FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL’S REPORT

MUR 7654
DATE COMPLAINT FILED: October 28, 2019
DATE OF NOTIFICATIONS: November 1, 2019
LAST RESPONSE RECEIVED: December 26, 2019
DATE ACTIVATED: February 20, 2020

EARLIEST SOL: September 28, 2023
LATEST SOL: October 31, 2023
ELECTION CYCLE: 2018

COMPLAINANTS:
Campaign Legal Center
End Citizens United
Margaret Christ

RESPONDENTS:
America First Action, Inc. and Jon Proch in his
official capacity as treasurer
OnMessage, Inc.
Starboard Strategic, Inc.
Josh Hawley for Senate and Salvatore Purpura in
his official capacity as treasurer
Matt Rosendale for Montana and Errol Galt in his
official capacity as treasurer
Pete Sessions for Congress and Steve Hargrove in
his official capacity as treasurer
National Media Research, Planning and Placement,
LLC

MUR 7660
DATE COMPLAINT FILED: November 1, 2019
DATE OF NOTIFICATIONS: October 29, 2018
LAST RESPONSE RECEIVED: December 3, 2019
DATE ACTIVATED: February 20, 2020

EARLIEST SOL: February 27, 2019
LATEST SOL: November 3, 2019
ELECTION CYCLE: 2014

COMPLAINANT:
Amber Dahlin

RESPONDENTS:
National Rifle Association of America Political
Victory Fund and Robert Owens, in his official
capacity as treasurer
I. INTRODUCTION

The Complaints in these two matters involve separate allegations that America First Action, Inc. and Jon Proch in his official capacity as treasurer (“AFA”), the National Rifle Association of America Political Victory Fund and Robert Owens in his official capacity as treasurer (the “NRA-PVF”), and the National Rifle Association Institute for Legislative Action and Robert Owens in his official capacity of treasurer (the “NRA Respondents”) made excessive, prohibited, and unreported in-kind contributions to federal candidates using a common vendor. The Complaint in MUR 7654 alleges that during the 2018 election cycle AFA made millions in excessive, prohibited, and unreported in-kind contributions to Josh Hawley for Senate and Salvatore Purpura in his official capacity as treasurer (the “Hawley Committee”), Matt Rosendale for Montana and Errol Galt in his official capacity as treasurer (the “Rosendale Committee”), and Pete Sessions for Congress and Steve Hargrove in his official capacity as treasurer (the “Sessions Committee.”). The MUR 7660 Complaint, consistent with the complaint submitted in MUR 7427, alleges that the NRA Respondents coordinated communications with Cory Gardner’s principal campaign committee, Cory Gardner

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1 See Compl. at 2 (Oct. 25, 2019), MUR 7654.
for Senate and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer (“Gardner Committee”) during the
2014 election cycle.²

For the reasons that follow, we recommend that the Commission: (1) find reason to
believe that AFA violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a), and 30118(a) by making and failing
to report excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions in the form of coordinated
communications to the Hawley Committee, the Rosendale Committee, and the Sessions
Committee; (2) take no action at this time with respect to the Hawley Committee, Rosendale
Committee, and Sessions Committee; and (3) merge MUR 7660 into MUR 7427.

II. MUR 7654 (COORDINATION ALLEGATIONS AGAINST AFA AND
POLITICAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEES)

A. Factual Background

AFA is registered with the Commission as an independent expenditure-only political
committee (“IEOPC”). In registering as an IEOPC, AFA stated its intent “to raise funds in
unlimited amounts,” but pledged that it would “not use those funds to make contributions,
whether direct, in-kind, or via coordinated communications to federal candidates or
committees.”³

In the 2018 election cycle, Matt Rosendale was a candidate for U.S. Senate in Montana
and Josh Hawley was a candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri.⁴ Pete Sessions was a candidate

² See Compl. (Nov. 16, 2019), MUR 7660. See also Compl. ¶¶ 2, 42-55, MUR 7427; Compl. ¶¶ 3, 51-55,
60-66, MUR 7497; Compl. ¶¶ 2, 63-66, MUR 7524.

³ Compl at 3, MUR 7654, citing AFA Amended Statement of Organization, FEC Form 1, at 1 (Nov. 14,
2017).

⁴ See Matt Rosendale, Amended Statement of Candidacy (Oct. 13, 2017); Josh Hawley, Amended Statement
of Candidacy (May 9, 2018).
for the U.S. House in Texas’s 32nd congressional district in 2018.\(^5\)

National Media Research, Planning and Placement, LLC (“National Media”) is a Virginia company organized in 2006 that provides political consulting services and operates under the names “Red Eagle Media Group” and “American Media & Advocacy Group (“AMAG”).\(^6\)

Respondents have previously acknowledged that National Media, Red Eagle, and AMAG are the same company.\(^7\)

Founded in 2005, OnMessage is a political consulting firm that provides media consulting services.\(^8\) During the 2018 election cycle, OnMessage provided media consulting services to the Sessions, Hawley, and Rosendale Committees; in some instances, OnMessage subcontracted the placement of ads through National Media.\(^9\)

During the 2018 election cycle, AFA reported making more than $2.6 million in independent expenditures opposing Hawley’s opponent, Claire McCaskill, in Missouri’s U.S. Senate race.\(^10\) Included in those expenditures were more than $2.2 million in disbursements to National Media, through its Red Eagle fictitious name, for “placed media.”\(^11\) In the Montana

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\(^7\) See, e.g., NRA Resp. at 5, MUR 7553 (Jan. 29, 2019) (on behalf of National Media); NRA Resp. at 4, MUR 7524 (Dec. 17, 2019) (on behalf of National Media, among others).

\(^8\) See OnMessage, Articles of Incorporation (Apr. 13, 2005).


\(^11\) See AFA, Disbursements to Red Eagle for IEs opposing McCaskill, 2017-2018 (regularly scheduled reports).
Senate race, AFA reported disbursements of more than $1.6 million to Red Eagle Media for “placed media” in connection with independent expenditures opposing Rosendale’s opponent, Jon Tester.\(^{12}\) And in the U.S. House race in Texas’s 32nd Congressional District, AFA reported disbursements of nearly $2.8 million paid to Red Eagle Media in connection with independent expenditures opposing Sessions’s opponent, Colin Allred.\(^{13}\)

Meanwhile, National Media, through its AMAG fictitious name, provided media services to the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees, including selecting and purchasing advertising slots and audiences.\(^{14}\) Specifically, these committees reported paying OnMessage for media buys in amounts totaling more than $1.8 million (Sessions), $6.5 million (Hawley) and $2.8 million (Rosendale), respectively.\(^{15}\) In turn, OnMessage subcontracted with AMAG to place each candidate’s committee broadcast ads during the 2018 election cycle.\(^{16}\)

**B. Legal Analysis**

1. **Legal Standard**

   The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, defines the terms “contribution” and “expenditure” to include “anything of value” made by any person for the purpose of influencing an election.\(^{17}\) The term “anything of value” includes in-kind

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\(^{12}\) See AFA, Disbursements to Red Eagle for IEs opposing Tester, 2017-2018 (regularly scheduled reports).

\(^{13}\) See AFA, Disbursements to Red Eagle for IEs opposing Allred, 2017-2018 (regularly scheduled reports).

\(^{14}\) Compl. at 2, MUR 7654.

\(^{15}\) See Sessions Committee, TV Ad and Media Buy Disbursements to OnMessage, 2017-2018 (regularly scheduled reports); Hawley Committee, Media Disbursements to OnMessage, 2017-2018 (regularly scheduled reports); and Rosendale Committee, TV Ad and Media Buy Disbursements to OnMessage, 2017-2018. (regularly scheduled reports).

\(^{16}\) See Compl. at 7, 11, and 14, MUR 7654; NatMedia Resp. at 4, MUR 7654.

\(^{17}\) 52 U.S.C §§ 30101(8)(A)(i), 30101(9)(A)(i).
contributions.\textsuperscript{18} In-kind contributions result when goods or services are provided without charge or at less than the usual and normal charge,\textsuperscript{19} and when a person makes an expenditure in cooperation, consultation or in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of a candidate or the candidate’s authorized committee or their agents.\textsuperscript{20}

Under Commission regulations, expenditures for “coordinated communications” are addressed under a three-prong test at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21 and other coordinated expenditures are addressed under 11 C.F.R. § 109.20(b). The Commission has explained that section 109.20(b) applies to “expenditures that are not made for communications but that are coordinated with a candidate, authorized committee, or political party committee.”\textsuperscript{21} Under the three-prong test for coordinated communications, a communication is coordinated and treated as an in-kind contribution when it is paid for by someone other than a candidate, a candidate’s authorized committee, a political party committee, or the authorized agents of either (the “payment prong”); satisfies one of five content standards (the “content prong”); and satisfies one of five conduct standards (the “conduct prong”).\textsuperscript{22} A communication must satisfy all three prongs to be a “coordinated communication.”

\textsuperscript{18} 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d).

\textsuperscript{19} Id.


\textsuperscript{22} 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a); see also id. § 109.21(b) (describing in-kind treatment and reporting of coordinated communications); id. § 109.21(c), (d) (describing content and conduct standards, respectively). A sixth conduct standard describes how the other conduct standards apply when a communication republishes campaign materials. See id. § 109.21(d)(6).
The “conduct prong” is satisfied by: (1) communications made at the “request or suggestion” of the relevant candidate or committee; (2) communications made with the “material involvement” of the relevant candidate or committee; (3) communications made after a “substantial discussion” with the relevant candidate or committee; (4) specific actions of a “common vendor;” (5) specific actions of a “former employee or independent contractor”; and (6) specific actions relating to the dissemination of campaign material.23

The MUR 7654 Complaint alleges coordination through a common vendor.24

The “common vendor” standard of the conduct prong has three elements: (i) the person paying for the communication, or an agent of such person, uses a “commercial vendor”25 to create, produce, or distribute the communication; (ii) the vendor previously provided certain enumerated services to the candidate identified in the communication during the previous 120 days; and (iii) the commercial vendor uses or conveys to the person paying for the communication:

(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

(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.26

23 Id. § 109.21(d).

24 Compl. at 25, MUR 7654.

25 A commercial vendor includes “any persons providing goods or services to a candidate or political committee whose usual and normal business involves the sale, rental, lease, or provision of those goods or services.” 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c). A “commercial vendor” also includes “any owner, officer, or employee of the commercial vendor.” Id. § 109.21(d).

26 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4); see id. § 116.1(c).
Commission regulations state that a candidate or authorized committee “does not receive
or accept an in-kind contribution” resulting from coordination through a common vendor unless
the communication was made at the request or suggestion of, with the material involvement of,
or after substantial discussions with, the candidate or authorized committee. Further, the
Commission has crafted a safe harbor provision for commercial vendors that have established
and implemented a written firewall policy that meets certain requirements.

A firewall policy satisfies the “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 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 (2) is “described in a written policy that is distributed to all
relevant employees, consultants, and clients affected by the policy.” The safe harbor, however,
“does not apply if specific information indicates that, despite the firewall, information about the
candidate’s . . . campaign plans, projects, activities, or needs that is material to the creation,
production, or distribution of the communication was used or conveyed to the person paying for
the communication.”

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27 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(2); see id. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3).
28 Id. § 109.21(h).
29 Id. § 109.21(h)(1)-(2).
30 Id. § 109.21(h).
2. The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that AFA Made Excessive and Prohibited In-Kind Contributions to the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees in the Form of Coordinated Communications Through National Media

The Complaint in MUR 7654 alleges that AFA coordinated ads with the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees using National Media as a common vendor. None of the Respondents dispute that the AFA’s ads satisfy the payment and content prongs of the coordinated communications test and the first two elements of the common vendor standard of the conduct prong. In dispute is whether the third element of the common vendor standard has been satisfied — i.e., whether there was use or conveyance of material information.

The MUR 7654 Complaint alleges that the same National Media official placed ads for both the AFA and the aforementioned candidate committees, disseminating ads with the same intended audience, on the same TV station, and at the same time. Attached as exhibits to the Complaint are documents obtained from the Federal Communication Commission’s (“FCC”) public database that contain information about ads National Media placed for AFA and the aforementioned committees.

The available information indicates that National Media used or conveyed non-public information to AFA about the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees’ “plans, projects, activities or needs” that was material to the placement of the AFA’s communications.

31 See Compl. at 2, MUR 7654.

32 See generally AFA Resp., MUR 7654; Response of the Hawley Committee (“Hawley Committee Resp.”) (Dec. 20, 2019), MUR 7654; Response of the Rosendale Committee (“Rosendale Resp.”) (Dec. 4, 2019), MUR 7654; Response of the Sessions Committee (“Sessions Committee Resp.”) (Dec. 26, 2019), MUR 7654; see also First General Counsel’s Report at 26, 29, 34, MURs 7427, 7497, 7524, 7553.

33 See Compl. at 1-2, 9, 11-12, MUR 7654.

34 These FCC filings were also attached to the Complaint in MUR 7654. See Compl. Exs., MUR 7654.
submitted FCC filings show that the same National Media official was involved in the placement
of ads for AFA and the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees, and included ads that
were placed on the same television station, within days of each other, running during the same
time period or in close proximity. Specifically, in at least eight instances, Jon Ferrell, National
Media’s Director of Accounting, signed agreements for the placement of ads on behalf of AFA
and either the Sessions, Hawley, or Rosendale Committees. In one instance, Farrell signed
agreements on behalf of both the Rosendale Committee and AFA on October 8, 2018, with the
ads for both entities airing on television station KECI at the same time period. The Rosendale
Committee ads aired from October 9, 2018, through October 16, 2018, at a cost of $13,065. Contemporaneously, the AFA ads attacking Rosendale’s opponent aired on television station
KECI from October 5, 2018, through October 11, 2018, in amounts totaling $37,260. Over a
three day period — October 9, 2018 through October 11, 2018 — the AFA and Rosendale
Committee ads both appeared on eight television programs, which included “The NBC Today

35 The Complaint refers to other instances in which National Media effectively placed ads for AFA and the
Sessions Committee without the corresponding forms establishing that Ferrell signed on behalf on both entities.
Compl at 7-16, MUR 7654. There, AFA either filed the “Agreement Form for Non-Candidate/Issue
Advertisements” with Ferrell’s signature but the “Agreement Form for Political Candidate Advertisements” for
Sessions Committee ads that aired during the same time period or in close proximity to the AFA ads was not
disclosed, or vice versa. See Compl. ¶¶ 19(a), (b), (g), and (h), MUR 7654. In two other instances, the Complaint
refers to Sessions Committee and AFA ads that aired during overlapping periods, but does not include either
agreement form. See Compl. ¶¶ 19(c) and (f), MUR 7654. The FCC’s online public database likewise does not
include the forms absent in the Complaint or attached exhibits.

36 See Compl. ¶¶ 19, 22, and 25, MUR 7654.

order dates for the TV ads at issue on September 28, 2018, to run from October 5, 2018, through October 11, 2018.
NatMedia Resp. at 9. The Rosendale Committee ordered the ads on October 5, 2018, to run from October 9, 2018,
through October 15, 2018. Id.

38 See Compl., Montana Ex. A at 10-12, MUR 7654.

"Show," the local television evening news programs at 5, 6 and 10 p.m., respectively, "Ellen," "The Voice," and "The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon." 40

This same pattern of overlapping ads appeared with respect to Farrell’s signed agreements on behalf of the Hawley Committee and AFA. On October 11, 2018, Ferrell signed the “Agreement Form for Political Candidate Advertisements” on behalf of the Hawley Committee, to air ads on television station KOLR from October 16, 2018, through October 22, 2018, in amounts totaling $25,405.06. 41 Six days later, on October 17, 2018, Ferrell signed the corresponding “Agreement Form for Non-Candidate/Issue Advertisements” on behalf of Red Eagle for AFA, to run ads on television station KOLR from October 17, 2018, through October 23, 2018, in amounts totaling $26,785.42 During the overlapping period of October 17, 2018 through October 22, 2018, National Media placed ads to air on the same programs, which included KOLR.’s early morning news broadcasts at 5:00 a.m. and 5:30 a.m., respectively, “NCIS,” “NCIS: New Orleans,” and “NCIS: Los Angeles.” 43 Additionally, National Media placed Hawley Committee and AFA ads to run on programs airing in close proximity. Specifically, on October 23, 2018, National Media placed an AFA sponsored ad to air during the “NFL London Game” on television station KOLR, which had an airtime of 8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. 44 Subsequently, National Media placed a Hawley Committee ad to air during the next NFL


41 See Compl., Missouri Ex. L, MUR 7654.

42 Though not included in the Complaint, the FCC’s online public database discloses this form. See Licensing & Databases Public Inspection Files-Broadcast Stations TV, https://publicfiles.fcc.gov/tv-profile/kolr/search/americ a_first_action.


44 See Compl., Missouri Ex. M, MUR 7654.
game (Cincinnati Bengals v. the Kansas City Chiefs) on the same television station, which was
slotted to air between 12:00 p.m. to 3 p.m.\footnote{See Compl., Missouri Ex. L, MUR 7654.}

In another example, on a contract originally dated September 27, 2018, and revised
October 9, 2018, AFA through Red Eagle contracted to place $205,800 in AFA ads to run from
October 10 through October 16, 2018 on television station KDFW.\footnote{See Compl. Texas Ex. M, MUR 7654.} Ferrell signed the
corresponding “Agreement Form for Non-Candidate/Issue Advertisements” on behalf of Red
Eagle for AFA.\footnote{Compl., Texas Exs. M and N, MUR 7654. The National Media/OnMessage Response asserts that the order
date for these TV ads was September 18, 2018. NatMedia Resp at 7.} On the same television station, Ferrell signed the corresponding “Agreement
Form for Political Candidate Advertisements” as an “agent for Pete Sessions for Congress” to a
contract originally dated September 28, 2018, which was revised on October 2, 2018, and
uploaded to the FCC database on October 4, 2018. Under the terms of this contract, AMAG
placed $77,850 in Sessions Committee ads for the period September 29, 2018, through
October 8, 2018. Also during this period, Ferrell signed an “Agreement Form for Political
Candidate Advertisements” as an “agent for Josh Hawley for Senate” dated August 16, 2018, for
ads totaling $2,805 supporting Josh Hawley, which ran from October 9, 2018, to October 15,
for the Rosendale and AFA TV ads to be August 15, 2018, and September 21, 2018, respectively. NatMedia Resp. at 8.} Subsequently, Ferrell signed an October 3, 2018,
“Agreement Form for Non-Candidate/Issue Advertisements” on behalf of AFA to run ads
totaling $25,675 supporting Hawley or attacking his opponent on television station WSIL during
the same time period. The Hawley Committee and AFA ads thus aired on numerous television programs on the same date during this time period, including local news broadcasts airing at 6:00 a.m., 6:00 p.m., 6:30 p.m., and 10:00 p.m., respectively, “Good Morning America” and “Jimmy Kimmel Live!”

In a previous matter, the Commission found reason to believe that the third element of the common vendor conduct prong was satisfied and investigated where a principal of a common vendor, “while providing consulting services, arranging media buys, and producing television ads” for the candidate committee, was also providing the same services to an organization that supported the candidate. These dual roles, the Commission explained, placed the principal of the common vendor “in a position to know non-public information regarding” the candidate’s campaign and the organization’s plans for the election cycle and to use or convey that information in advising and guiding both clients, including on issues related to the allocation of resources.

Here, the available information similarly indicates that the same National Media official, Ferrell, was involved in the placement of ads for both the AFA and the Hawley, Rosendale and Sessions Committees, putting him in a position to know non-public information that may have informed the placement of the AFA’s ads supporting the aforementioned candidates. And as outlined above, the parallel placement and distribution of the ads by National Media provide

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49 Compl., Missouri Ex. D, MUR 7654.
50 See Compl., Missouri Exs. C and E, MUR 7654.
51 See Factual & Legal Analysis at 3-4, 6-7, 10-11, MUR 5415 (Club for Growth).
52 Id. The Commission subsequently voted to take no further action, concluding that the investigation produced no evidence of common vendor coordination. See Commission Certification, MUR 5415 (Nov. 12, 2008) (Club for Growth); Third General Counsel’s Report at 15, MUR 5415 (Club for Growth).
additional support for the inference that non-public information about these committees’ plans,
activities, and needs influenced National Media’s placement of AFA’s ads.

Respondents argue that the Commission’s coordination standard is not met here. Respondents argue that the Commission’s coordination standard is not met here.53 National Media, for instance, claims that it adopted and implemented a firewall policy that prohibited the same employees or consultants from performing “work relating to more than one client on opposite sides of the firewall, for the same election or race.”54 And AFA attaches to its Response a redacted independent contractor agreement with Red Eagle that includes a “Non-Coordination” provision, which prohibits contacts between the vendor and AFA regarding the plans, projects, activities or needs of a federal candidate, or similarly situated contacts between the vendor and the candidate regarding AFA.55 But under its plain terms, the National Media policy does not apply to management or administrative employees such as Ferrell.56 Further, the firewall policy was not signed by any National Media employee, and there are no details regarding when it was distributed and how it was implemented.57 And while AFA’s stated policy includes provisions regarding coordinated contacts, Ferrell’s activities on both sides of the firewall during the same time period indicates that the policy was insufficient to ensure that the

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53 See generally NatMedia Resp., Ex. A., MUR 7654; AFA Resp., MUR 7654.
54 NatMedia Resp., Ex. A., MUR 7654.
55 AFA Resp.; Ex. A., MUR 7654.
56 Specifically, the firewall policy excludes “employees or consultants who provide exclusively administrative assistance (e.g., reception, clerical, or IT support)” or “employees who perform management functions (e.g., financial, strategic, or corporate leadership) which affect all AMAG clients” from the firewall policy. NatMedia Resp., Ex. A., MUR 7654.
57 Id. The Commission has stated that a “person paying for a communication seeking to use the firewall safe harbor should be prepared to provide reliable information (e.g., affidavits) about an organization’s firewall, and how and when the firewall was distributed and implemented.” Coordinated Communications, 71 Fed. Reg. 33,190, 33,205 (June 8, 2006). As we noted in the First General Counsel’s Report in MUR 7553, National Media has not provided this information. See First General Counsel’s Report at 21, MUR 7427, 7497, 7524, 7553.
same employees could not simultaneously perform work for AFA and the candidates at issue in this matter. Under these circumstances, it appears that the firewall policy failed to prevent material information about the candidate’s communication strategies from being used by National Media officials, or passing to AFA, and thus that the firewall safe harbor does not apply.58 Respondents further contend that the fact that ad buy information is publicly available and disclosed “immediately” through the FCC’s public database renders common vendor coordination legally impossible.59 But the third element of the common vendor standard focuses on whether the commercial vendor uses or conveys to the person paying for the communication information that is material to its distribution, irrespective of when the communication airs.60 Further, the argument that the ad buys were publicly available ignores the key fact that the same company and personnel placed ads for both the payor and the candidate committee, belying the contention that the relevant participants relied solely on information in the stations’ public inspection files to make placement decisions. Importantly, Respondents do not argue that they in fact relied on publicly available information to make their ad placement decisions, or even that they were contemporaneously aware of the information in the public inspection files.61

58 See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h).

59 See AFA Resp. at 2, MUR 7654; NatMedia Resp. at 3, MUR 7654. “To qualify for the safe harbor, the person paying for the communication bears the burden of showing that the information used in creating, producing, or distributing the communication was obtained from a publicly available source.” 71 Fed. Reg. at 33,205.


61 See generally NatMedia Resp. Respondents’ failure to assert that their ad placement decisions were actually based on information in the stations’ public files distinguishes this matter from MUR 5506 (EMILY’s List). See First General Counsel’s Report at 5-7, MUR 5506 (concluding that the response rebuts allegation of coordination because the committee “states that it made its decisions about placing and pulling ads on information that television stations are required to make public”), Commission Certification, MUR 5506 (Aug. 12, 2005).
Respondents also contend that Ferrell’s signature on the NAB Form PB-18, i.e., the “agreement form,” is merely administrative and that Ferrell does not “authorize” the ad buys placed by National Media’s media buyers. They insist the “agreement forms” that bear Ferrell’s signature (NAB Form PB-18) are not contracts, do not “authorize the airing” or placement of ads, and “have nothing whatsoever to do with the selection of audiences and time slots.” Respondents further contend that Ferrell performs an administrative position at National Media and that his position is one that cannot facilitate coordination. In his sworn affidavit, Ferrell avers that he is not involved in the creation, production, or distribution of any advertising and that his interaction with National Media’s buyers generally consist of receiving billing and invoicing instructions from those buyers.

These arguments are not persuasive. As the Commission explained in the context of the former employee conduct standard, the “use or convey” standard “does not make any distinction between categories or ranks of employees.” The Commission specifically declined to limit its application to “a specified class of employees who are likely to ‘possess material political information.’” Respondents’ reliance on Ferrell’s allegedly administrative responsibilities lacks merit.

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62 See NatMedia Resp. at 11, MUR 7654.

63 Id.

64 See id. at 10.

65 Id.; Ferrell Affidavit, ¶¶ 3-7.

66 See Advisory Opinion 2016-21 at 5 (Great America PAC); see also 11 C.FR. § 109.21(d)(5).

67 Id. (quoting 68 Fed. Reg. at 437).

68 Id. (The Commission specifically declined to limit its application to “a specified class of employees who are likely to ‘possess material political information.’”
Further, according to the National Association of Broadcasters — the entity that created
the ad placement forms themselves — the “agreement forms” Ferrell signed were “designed to
serve as actual contracts for the sale of political broadcast time and to satisfy FCC record
retention requirements.”69 By signing the forms, Ferrell represented in writing that the “payment
for the above described broadcast time had been furnished” and that he was “authorized to
announce the time as paid” by AFA Respondents and the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions
Committees.70 And even if it could be assumed that such writings were not the “actual
contracts” they expressly announce themselves to be, it would not change the fact that Ferrell
was manifestly in a position to know when and where the ads were being placed and the cost of
the ad placements for both the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees and AFA —
because he placed them.71 This information, together with the pattern of placement of the ads,
supports a reasonable inference that National Media used information about the Hawley,
Rosendale, and Sessions Committees to place the AFA’s ads supporting these campaigns. And

69 See National Association of Broadcasters, Political Broadcast Agreement Forms, PB-18, available at
requires broadcasters to retain a record containing the following information in connection with political
advertisements: “specific schedules of advertising time by candidates and certain issue advertisers, as well as the
final dispositions or ‘deals’ agreed to by the broadcaster and the advertiser in response to any requests.” See About
Public Inspection Files, Federal Communications Commission, available at https://publicfiles.fcc.gov/about-station-
profiles/. The NAB PB-18 form is designed to fulfill this requirement.

each agreement form as the “agent” of the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees, respectively. Id.

71 The Commission has explained that “common leadership or overlapping administrative personnel does not
defeat the use of a firewall policy,” unless there is specific information that it did not prevent the flow of material
information. 71 Fed. Reg. at 33,207. As noted above, the facts indicate that Ferrell had access to material
information about ad placements for AFA and the Hawley, Rosendale and Sessions Committees, and the pattern of
these placements supports an inference that National Media may have used this information to maximize the effect
of the ads it placed. This situation stands in contrast to MUR 5823, where the Commission concluded that the
common vendor standard was not satisfied because the media buyer vendor provided clerical and administrative
support and did not have adequate decision-making control or knowledge of the communications. See Factual &
Legal Analysis at 10-11, MUR 5823 (Citizens Club for Growth). National Media does not argue, and the facts do
not support, that as a company it was retained merely to provide administrative and clerical support for media buys,
that it lacked decision-making authority, or that it lacked knowledge of the communications at issue.
Ferrell’s affidavit disclaiming knowledge of the forms’ contents is contravened by his representations in them and his signatures on them.

Accordingly, based on the available information, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the AFA violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a), and 30118(a)\(^{72}\) by making and failing to report excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions to the Hawley, Rosendale and Sessions Committees in the form of coordinated communications. With respect to the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees, the available information is insufficient to conclude that these Committees engaged in any type of conduct indicating that they may have knowingly received or accepted in-kind contributions resulting from coordinated communications. However, because additional information may come to light as a result of an investigation, we recommend that the Commission take no action at this time on any coordination allegation against the Hawley, Rosendale, and Sessions Committees.\(^{73}\)

III. MUR 7660 (COORDINATION ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE NRA RESPONDENTS, CORY GARDNER AND HIS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE)

The Complaint in MUR 7660 alleges that the NRA Respondents paid more than $3 million to Starboard\(^{74}\) — a company formed in 2013 to provide consulting services for the creation of independent expenditures — for spending designed to support Gardner and oppose

\(^{72}\) We include 52 U.S.C. § 30118(a) because AFA is permitted to accept corporate contributions, but it is not permitted to contribute those funds to candidates.

\(^{73}\) 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(b)(2); see 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(3).

\(^{74}\) See NRA Resp. at 2, MUR 7427.
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his opponents. It cites to a listing of NRA-ILA Independent Expenditures to Starboard Strategic, Inc. in support of Cory Gardner or opposing Mark Udall from 2013-2014.

The MUR 7660 Complaint focuses exclusively on activity that transpired during the 2014 election cycle, and the allegations in MUR 7660 are also alleged in open MUR 7427 which is currently pending with the Commission. In light of this overlapping activity, we recommend that the Commission merge MUR 7660 into MUR 7427.

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75 MUR 7660 Compl. at 1.
76 Id.
77 See Compl. ¶¶ 2, 42, 45, 48, 50, 54, MUR 7427; Compl. ¶¶ 24, MUR 7497; Compl. ¶¶ 20, MUR 7524.
V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Merge MUR 7660 into MUR 7427;

2. Find reason to believe that America First Action, Inc. and Jon Proch, in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a) and 30118(a) by making and failing to report excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions to Josh Hawley for Senate and Salvatore Purpura in his official capacity as treasurer by coordinating communications through National Media;

3. Find reason to believe that America First Action, Inc. and Jon Proch, in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a) and 30118(a) by making and failing to report excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions to Matt Rosendale for Montana and Errol Galt in his official capacity as treasurer by coordinating communications through National Media;

4. Find reason to believe that America First Action, Inc. and Jon Proch in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(b), 30116(a) and 30118(a) by making and failing to report excessive and prohibited in-kind contributions to Pete Sessions for Congress and Steve Hargrove in his official capacity as treasurer by coordinating communications through National Media;

5. Take no action at this time as to Hawley for Senate and Salvatore Purpura in his official capacity as treasurer, Rosendale for Montana and Errol Galt in his official capacity as treasurer, and Pete Sessions for Congress and Steve Hargrove in his official capacity as treasurer;

6. Approve the Factual and Legal Analysis;
7. Authorize the use of compulsory process, including the issuance of appropriate interrogatories, document subpoenas, and deposition subpoenas, as necessary; and

8. Approve the appropriate letter.

Lisa J. Stevenson
Acting General Counsel

August 7, 2020

Charles Kitcher
Acting Associate General Counsel for Enforcement

Lynn Y. Tran
Assistant General Counsel

Roy Q. Luckett
Attorney

Attachment:
Factual and Legal Analysis of America First Action, Inc.