| 1 | FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION | | |
|----------|---|--|--|
| 2 | FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT | | |
| 4 5 | | MUR: 7774 | |
| 6 | | DATE COMPLAINT FILED: Aug. 7, 2020 | |
| 7 | | DATE OF NOTIFICATIONS: Aug. 11, 2020 | |
| 8 | | LAST RESPONSE RECEIVED: Oct. 29, 2020 | |
| 9 10 | | DATE ACTIVATED: Mar. 3, 2021 EPS: | |
| 11 | | EXPIRATION OF SOL: | |
| 12 | | EARLIEST: Dec. 17, 2024 | |
| 13 | | LATEST: Apr. 15, 2026 | |
| 14 15 | | ELECTION CYCLE: 2020 | |
| 16 17 | COMPLAINANT: | Campaign Legal Center | |
| 18 | RESPONDENTS: | Antone for Congress and Dennis Melton as | |
| 19 | | treasurer Antone Melton-Meaux | |
| 20 21 | | West Coast Public Affairs | |
| 22 | | Lake Point Consulting LLC | |
| 23 | | North Superior Consulting LLC | |
| 24 | | Canal Partners Media, LLC | |
| 25 | | | |
| 26 | RELEVANT STATUTES | | |
| 27 | AND REGULATIONS: | 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) | |
| 28 | | 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) | |
| 29 30 | INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: | Disalogura raparts | |
| 31 | INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED. | Disclosure reports | |
| 32 | FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: | None | |
| 33 | I. INTRODUCTION | | |
| 34 | Antone Melton-Meaux was a challenger to incumbent U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar in | | |
| 35 | the 2020 Democratic primary election for Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District. The | | |
| 36 | Complaint alleges that his authorized campaign committee, Antone for Congress and Dennis | | |
| 37 | Melton in his official capacity as treasurer ("Committee"), failed to itemize \$3,470,618 in | | |
| 38 | reported disbursements for campaign services and intentionally obscured the ultimate payees for | | |
| 39 | and purposes of, the disbursements. The Complaint alleges that these payments were made to | | |
| 40 | three business entities — Lake Point Consulting LLC ("Lake Point"), North Superior Consulting | | |
| 41 | LLC ("North Superior"), and West Coast Public Affairs ("West Coast") — formed for the sole | | |

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- 1 purpose of acting as conduits to disguise payments to vendors worried that they would be
- 2 "blacklisted" by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") if they
- 3 provided services to a candidate challenging a Democratic incumbent.
- 4 Respondents deny the allegations and argue that the disbursements to Lake Point, North
- 5 Superior, and West Coast were properly reported. As discussed below, the available information
- 6 indicates that the Committee accurately reported the purpose for \$3,309,026 in disbursements to
- West Coast, but identified the company merely as "WCPA" and reported the company address as
- 8 an Illinois post office box not associated with West Coast, a California company, on any public
- 9 records. The available information also indicates that the Committee did not properly disclose
- the payee or purpose of \$181,592.40 in total disbursements to Lake Point and North Superior.
- 11 Thus, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the Committee
- 12 violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of
- \$3,490,618.40 in disbursements reportedly paid to West Coast, Lake Point, and North Superior.
- We also recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the Committee violated
- 15 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of
- 16 \$181,592 in disbursements reportedly paid to Lake Point and North Superior.
- Melton-Meaux, Lake Point, North Superior, West Coast, and Canal Partners Media, LLC
- 18 ("Canal Partners") were also notified as Respondents in this matter. Because the Act's reporting
- 19 requirements at issue apply only to political committees and committee treasurers, we
- 20 recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that Melton-Meaux, Lake Point,
- North Superior, West Coast, and Canal Partners violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11
- 22 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

Antone Melton-Meaux was a candidate in the 2020 Democratic primary election for

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II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

- Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District, running as one of several Democratic candidates

 challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. Antone for Congress is Melton
 Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer. The

 Committee was formed on November 15, 2019, and is organized as a nonprofit corporation in

 Minnesota. Heather Faulkner is listed as the Committee's registered agent on both its Statement

 of Organization and its corporate filings with the Minnesota Secretary of State.
- Committee's formation, and the Committee's first reported disbursement to Lake Point was on

 December 8, 2019.⁴ Lake Point appears to be a single-member LLC,⁵ and although the

Lake Point was formed in Delaware on December 2, 2019, seventeen days after the

- 12 individual who formed Lake Point is unidentified on the Delaware Secretary of State's website,
- 13 the Joint Response identifies her as Heather Faulkner.⁶ According to Respondents, Faulkner was

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019); Melton-Meaux, Committee, Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast Resp. at 1 (Oct. 29, 2020) ("Joint Response").

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

³ *Id.*; Minnesota Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://mblsportal.sos.state.mn.us/Business/BusinessSearch?BusinessName=Antone%20for%20Congress (search for "Antone for Congress").

Joint Resp. Attach. 1; Delaware Department of State Division of Corporations Business Entity Search; https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/ecorp/entitysearch/NameSearch.aspx (search for "Lake Point Consulting LLC); Joint Resp. Attach 1 (redacted affidavit from the unidentified individual who formed Lake Point and associated certificate of formation); Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 81 (Jan. 31, 2020) (disclosing an \$8,000 disbursement for "consulting-strategy").

⁵ See Joint Resp. at 4 ("The Commission has no basis to assume that [Lake Point and North Superior] were anything other than simple single-member LLCs ...").

Id., Attach. 1; Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (listing Heather Faulkner as the Committee's registered agent); Minnesota Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://mblsportal.sos.state.mn.us/Business/SearchDetails?filingGuid=3d70e4e7-bd07-ea11-9188-00155d01b4fc (search for "Antone for Congress") (showing Heather Faulkner as the entity's registered agent).

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- 1 selected for a role with the Committee prior to the formation of Lake Point and, apparently
- 2 through Lake Point, she was "performing campaign director functions" for the Committee.⁷
- 3 Lake Point does not appear to have a public website or profiles on any major social media
- 4 platforms.⁸
- North Superior was formed in Delaware on November 4, 2019, eleven days before the
- 6 Committee's formation, and the Committee's first reported disbursement to North Superior was
- 7 on December 17, 2019. North Superior appears to be a single-member LLC; 10 the individual
- 8 who formed North Superior is unidentified on the Delaware Secretary of State's website, and
- 9 that person's name is redacted from the declarations and supporting documents included with the
- 10 Joint Response. A press report linking to an unredacted copy of the state-filed documents
- indicates, however, that an individual named K. Davis Senseman, who the article describes as an
- 12 attorney in Minneapolis and the former treasurer of Ilhan Omar's 2018 congressional campaign
- committee, signed as the "Authorized Person" forming North Superior. 11 Senseman is the

Joint Resp. at 4 n.6 (stating that "The person who formed Lake Point LLC was one of the directors selected at the organizational meeting in 2019 and was selected as Secretary of the corporation as well."). Faulkner's selection as registered agent for the Committee necessarily preceded filing of the incorporation documents with the Minnesota Secretary of State, which in turn preceded the formation of Lake Point by eighteen days.

The Complaint asserts that none of the three LLCs — Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast — have public websites or any presence on social media platforms, and we were unable to identify any information to the contrary. Compl. at 5 (Aug. 7, 2020).

Delaware Department of State Division of Corporations Business Entity Search, https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/ecorp/entitysearch/NameSearch.aspx (search for "North Superior Consulting LLC); Joint Resp., Attach 2 (redacted affidavit from the unidentified individual who formed North Superior and associated certificate of formation); Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 84 (disclosing a \$5,000 disbursement for "consulting-strategy").

Supra note 5.

See Ilhan for Congress Statement of Organization (June 13, 2018) (listing Senseman as treasurer); Gabe Schneider, Antone Melton-Meaux's Campaign Paid Almost \$100,000 to Two Consulting Companies — but Won't Say Who is Involved or What Work They Do, MINNPOST (July 27, 2020), https://www.minnpost.com/national/2020/07/antone-melton-meauxs-campaign-paid-almost-100000-to-two-consulting-companies-but-wont-say-who-is-involved-or-what-work-they-do. The MinnPost article included a link to a PDF copy of the formation documents, page two of which appears to be an unredacted copy of the North

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- 1 founder of, and sole attorney at, Davis Law Office, PLLC, a law firm in Minneapolis formed in
- 2 2010.¹² According to Respondents, North Superior "assisted [the Committee] with its
- 3 organizational efforts, which included helping craft incorporation documents and organizational
- 4 meeting documents."¹³ North Superior does not appear to have a public website or profiles on
- 5 any major social media platforms. 14
- West Coast is a corporation formed in California in 2012. 15 According to a declaration
- 7 from West Coast's Chief Financial Officer ("CFO"), John Shallman, West Coast provides media
- 8 services to political, nonprofit, and other organizations, including media strategy, production,
- 9 and time-buying, which is handled through a sub-vendor. 16 Shallman declares that the
- 10 Committee's reported disbursements to West Coast were for such media services, and the time-
- buying portion of those services was handled through sub-vendor Canal Partners. ¹⁷ He declares
- 12 that all Committee disbursements received by West Coast were for bona fide media services that
- West Coast provided to the campaign, either directly or through subcontractors. ¹⁸ For its part,

Superior formation document included as Attachment B to the Committee's Response. https://www.minnpost.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/234633512 361420 033638.pdf.

Minnesota Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://mblsportal.sos.state.mn.us/Business/SearchDetails?filingGuid=ac983a3b-95d4-e011-a886-001ec94ffe7f (search for "Davis Law Office"); Davis Law Office, About, https://davismeansbusiness.com/team (listing Senseman as the founder and sole attorney).

Joint Resp. at 4 n.6.

Supra note 8.

California Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/CBS/Detail (search for "West Coast Public Affairs").

Joint Resp., Attach. 3; West Coast Statement of Information (June 10, 2013), *available at* https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/Document/RetrievePDF?Id=03505102-16543218 (listing Shallman as the CFO).

Joint Resp., Attach. 3.

⁸ *Id.*

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- 1 Canal Partners states that it serves as a time-buying sub-vendor that purchases political
- 2 advertising time for federal, state, and local candidates nationwide. 19
- The Committee reported 20 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$3,309,026 for a
- 4 variety of purposes related to advertising.²⁰ The Committee reported the disbursements to West
- 5 Coast using the acronym "WCPA," not the company's full name, and providing an Illinois
- 6 address for West Coast not found in the company's corporate filings, which list only California
- 7 addresses. Commission records show that other entities reported significant disbursements to
- 8 West Coast between 2012 and the present for media services, with each entry using the
- 9 company's full name, "West Coast Public Affairs," and listing one of three California addresses
- 10 near Los Angeles for the company that appear in West Coast's corporate filings.²¹
- 11 The Committee reported fifteen disbursements to Lake Point totaling \$164,092 during the
- 12 2020 election cycle; fourteen of these payments were reported with a purpose of "strategic
- consulting," and one payment was reported as being for "consulting-strategy."²² The Committee
- reported four disbursements to North Superior totaling \$17,500 for "consulting-strategy" and

Canal Partners Resp. at 1 (Sept. 25, 2020).

Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1922-1923 (July 15, 220); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 514-517 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 297-299 (July 30, 2020) (collectively reporting five disbursements for "TV/digital ad buy," five disbursements for "direct mail," three disbursements for "TV ad buy," two disbursements for "digital advertising," and single disbursements for "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production").

Campaign Finance Data, West Coast Public Affairs, 24- and 48-Hour Reports, https://www.fec.gov/data/independent-expenditures/?data_type=processed&is_notice=true&most_recent=true&payee_name=west+coast+public+affairs (showing 87 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$2,590,516.57 for media services associated with independent expenditures between 2012-present).

Antone for Congress 2019 Year-End Report at 81 (Jan 31, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 April Quarterly Report at 181-182 (Apr. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1912-1913 (July 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 500 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 287 (July 30, 2020); Antone for Congress 30 Day Post-General Report at 8 (Dec. 2, 2020); Antone for Congress 2021 April Quarterly Report at 8 (Apr. 15, 2021).

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- 1 "strategic consulting."²³ Commission records show no reported disbursements to Lake Point or
- 2 North Superior from any other entities during the 2020 election cycle.²⁴
- Referencing press reports, the Complaint and Responses assert that during the 2020
- 4 election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of
- 5 vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent Democratic congressional candidates. 25 The
- 6 Complaint alleges that Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast were formed as conduits to
- 7 obscure the identity of vendors providing services to the Committee who sought to avoid being
- 8 "blacklisted" by the DCCC. 26 In March 2021, the DCCC reportedly announced that it would no
- 9 longer follow this policy.²⁷
- Respondents argue that the Complaint is speculative and the Committee accurately
- disclosed the reported disbursements to Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast. 28
- 12 Respondents assert that Delaware law does not require LLCs to disclose their owners or
- members in their formation documents, and an attorney can file formation documents on behalf

Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 84; Antone for Congress 2020 April Quarterly Report at 187; Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1919.

Campaign Finance Data, 2019-2020, Disbursements, Lake Point Consulting or North Superior Consulting, https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?data_type=processed&recipient_name=Lake+Point+Consulting&recipient_name=north+superior+consulting&two_year_transaction_period=2020.

Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1922-1923 (July 15, 220); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 514-517 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 297-299 (July 30, 2020) (collectively reporting five disbursements for "TV/digital ad buy," five disbursements for "direct mail," three disbursements for "TV ad buy," two disbursements for "digital advertising," and single disbursements for "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production"); Joint Resp. at 3.

²⁶ Compl. at 1-2.

See Ally Mutnick, *House Democrats End Controversial Consultant Ban*, POLITICO (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/09/dccc-ban-primary-challengers-474588.

Joint Resp. at 1.

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- 1 of an LLC.²⁹ The available information suggests that the Committee and Melton-Meaux may
- 2 have signed nondisclosure agreements ("NDAs") with both Lake Point and North Superior.³⁰

III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

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- 4 The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and
- 5 address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating
- 6 more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the
- date, amount, and purpose of such payments.³¹ The relevant reporting requirements under the
- 8 Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political
- 9 campaign money comes from and how it is spent."32 Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and
- 10 help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations.³³

A. Disclosure of Payees of Disbursements

- 12 Neither the Act nor Commission regulations address the concepts of ultimate payees,
- vendors, agents, contractors, or subcontractors in this context.³⁴ The Commission determined in

²⁹ *Id.* at 2

Schneider, *supra* note 11 ("Melton-Meaux's campaign manager also claimed to have signed nondisclosure agreements with the companies that prevented them from revealing any further information").

⁵² U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized committees); *id.* § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); *id.* § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).

Advisory Op. 1983-25 (Mondale) at 2. As discussed below, the Commission has since addressed the requirements of section 30104(b)(5) in certain situations not applicable to these facts. *See* Reporting Ultimate Payees of Political Committee Disbursements, 78 Fed. Reg. 40,625, 40,626-27 (July 8, 2013) ("Ultimate Payee")

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1 Advisory Opinion 1983-25 (Mondale) ("AO 1983-25") that in certain circumstances, reporting

committees are not required to separately report payments that the committee's vendors make to

subvendors when those payments are for services or goods used in the performance of the

vendor's contract with the committee. 35 In that advisory opinion, a committee, Mondale for

President, Inc., planned to contract with a media consulting group for media-related services,

including media production and the purchase of television and radio time.³⁶ In reaching its

conclusion, the Commission found several facts to be significant in concluding that the

committee was not required to separately report or itemize payments to its vendor's subvendors:

(1) the vendor at issue had a legal existence as a corporation separate from the operations of the

committee; (2) the vendor's principals did not hold any staff positions with the committee;

(3) the committee conducted arm's length negotiations with the vendor that resulted in formation

of a final contract; (4) the vendor was not required to devote its "full efforts" to the contract and

expected to have contracts with other campaigns and entities; and (5) the committee had no

14 interest in the vendor's other contracts.³⁷

The Commission has applied the analytical framework identified in AO 1983-25 when

considering whether a committee's reported payment to a vendor satisfies the reporting

requirements of section 30104(b)(5) in the context of an allegation that the committee should

have reported the identity of a subvendor. For example, in MUR 6510 (Kirk), the Commission

found no reason to believe that the respondent committee failed to adequately report

Interpretive Rule") (clarifying committees' obligation to report "ultimate payees" in three specific scenarios that are not vendor specific).

³⁵ AO 1983-25 at 3.

³⁶ *Id.* at 1.

³⁷ *Id.* at 3.

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- disbursements in connection with payments to a media firm that subcontracted various media
- 2 services.³⁸ Applying the factors outlined in AO 1983-25, the Commission concluded that the
- 3 committee did not need to report the media vendor's payments to the subvendor.³⁹ In MUR
- 4 6894 (Russell), the respondents reported payments to a media consulting firm, which purchased
- 5 media buys on behalf of the respondents. 40 The Commission found that the media consultant
- 6 separately contracted with the stations for air time and paid them accordingly, while also
- 7 receiving commissions from the respondents and concluded that the reporting did not violate the
- 8 Act. 41 As in AO 1983-25, MUR 6510 and MUR 6894 both involved firms hiring subvendors
- 9 that provided the same type of services provided by the vendors. 42

The Commission has, however, found reason to believe committees violated the Act's

reporting requirements in matters where the record suggests facts materially distinguishable from

those considered in AO 1983-25, such as when a committee reported a vendor that served merely

as a stand-in for payments to another particular recipient the committee avoided disclosing. For

instance, in MUR 4872 (Jenkins), a committee directly hired a vendor — Impact Mail — to

Factual & Legal Analysis at 12, MUR 6510 (Kirk for Senate, *et al.*); *cf.* Factual & Legal Analysis at 4-6, MUR 6818 (Allen Weh for Senate) (dismissing allegation that committee violated the Act by failing to itemize payments to a payroll company after committee quickly amended reports in response to RFAIs to include itemization and where committee allegedly intentionally hid said payments).

Factual & Legal Analysis at 12-13, MUR 6510; see also United States v. Jesse Benton, John Tate, and Dimitrios Kesari, 890 F.3d 697, 709 (8th Cir. 2018), cert. denied, Benton v. U.S., 139 S. Ct. 1318 (2019), Tate v. U.S., 139 S. Ct. 1322 (2019); Kesari v. United States, 139 S. Ct. 1322 (2019) (noting that in AO 1983-25 and MUR 6510, "the Commission concluded that the vendors and subvendors had provided the services described by the campaign").

Factual & Legal Analysis at 1-2, MUR 6894 (Steve Russell for Congress); *see also* First Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 3, MUR 6894 (Steve Russell for Congress) (noting that the payments in question were disbursements made by the media consultant "to a subvendor in connection with services the vendor provided to the Committee").

Factual & Legal Analysis at 1, MUR 6894.

AO 1983-25 at 1-2 (media firm planned to hire subvendors that would provide additional media services); MUR 6894 (Steve Russell for Congress) (media firm paid television stations for media buys); MUR 6510 (media vendor paid subvendor for media and communications consulting).

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- 1 perform phone bank services on the committee's behalf. When the committee discovered that
- 2 David Duke's name and phone number appeared on caller identification for calls placed by
- 3 Impact Mail's phone bank, the committee took measures to conceal its relationship with Impact
- 4 Mail by routing its payments to Impact Mail through a second vendor, Courtney
- 5 Communications, and reporting Courtney Communications as the payee on disclosure reports.⁴³
- 6 Although Courtney Communications was a vendor that provided media services for the
- 7 committee during the period in question, Impact Mail was not a subvendor of Courtney
- 8 Communications because Courtney Communications "had no involvement whatsoever with the
- 9 services provided by Impact Mail."44 Its only role was "to serve as a conduit for payment to
- 10 Impact Mail so as to conceal the transaction with Impact Mail."⁴⁵
- Similarly, in MUR 3847 (Stockman), the Commission applied the framework laid out in
- AO 1983-25, found the matter distinguishable, and found probable cause to believe that the
- committee violated the reporting requirements of the Act by reporting payments to a vendor,
- 14 which was an unincorporated proprietorship run by two committee officials, for approximately
- 15 \$470,000 in committee expenses, including the costs of at least one "subvendor" who created
- 16 communications pursuant to a direct contract between the subvendor and the candidate and his
- 17 committee. 46 The Commission rested its determination on the facts that the reported vendor's
- principals held positions with the committee; the vendor was not incorporated; there was no

Conciliation Agreement at 2-4, MUR 4872 (Jenkins).

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 3-4.

⁴⁵ *Id.* at 4.

Amend. Certification, MUR 3847 (Stockman) (Dec. 8, 1997), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/3847.pdf at 1,539; Gen. Counsel's Brief at 33-37, MUR 3847 (Stockman), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/3847.pdf at 1,416.

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- 1 formal contract between the vendor and the committee; the vendor was devoted largely to the
- 2 committee, worked out of the committee's headquarters, and used its facilities; and the principals
- 3 of the vendor held themselves out to the public as officials of the committee.⁴⁷ The Commission
- 4 concluded that these facts reflected that the reported vendor served as merely an intermediary for
- 5 payments to other payees (including the purported "subvendor") and thus, under the Act, the
- 6 committee was required to report the true purpose and recipients of the payments made through
- 7 the vendor.⁴⁸

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8 More recently, in MUR 6800 (Ron Paul 2012), committee officials directly hired Iowa

9 state senator Kent Sorenson and negotiated the terms of his compensation.⁴⁹ Sorenson was

compensated through an intermediary — ICT, Inc. — so that the committee could conceal

payments made to him. 50 Similarly, in MUR 6724 (Bachmann), Bachmann's committee and

Sorenson agreed that he would be paid by the committee through an intermediary — C&M —

that simply added Sorenson's monthly payments to the monthly fees it was already collecting

from the committee.⁵¹

1. Applying AO 1983-25 Factors to the Disbursements to West Coast

Analyzed against the factors outlined in AO 1983-25, the Committee appears to have

accurately reported the ultimate payee of its disbursements to West Coast, but incorrectly used

18 the acronym "WCPA" in its reports rather than the company's full name and reported the

Conciliation Agreement at 6-7, MUR 3847, https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/3847.pdf at 1,576.

Gen. Counsel's Brief at 37, MUR 3847; Conciliation Agreement at 7, MUR 3847 (Stockman).

⁴⁹ Factual & Legal Analysis at 1-6, 10, MUR 6800 (Ron Paul 2012)

⁵⁰ *Id.* at 4, 10.

Factual & Legal Analysis at 2-3, MUR 6724 (Bachmann for President); *see also* Conciliation Agreement at 2, MUR 6724.

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- 1 company's address as a P.O. box in Illinois that does not correspond to West Coast's business
- 2 address on file with the California Secretary of State.
- According to public records and a signed sworn declaration by West Coast's CFO, West
- 4 Coast was incorporated in 2012 and has been a going concern since then, providing media
- 5 services to political clients, non-profits, and other clients. 52 West Coast's CFO declared that the
- 6 disbursements from the Committee were for media services that West Coast provided, both
- 7 directly and through a sub-contract with Canal Partners.⁵³
- 8 Applying the factors from AO 1983-25, the available information indicates that:
- 9 (1) West Coast had a legal existence as a corporation separate from the operations of the
- 10 Committee; (2) West Coast's principals did not hold any staff positions with the Committee;
- 11 (3) we are unaware of any information indicating that contract negotiations between the
- 12 Committee and West Coast were conducted at other than arm's length; (4) there is no
- information indicating that West Coast was required to devote its "full efforts" to the contract;⁵⁴
- and (5) there is no information indicating that the Committee had an interest in West Coast's
- other contracts. Indeed, the Committee's relationship with West Coast as a media vendor and
- the fact that it did not separately itemize West Coast's payments to Canal Partners or other
- subcontractors are similar to previous matters, discussed above, in which the Commission has
- determined that authorized committees do not need to itemize payments made to subcontractors
- 19 providing time-buying or other services to the committees' primary media vendor.

John Shallman Decl. (undated) (included as Attach. 3 to the Joint Response).

⁵³ *Id*.

Supra note 24.

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1 This matter is distinguishable from those previous matters, however, because the 2 Committee reported the disbursements using the acronym "WCPA" rather than the company's 3 full name, "West Coast Public Affairs," and providing an Illinois address not found in the 4 company's corporate filings or associated with any of the numerous previous disbursements to 5 West Coast disclosed to the Commission by other entities. The Committee concedes that there is 6 a "plausible argument" that they erred by reporting the payments using the "WCPA" acronym 7 rather than the company's full name, as Commission regulations require, but argues that the statute merely requires reporting the "name" of payees.⁵⁵ In the Joint Response, the Committee 8 9 states that "if the Reports and Analysis Division indicates that [the Committee] should have complied with the regulation rather than the statute, [the Committee] will submit a [Form 99] to 10 11 explain that the 'WCPA' reference in the Committee's reports refers to 'West Coast Public Affairs."56 12 13 The Committee appears to have violated the plain language of 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4), 14 which states that committees "shall report the full name and address" of each "person to whom 15 an expenditure in an aggregate amount or value in excess of \$200 within the election cycle is 16 made by the reporting authorized committee to meet the authorized committee's operating expenses."57 Further, this use of the acronym and Illinois address would have made it very 17

Joint Resp. at 4 n.5 ("[the Committee] realizes there is a plausible argument that it should have reported the 'full name' of WCPA ... per 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i) ... Of course, the Commissions regulation cannot exceed the reach of the underlying statute"). Respondents offer no explanation for the use of an Illinois address. We note, however, that each of the 87 disbursements to West Coast reported to the Commission by other entities between 2012-present, including during the 2020 election cycle, used either an Encino, California, or Woodland Hills, California, address for the company. *Supra* note 21.

Joint Resp. at 4 n.5.

⁵⁷ 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4), (b)(4)(i); see also 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) (committee reports shall disclose "the name and address" of each person to whom an expenditure in an aggregate amount or value in excess of \$200 within the election cycle is made by the reporting committee).

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- difficult for a member of the public to identify the recipient of \$3,309,026 in disbursements 1 71% of the Committee's total disbursements during the 2020 election cycle.⁵⁸ The Committee's 2 3 use of the acronym and Illinois address is particularly notable when viewed alongside 4 contemporaneous information indicating that vendors were concerned about being "blacklisted" by the DCCC for providing services to the Committee.⁵⁹ Because the Committee violated the 5 6 plain language of the relevant regulation, and appears to have done so to obscure West Coast as 7 the payee, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the Committee 8 violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of 9 funds paid to West Coast. 10 2. Applying AO 1983-25 Factors to the Disbursements to Lake Point and 11 North Superior
 - First, although Lake Point and North Superior each had a legal existence as an LLC separate from the Committee in that Lake Point is a registered LLC and the Committee is a registered nonprofit corporation both LLCs appears to have been formed solely to perform work for the Committee. Lake Point was formed by Heather Faulkner on December 2, 2019, the day before the Committee registered with the Commission, and seventeen days *after* the Committee registered as a nonprofit corporation in Minnesota with Faulkner as its registered agent. Indeed, Respondents appear to acknowledge that Faulkner was selected to serve a role

Analyzed against the factors outlined in AO 1983-25, the Committee does not appear to

have properly reported the ultimate payee of its disbursements to Lake Point and North Superior.

The Committee disclosed \$4,650,989.07 in total disbursements during the 2020 election cycle. Campaign Finance Data, Antone for Congress, Spending, https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00729582/?cycle=2020&tab=spending.

The Office of General Counsel ("OGC") asked the Reports Analysis Division ("RAD") whether the use of an acronym in the payee name field would trigger an RFAI. RAD responded that its procedures do not include conducting a review of vendor names to ensure that a "full name," rather than an acronym, is provided.

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- 1 within the Committee prior to the formation of Lake Point. 60 Similarly, North Superior was
- 2 formed on November 4, 2019, and according to Respondents, "assisted [the Committee] with its
- 3 organizational efforts, which included helping craft incorporation documents and organizational
- 4 meeting documents." Because North Superior was formed only eleven days before the
- 5 Committee filed its incorporation documents, it appears likely that the LLC was formed either
- 6 after, or at the same time as, the LLC's single member began working with the Committee on its
- 7 incorporation.

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Second, the available information indicates that Faulkner, who appears to be Lake Point's sole member, held a position with the Committee. She is listed as the Committee's registered agent in both its incorporation documents and its Statement of Organization and also appears to have been the actual or de facto campaign director. As to North Superior, if Senseman was in fact the single member of North Superior — and the available information indicates that is likely — it is difficult to see why it was necessary to form an LLC as protection from individual liability to assist the Committee with incorporation or other matters, because these services could

Although the Joint Response is silent as to whether either Lake Point or North Superior's contracts with the Committee required the LLCs to devote their "full efforts" to the contract or whether they were expected to have contracts with other campaigns and entities, the available information indicates that no other campaigns or entities reported any disbursements to either

have been provided through the Davis Law Office, which is organized as a PLLC. 63

See Joint Resp. at 4 n.6 ("The person who formed Lake Point LLC was one of the directors selected at the organizational meeting in 2019 and was selected as Secretary of the corporation as well."). This organizational meeting presumably preceded the filing of incorporation documents with the Minnesota Secretary of State.

⁶¹ *Id*.

Supra note 7.

⁶³ Supra note 12

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- 1 LLC. The Joint Response does not suggest that either entity performed any work for other
- 2 candidates, committees, or non-political entities.
- The available information indicates that both Lake Point and North Superior were formed
- 4 by single members who were already holding positions with, or performing work for, the
- 5 Committee prior to the formation of the LLCs. As there is no available information indicating
- 6 that Lake Point and North Superior have ever publicly held themselves out for business —
- 7 neither entity has a public website or any presence on social media or held contracts with any
- 8 clients other than the Committee, the available information indicates that both LLCs were likely
- 9 created primarily to obscure the fact that Faulkner and Senseman were being paid to provide
- services to the Committee and thus avoid the DCCC's "blacklist." Thus, Lake Point and North
- 11 Superior appear to have been serving as pass-throughs, and based on previous Commission
- decisions, ⁶⁴ the Committee should have reported Faulkner and Senseman as the payees for all
- disbursements made to Lake Point and North Superior, respectively. Accordingly, we
- recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C.
- 15 § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of funds paid to Lake
- 16 Point and North Superior.

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B. Disclosure of Purpose of Disbursements

Although the Complaint largely focuses on the issue of whether the Committee correctly

reported the ultimate payee for the disbursements in question, it also raises the issue of whether

the Committee failed to properly report the purpose for these disbursements. 65

⁶⁴ See e.g., MUR 3847 (Stockman), MUR 6800 (Ron Paul 2012) MUR 6724 (Bachmann).

Compl. at 2, 6, 10, 13 (noting that the Act and Commission regulations require treasurers to itemize expenditures and disbursements over \$200 on committee reports and disclose the purpose of those expenditures and disbursements, and alleging that the Committee failed to properly itemize the disbursements to West Coast, Lake Point, and North Superior).

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Commission regulations define "purpose" as a "brief statement or description of why the 1 disbursement was made."66 "The 'purpose of disbursement' entry, when considered along with 2 3 the identity of the disbursement recipient, must be sufficiently specific to make the purpose of the disbursement clear."⁶⁷ The Commission has determined that the description of purpose 4 5 should be sufficient to allow "a person not associated with the committee [to] easily discern why the disbursement was made when reading the name of the recipient and the purpose."68 6 7 Examples of sufficient statements of purpose include, but are not limited to, dinner expenses, 8 media, salary, polling, travel, party fees, phone banks, travel expenses, travel expense reimbursements, and catering costs. ⁶⁹ The Commission has concluded that "the description 9 'media' is considered as a satisfactory description for a payment that is, in fact, made for media, 10 such as the purchase of media time or media space." The Commission has determined that the 11 12 description "Consultant-Media," "Consultant-Fundraising" "Consultant-Get-Out-The-Vote," 13 "Consultant-Legal," and "Consultant-Polling" are sufficient statements of purpose for a 14 disbursement to a consultant, and that the sufficiency of the description is read in context with the name of the payee.⁷¹ By contrast, the Commission has determined that the following are 15 16 generally insufficient: "Consultant," "Consultant-Political," "Consulting," "Consulting Non-

^{66 11} C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i)(A), (B); id. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A).

See Statement of Policy: "Purpose of Disbursement" Entries for Filings with the Commission, 72 Fed. Reg. 887 (Jan. 9, 2007) ("Purpose Statement of Policy") (citing 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.3(b)(3)(i)(B), (4)(i)(A)).

Purpose Statement of Policy at 888.

^{69 11} C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i)(B); id. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A).

⁷⁰ AO 1983-25 at 2.

Purpose Statement of Policy at 888.

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- 1 FEA," and "Consulting Service." Where respondents disclosed inadequate or incorrect
- 2 purposes, the Commission has found reason to believe that they violated the Act. 73
- 3 1. Statements of Purpose for Disbursements to West Coast
- The Committee reported 20 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$3,309,026 for a
- 5 variety of purposes related to advertising.⁷⁴ The descriptions of purpose for these disbursements
- 6 were reported as "TV/digital ad buy," "direct mail," "TV ad buy," "media buy," "digital
- 7 advertising," "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production". ⁷⁵ These
- 8 descriptions appear to be sufficiently detailed and in line with the services that Respondents state

⁷² *Id*.

See, e.g., Certification, MURs 7291 & 7449 (Democratic National Committee / Hillary for America) (July 26, 2019) (finding reason to believe that Respondents misreported the purpose of funds paid to Fusion GPS through Perkins Coie LLP) Report of the Audit Division at 13-14 (Dallas County Republican Party) (Nov. 19, 2008) (respondent disclosed an inadequate or incorrect purpose for 50 disbursements totaling \$215,261 where committee sometimes reported generic purposes such as professional fees and fundraising consultant, which did not allow a person to easily discern why the disbursements were made when reading the payee and purpose together); Factual & Legal Analysis at 2-3, MUR 6204 (Dallas County Republican Party) (finding reason to believe that the committee violated, inter alia, 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5) (formerly 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(5)); Report of the Audit Division at 12-13 (Cranley for Congress) (Apr. 23, 2008) (sample review projected \$1.4 million in disclosed disbursements lacked required information including, but not limited to, missing or inadequate purposes, for which a person could not easily discern why the disbursements were made when reading the pavee and purpose together): Certification, MUR 6134 (Cranley for Congress) (Nov. 19, 2008) (approving the Report of the Audit Division dated April 23, 2008 as the Factual & Legal Analysis); Conciliation Agreement at 4, 6, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership Political Action Committee); Final Audit Report, Conservative Leadership Political Action Committee (Nov. 29, 2004) (committee failed to disclose a correct or adequate purpose for disbursements totaling over \$1.6 million). In cases involving a limited number of disbursements or small amount of money, the Commission has dismissed the matter or referred it to the Commission's Alternative Dispute Resolution Office ("ADRO"). See, e.g., Certification at 3, MUR 6518 (Newt Gingrich, et al.) (June 24, 2015) (referring allegations to the ADRO that respondents failed to disclose an adequate purpose for one \$47,005 disbursement); MUR 6638 (Todd Long for Congress) (dismissing allegation that respondent incorrectly described the purpose of two disbursements totaling \$21,667 as "check" where respondent committee corrected description and terminated). In addition, a recent decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit rejected an argument that identifying a purpose of "audio/visual expenses" for payments that were actually compensation for an endorsement did not cause a committee's disclosure reports to be false. See United States v. Jesse Benton, John Tate, and Dimitrios Kesari, supra, note 39 (affirming the convictions of three former Ron Paul 2012 campaign officials for, inter alia, violating the Act by causing false campaign finance reports to be filed with the Commission) (Kesari was, and the Ron Paul 2012 Presidential Campaign Committee, Inc., is, a respondent in MUR 6800,

⁷⁴ *Supra* note 20.

⁷⁵ *Id*.

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- 1 were provided to the Committee by West Coast. Accordingly, we recommend that the
- 2 Commission dismiss the allegations that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 3 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of funds paid to West Coast.
- 4 2. Statements of Purpose for Disbursements to Lake Point and North
 Superior

The Committee reported fifteen disbursements to Lake Point totaling \$164,092 for

7 "consulting-strategy" and "strategic consulting," and four disbursements to North Superior

totaling \$17,500 for "consulting-strategy" and "strategic consulting." Although these

statements of purpose comport with the list of adequate statements maintained on the

10 Commission website, 77 they do not appear to accurately describe the services that either LLC, or

their members, provided to the Committee.

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As discussed above, Faulkner is a registered agent of the Committee and Lake Point and appears to have been, for all intents and purposes, a full-time employee of the campaign functioning as the actual or de facto campaign director. Faulkner's role is not consistent with the description "Consultant," and the purpose could have been accurately reported as "salary," which the Commission describes as the appropriate statement of purpose for "a disbursement to a staff member." Similarly, the only available information, provided by Respondents, indicates

that North Superior/Senseman provided the Committee with legal services related to the

⁷⁶ *Supra* notes 22-23.

Federal Election Commission, *Purposes of Disbursements*, https://www.fec.gov/help-candidates-and-committees/purposes-disbursements/#adequate-consultant-and-consulting-purposes (publishing a list of "adequate consultant and consulting purposes" that includes "Strategic Planning Consulting" and "Strategy Consulting").

Supra note 7.

Purpose Statement of Policy at 888.

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- 1 Committee's incorporation and governance, not with strategic consulting.⁸⁰ The purpose of the
- 2 disbursements to North Superior/Senseman could have been accurately reported as "legal
- 3 consulting" or "legal/legal fees/legal services," which both appear on the list of statements of
- 4 purpose that the Commission generally finds acceptable. 81 Accordingly, we recommend that the
- 5 Commission find reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 6 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of funds paid to Lake Point and North
- 7 Superior.

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C. Remaining Respondents

- 9 In addition to the Committee, Melton-Meaux, Lake Point, North Superior, West Coast,
- and Canal Partners were also notified as Respondents in this matter. Because the Act's reporting
- 11 requirements at issue apply only to political committees and committee treasurers, 82 we
- 12 recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that Melton-Meaux, Lake Point,
- North Superior, West Coast, and Canal Partners violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 14 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

D. Conclusion

16 For the reasons discussed above, we recommend that the Commission find reason to

- 17 believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by
- misreporting the payee of \$3,490,618.40 in disbursements reportedly paid to Lake Point, North
- 19 Superior, and West Coast. We also recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that

Supra note 61.

⁸¹ *Supra* note 77.

See 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1) (requiring that "[e]ach treasurer of a political committee shall file reports of receipts and disbursements in accordance with the provisions of this subsection"); 11 C.F.R. § 104.1(a) (requiring that "[e]ach treasurer of a political committee required to register under 11 CFR part 102 shall report in accordance with 11 CFR part 104").

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| 1 | the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by |
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| 2 | misreporting the purpose of \$181,592 in disbursements reportedly paid to Lake Point Consulting |
| 3 | and North Superior. Lastly, we recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that |
| 4 | Melton-Meaux, Lake Point, North Superior, West Coast Public Affairs, and Canal Partners |
| 5 | violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4). |
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V. RECOMMENDATIONS

- Find reason to believe that Antone for Congress and Dennis Melton in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of funds paid to Lake Point Consulting LLC, North Superior Consulting LLC, and West Coast Public Affairs;
- Find reason to believe that Antone for Congress and Dennis Melton in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of funds paid to Lake Point Consulting LLC and North Superior Consulting LLC;
 - 3. Dismiss the allegations that Antone for Congress and Dennis Melton in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of funds paid to West Coast Public Affairs;
- Find no reason to believe that Antone Melton-Meaux, Lake Point Consulting LLC, North Superior Consulting LLC, West Coast Public Affairs, and Canal Partners Media, LLC violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4);
- 5. Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses;
- 22 6. Authorize pre-probable cause conciliation with Antone for Congress and Dennis 23 Melton in his official capacity as treasurer;
- 7. Approve the attached proposed conciliation agreement; and

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8. Approve the appropriate letters. 1 2 3 Lisa J. Stevenson 4 **Acting General Counsel** 5 6 7 Charles Kitcher 8 Associate General Counsel for Enforcement 9 10 Stephen Gura 07.30.21 11 Stephen Gura 12 Date Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement 13 14 15 Mark Allen 16 Mark Allen 17 18 **Assistant General Counsel** 19 20 21 Ray Wolcott 22 23 Attorney 24 25 26 Attachments 27 1. Factual and Legal Analysis for Antone for Congress and Dennis Melton as treasurer 2. Factual and Legal Analysis for Antone Melton-Meaux 28 29 3. Factual and Legal Analysis for Lake Point Consulting LLC 4. Factual and Legal Analysis for North Superior Consulting LLC 30 5. Factual and Legal Analysis for West Coast Public Affairs 31 32 6. Factual and Legal Analysis for Canal Partners Media, LLC 33

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

| 1 2 | RESPONDENTS: Antone for Congress and Dennis Melton in his official capacity as treasurer | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|--|
| 3 | I. INTRODUCTION | | | |
| 4 | Antone Melton-Meaux was a challenger to incumbent U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar in | | | |
| 5 | the 2020 Democratic primary election for Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District. The | | | |
| 6 | Complaint alleges that his authorized campaign committee, Antone for Congress and Dennis | | | |
| 7 | Melton in his official capacity as treasurer ("Committee"), failed to itemize \$3,470,618 in | | | |
| 8 | reported disbursements for campaign services and intentionally obscured the ultimate payees for, | | | |
| 9 | and purposes of, the disbursements. The Complaint alleges that these payments were made to | | | |
| 10 | three business entities — Lake Point Consulting LLC ("Lake Point"), North Superior Consulting | | | |
| 11 | LLC ("North Superior"), and West Coast Public Affairs ("West Coast") — formed for the sole | | | |
| 12 | purpose of acting as conduits to disguise payments to vendors worried that they would be | | | |
| 13 | "blacklisted" by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") if they | | | |
| 14 | provided services to a candidate challenging a Democratic incumbent. | | | |
| 15 | The Committee denies the allegations and argues that the disbursements to Lake Point, | | | |
| 16 | North Superior, and West Coast were properly reported. As discussed below, the available | | | |
| 17 | information indicates that the Committee accurately reported the purpose for \$3,309,026 in | | | |
| 18 | disbursements to West Coast, but identified the company merely as "WCPA" and the reported | | | |
| 19 | company address was an Illinois post office box not associated with West Coast, a California | | | |
| 20 | company, in any public records. The available information also indicates that the Committee die | | | |
| 21 | not properly disclose the payee or purpose of \$181,592.40 in total disbursements to Lake Point | | | |
| 22 | and North Superior. | | | |

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- Thus, the Commission finds reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C.
- 2 § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of \$3,490,618.40 in
- 3 disbursements reportedly paid to West Coast, Lake Point, and North Superior. The Commission
- 4 also finds reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 5 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of \$181,592 in disbursements
- 6 reportedly paid to Lake Point and North Superior.

II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

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- 8 Antone Melton-Meaux was a candidate in the 2020 Democratic primary election for
- 9 Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District, running as one of several Democratic candidates
- 10 challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. Antone for Congress is Melton-
- 11 Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer.² The
- 12 Committee was formed on November 15, 2019, and is organized as a nonprofit corporation in
- 13 Minnesota. Heather Faulkner is listed as the Committee's registered agent on both its Statement
- of Organization and its corporate filings with the Minnesota Secretary of State.³
- Lake Point was formed in Delaware on December 2, 2019, seventeen days after the
- 16 Committee's formation, and the Committee's first reported disbursement to Lake Point was on

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019); Committee Resp. at 1 (Oct. 29, 2020).

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

³ *Id.*; Minnesota Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://mblsportal.sos.state.mn.us/Business/BusinessName=Antone%20for%20Congress (search for "Antone for Congress").

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- 1 December 8, 2019.⁴ Lake Point appears to be a single-member LLC,⁵ and although the
- 2 individual who formed Lake Point is unidentified on the Delaware Secretary of State's website,
- 3 the Response identifies her as Heather Faulkner.⁶ According to Respondents, Faulkner was
- 4 selected for a role in the Committee prior to the formation of Lake Point and, apparently through
- 5 Lake Point, was "performing campaign director functions" for the Committee. Lake Point does
- 6 not appear to have public website or profiles on any major social media platforms.⁸
- North Superior was formed in Delaware on November 4, 2019, eleven days before the
- 8 Committee's formation, and the Committee's first reported disbursement to North Superior was
- 9 on December 17, 2019. North Superior appears to be a single-member LLC; 10 the individual
- who formed North Superior is unidentified on the Delaware Secretary of State's website, and

Resp. Attach. 1; Delaware Department of State Division of Corporations Business Entity Search, https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/ecorp/entitysearch/NameSearch.aspx (search for "Lake Point Consulting LLC); Resp. Attach 1 (redacted affidavit from the unidentified individual who formed Lake Point and associated certificate of formation); Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 81 (Jan. 31, 2020) (disclosing an \$8,000 disbursement for "consulting-strategy").

See Resp. at 4 ("The Commission has no basis to assume that [Lake Point and North Superior] were anything other than simple single-member LLCs ...").

Id., Attach. 1; Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (listing Heather Faulkner as the Committee's registered agent); Minnesota Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://mblsportal.sos.state.mn.us/Business/SearchDetails?filingGuid=3d70e4e7-bd07-ea11-9188-00155d01b4fc (search for "Antone for Congress") (showing Heather Faulkner as the entity's registered agent).

Joint Resp. at 4 n.6 (stating that "The person who formed Lake Point LLC was one of the directors selected at the organizational meeting in 2019 and was selected as Secretary of the corporation as well."). Faulkner's selection as registered agent for the Committee necessarily preceded filing of the incorporation documents with the Minnesota Secretary of State, which in turn preceded the formation of Lake Point by eighteen days.

The Complaint asserts that none of the three LLCs — Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast — have public websites or any presence on social media platforms, and the Commission is unable to identify any information to the contrary. Compl. at 5 (Aug. 7, 2020).

Delaware Department of State Division of Corporations Business Entity Search, https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/ecorp/entitysearch/NameSearch.aspx (search for "North Superior Consulting LLC); Joint Resp., Attach 2 (redacted affidavit from the unidentified individual who formed North Superior and associated certificate of formation); Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 84 (disclosing a \$5,000 disbursement for "consulting-strategy").

Supra note 5.

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- 1 that person's name is redacted from the declarations and supporting documents included with the
- 2 Response. A press report linking to an unredacted copy of the state-filed documents indicates,
- 3 however, that an individual named K. Davis Senseman, who the article describes as an attorney
- 4 in Minneapolis and the former treasurer of Ilhan Omar's 2018 congressional campaign
- 5 committee, signed as the "Authorized Person" forming North Superior. 11 Senseman is the
- 6 founder of, and sole attorney at, Davis Law Office, PLLC, a law firm in Minneapolis formed in
- 7 2010.¹² According to Respondents, North Superior "assisted [the Committee] with its
- 8 organizational efforts, which included helping craft incorporation documents and organizational
- 9 meeting documents."¹³ North Superior does not appear to have a public website or profiles on
- any major social media platforms. 14
- 11 West Coast is a corporation formed in California in 2012. 15 According to a declaration
- 12 from West Coast's Chief Financial Officer ("CFO"), John Shallman, West Coast provides media
- services to political, nonprofit, and other organizations, including media strategy, production,

See Ilhan for Congress Statement of Organization (June 13, 2018) (listing Senseman as treasurer); Gabe Schneider, Antone Melton-Meaux's Campaign Paid Almost \$100,000 to Two Consulting Companies — but Won't Say Who is Involved or What Work They Do, MINNPOST (July 27, 2020),

https://www.minnpost.com/national/2020/07/antone-melton-meauxs-campaign-paid-almost-100000-to-two-consulting-companies-but-wont-say-who-is-involved-or-what-work-they-do. The MinnPost article included a link to a PDF copy of the formation documents, page two of which appears to be an unredacted copy of the North Superior formation document included as Attachment B to the Committee's Response. https://www.minnpost.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/234633512 361420 033638.pdf.

Minnesota Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://mblsportal.sos.state.mn.us/Business/SearchDetails?filingGuid=ac983a3b-95d4-e011-a886-001ec94ffe7f (search for "Davis Law Office"); Davis Law Office, About, https://davismeansbusiness.com/team (listing Senseman as the founder and sole attorney).

Joint Resp. at 4 n.6.

Supra note 8.

California Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/CBS/Detail (search for "West Coast Public Affairs").

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and time-buying, which is handled through a sub-vendor. ¹⁶ Shallman declares that the

- 2 Committee's reported disbursements to West Coast were for such media services, and the time-
- 3 buying portion of those services was handled through a sub-vendor named Canal Partners
- 4 Media. 17 He declares that all Committee disbursements received by West Coast were for bona
- 5 fide media services that West Coast provided to the campaign, either directly or through
- 6 subcontractors. 18 For its part, Canal Partners appears to serve as a time-buying sub-vendor that
- 7 purchases political advertising time for federal, state, and local candidates nationwide.
- 8 The Committee reported 20 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$3,309,026 for a
- 9 variety of purposes related to advertising. 19 The Committee reported the disbursements to West
- 10 Coast using the acronym "WCPA," not the company's full name, and providing an Illinois
- address for West Coast not found in the company's corporate filings, which list only California
- addresses. Commission records show that other entities reported significant disbursements to
- West Coast between 2012 and the present for media services, with each entry using the
- 14 company's full name, "West Coast Public Affairs," and listing one of three California addresses
- near Los Angeles for the company that appear in West Coast's corporate filings.²⁰

Joint Resp., Attach. 3; West Coast Statement of Information (June 10, 2013), *available at* https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/Document/RetrievePDF?Id=03505102-16543218 (listing Shallman as the CFO).

Joint Resp., Attach. 3.

¹⁸ *Id*.

Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1922-1923 (July 15, 220); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 514-517 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 297-299 (July 30, 2020) (collectively reporting five disbursements for "TV/digital ad buy," five disbursements for "direct mail," three disbursements for "TV ad buy," two disbursements for "digital advertising," and single disbursements for "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production").

Campaign Finance Data, West Coast Public Affairs, 24- and 48-Hour Reports, https://www.fec.gov/data/independent-expenditures/?data_type=processed&is_notice=true&most_recent=true&payee_name=west+coast+public+affairs (showing 87 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$2,590,516.57 for media services associated with independent expenditures between 2012-present).

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1 The Committee reported fifteen disbursements to Lake Point totaling \$164,092 during the 2 2020 election cycle; fourteen of these payments were reported with a purpose of "strategic consulting," and one payment was reported as being for "consulting-strategy." The Committee 3 4 reported four disbursements to North Superior totaling \$17,500 for "consulting-strategy" and 5 "strategic consulting."²² Commission records show no reported disbursements to Lake Point or 6 North Superior from any other entities during the 2020 election cycle.²³ 7 Referencing press reports, the Complaint and Response assert that during the 2020 8 election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of 9 vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent Democratic congressional candidates.²⁴ The 10 Complaint alleges that Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast were formed as conduits to 11 obscure the identity of vendors providing services to the Committee who sought to avoid being

Antone for Congress 2019 Year-End Report at 81 (Jan 31, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 April Quarterly Report at 181-182 (Apr. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1912-1913 (July 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 500 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 287 (July 30, 2020); Antone for Congress 30 Day Post-General Report at 8 (Dec. 2, 2020); Antone for Congress 2021 April Quarterly Report at 8 (Apr. 15, 2021).

Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 84; Antone for Congress 2020 April Quarterly Report at 187; Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1919.

Campaign Finance Data, 2019-2020, Disbursements, Lake Point Consulting or North Superior Consulting, https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?data_type=processed&recipient_name=Lake+Point+Consulting&recipient_name=north+superior+consulting&two_year_transaction_period=2020.

Compl. at 5 (citing Rachael Bade & David Weigel, *Pelosi Endorses Rep. Tlaib in Primary Fight, Moves to Help Members of 'the Squad*,' WASH. POST (July 29, 2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/pelosi-endorses-rep-tlaib-in-primary-fight-moves-to-help-members-of-the-squad/2020/07/29/028b5692-d1c6-11ea-9038-af089b63ac21_story.html); Joint Resp. at 3; *see also* Daniel Marans, *DCCC Promises to Blacklist Firms that Work with Candidates Challenging Incumbents*, HUFFINGTON POST (Mar. 22, 2019), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dccc-promises-to-blacklist-firms-that-work-with-candidates-challenging-incumbents n 5c95126ae4b01ebeef0ec3ae.

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- "blacklisted" by the DCCC.²⁵ In March 2021, the DCCC reportedly announced that it would no 1
- longer follow this policy.²⁶ 2
- 3 The Committee argues that the Complaint is speculative and the Committee accurately
- disclosed the reported disbursements to Lake Point, North Superior, and West Coast.²⁷ The 4
- 5 Committee asserts that Delaware law does not require LLCs to disclose their owners or members
- 6 in their formation documents, and an attorney can file formation documents on behalf of an
- LLC.²⁸ The available information suggests that the Committee and Melton-Meaux may have 7
- signed nondisclosure agreements ("NDAs") with both Lake Point and North Superior.²⁹ 8

III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

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10 The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and

- address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating
- 12 more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the
- date, amount, and purpose of such payments.³⁰ The relevant reporting requirements under the 13
- 14 Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political

²⁵ Compl. at 1-2.

See Ally Mutnick, House Democrats End Controversial Consultant Ban, Politico (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/09/dccc-ban-primary-challengers-474588.

²⁷ Resp. at 1.

²⁸ *Id*. at 2

Schneider, supra note 11 ("Melton-Meaux's campaign manager also claimed to have signed nondisclosure agreements with the companies that prevented them from revealing any further information").

⁵² U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized committees); id. § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); id. § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

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- 1 campaign money comes from and how it is spent."31 Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and
- 2 help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations.³²

A. Disclosure of Payees of Disbursements

- 4 Neither the Act nor Commission regulations address the concepts of ultimate payees,
- 5 vendors, agents, contractors, or subcontractors in this context.³³ The Commission determined in
- 6 Advisory Opinion 1983-25 (Mondale) ("AO 1983-25") that in certain circumstances, reporting
- 7 committees are not required to separately report payments that the committee's vendors make to
- 8 subvendors when those payments are for services or goods used in the performance of the
- 9 vendor's contract with the committee.³⁴ In that advisory opinion, a committee, Mondale for
- 10 President, Inc., planned to contract with a media consulting group for media-related services,
- including media production and the purchase of television and radio time.³⁵ In reaching its
- 12 conclusion, the Commission found several facts to be significant in concluding that the
- 13 committee was not required to separately report or itemize payments to its vendor's subvendors:
- 14 (1) the vendor at issue had a legal existence as a corporation separate from the operations of the

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).

Advisory Op. 1983-25 (Mondale) at 2. As discussed below, the Commission has since addressed the requirements of section 30104(b)(5) in certain situations not applicable to these facts. *See* Reporting Ultimate Payees of Political Committee Disbursements, 78 Fed. Reg. 40,625, 40,626-27 (July 8, 2013) ("Ultimate Payee Interpretive Rule") (clarifying committees' obligation to report "ultimate payees" in three specific scenarios that are not vendor specific).

³⁴ AO 1983-25 at 3.

³⁵ *Id.* at 1.

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- 1 committee; (2) the vendor's principals did not hold any staff positions with the committee;
- 2 (3) the committee conducted arm's length negotiations with the vendor that resulted in formation
- 3 of a final contract; (4) the vendor was not required to devote its "full efforts" to the contract and
- 4 expected to have contracts with other campaigns and entities; and (5) the committee had no
- 5 interest in the vendor's other contracts.³⁶

The Commission has applied the analytical framework identified in AO 1983-25 when

- 7 considering whether a committee's reported payment to a vendor satisfies the reporting
- 8 requirements of section 30104(b)(5) in the context of an allegation that the committee should
- 9 have reported the identity of a subvendor. For example, in MUR 6510 (Kirk), the Commission
- 10 found no reason to believe that the respondent committee failed to adequately report
- disbursements in connection with payments to a media firm that subcontracted various media
- services.³⁷ Applying the factors outlined in AO 1983-25, the Commission concluded that the
- committee did not need to report the media vendor's payments to the subvendor.³⁸ In MUR
- 14 6894 (Russell), the respondents reported payments to a media consulting firm, which purchased
- media buys on behalf of the respondents.³⁹ The Commission found that the media consultant

³⁶ *Id.* at 3.

Factual & Legal Analysis at 12, MUR 6510 (Kirk for Senate, *et al.*); *cf.* Factual & Legal Analysis at 4-6, MUR 6818 (Allen Weh for Senate) (dismissing allegation that committee violated the Act by failing to itemize payments to a payroll company after committee quickly amended reports in response to RFAIs to include itemization and where committee allegedly intentionally hid said payments).

Factual & Legal Analysis at 12-13, MUR 6510; see also United States v. Jesse Benton, John Tate, and Dimitrios Kesari, 890 F.3d 697, 709 (8th Cir. 2018), cert. denied, Benton v. U.S., 139 S. Ct. 1318 (2019), Tate v. U.S., 139 S. Ct. 1322 (2019); Kesari v. United States, 139 S. Ct. 1322 (2019) (noting that in AO 1983-25 and MUR 6510, "the Commission concluded that the vendors and subvendors had provided the services described by the campaign").

Factual & Legal Analysis at 1-2, MUR 6894 (Steve Russell for Congress); *see also* First Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 3, MUR 6894 (Steve Russell for Congress) (noting that the payments in question were disbursements made by the media consultant "to a subvendor in connection with services the vendor provided to the Committee").

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- 1 separately contracted with the stations for air time and paid them accordingly, while also
- 2 receiving commissions from the respondents and concluded that the reporting did not violate the
- 3 Act. 40 As in AO 1983-25, MUR 6510 and MUR 6894 both involved firms hiring subvendors
- 4 that provided the same type of services provided by the vendors.⁴¹
- 5 The Commission has, however, found reason to believe committees violated the Act's
- 6 reporting requirements in matters where the record suggests facts materially distinguishable from
- 7 those considered in AO 1983-25, such as when a committee reported a vendor that served merely
- 8 as a stand-in for payments to another particular recipient the committee avoided disclosing. For
- 9 instance, in MUR 4872 (Jenkins), a committee directly hired a vendor Impact Mail to
- perform phone bank services on the committee's behalf. When the committee discovered that
- David Duke's name and phone number appeared on caller identification for calls placed by
- 12 Impact Mail's phone bank, the committee took measures to conceal its relationship with Impact
- 13 Mail by routing its payments to Impact Mail through a second vendor, Courtney
- 14 Communications, and reporting Courtney Communications as the payee on disclosure reports. 42
- 15 Although Courtney Communications was a vendor that provided media services for the
- 16 committee during the period in question, Impact Mail was not a subvendor of Courtney
- 17 Communications because Courtney Communications "had no involvement whatsoever with the

Factual & Legal Analysis at 1, MUR 6894.

AO 1983-25 at 1-2 (media firm planned to hire subvendors that would provide additional media services); MUR 6894 (Steve Russell for Congress) (media firm paid television stations for media buys); MUR 6510 (media vendor paid subvendor for media and communications consulting).

⁴² Conciliation Agreement at 2-4, MUR 4872 (Jenkins).

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- 1 services provided by Impact Mail."43 Its only role was "to serve as a conduit for payment to
- 2 Impact Mail so as to conceal the transaction with Impact Mail."⁴⁴
- 3 Similarly, in MUR 3847 (Stockman), the Commission applied the framework laid out in
- 4 AO 1983-25, found the matter distinguishable, and found probable cause to believe that the
- 5 committee violated the reporting requirements of the Act by reporting payments to a vendor,
- 6 which was an unincorporated proprietorship run by two committee officials, for approximately
- 7 \$470,000 in committee expenses, including the costs of at least one "subvendor" who created
- 8 communications pursuant to a direct contract between the subvendor and the candidate and his
- 9 committee. 45 The Commission rested its determination on the facts that the reported vendor's
- principals held positions with the committee; the vendor was not incorporated; there was no
- formal contract between the vendor and the committee; the vendor was devoted largely to the
- 12 committee, worked out of the committee's headquarters, and used its facilities; and the principals
- of the vendor held themselves out to the public as officials of the committee. 46 The Commission
- 14 concluded that these facts reflected that the reported vendor served as merely an intermediary for
- payments to other payees (including the purported "subvendor") and thus, under the Act, the
- 16 committee was required to report the true purpose and recipients of the payments made through
- 17 the vendor.⁴⁷

⁴³ *Id.* at 3-4.

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 4.

Amend. Certification, MUR 3847 (Stockman) (Dec. 8, 1997), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/3847.pdf at 1,539; Gen. Counsel's Brief at 33-37, MUR 3847 (Stockman), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/3847.pdf at 1,416.

⁴⁶ Conciliation Agreement at 6-7, MUR 3847, https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/3847.pdf at 1,576.

Gen. Counsel's Brief at 37, MUR 3847; Conciliation Agreement at 7, MUR 3847 (Stockman).

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More recently, in MUR 6724 (Bachmann), Bachmann's committee and Sorenson agreed 1 2 that he would be paid by the committee through an intermediary — C&M — that simply added 3 Sorenson's monthly payments to the monthly fees it was already collecting from the committee.48 4 5 1. Applying AO 1983-25 Factors to the Disbursements to West Coast 6 Analyzed against the factors outlined in AO 1983-25, the Committee appears to have 7 accurately reported the ultimate payee of its disbursements to West Coast, but incorrectly used 8 the acronym "WCPA" in its reports rather than the company's full name and reported the 9 company's address as a P.O. box in Illinois that does not correspond to West Coast's business 10 address on file with the California Secretary of State. 11 According to public records and a signed sworn declaration by West Coast's CFO, West 12 Coast was incorporated in 2012 and has been a going concern since then, providing media services to political clients, non-profits, and other clients. 49 West Coast's CFO declared that the 13 14 disbursements from the Committee were for media services that West Coast provided, both directly and through a sub-contract with Canal Partners. 50 15 16 Applying the factors from AO 1983-25, the available information indicates that: (1) West Coast had a legal existence as a corporation separate from the operations of the 17 18 Committee; (2) West Coast's principals did not hold any staff positions with the Committee; 19 (3) the Commission is unaware of any information indicating that contract negotiations between

Factual & Legal Analysis at 2-3, MUR 6724 (Bachmann for President); *see also* Conciliation Agreement at 2, MUR 6724.

John Shallman Decl. (undated) (included as Attach. 3 to the Response).

⁵⁰ *Id*.

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the Committee and West Coast were conducted at other than arm's length; (4) there is no

- 2 information indicating that West Coast was required to devote its "full efforts" to the contract;⁵¹
- 3 and (5) there is no information indicating that the Committee had an interest in West Coast's
- 4 other contracts. Indeed, the Committee's relationship with West Coast as a media vendor and
- 5 the fact that it did not separately itemize West Coast's payments to Canal Partners or other
- 6 subcontractors are similar to previous matters, discussed above, in which the Commission has
- 7 determined that authorized committees do not need to itemize payments made to subcontractors
- 8 providing time-buying or other services to the committees' primary media vendor.

This matter is distinguishable from those previous matters, however, because the

10 Committee reported the disbursements using the acronym "WCPA" rather than the company's

full name, "West Coast Public Affairs," and providing an Illinois address not found in the

company's corporate filings or associated with any of the numerous previous disbursements to

West Coast disclosed to the Commission by other entities. The Committee concedes that there is

a "plausible argument" that they erred by reporting the payments using the "WCPA" acronym

rather than the company's full name, as Commission regulations require, but argues that the

statute merely requires reporting the "name" of payees.⁵² In the Response, the Committee states

that "if the Reports and Analysis Division indicates that [the Committee] should have complied

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Supra note 23.

Joint Resp. at 4 n.5 ("[the Committee] realizes there is a plausible argument that it should have reported the 'full name' of WCPA ... per 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4)(i) ... Of course, the Commissions regulation cannot exceed the reach of the underlying statute"). Respondents offer no explanation for the use of an Illinois address. We note, however, that each of the 87 disbursements to West Coast reported to the Commission by other entities between 2012-present, including during the 2020 election cycle, used either an Encino, California, or Woodland Hills, California, address for the company. *Supra* note 20.

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with the regulation rather than the statute, [the Committee] will submit a [Form 99] to explain 1 that the 'WCPA' reference in the Committee's reports refers to 'West Coast Public Affairs." 53 2 3 The Committee appears to have violated the plain language of 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4), 4 which states that committees "shall report the full name and address" of each "person to whom 5 an expenditure in an aggregate amount or value in excess of \$200 within the election cycle is 6 made by the reporting authorized committee to meet the authorized committee's operating expenses."⁵⁴ Further, this use of the acronym and Illinois address would have made it very 7 8 difficult for a member of the public to identify the recipient of \$3,309,026 in disbursements — 71% of the Committee's total disbursements during the 2020 election cycle. 55 The Committee's 9 10 use of the acronym and Illinois address is particularly notable when viewed alongside

15 § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of funds paid to West

payee, the Commission finds reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C.

contemporaneous information indicating that vendors were concerned about being blacklisted by

the DCCC for providing services to the Committee. Because the Committee violated the plain

language of the relevant regulation, and appears to have done so to obscure West Coast as the

16 Coast.

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Joint Resp. at 4 n.5.

⁵⁴ 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4), (b)(4)(i); see also 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) (committee reports shall disclose "the name and address" of each person to whom an expenditure in an aggregate amount or value in excess of \$200 within the election cycle is made by the reporting committee).

The Committee disclosed \$4,650,989.07 in total disbursements during the 2020 election cycle. Campaign Finance Data, Antone for Congress, Spending, https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00729582/?cycle=2020&tab=spending.

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| 1 | 2. | Applying AO 1983-25 Factors to the Disbursements to Lake Point and |
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| 2 | | North Superior |

Analyzed against the factors outlined in AO 1983-25, the Committee does not appear to have properly reported the ultimate payee of its disbursements to Lake Point and North Superior.

First, although Lake Point and North Superior each had a legal existence as an LLC separate from the Committee — in that Lake Point is a registered LLC and the Committee is a registered nonprofit corporation — both LLCs appears to have been formed solely to perform work for the Committee. Lake Point was formed by Heather Faulkner on December 2, 2019, the day before the Committee registered with the Commission, and seventeen days *after* the Committee registered as a nonprofit corporation in Minnesota with Faulkner as its registered agent. Indeed, Respondents appear to acknowledge that Faulkner was selected to serve a role within the Committee prior to the formation of Lake Point. Similarly, North Superior was formed on November 4, 2019, and according to Respondents, assisted [the Committee] with its organizational efforts, which included helping craft incorporation documents and organizational meeting documents. Because North Superior was formed only eleven days before the Committee filed its incorporation documents, it appears likely that the LLC was formed either after, or at the same time as, the LLC's single member began working with the Committee on its incorporation.

Second, the available information indicates that Faulkner, who appears to be Lake Point's sole member, held a position with the Committee. She is listed as the Committee's registered

See Joint Resp. at 4 n.6 ("The person who formed Lake Point LLC was one of the directors selected at the organizational meeting in 2019 and was selected as Secretary of the corporation as well."). This organizational meeting presumably preceded the filing of incorporation documents with the Minnesota Secretary of State.

⁵⁷ *Id*.

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1 agent in both its incorporation documents and its Statement of Organization and also appears to

2 have been the actual or de facto campaign director.⁵⁸ As to North Superior, if Senseman was in

3 fact the single member of North Superior — and the available information indicates that is likely

— it is difficult to see why it was necessary to form an LLC as protection from individual

liability to assist the Committee with incorporation or other matters, because these services could

have been provided through the Davis Law Office, which is organized as a PLLC.⁵⁹

Although the Response is silent as to whether either Lake Point or North Superior's contracts with the Committee required the LLCs to devote their "full efforts" to the contract or whether they were expected to have contracts with other campaigns and entities, the available information indicates that no other campaigns or entities reported any disbursements to either LLC. The Response does not suggest that either entity performed any work for other candidates, committees, or non-political entities.

The available information indicates that both Lake Point and North Superior were formed by single members who were already holding positions with, or performing work for, the Committee prior to the formation of the LLCs. As there is no available information indicating that Lake Point and North Superior have ever publicly held themselves out for business — neither entity has a public website or any presence on social media — or held contracts with any clients other than the Committee, the available information indicates that both LLCs were likely created primarily to obscure the fact that Faulkner and Senseman were being paid to provide services to the Committee and thus avoid the DCCC's "blacklist." Thus, Lake Point and North

Supra note 7.

Supra note 12

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- 1 Superior appear to have been serving as pass-throughs, and based on previous Commission
- 2 decisions, 60 the Committee should have reported Faulkner and Senseman as the payees for all
- 3 disbursements made to Lake Point and North Superior, respectively. Accordingly, the
- 4 Commission finds reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 5 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4) by misreporting the payee of funds paid to Lake Point and North
- 6 Superior.

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B. Disclosure of Purpose of Disbursements

Although the Complaint largely focuses on the issue of whether the Committee correctly reported the ultimate payee for the disbursements in question, the Complaint in MUR 7774 also raises the issue of whether the Committee failed to properly report the purpose for these disbursements.⁶¹

Commission regulations define "purpose" as a "brief statement or description of why the disbursement was made." "The 'purpose of disbursement' entry, when considered along with the identity of the disbursement recipient, must be sufficiently specific to make the purpose of the disbursement clear." The Commission has determined that the description of purpose should be sufficient to allow "a person not associated with the committee [to] easily discern why the disbursement was made when reading the name of the recipient and the purpose."

See e.g., MUR 3847 (Stockman); MUR 6724 (Bachmann).

Compl. at 2, 6, 10, 13 (noting that the Act and Commission regulations require treasurers to itemize expenditures and disbursements over \$200 on committee reports and disclose the purpose of those expenditures and disbursements, and alleging that the Committee failed to properly itemize the disbursements to West Coast, Lake Point, and North Superior).

^{62 11} C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i)(A), (B); id. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A).

See Statement of Policy: "Purpose of Disbursement" Entries for Filings with the Commission, 72 Fed. Reg. 887 (Jan. 9, 2007) ("Purpose Statement of Policy") (citing 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.3(b)(3)(i)(B), (4)(i)(A)).

Purpose Statement of Policy at 888.

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- 1 Examples of sufficient statements of purpose include, but are not limited to, dinner expenses,
- 2 media, salary, polling, travel, party fees, phone banks, travel expenses, travel expense
- 3 reimbursements, and catering costs. 65 The Commission has concluded that "the description
- 4 'media' is considered as a satisfactory description for a payment that is, in fact, made for media,
- 5 such as the purchase of media time or media space."66 The Commission has determined that the
- 6 description "Consultant-Media," "Consultant-Fundraising" "Consultant-Get-Out-The-Vote,"
- 7 "Consultant-Legal," and "Consultant-Polling" are sufficient statements of purpose for a
- 8 disbursement to a consultant, and that the sufficiency of the description is read in context with
- 9 the name of the payee. 67 By contrast, the Commission has determined that the following are
- 10 generally insufficient: "Consultant," "Consultant-Political," "Consulting," "Consulting Non-
- 11 FEA," and "Consulting Service." Where respondents disclosed inadequate or incorrect
- purposes, the Commission has found reason to believe that they violated the Act. ⁶⁹

^{65 11} C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i)(B); id. § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A).

⁶⁶ AO 1983-25 at 2.

Purpose Statement of Policy at 888.

⁶⁸ *Id*.

See, e.g., Report of the Audit Division at 13-14 (Dallas County Republican Party) (Nov. 19, 2008) (respondent disclosed an inadequate or incorrect purpose for 50 disbursements totaling \$215,261 where committee sometimes reported generic purposes such as professional fees and fundraising consultant, which did not allow a person to easily discern why the disbursements were made when reading the payee and purpose together); Factual & Legal Analysis at 2-3, MUR 6204 (Dallas County Republican Party) (finding reason to believe that the committee violated, inter alia, 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5) (formerly 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(5)); Report of the Audit Division at 12-13 (Cranley for Congress) (Apr. 23, 2008) (sample review projected \$1.4 million in disclosed disbursements lacked required information including, but not limited to, missing or inadequate purposes, for which a person could not easily discern why the disbursements were made when reading the payee and purpose together); Certification, MUR 6134 (Cranley for Congress) (Nov. 19, 2008) (approving the Report of the Audit Division dated April 23, 2008 as the Factual & Legal Analysis); Conciliation Agreement at 4, 6, MUR 5635 (Conservative Leadership Political Action Committee); Final Audit Report, Conservative Leadership Political Action Committee (Nov. 29, 2004) (committee failed to disclose a correct or adequate purpose for disbursements totaling over \$1.6 million). In cases involving a limited number of disbursements or small amount of money, the Commission has dismissed the matter or referred it to the Commission's Alternative Dispute Resolution Office ("ADRO"), See, e.g., Certification at 3. MUR 6518 (Newt Gingrich, et al.) (June 24, 2015) (referring allegations to the ADRO that respondents failed to disclose an adequate purpose for one \$47,005 disbursement); MUR 6638 (Todd Long for Congress) (dismissing allegation that respondent incorrectly described the purpose of two disbursements totaling \$21,667 as "check" where

Statements of Purpose for Disbursements to West Coast

MUR 7774 (Antone for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 19 of 20

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| 2 | The Committee reported 20 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$3,309,026 for a |
|----------|---|
| 3 | variety of purposes related to advertising. ⁷⁰ The descriptions of purpose for these disbursements |
| 4 | were reported as "TV/digital ad buy," "direct mail," "TV ad buy," "media buy," "digital |
| 5 | advertising," "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production". 71 These |
| 6 | descriptions appear to be sufficiently detailed and in line with the services that Respondents state |
| 7 | were provided to the Committee by West Coast. Accordingly, the Commission dismisses the |
| 8 | allegations that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. |
| 9 | § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of funds paid to West Coast. |
| 10 11 | 2. <u>Statements of Purpose for Disbursements to Lake Point and North</u> Superior |

The Committee reported fifteen disbursements to Lake Point totaling \$164,092 for

"consulting-strategy" and "strategic consulting," and four disbursements to North Superior

totaling \$17,500 for "consulting-strategy" and "strategic consulting." Although these

statements of purpose comport with the list of adequate statements maintained on the

respondent committee corrected description and terminated). In addition, a recent decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit rejected an argument that identifying a purpose of "audio/visual expenses" for payments that were actually compensation for an endorsement did not cause a committee's disclosure reports to be false. See United States v. Jesse Benton, John Tate, and Dimitrios Kesari, supra, note 38 (affirming the convictions of three former Ron Paul 2012 campaign officials for, inter alia, violating the Act by causing false campaign finance reports to be filed with the Commission)

⁷⁰ *Supra* note 19.

⁷¹ *Id*.

⁷² Supra notes 21-22.

MUR 7774 (Antone for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 20 of 20

- 1 Commission website, 73 they do not appear to accurately describe the services that either LLC, or
- 2 their members, provided to the Committee.
- 3 As discussed above, Faulkner is a registered agent of the Committee and Lake Point and
- 4 appears to have been, for all intents and purposes, a full-time employee of the campaign
- 5 functioning as the actual or de facto campaign director. ⁷⁴ Faulkner's role is not consistent with
- 6 the description "Consultant," and the purpose could have been accurately reported as "salary,"
- 7 which the Commission describes as the appropriate statement of purpose for "a disbursement to a
- 8 staff member."⁷⁵ Similarly, the only available information, provided by Respondents, indicates
- 9 that North Superior/Senseman provided the Committee with legal services related to the
- 10 Committee's incorporation and governance, not with strategic consulting.⁷⁶ The purpose of the
- disbursements to North Superior/Senseman could have been accurately reported as "legal
- consulting" or "legal/legal fees/legal services," which both appear on the list of statements of
- purpose that the Commission generally finds acceptable. Accordingly, the Commission finds
- reason to believe that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R.
- 15 § 104.3(b)(4)(i)(A) by misreporting the purpose of funds paid to Lake Point and North Superior.

Federal Election Commission, *Purposes of Disbursements*, https://www.fec.gov/help-candidates-and-committees/purposes-disbursements/#adequate-consultant-and-consulting-purposes (publishing a list of "adequate consultant and consulting purposes" that includes "Strategic Planning Consulting" and "Strategy Consulting").

Supra note 7.

Purpose Statement of Policy at 888.

⁷⁶ *Supra* note 57.

⁷⁷ *Supra* note 73.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

| 1 | RESPONDENT: Antone Melton-Meaux MUR 7774 |
|----|---|
| 2 | I. INTRODUCTION |
| 3 | Antone Melton-Meaux was a challenger to incumbent U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar in |
| 4 | the 2020 Democratic primary election for Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District. The |
| 5 | Complaint alleges that his authorized campaign committee, Antone for Congress and Dennis |
| 6 | Melton in his official capacity as treasurer ("Committee"), failed to itemize \$3,470,618 in |
| 7 | reported disbursements for campaign services and intentionally obscured the ultimate payees for, |
| 8 | and purposes of, the disbursements. Because the Act's reporting requirements at issue apply |
| 9 | only to political committees and committee treasurers, the Commission finds no reason to |
| 10 | believe that Melton-Meaux violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4). |
| 11 | II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND |
| 12 | Antone Melton-Meaux was a candidate in the 2020 Democratic primary election for |
| 13 | Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District, running as one of several Democratic candidates |
| 14 | challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. 1 Antone for Congress is Melton- |
| 15 | Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer. ² |
| 16 | Referencing press reports, the Complaint and Response assert that during the 2020 |
| 17 | election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of |
| 18 | vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent Democratic Congressional candidates. ³ The |
| | |

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019); Resp. at 1 (Oct. 29, 2020).

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

Compl. at 5 (Aug. 7, 2020) (citing Rachael Bade & David Weigel, Pelosi Endorses Rep. Tlaib in Primary Fight, Moves to Help Members of 'the Squad,' WASHINGTON POST (July 29, 2020), https://www.washington post.com/powerpost/pelosi-endorses-rep-tlaib-in-primary-fight-moves-to-help-members-of-the-squad/2020/ 07/29/028b5692-d1c6-11ea-9038-af089b63ac21 story.html); Resp. at 3; see also Daniel Marans, DCCC Promises

MUR 7774 (Antone Melton-Meaux) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 3

- 1 Complaint alleges that the Committee disclosed disbursements to three entities that were merely
- 2 conduits for payments to actual vendors and that it did so to obscure the identity of vendors
- 3 providing goods and services to the Committee who sought to avoid being "blacklisted" by the
- 4 DCCC.⁴

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III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

- The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and
- 7 address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating
- 8 more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the
- 9 date, amount, and purpose of such payments.⁵ The relevant reporting requirements under the
- 10 Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political
- campaign money comes from and how it is spent." Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and
- help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations.

to Blacklist Firms that Work with Candidates Challenging Incumbents, HUFFINGTON POST (Mar. 22, 2019), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dccc-promises-to-blacklist-firms-that-work-with-candidates-challenging-incumbents n 5c95126ae4b01ebeef0ec3ae.

⁴ Compl. at 1-2.

⁵² U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized committees); *id.* § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); *id.* § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

⁶ Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).

MUR 7774 (Antone Melton-Meaux) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 3

- Because these disclosure obligations extend only to committees and treasurers, the
- 2 Commission finds no reason to believe that Antone Melton-Meaux violated 52 U.S.C.
- 3 § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

| 1 | RESPONDENT: Lake Point Consulting LLC MUR 7774 |
|----|---|
| 2 | I. INTRODUCTION |
| 3 | Antone Melton-Meaux was a challenger to incumbent U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar in |
| 4 | the 2020 Democratic primary election for Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District. The |
| 5 | Complaint alleges that his authorized campaign committee, Antone for Congress and Dennis |
| 6 | Melton in his official capacity as treasurer ("Committee"), failed to properly itemize \$164,092 in |
| 7 | reported disbursements to Lake Point Consulting LLC ("Lake Point") for campaign services |
| 8 | during the 2020 election cycle and intentionally obscured the ultimate payees for, and purposes |
| 9 | of, the disbursements. The Complaint alleges that Lake Point was formed for the sole purpose of |
| 10 | acting as a conduit to disguise payments to a vendor worried that they would be "blacklisted" by |
| 11 | the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") if they provided services to a |
| 12 | candidate challenging a Democratic incumbent. |
| 13 | Lake Point denies the allegations and argues that the disbursements to Lake Point were |
| 14 | properly reported. As discussed below, because the Act's reporting requirements at issue apply |
| 15 | only to political committees and committee treasurers, the Commission finds no reason to |
| 16 | believe that Lake Point violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4). |
| 17 | II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND |
| 18 | Antone Melton-Meaux was a candidate in the 2020 Democratic primary election for |
| 19 | Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District, running as one of several Democratic candidates |
| | |

MURs 7774 (Lake Point Consulting LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 4

- 1 challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. Antone for Congress is Melton-
- 2 Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer.²
- 3 Lake Point was formed in Delaware on December 2, 2019, and the Committee's first
- 4 reported disbursement to Lake Point was on December 8, 2019.³
- 5 The Committee reported fifteen disbursements to Lake Point totaling \$164,092 during the
- 6 2020 election cycle; fourteen of these payments were reported with a purpose of "strategic
- 7 consulting," and one payment was reported as being for "consulting-strategy."⁴
- 8 Referencing press reports, the Complaint and Response assert that during the 2020
- 9 election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of
- vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent Democratic Congressional candidates.⁵ The
- 11 Complaint alleges that Lake Point was formed as a conduit to obscure the identity of a vendor

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019); Resp. at 1 (Oct. 29, 2020).

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

Resp. Attach. 1; Delaware Department of State Division of Corporations Business Entity Search, https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/ecorp/entitysearch/NameSearch.aspx (search for "Lake Point Consulting LLC); Resp. Attach 1 (redacted affidavit from the unidentified individual who formed Lake Point and associated certificate of formation); Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 81 (Jan. 31, 2020) (disclosing an \$8,000 disbursement for "consulting-strategy").

Antone for Congress 2019 Year-End Report at 81 (Jan 31, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 April Quarterly Report at 181-182 (Apr. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1912-1913 (July 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 500 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 287 (July 30, 2020); Antone for Congress 30 Day Post-General Report at 8 (Dec. 2, 2020); Antone for Congress 2021 April Quarterly Report at 8 (Apr. 15, 2021).

Compl. at 5 (citing Rachael Bade & David Weigel, *Pelosi Endorses Rep. Tlaib in Primary Fight, Moves to Help Members of 'the Squad*,' WASH. POST (July 29, 2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/pelosi-endorses-rep-tlaib-in-primary-fight-moves-to-help-members-of-the-squad/2020/07/29/028b5692-d1c6-11ea-9038-af089b63ac21_story.html); Resp. at 3; *see also* Daniel Marans, *DCCC Promises to Blacklist Firms that Work with Candidates Challenging Incumbents*, HUFFINGTON POST (Mar. 22, 2019), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dccc-promises-to-blacklist-firms-that-work-with-candidates-challenging-incumbents_n_5c95126ae4b01ebeef0ec3ae.

MURs 7774 (Lake Point Consulting LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 4

- 1 providing services to the Committee who sought to avoid being "blacklisted" by the DCCC.⁶ In
- 2 March 2021, the DCCC reportedly announced that it would no longer follow this policy.⁷
- 3 Lake Point argues that the Complaint is speculative, and the Committee accurately
- 4 disclosed the reported disbursements to Lake Point.⁸

III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

5

- The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and
- 7 address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating
- 8 more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the
- 9 date, amount, and purpose of such payments. 9 The relevant reporting requirements under the
- 10 Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political
- campaign money comes from and how it is spent." Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and
- help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations. 11

⁶ Compl. at 1-2.

⁷ See Ally Mutnick, *House Democrats End Controversial Consultant Ban*, POLITICO (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/09/dccc-ban-primary-challengers-474588.

⁸ Resp. at 1.

⁹ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized committees); *id.* § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); *id.* § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).

MURs 7774 (Lake Point Consulting LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 4 of 4

- Because these disclosure obligations extend only to committees and treasurers, the
- 2 Commission finds no reason to believe that Lake Point violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 3 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

| 1 | RESPONDENT: Nor | th Superior Consulting LLC | MUR 7774 |
|----|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 2 | I. INTRODUCTION | N | |
| 3 | Antone Melton-Me | aux was a challenger to incumbent | U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar in |
| 4 | the 2020 Democratic prima | ary election for Minnesota's Fifth C | ongressional District. The |
| 5 | Complaint alleges that his | authorized campaign committee, Ar | ntone for Congress and Dennis |
| 6 | Melton in his official capa | city as treasurer ("Committee"), fail | led to properly itemize \$17,500 in |
| 7 | reported disbursements to | North Superior Consulting LLC ("N | North Superior") for campaign |
| 8 | services during the 2020 el | ection cycle and intentionally obscu | ared the ultimate payees for, and |
| 9 | purposes of, the disbursem | ents. The Complaint alleges that N | orth Superior was formed for the |
| 10 | sole purpose of acting as a | conduit to disguise payments to a v | endor worried that they would be |
| 11 | "blacklisted" by the Demo | cratic Congressional Campaign Cor | mmittee ("DCCC") if they |
| 12 | provided services to a cand | lidate challenging a Democratic inc | umbent. |
| 13 | North Superior den | ies the allegations and argues that the | he disbursements to North Superior |
| 14 | were properly reported. A | s discussed below, because the Act' | s reporting requirements at issue |
| 15 | apply only to political com | mittees and committee treasurers, the | he Commission finds no reason to |
| 16 | believe that North Superior | r violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(| A) and 11 C.F 104.3(b)(4). |
| 17 | II. FACTUAL BACK | KGROUND | |
| 18 | Antone Melton-Me | aux was a candidate in the 2020 De | emocratic primary election for |
| 19 | Minnesota's Fifth Congres | sional District, running as one of se | veral Democratic candidates |
| | | | |

MUR 7774 (North Superior Consulting LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 4

- 1 challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. Antone for Congress is Melton-
- 2 Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer.²
- North Superior was formed in Delaware on November 4, 2019, and the Committee's first
- 4 reported disbursement to North Superior was on December 17, 2019.³ The Committee reported
- 5 four disbursements to North Superior totaling \$17,500 for "consulting-strategy" and "strategic
- 6 consulting."⁴
- Referencing press reports, the Complaint and Response assert that during the 2020
- 8 election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of
- 9 vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent Democratic Congressional candidates.⁵ The
- 10 Complaint alleges that North Superior was formed as a conduit to obscure the identity of a
- vendor providing services to the Committee who sought to avoid being "blacklisted" by the

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019); Resp. at 1 (Oct. 29, 2020).

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

Delaware Department of State Division of Corporations Business Entity Search, https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/ecorp/entitysearch/NameSearch.aspx (search for "North Superior Consulting LLC); Resp. Attach 2 (redacted affidavit from the unidentified individual who formed North Superior and associated certificate of formation); Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 84 (disclosing a \$5,000 disbursement for "consulting-strategy").

Antone for Congress 2019 Year End Report at 84; Antone for Congress 2020 April Quarterly Report at 187; Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1919.

Compl. at 5 (citing Rachael Bade & David Weigel, *Pelosi Endorses Rep. Tlaib in Primary Fight, Moves to Help Members of 'the Squad*,' WASH. POST (July 29, 2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/pelosi-endorses-rep-tlaib-in-primary-fight-moves-to-help-members-of-the-squad/2020/07/29/028b5692-d1c6-11ea-9038-af089b63ac21_story.html); Resp. at 3; *see also* Daniel Marans, *DCCC Promises to Blacklist Firms that Work with Candidates Challenging Incumbents*, HUFFINGTON POST (Mar. 22, 2019), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dccc-promises-to-blacklist-firms-that-work-with-candidates-challenging-incumbents_n_5c95126ae4b01ebeef0ec3ae.

MUR 7774 (North Superior Consulting LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 4

- 1 DCCC.⁶ In March 2021, the DCCC reportedly announced that it would no longer follow this
- 2 policy.⁷
- North Superior argues that the Complaint is speculative, and the Committee accurately
- 4 disclosed the reported disbursements to North Superior.⁸

5 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

- The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and
- 7 address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating
- 8 more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the
- 9 date, amount, and purpose of such payments. 9 The relevant reporting requirements under the
- 10 Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political
- campaign money comes from and how it is spent." Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and
- help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations. 11

⁶ Compl. at 1-2.

⁷ See Ally Mutnick, *House Democrats End Controversial Consultant Ban*, POLITICO (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/09/dccc-ban-primary-challengers-474588.

⁸ Resp. at 1.

⁹ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized committees); *id.* § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); *id.* § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).

MUR 7774 (North Superior Consulting LLC) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 4 of 4

- Because these disclosure obligations extend only to committees and treasurers, the
- 2 Commission finds no reason to believe that North Superior violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A)
- 3 and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

| 1 | RESPONDENT: | West Coast Public Affairs | MUR 7774 |
|----|----------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 2 | I. INTRODU | UCTION | |
| 3 | Antone Me | elton-Meaux was a challenger to incumben | t U.S. Representative Ilhan Omar in |
| 4 | the 2020 Democra | tic primary election for Minnesota's Fifth | Congressional District. The |
| 5 | Complaint alleges | that his authorized campaign committee, | Antone for Congress and Dennis |
| 6 | Melton in his offic | cial capacity as treasurer ("Committee"), fa | niled to itemize \$3,309,026 in |
| 7 | reported disbursen | nents to West Coast Public Affairs ("West | Coast") for campaign services |
| 8 | during the 2020 el | ection cycle and intentionally obscured the | e ultimate payees for, and purposes |
| 9 | of, the disburseme | nts. The Complaint alleges that West Coa | st was formed for the sole purpose |
| 10 | of acting as a cond | luit to disguise payments to a vendor worr | ied that they would be "blacklisted" |
| 11 | by the Democratic | Congressional Campaign Committee ("D | CCC") if they provided services to a |
| 12 | candidate challeng | ring a Democratic incumbent. | |
| 13 | West Coas | t denies the allegations and argues that the | disbursements to West Coast were |
| 14 | properly reported. | As discussed below, because the Act's re | porting requirements at issue apply |
| 15 | only to political co | ommittees and committee treasurers, the C | ommission finds no reason to |
| 16 | believe that West | Coast violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) | and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4). |
| 17 | II. FACTUA | L BACKGROUND | |
| 18 | Antone Me | elton-Meaux was a candidate in the 2020 [| Democratic primary election for |
| 19 | Minnesota's Fifth | Congressional District, running as one of | several Democratic candidates |
| | | | |

THIS PROPOSED DRAFT WAS VOTED ON BUT NOT APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION.

MUR 7774 (West Coast Public Affairs) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 3

- 1 challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. Antone for Congress is Melton-
- 2 Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer.²
- West Coast is a corporation formed in California in 2012.³ The Committee reported 20
- 4 disbursements to West Coast totaling \$3,309,026 for a variety of purposes related to political
- 5 advertising.⁴
- Referencing press reports, the Complaint and Response assert that during the 2020
- 7 election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of
- 8 vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent Democratic Congressional candidates.⁵ The
- 9 Complaint alleges that West Coast was formed as a conduit to obscure the identity of a vendor
- providing services to the Committee who sought to avoid being "blacklisted" by the DCCC.⁶ n
- 11 March 2021, the DCCC reportedly announced that it would no longer follow this policy.⁷

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019); Resp. at 1 (Oct. 29, 2020).

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

³ California Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/CBS/Detail (search for "West Coast Public Affairs");

Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1922-1923 (July 15, 220); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 514-517 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 297-299 (July 30, 2020) (collectively reporting five disbursements for "TV/digital ad buy," five disbursements for "direct mail," three disbursements for "TV ad buy," two disbursements for "digital advertising," and single disbursements for "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production").

Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1922-1923 (July 15, 220); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 514-517 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 297-299 (July 30, 2020) (collectively reporting five disbursements for "TV/digital ad buy," five disbursements for "direct mail," three disbursements for "TV ad buy," two disbursements for "digital advertising," and single disbursements for "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production"); Resp. at 3; see also Daniel Marans, DCCC Promises to Blacklist Firms that Work with Candidates Challenging Incumbents, HUFFINGTON POST (Mar. 22, 2019), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dccc-promises-to-blacklist-firms-that-work-with-candidates-challenging-incumbents_n_5c95126ae4b01ebeef0ec3ae.

⁶ Compl. at 1-2.

⁷ See Ally Mutnick, *House Democrats End Controversial Consultant Ban*, POLITICO (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/09/dccc-ban-primary-challengers-474588.

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- 1 West Coast argues that the Complaint is speculative, and the Committee accurately
- disclosed the reported disbursements to West Coast.8 2

III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

3

- 4 The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and
- 5 address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating
- 6 more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the
- date, amount, and purpose of such payments. The relevant reporting requirements under the 7
- 8 Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political
- campaign money comes from and how it is spent." Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and 9
- help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations. 11 10
- 11 Because these disclosure obligations extend only to committees and treasurers, the
- 12 Commission finds no reason to believe that West Coast violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A) and
- 13 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized

Resp. at 1.

committees); id. § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); id. § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

| 1 | RESPONDENT: | Canal Partners Media, LLC | MUR 7774 |
|----|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 2 | I. INTRODU | CTION | |
| 3 | Antone Mel | ton-Meaux was a challenger to incumbent U.S. | Representative Ilhan Omar in |
| 4 | the 2020 Democrati | ic primary election for Minnesota's Fifth Congr | essional District. The |
| 5 | Complaint alleges t | hat his authorized campaign committee, Antone | e for Congress and Dennis |
| 6 | Melton in his offici | al capacity as treasurer ("Committee"), failed to | itemize \$3,309,026 in |
| 7 | reported disburseme | ents to "WCPA" — an acronym standing for W | est Coast Public Affairs |
| 8 | ("West Coast") — | for campaign services during the 2020 election of | cycle and intentionally |
| 9 | obscured the ultima | te payees for, and purposes of, the disbursemen | ts. The Complaint alleges |
| 10 | that West Coast act | ed as a conduit to disguise payments to vendors | worried that they would be |
| 11 | "blacklisted" by the | e Democratic Congressional Campaign Commit | tee ("DCCC") if they |
| 12 | provided services to | o a candidate challenging a Democratic incumbe | ent. Canal Partners Media, |
| 13 | LLC ("Canal Partne | ers") was identified in the Complaint as a subve | ndor of West Coast. |
| 14 | Canal Partne | ers denies violating the Act and asserts that it is | a going concern that provides |
| 15 | time buying service | es, often as a subcontractor to political media co | nsulting firms. Because the |
| 16 | Act's reporting requ | uirements at issue apply only to political commi | ttees and committee |
| 17 | treasurers, the Com | mission finds no reason to believe that Canal Pa | artners violated 52 U.S.C. |
| 18 | § 30104(b)(5)(A) as | nd 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4). | |
| 19 | II. FACTUAL | BACKGROUND | |
| 20 | Antone Mel | ton-Meaux was a candidate in the 2020 Democr | ratic primary election for |
| 21 | Minnesota's Fifth C | Congressional District, running as one of several | Democratic candidates |

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- 1 challenging the incumbent, and eventual winner, Ilhan Omar. 1 Antone for Congress is Melton-
- 2 Meaux's authorized campaign committee; Dennis Melton is the Committee Treasurer.²
- West Coast is a corporation formed in California in 2012. West Coast provides media
- 4 services to political, nonprofit, and other organizations, including media strategy, production,
- 5 and time-buying, which is handled through a sub-vendor. The Committee reported 20
- 6 disbursements to "WCPA" an acronym for West Coast totaling \$3,309,026 for a variety of
- 7 purposes related to advertising.⁴ Canal Partners states that it serves as a time-buying sub-vendor
- 8 that purchases political advertising time for federal, state, and local candidates nationwide, and
- 9 that it did so for the Committee as a subvendor to West Coast.⁵
- During the 2020 election cycle, the DCCC issued an internal policy that allegedly
- amounted to maintaining a "blacklist" of vendors that worked with challengers to incumbent
- 12 Democratic Congressional candidates. 6 The Complaint alleges that West Coast was formed as a
- conduit to obscure payments to, in part, Canal Partners for providing services to the Committee

Melton-Meaux Statement of Candidacy (Dec. 3, 2019).

Antone for Congress Statement of Organization (Dec. 3, 2019).

³ California Secretary of State Business Entity Search, https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/CBS/Detail (search for "West Coast Public Affairs").

Antone for Congress 2020 July Quarterly Report at 1922-1923 (July 15, 220); Antone for Congress 2020 October Quarterly Report at 514-517 (Oct. 15, 2020); Antone for Congress 12 Day Pre-Primary Report at 297-299 (July 30, 2020) (collectively reporting five disbursements for "TV/digital ad buy," five disbursements for "direct mail," three disbursements for "TV ad buy," two disbursements for "digital advertising," and single disbursements for "retainer," "television advertising," and "TV ad buy and production").

⁵ Resp. at 1 (Sept. 25, 2020).

Compl. at 5 (citing Rachael Bade & David Weigel, *Pelosi Endorses Rep. Tlaib in Primary Fight, Moves to Help Members of 'the Squad*,' WASH. POST (July 29, 2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/pelosi-endorses-rep-tlaib-in-primary-fight-moves-to-help-members-of-the-squad/2020/07/29/028b5692-d1c6-11ea-9038-af089b63ac21_story.html); *see also* Daniel Marans, *DCCC Promises to Blacklist Firms that Work with Candidates Challenging Incumbents*, HUFFINGTON POST (Mar. 22, 2019), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dcce-promises-to-blacklist-firms-that-work-with-candidates-challenging-incumbents n 5c95126ae4b01ebeef0ec3ae.

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- so that Canal Partners could avoid being "blacklisted" by the DCCC. As support for this
- 2 position, the Complaint cites contemporaneous press reports addressing the Committee's
- 3 disbursements to "WCPA." In March 2021, the DCCC reportedly announced that it would no
- 4 longer follow this policy.⁹

7

- 5 Canal Partners denies violating the Act and asserts that it is a going concern that provides
- 6 time buying services, often as a subcontractor to political media consulting firms. 10

III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

The Act and Commission regulations require political committees to report the name and address of each person to whom they make expenditures or other disbursements aggregating more than \$200 per calendar year, or per election cycle for authorized committees, as well as the date, amount, and purpose of such payments. The relevant reporting requirements under the Act and Commission regulations are intended to ensure public disclosure of "where political"

campaign money comes from and how it is spent." Disclosure requirements also "deter[] and

help[] expose violations" of the Act and Commission regulations. 13

⁷ Compl. at 1-2.

⁸ Supra note 6.

⁹ See Ally Mutnick, *House Democrats End Controversial Consultant Ban*, Politico (Mar. 9, 2021), https://www.politico.com/news/2021/03/09/dccc-ban-primary-challengers-474588.

¹⁰ Resp. at 1-2 (Sept. 25, 2020).

⁵² U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5), (6); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(i), (ix) (political committees other than authorized committees); *id.* § 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi) (authorized committees); *id.* § 104.9(a), (b) (all political committees).

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 66 (1976); see also Citizens United v. FEC, 558 U.S. 310, 369-71 (2010) (describing importance of disclosure requirements to serve informational interest, because "transparency enables the electorate to make informed decisions and give proper weight to different speakers and messages").

SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 698 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (en banc); see also Buckley, 424 U.S. at 67-68 (explaining that disclosure requirements "deter actual corruption and avoid the appearance of corruption by exposing large contributions and expenditures to the light" and that "recordkeeping, reporting, and disclosure requirements are an essential means of gathering the data necessary to detect violations" of the Act); McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 196 (2003) (concurring with the stated government interests in disclosure requirements described

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- Because these disclosure obligations extend only to committees and treasurers, the
- 2 Commission finds no reason to believe that Canal Partners violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(5)(A)
- 3 and 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(4).

in Buckley — "providing the electorate with information, deterring actual corruption and avoiding any appearance thereof, and gathering the data necessary to enforce" the Act and Commission regulations).