett Kavanaugh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Renacci Resp. at 2-3; *id*. n.9 (*citing Renacci hits 'hypocrisy' of response to Kavanaugh allegation*, FOX NEWS (Sept. 19, 2018), available at <u>https://video.foxnews.com/v/5837147158001/#sp=show-clips</u>).

#### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

## FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

2
3 RESPONDENTS: MeToo Ohio and MUR 7542
4 Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer
5

### 6 I. INTRODUCTION

1

7 This matter involves allegations relating to independent expenditures made by MeToo 8 Ohio and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer (collectively, "MeToo Ohio" or 9 "Respondents") in support of Jim Renacci or in opposition to Renacci's opponent Sherrod 10 Brown in the 2018 Senate election in Ohio.<sup>1</sup> The Complaint alleges that MeToo Ohio failed 11 to report in-kind contributions from its vendor Majority Strategies and made prohibited 12 contributions to Renacci for US Senate ("Renacci Committee") in the form of coordinated 13 communications.<sup>2</sup> 14 Based on the available information, the Commission: (1) finds reason to believe that 15 MeToo Ohio violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3) by failing to report contributions received

16 from its vendors in the form of extensions of credit; and (2) dismisses the allegation that

17 MeToo Ohio made a contribution to the Renacci Committee in the form of coordinated

18 communications in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.

19 II. FACTS

20 MeToo Ohio is an independent expenditure-only political committee ("IEOPC") that

21 registered with the Commission on September 5, 2018.<sup>3</sup> In the weeks leading up to the

22 November 6, 2018, Ohio general election, MeToo Ohio spent over half a million dollars in

<sup>3</sup> MeToo Ohio, Statement of Organization (Sept. 5, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 2 (Nov. 14, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Id.

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MUR 7542 (MeToo Ohio, *et al.*) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 15

1	independent expenditures opposing Sherrod Brown, Renacci's opponent in the general
2	election. <sup>4</sup> Most of those independent expenditures were funded by credit extended by
3	Majority Strategies.
4	MeToo Ohio's first report, the 2018 October Quarterly Report, discloses no receipts,
5	no disbursements, no cash on hand, and \$27,004 in debts and obligations to Majority
6	Strategies for independent expenditures opposing Brown. <sup>5</sup> In MeToo Ohio's next report, the
7	Pre-General Report covering the period from October 1 to October 17, 2018, MeToo Ohio
8	disclosed receiving \$220,000 from one contributor, disbursements of \$176,000 to a different
9	vendor (for an independent expenditure, as reported on Schedule E), and debts and
10	obligations of \$156,004 to Majority Strategies. <sup>6</sup>
11	MeToo Ohio disclosed its first payments to Majority Strategies on its Post-General
12	Report. In its Post-General Report, covering the period from October 18 to November 26,
13	2018, MeToo Ohio disclosed receiving \$425,000 from three contributors and disbursements
14	of \$442,206, including over \$231,004 to Majority Strategies. <sup>7</sup>
15	The Complaint alleges that MeToo Ohio failed to properly report the extensions of
16	credit by Majority Strategies as an in-kind contribution. <sup>8</sup> The Complaint asserts that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report at 8 (Oct. 14, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 October Quarterly Report)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report (Oct. 24, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Post-General Report (Dec. 6, 2018). The vast majority of MeToo Ohio's \$645,000 in contributions were received from Ohio First (\$305,000) and from A Public Voice, Inc. (\$315,000). *See* MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report (Oct. 24, 2018); MeToo Ohio, 2018 Post-General Report (Dec. 6, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 17-18. In the alternative, the Complaint asserts that Majority Strategies failed to report independent expenditures because it was not paid by MeToo Ohio for the independent expenditures. *Id.* at 19.

MUR 7542 (MeToo Ohio, *et al.*) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 15

1 Majority Strategies does not ordinarily extend credit to a newly formed committee that has no cash on hand and no record of fundraising.<sup>9</sup> The Complaint also alleges that, with the 2 3 limited exception of Ohio First (an IEOPC which was funding MeToo Ohio), there is no 4 record of Majority Strategies extending six figures of credit to a newly formed committee 5 with no cash on hand.<sup>10</sup> 6 Respondents assert that Majority Strategies's extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was 7 consistent with Majority Strategies's ordinary business practices.<sup>11</sup> However, MeToo Ohio's 8 response does not include specific terms or documents, such as contracts, supporting these 9 assertions regarding the vendor's ordinary business practices. 10 The Complaint also alleges that MeToo Ohio made prohibited and excessive in-kind 11 contributions to the Renacci Committee by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common vendor.<sup>12</sup> In support of this allegation, the Complaint states that the 12 13 Renacci Committee's second television ad was launched on the same day as a MeToo Ohio 14 ad and that the two ads were "strikingly consistent in theme, tone, and style, including references to the same excerpted court documents and similar visuals."<sup>13</sup> The Complaint 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Id.* at 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> MeToo Ohio, Resp. at 3, MUR 7542 (Jan. 29, 2019) ("MeToo Ohio Resp.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 1-2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Id.* at 2; *compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE (Oct. 10, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE (Oct. 11, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

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3 4

- 1 notes, for example, that each ad included highlighted text of court documents, as in these
- 2 screen shots of the ads from the Renacci Committee at left and MeToo at right:<sup>14</sup>



5 create, produce, or place any television advertisements for the Renacci Committee and that 6 Majority Strategies may have implemented a firewall that prevented any information that 7 may have been obtained from its work for the Renacci Committee from being used in MeToo 8 Ohio's projects and vice versa. Respondents asserts that the 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(3) safe 9 harbor was satisfied because the information utilized to create the ads was a matter of public 10 knowledge.<sup>15</sup> 11 LEGAL ANALYSIS III. 12 A. There is Reason to Believe MeToo Ohio Failed to Report In-Kind Contributions in the form of Extensions of Credit From Its Vendor 13 14 The Act requires each treasurer of a political committee to file reports of receipts and disbursements with the Commission.<sup>16</sup> Such reports must include the total amount of 15

16 contributions received, as well as the identification of each person who made a contribution

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See MUR 7542 Compl. at 6; MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE at 0:21 (Oct. 10, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE at 0:18 (Oct. 11, 2018), available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> MeToo Ohio Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1).

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in excess of \$200 during the reporting period, together with the date and amount of such
 contribution.<sup>17</sup>

3 A "contribution" includes "any gift [or] advance . . . of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office."<sup>18</sup> The 4 5 extension of credit to a political committee by a commercial vendor is a contribution, "unless 6 the credit is extended in the ordinary course of the person's business and the terms are 7 substantially similar to extensions of credit to nonpolitical debtors that are of similar risk and size of obligation."<sup>19</sup> A "commercial vendor" is any person who provides goods or services 8 9 to a candidate or political committee, and whose usual and normal business involves the sale, 10 rental, lease, or provision of those goods and services.<sup>20</sup> 11 Commission regulations state that, in determining whether credit was extended in a 12 commercial vendor's ordinary course of business, the Commission will consider whether: 13 (1) the commercial vendor followed its established procedures and its past practice in 14 approving the extension of credit; (2) the commercial vendor received prompt payment in 15 full for prior extensions of credit to the same committee; and (3) the extension of credit conformed to the usual and normal practice in the vendor's trade or industry.<sup>21</sup> The 16

17 Commission has explained that "[t]hese factors are intended to provide guidance . . . . The

<sup>17</sup> 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b)(2)(A), (b)(3)(A)-(B).

<sup>20</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

<sup>21</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 100.55 (explaining that a contribution will also result if a creditor fails to make a commercially reasonable attempt to collect the debt); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 116.3(b).

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1 factors need not be accorded equal weight and in some cases a single factor may not be

2 dispositive."<sup>22</sup>

3 As an initial matter, Majority Strategies appears to be in the business of providing the 4 services they provided to MeToo Ohio, and, therefore, appears to be a "commercial 5 vendor."<sup>23</sup> From MeToo Ohio's reporting of debts, it appears that this vendor extended 6 credit to MeToo Ohio by providing services in advance of payment. 7 MeToo Ohio contracted with Majority Strategies to make independent expenditures 8 worth \$231,004, but did not make a single payment until 50 days after the first service was 9 rendered and did not report any disbursements to Majority Strategies until after the election. 10 Although MeToo Ohio reported contributions from one donor prior to the election, those 11 receipts post-dated over \$27,000 in debt to Majority Strategies and the cash on hand 12 (\$44,000) reported in its Pre-General Report was not nearly enough to pay its additional outstanding debts to Majority Strategies (totalling \$156,004).<sup>24</sup> 13 14 The available information supports a conclusion that Majority Strategies's extensions 15 of credit to MeToo Ohio were contributions because they were not made in the ordinary 16 course of business and on terms similar to those the vendors would make available to non-17 political customers of similar risk and size of obligation. At the time that Majority Strategies 18 first extended credit, MeToo Ohio was a brand-new committee with no apparent money or 19 assets. MeToo Ohio had no payment history with Majority Strategies or any other vendor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Debts Owed by Candidates and Political Committees, 55 Fed. Reg. 26378, 26281 (June 27, 1990); *see* Advisory Op. 1991-20 (Call Interactive) at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> MeToo Ohio, 2018 Pre-General Report at 2, 7.

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Majority Strategies nevertheless provided MeToo Ohio with services worth over \$230,000
 before it received any payment from MeToo Ohio.

3 Respondents assert that Majority Strategies's extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was 4 not an in-kind contribution because it was consistent with Majority Strategies's ordinary 5 business practices. In support of this assertion, MeToo Ohio points to Ohio Conservatives 6 for a Change, another IEOPC that was active during the time period at issue, as an example 7 of another group to which Majority Strategies has regularly extended credit.<sup>25</sup> However, 8 Ohio Conservatives for a Change was not similarly situated to MeToo Ohio. Prior to the 9 time that Majority Strategies extended credit to Ohio Conservatives for a Change, that 10 committee had reported receipts totaling over \$1.3 million and cash on hand, after a payment 11 to a different vendor, of almost \$1.3 million; in other words, it already had a track record of both raising funds and paying vendors.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, an examination of all reports filed with 12 13 the Commission found no instances, besides those involving MeToo Ohio and Ohio First 14 (which was funding MeToo Ohio), in which Majority Strategies extended credit to a committee that did not report receipts prior to or at the same time that it reported the debt.<sup>27</sup> 15

<sup>26</sup> Ohio Conservatives for a Change, 2017 Mid-Year Report (July 28, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> MeToo Ohio, Resp. at 3.

A review located 65 committees (other than MeToo Ohio and Ohio First) that reported debts to Majority Strategies, but did not identify other similarly situated committees, *i.e.*, newly formed committees with no reported receipts, to which Majority Strategies extended credit — 20 party committees (or reporting components of party committees), 34 candidate committees, and four IEOPCs — had an established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors (Ohio Conservatives for a Change is among the four IEOPCs with established history of reported receipts and payments to vendors to which Majority Strategies had extended credit). The remaining seven committees that reported debt to Majority Strategies — four candidate committees, and three IEOPCs — had modest assets and reported debts to Majority Strategies in amounts between \$250 and \$5,000, amounts which are of significantly smaller size of obligation than those apparently extended to Ohio First and MeToo Ohio. *See* Feda for Congress, 2009 Year-End Report (Jan. 26, 2010) (reporting \$1,920 debt); Shawn Nelson for Congress, 2018 April Quarterly Report (Apr. 15, 2018) (reporting \$2,115 debt); John Ward for Congress, Inc., 2017 Year-End Report (Jan. 31, 2018) (reporting \$5,000 debt

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1	Further, Respondents do not explain why Majority Strategies extended credit to a new
2	committee or why Majority Strategies continued to extend credit when it had not received a
3	payment in any amount. Nor do Respondents explain what, if any, process or analysis
4	Majority Strategies undertook when deciding to extend credit to MeToo Ohio. And
5	Respondents provided no copies of agreements or any other supporting documentation
6	explaining the terms and conditions for the extensions of credit to the Committee.
7	Thus, despite the assertions of Respondents that Majority Strategies engaged in its
8	ordinary business practices consistent with prior practices, the available information does not
9	support the contention that the vendor's extension of credit to MeToo Ohio was ordinary.
10	This conclusion is consistent with several matters in which the Commission found reason to
11	believe that a vendor's extension of credit to a committee was not made in the vendor's
12	ordinary course of business and was, therefore, a contribution. The Commission has found
13	reason to believe vendors extended credit to an IEOPC outside its ordinary course of business
14	and industry practice when the IEOPC lacked a prior business relationship with its vendors or
15	a well-established track record for payment and when the extension was out of line with the
16	vendors' prior extensions of credit (as reported to the Commission by other committees). In
17	MUR 5635, the Commission found reason to believe a vendor extended credit outside its
18	ordinary course of business and industry practice on a record that included facts, as
19	ascertained in a Commission audit, similar to the ones in this matter: a vendor extended over

alongside payments to Majority Strategies of \$17,006, although subsequently amended to remove the entry indicating debt owed to Majority Strategies); Adrian Smith for Congress, 2005 October Quarterly Report (Oct. 15, 2005) (reporting \$3,250 debt, later amended to reflect debt of \$3,340); Freedom Path Action Network, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Country Fund, 2012 July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt); Freedom Network, July Quarterly Report (July 13, 2012) (reporting \$250 debt).

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1	\$1 million credit on a short term contract to a committee with which it had no prior business
2	relationship. <sup>28</sup> In another matter, the Commission found reason to believe on a record, like
3	the one here, with little or no information demonstrating or substantiating that the vendors'
4	extensions of credit had been made in the ordinary course of business. <sup>29</sup> Conversely, the
5	Commission has found no reason to believe a vendor's extension of credit constituted a
6	contribution where the record included documents, sworn affidavits, or other evidence
7	demonstrating that the extensions of credit had been made in the vendor's ordinary course of
8	business or on terms substantially similar to extensions of credit to other clients of similar
9	risk and size of obligation. <sup>30</sup>
10	Here, Respondents did not submit written agreements or other documents to support
11	their contentions that the vendors acted in their ordinary course of business. The available
12	record does not include information to support the notion that Me Ohio's vendor extended
13	credit in the ordinary course of their business and on terms substantially similar to extensions
14	of credit to any other debtor of similar risk and size of obligation. Because the available

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Gen. Counsel's Brief at 8-9, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership PAC, *et al.*). The Commission conciliated with the committee and vendor on the extension of credit violation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See Factual & Legal Analysis at 6, 8-10, MUR 6101(Heller *et al.*) (also noting the lack of information about the vendor's advance payment policies, billing cycles, and details about the terms of the transactions with the committee). The Commission took no further action after the initial reason to believe finding, once the investigation established that the vendor *had* extended credit in the ordinary course of business and on similar terms to other clients. See Second Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 5, MUR 6101 (Heller *et al.*) (discussing prior matters in which the Commission took no further action after a reason to believe finding on an extension of credit outside ordinary business practices).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See, e.g., F&LA at 8-14, MUR 6141 (Friends of Dave Reichert) (finding no reason to believe that the credit extension was outside the vendor's ordinary course of business on a record including vendor's sworn declaration providing a detailed explanation of its business practices, publicly available information (including a Federal Communication Commission opinion letter) about industry standards, and the respondent committee's history of prompt payments to the vendor in earlier election cycles); MUR 5939 (Moveon.org *et al.*) (finding no reason to believe that *New York Times* extended credit outside of ordinary business practices on record that included the terms of the transaction in question as well as the paper's usual terms and practices).

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B.

information is not sufficient to support Respondents' assertion that the extension of credit
from Majority Strategies was offered in the ordinary course of business, and the available
information indicates that it may not have been provided in the ordinary course of business,
the Commission finds reason to believe that MeToo Ohio failed to report contributions
received from its vendor in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(3)(A).

6 7

## The Commission Dismisses the Allegation that MeToo Ohio Made Coordinated Communications

8 Under the Act and Commission regulations, a "contribution" includes an in-kind contribution.<sup>31</sup> When a person makes an expenditure in cooperation, consultation or in 9 10 concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or the candidate's authorized committee or their agents, it is treated as in in-kind contribution.<sup>32</sup> A "coordinated 11 communication" constitutes an in-kind contribution from the person paying for the 12 13 communication to the candidate or political committee with whom, or with which, it is coordinated.<sup>33</sup> Any person who is otherwise prohibited from making contributions to 14 15 candidates under the Act or Commission regulations is prohibited from making an in-kind contribution in the form of paying for a coordinated communication.<sup>34</sup> "An independent 16 17 expenditure-only political committee 'may not make contributions to candidates or political party committees, including in-kind contributions such as coordinated communications."<sup>35</sup> 18

<sup>34</sup> See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(f), 30118(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> 52 U.S.C §§ 30101(8)(A)(i); 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20; see also Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 46-47 (1976).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Advisory Op. 2017-10 (Citizens Against Plutocracy) at 2 (quoting Advisory Op. 2016-21 (Great America PAC) at 3-4 (citing Press Release, FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC* Reporting Guidance for Political Committees that Maintain a Non-Contribution Account (Oct. 5, 2011))); *see also* Advisory Op. at 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) at 2-3.

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1	Under Commission regulations, a communication is "coordinated" with a candidate,
2	an authorized committee, a political party committee, or agent thereof, if the communication:
3	(1) is paid for, partly or entirely, by a person other than the candidate, authorized committee,
4	political party committee, or agent thereof; (2) satisfies at least one of the "content standards"
5	at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) satisfies at least one of the "conduct standards" at 11 C.F.R.
6	§ 109.21(d). <sup>36</sup>
7	One of the standards by which the conduct prong may be met is the "common
8	vendor" standard. <sup>37</sup> The "common vendor" standard has three elements: $(1)$ the person
9	paying for the communication uses a "commercial vendor" to create, produce, or distribute
10	the communication; (2) the vendor, including any owner, officer, or employee, previously
11	provided certain enumerated services — including, inter alia, "development of media
12	strategy," polling, fundraising, "developing the content of a public communication,"
13	"Producing a public communication," "identifying voters," or "consulting or otherwise
14	providing political or media advice" <sup>38</sup> — to the candidate identified in the communication
15	(or that candidate's opponent) during the previous 120 days; and (3) the commercial vendor
16	uses or conveys to the person paying for the communication:
17 18	(A) Information about the campaign plans, projects, activities, or needs of the clearly identified candidate, the candidate's opponent, or a political party

<sup>36</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a). The "content standard" requirement is satisfied if the communication at issue constitutes: (1) an "electioneering communication;" (2) a "public communication" that disseminates campaign materials prepared by a candidate or authorized committee; (3) a public communication that "expressly advocates" the election or defeat of a clearly identified federal candidate; (4) certain public communications distributed 120 days or fewer before an election, which refer to a clearly identified federal candidate (or political party); or (5) a public communication that is the functional equivalent of express advocacy. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); see 11 C.F.R. § 100.22 (defining express advocacy); 11 C.F.R. § 100.26 (defining public communication); 11 C.F.R. § 100.29 (defining electioneering communication).

38 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(ii).

<sup>37</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4).

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1 2 3	committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication; or
4 5 6 7 8 9	(B) Information used previously by the commercial vendor in providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or the candidate's authorized committee, the candidate's opponent, the opponent's authorized committee, or a political party committee, and that information is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication. <sup>39</sup>
10	The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if a commercial vendor has established
11	and implemented a written firewall policy that meets certain requirements, so long as
12	material information is not shared. <sup>40</sup>
13	The payor of a communication that is coordinated through use of a common vendor
14	makes a contribution to the candidate, but the candidate or authorized committee "does not
15	receive or accept an in-kind contribution" resulting from coordination through a common
16	vendor unless the communication was made at the request or suggestion of, with the material
17	involvement of, or after substantial discussions with, the candidate or authorized
18	committee. <sup>41</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c) (defining commercial vendor). The common vendor conduct standard is not satisfied if the information used was obtained from a publicly available source. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(iii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h). A firewall policy satisfies this "safe harbor" if it (1) is designed and implemented to prohibit the flow of information between employees or consultants providing services for the person paying for the communication and those employees or consultants currently or previously providing services to the candidate who is clearly identified in the communication, or that candidate's authorized committee, the candidate is opponent, the opponent's authorized committee or a political party committee; and (2) is described in a written policy distributed to all relevant employees, consultants, and clients. *Id.* § 109.21(h)(1)-(2). This safe harbor does not apply if specific information indicates that, despite the firewall, material information about the candidate's campaign plans, projects, activities or needs was used or conveyed to the person paying for the communication. *Id.* § 109.21(h).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(2); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3) (defining the relevant conduct standards).

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1 The Complaint alleges that MeToo Ohio made illegal in-kind contributions to the 2 Renacci Committee by coordinating communications through Majority Strategies, a common 3 vendor. The Complaint identifies specific communications that were allegedly coordinated 4 between MeToo Ohio and the Renacci Committee, noting that the two committees launched 5 similar ads on the same day.<sup>42</sup>

6 A review of the advertisements reveals significant similarities between those distributed by MeToo Ohio and by the Renacci Committee.<sup>43</sup> In particular, both ads contrast 7 8 allegations that Renacci's opponent Brown physically abused his then-wife in the 1980s with 9 the Senate Democrats' treatment of Brett Kavanaugh during his Supreme Court confirmation 10 process.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, both ads feature excerpts from the same restraining order that Brown's 11 ex-wife sought in the 1980s and use similar visuals, such as highlighted text from the court documents.45 12 13 Respondents do not dispute that MeToo Ohio's communications satisfy the 14 "payment" and "content" prongs of the coordinated communication test. With respect to the

15 conduct prong of the coordinated communications test, the first element of the common

16 vendor standard is satisfied here because Majority Strategies appears to be a "commercial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> MUR 7542 Compl. at 14-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> *Compare* MeToo Ohio, *Turning a Blind Eye*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u> <u>v=2yxyppoM\_MM</u> with Renacci for US Senate, *Washington's Worst*, YOUTUBE, available at <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQcexM2Ib4</u>.

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vendor" in that its usual and normal business entails providing communications consulting
 services to committees, and MeToo Ohio hired Majorities Strategies to create, produce, or
 distribute communications.

4 It also appears that the second "common vendor" element may be satisfied here. The 5 Renacci Committee paid Majority Strategies for "production and delivery" six times between August and November 2018.<sup>46</sup> Although information available to the Commission suggests 6 7 that the Renacci Committee ad at issue was not created by Majority Strategies, it also 8 established that the Renacci Committee contracted with Majority Strategies for website 9 design/maintenance and for the production of campaign materials, including palm cards, 10 literature, bumper stickers, and yard signs. The nature of the campaign materials and 11 literature produced by Majority Strategies for the Renacci Committee is not known, but it 12 appears from the available information that it is possible that Majority Strategies produced a 13 public communication for the Renacci Committee within 120 days prior to developing the ad for MeToo Ohio.<sup>47</sup> Because the second element of the common vendor standard does not 14 15 require that the commercial vendor worked on communications for the candidate committee, 16 but requires only that the vendor provided the candidate or authorized committee one of the 17 enumerated services within 120 days of the vendor working on communications for the third 18 party, and because Majority Strategies's production of public communications for the 19 Renacci Committee during the relevant time period appears to indicate provision of at least

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 October Quarterly Report at 937, 941, 965, and 1007 (Mar. 25, 2019); Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 Pre-General Report at 1209, (Mar. 25, 2019); Renacci for US Senate, Amend. 2018 Post-General Report at 824 (Mar. 25, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 100.26; 11 C.F.R. §109.21(d)(4)(ii).

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one of the enumerated services, the second element of the common vendor standard appears
 to be satisfied.

3 With respect to the third element of the common vendor standard, information 4 available to the Commission suggests that Majority Strategies had a firewall in place that 5 prevented any information that may have been obtained from the Renacci Committee from 6 being used in projects for MeToo Ohio. Respondents assert that the similarities between the 7 two ads was coincidental because the information utilized to create the ads was a matter of public knowledge.<sup>48</sup> In particular, Respondents assert that Kavanagh's confirmation, and 8 9 Brown's opposition to it, was covered by the media in September and October 2018, and it is 10 therefore unsurprising that an IEOPC and campaign opposing Brown would make it an issue in the election.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, the Commission is in receipt of information indicating that 11 12 MeToo posted a video roughly one month earlier that featured images of the same court 13 documents the Complainant suggests link the two October ads.

Viewed in total, the available information is insufficient to give rise to a reasonable inference that MeToo Ohio made a contribution in the form of a coordinated communication. The allegation is somewhat speculative, the issue of the restraining order that Brown's exwife sought in the 1980s was a matter of discussion by the media during the relevant time period, and the issue had also been raised in Brown's prior campaigns. Accordingly, the Commission dismisses the allegation that MeToo Ohio made a contribution in the form of coordinated communications in violation of 52 U.S.C.

21 §§ 30116(a), 30118(a), and 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> MeToo Ohio Resp. at 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> MeToo Ohio Resp. at 2.