1	FEDERAL EI	LECTION COMMISSION
2 3	FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT	
4		
5		MUR: 7783
6		DATE COMPLAINT FILED: August 18, 2020
7		DATE OF NOTIFICATION: August 24, 2020
8		LAST RESPONSE RECEIVED: October 1, 2020
9 10		DATE ACTIVATED: November 10, 2020
10		EXPIRATION OF SOL: January 3, 2025-
12		June 22, 2025
13		ELECTION CYCLE: 2020
14		
15 16	COMPLAINANT:	Campaign Legal Center
17	RESPONDENTS:	Byron Donalds for Congress and Bradley T. Crate
18		in his official capacity as treasurer
19		Byron Donalds
20		Friends of Byron Donalds
21		and Noreen Fenner, treasurer
22 23		Conservatives for Effective Government and David Ramba, treasurer
23 24		and David Ramba, treasurer
25	RELEVANT STATUTES AND	
26	REGULATIONS:	52 U.S.C. § 30116(a), (f)
27		52 U.S.C. § 30118(a)
28		52 U.S.C. § 30122
29		52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)
30		11 C.F.R. § 300.2(c)(2)
31		11 C.F.R. § 300.61
32		11 C.F.R. § 300.64
33 34 35	INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:	Disclosure Reports
36	FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:	None
37		
38	I. INTRODUCTION	
39	The complaint alleges that Byron I	Donalds, a candidate for Florida's 19th Congressional
40	District, and two Florida State political con	mmittees, Friends of Byron Donalds ("FBD"), and
41	Conservatives for Effective Government ("CFEG"), violated the soft money prohibitions of the
42	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, a	s amended ("the Act"). Specifically, the complaint
43	alleges that Donalds established and control	olled FBD, a state committee, and through a complex

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series of transactions involving another state committee, CFEG, Donalds transferred non-federal
funds to a federal independent expenditure-only political committee, Trusted Conservatives, to
support his candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives in 2020, in violation of 52 U.S.C.
§ 30125(e). The complaint also alleges that CFEG made a contribution in the name of another,
and FBD knowingly permitted its name to be used to make such a contribution, in violation of
52 U.S.C. § 30122.

Respondents deny the allegations. They assert that all funds raised by FBD were in 7 connection with Donalds's activities as a member of the Florida House of Representatives, 8 before he became a federal candidate, and Donalds had no involvement with FBD after his 9 resignation as Chair of FBD on January 3, 2020.¹ CFEG asserts that it participates only in state 10 and local elections for non-federal candidates and did not violate any state or federal law.² 11 Finally, FBD disputes that it and CFEG engaged in a straw donor scheme and contends that there 12 was no attempt to conceal the true source of the contributions, given that all of the transactions in 13 question were properly disclosed.³ 14 As discussed below, the available information supports a reasonable inference that FBD 15 was an entity that was established, financed, maintained, or controlled by Donalds while he was 16 a federal candidate and that FBD and Donalds improperly solicited, received, directed, 17 transferred, or spent non-federal funds to support Donald's candidacy. Accordingly, we 18 recommend the Commission find reason to believe that FBD and Donalds violated 52 U.S.C. 19

20 § 30125(e) by soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending soft money in connection

¹ Resp. of Byron Donalds and Byron Donalds for Congress (Sept. 10, 2020); Resp. of FBD (Sept. 28, 2020).

² Resp. of CFEG (Oct. 1, 2020).

³ Resp. of FBD at 3.

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1 with a federal election. In addition, we recommend the Commission authorize the use of

2 compulsory process.

3	Because we lack information regarding the roles of CFEG and Byron Donalds for
4	Congress and Bradley T. Crate in his official capacity as treasurer ("Donalds for Congress" or
5	"federal committee") in this scenario, we recommend the Commission take no action at this time
6	as to allegations that these respondents violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e). Further, with respect to
7	the allegation that CFEG and FBD violated the prohibition of making a contribution in the name
8	of another at 52 U.S.C. § 30122, we recommend that the Commission take no action at this time
9	as to those respondents pending an investigation into FBD's contribution to Trusted
10	Conservatives.
11	II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND
12	A. Establishment of Friends of Byron Donalds
13	From 2016 through 2020, Donalds was a State Representative for the 80th District of
14	Florida. On August 22, 2019, Donalds formed Friends of Byron Donalds, a Florida state
15	political committee; Donalds was the committee's chair and Noreen A. Fenner was its treasurer.
16	On that same day, FBD also registered with the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS") as a political
17	organization under Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code. ⁵ According to its website, the

18 state committee's mission was "to promote and support principled conservative causes and

See FBD, Statement of Organization of Political Committee, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (Aug. 22, 2019), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached to Complaint, Ex. A).

⁵ See FBD PC, IRS Form 8871 (Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status) (Aug. 22, 2019) (FBD filed an amended notice on June 4, 2020 noting Noreen Fenner as Chair and Treasurer, and an amended/final notice on July 14, 2020). FBD also filed Form 8872 (Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures) (July 14, 2020), disclosing \$107,456 in expenditures from June 4, 2020, through June 30, 2020.

- 2 "Representative Byron Donalds is associated with Friends of Byron Donalds."⁷
- Between September 2019 and January 2020, FBD raised \$98,707, with nearly half of
- 4 those funds raised in December 2019.⁸ A number of the donations appeared to be from sources
- 5 prohibited under the Act, such as corporations and federal contractors.⁹ On January 3, 2020,
- 6 FBD reported making an \$87,000 contribution, which was approximately 88% of the funds it had
- 7 raised, to CFEG, another Florida political committee.¹⁰ Before that contribution, FBD had made
- ⁸ \$7,679.66 in disbursements.¹¹ Also on January 3, Donalds resigned as Chair of FBD, and
- 9 Noreen Fenner became Chair and remained its treasurer.¹² FBD filed a statement with the
- 10 Florida Division of Elections and an amended notice with the IRS notifying them of the
- 11 change.¹³ Although Donalds had resigned as Chair of FBD, FBD never changed its name, and as

⁷ Id.

⁹ *Id*.

¹⁰ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. CFEG, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contributions Query Results, 2020 election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/contrib.exe</u>.

⁶ The Complaint provided a screenshot of the FBD website homepage displaying the mission statement (Compl., Ex. B).

⁸ *See* Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contributions Query Result for FBD, 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/contrib.exe (attached to</u> Compl. Ex. C).

¹¹ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. FBD's other disbursements prior to the transfer to CFEG were to Ana Maria Rodriguez Campaign (\$1,000.00), PAC Financial Management (\$2,179.66), and Front Line Strategies, Inc. (\$4,500.00).

¹² See FBD, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/committees/ComDetail.asp?account=74495</u> (last visited Dec. 7, 2020). CFEG, a Section 527 organization, registered as a Florida state political committee on January 17, 2017, and is still active. CFEG Resp. (Oct. 1, 2020).

¹³ FBD, Change of Officers, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (Jan. 3, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached as Exhibit E of the Complaint); Friends of Byron Donalds PC, Amended IRS Form 8871(Jan. 3, 2020).

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- 1 of August 2020, the FBD website's home page (<u>http://friendsofbyrondonalds.org/</u>) still displayed
- 2 the statement "Representative Byron Donalds is associated with Friends of Byron Donalds."¹⁴
- 3 FBD contends the statement was mistakenly left on the website and that it had since been
- 4 removed.¹⁵
- 5 B. Activities of Friends of Byron Donalds After Donalds Registers as a Federal Candidate 6 7 On January 6, 2020, three days after he resigned as Chair of FBD, Donalds filed a 8 9 Statement of Candidacy for the Republican nomination in Florida's 19th Congressional District 10 with the Commission and designated Donalds for Congress as his principal campaign committee.16 11 12 From January 3, 2020, when Donalds resigned as Chair, until May 28, 2020, FBD reported receiving one additional contribution of \$1,000.¹⁷ On May 28, 2020, five months after 13 FBD reported making an \$87,000.00 contribution to CFEG, FBD reported receiving a 14 \$107,038.66 contribution from CFEG,¹⁸ although the CFEG Expenditure page reflects a different 15 date for the contribution, June 28, 2020.¹⁹ In its response to the Complaint, FBD referred to this 16

¹⁷ Compl. Ex. C (reflecting a \$1,000 contribution from Floridians for Economic Advancement on Jan. 14, 2020).

¹⁸ *See* FBD, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contribution Query Result; Compl. Ex. C.

¹⁹ *See* CFEG, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Results, 2020 election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>.

¹⁴ Compl., Ex. B.

¹⁵ Resp. of FBD at 2.

¹⁶ Byron Donalds Statement of Candidacy (Jan. 6, 2020). Donalds was also a candidate for re-election to the Florida House for the 80th District during the same cycle, but did not qualify for the ballot for the state Republican primary. *See* <u>https://ballotpedia.org/Byron_Donalds</u>.

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transfer as a "refund" of FBD's earlier contribution.²⁰ FBD did not explain why the contribution
was refunded.

On June 4, 2020, FBD filed a disbandment letter with the Florida Department of State 3 Division of Elections, stating: "Please be advised that Friends of Byron Donalds has ceased 4 operations. Please close this account."²¹ The Division of Elections replied, acknowledging 5 receipt of the disbandment letter and indicating that a final report must be filed no later than 6 June 19, 2020.²² The Election Division's website, however, does not reflect that FBD ever filed 7 a final report with Florida election officials.²³ In addition, FBD filed an amended and final 8 notice with the IRS.²⁴ FBD states that it has no plans to become politically active in the future 9 and is maintaining its active status with the IRS solely to pay legal fees associated with the 10 response.²⁵ 11 Despite FBD's disbandment letter, on June 22, 2020, FBD made a contribution of 12

- 13 \$107,456 to Trusted Conservatives, an independent expenditure-only political committee that
- supported Donalds's federal candidacy.²⁶ Although Trusted Conservatives reported receiving the

²⁰ Resp. of FBD at 2.

²¹ FBD, Disbandment Letter, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (June 4, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached as Exhibit F of the Complaint).

²² Florida Dept. of State Letter to FBD (June 4, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495.</u>

²³ Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Campaign Documents Search, <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u>.

²⁴ FBD PC, Amended IRS Forms 8871 (June 4, 2020) and Amended/Final Form 8871 (July 14, 2020).

²⁵ Resp. of FBD at 1.

²⁶ Trusted Conservatives Statement of Organization (Jan. 24, 2020).

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- 1 contribution,²⁷ Friends of Byron Donalds never disclosed to Florida election officials that it
- 2 made a contribution to Trusted Conservatives.²⁸
- 3 On August 18, 2020, Donalds won the Republican primary for Florida's 19th
- 4 Congressional District, and later won the November 3, 2020, general election.²⁹ On
- 5 November 17, 2020, Trusted Conservatives filed a termination report with the Commission,
- 6 which was approved.³⁰
- 7

The following chart summarizes the timeline of events at issue in this matter:

Date	Event
August 22, 2019	Donalds forms state committee Friends of Byron Donalds ("FBD") with himself as Chair.
Sept. 2019-Jan. 2, 2020	FBD raises \$98,707.
Jan. 3, 2020	 Donalds resigns as Chair of FBD. FBD makes an \$87,000 contribution (approx. 88% of the amount raised) to CFEG, another state committee.
Jan. 6, 2020	Donalds files Statement of Candidacy for Florida's 19th Congressional District.
Jan. 24, 2020	Federal IEOPC Trusted Conservatives files Statement of Organization with Commission.
May 28, 2020	CFEG contributes \$107,038.66 to FBD.
June 4, 2020	FBD files disbandment letter with Florida Division of Elections.
June 22, 2020	Trusted Conservatives receives \$107,456 contribution from FBD. ³¹
August 2020	 All of Trusted Conservatives independent expenditures (\$82,025 in direc mail expenditures) during the 2020 election cycle support Donalds or

²⁷ Trusted Conservatives 2016 July Quarterly Report at 7, (July 9, 2020).

²⁸ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. ..

²⁹ Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Aug. 18, 2020 Primary Election, Republican Primary, <u>https://results.elections.myflorida.com/Index.asp?ElectionDate=8/18/2020&DATAMODE</u>=; November 3, 2020, General Election, <u>https://results.elections.myflorida.com/Index.asp?ElectionDate=11/3/2020&DATAMODE</u>=.

³⁰ See Trusted Conservatives, 2020 Termination Report (Nov. 17, 2020) and 2020 Termination Approval (Dec. 1, 2020).

³¹ See Trusted Conservatives, 2020 July Quarterly Report, FEC Form 3X at 7 (July 9, 2020).

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	oppose his challengers in the FL-19 race, balance of expenditures are for administrative expenses. ³²
	(2) Donalds wins August 18, 2020, Republican Primary.
November 3, 2020	Donalds wins 2020 general election.
November 17, 2020	Trusted Conservatives files Termination Report.

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C. The Complaint and Responses

3 The Complaint argues that FBD is "established," and "controlled by or acting on behalf 4 of" Donalds because the entity bears Donalds's name; Donalds signed the committee's statement of organization and was its Chair; and, as late as August 2020, the committee's website stated 5 that Donalds was associated with FBD.³³ The Complaint further argues that the timing and 6 amounts of the contributions, and the chain of transfers-from FBD to CFEG, back to FBD, and 7 finally to Trusted Conservatives-were intended to obscure the true sources of these funds and to 8 funnel illegal contributions into Donalds's federal race.³⁴ Finally, the Complaint alleges that 9 CFEG, rather than FBD, was the true source of the contribution to Trusted Conservatives and 10 thus, FBD and CFEG made a contribution in the name of another in violation of 52 U.S.C. 11 § 30122. 12 Respondents deny the allegations. Donalds and Donalds for Congress contend that while 13 Donalds was involved in the initial leadership of FBD in 2019, he was not a federal candidate or 14 officeholder at that time, and all fundraising by FBD was in connection with Donalds's activities 15

- 16 as a member of the Florida House of Representatives.³⁵ They state that once Donalds resigned

³⁴ Compl.

³² Trusted Conservatives, 24 and 48 Hour Report of Independent Expenditures, FEC Schedule E at 1-7 (Aug. 11, 2020). <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/535/202008119261294535/202008119261294535.pdf</u>.

³³ Compl. ¶¶ 2, 20, 21.

³⁵ Resp. of Byron Donalds and Byron Donalds for Congress at 2.

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- as Chair on January 3, 2020, Donalds had no interactions with FBD, including any role in
- 2 decision-making regarding FBD's spending after that date.³⁶ Respondents further assert that the
- 3 Complaint makes no allegations as to the federal committee.³⁷ FBD argues that the Complaint's
- 4 allegations are unsubstantiated, based solely on the timeline of events, and Donalds's pre-
- 5 candidacy association with FBD does not taint the independence of the organization's later
- 6 expenditures.³⁸ For its part, CFEG asserts FBD is not affiliated with Donalds, and all of its
- 7 transactions have been timely and publicly reported.³⁹
- 8 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

A.

9 10

11 12

13

- The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that Byron Donalds and Friends of Byron Donalds Violated the Act by Soliciting, Receiving, Directing, Transferring or Spending Non-Federal Funds
- 1. <u>Legal Standard</u>

14 The Act prohibits federal candidates and officeholders, their agents, and entities directly

- or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf of one or
- 16 more candidates or individuals holding federal office, from "solicit[ing], receiv[ing], direct[ing],
- transfer[ing], or spend[ing] funds in connection with an election for Federal office, . . . unless the
- funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of [the] Act."⁴⁰

³⁶ *Id.*; Resp. of FBD at 2, 3.

³⁷ Resp. of Byron Donalds and Byron Donalds for Congress at 1.

³⁸ *Id.* at 3 (citing to Statements of Reasons in MURs 6789 and 6852 (Special Operations for America, *et al.*) and MUR 6928 (Santorum).

³⁹ Resp. of CFEG at 1.

⁴⁰ See 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1)(A); see also 11 C.F.R. § 300.61.

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1	The Act limits contributions to non-authorized, non-party committees to \$5,000 in any
2	calendar year. ⁴¹ Although an IEOPC may accept contributions from corporations and
3	individuals without regard to that \$5,000 limitation, ⁴² federal officeholders and candidates, or an
4	entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf
5	of a federal candidate or officeholder may only solicit, receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds up
6	to \$5,000 from permissible sources on behalf of or to such a committee. ⁴³
7	To determine whether a candidate or his or her agent "directly or indirectly establishes,
8	finances, maintains, or controls" an entity, the Commission considers ten non-exhaustive factors
9	"in the context of the overall relationship between the sponsor and the entity." ⁴⁴ One of the
10	factors includes whether the candidate or his or her agent "has the authority or ability to direct or
11	participate in the governance of the entity." ⁴⁵
12 13	2. <u>Friends of Byron Donalds Appears to Have Been An Entity that was</u> Established, Financed, Maintained or Controlled by a Federal Candidate
14 15	As the plain language of the statute indicates, the prohibition at section 30125(e) applies
16	after an individual becomes a candidate or officeholder. The current record indicates that
17	Donalds was not a federal candidate at the time he first became Chair of FBD in August 2019.

⁴⁴ 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(c)(2).

⁴⁵ *Id.* § 300.2(c)(2)(ii).

⁴¹ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(C).

⁴² See SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 696 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (*en banc*) (holding that contribution limits are unconstitutional as applied to individuals' contributions to political committees that only make independent expenditures); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Common Sense Ten) ("AO 2010-11") (concluding that corporations, labor organizations, political committees, and individuals may each make unlimited contributions to IEOPCs).

⁴³ See Advisory Op. 2011-12 (Majority PAC) at 3 ("AO 2011-12") (determining that solicitation restrictions under 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1)(A) remain applicable to contributions solicited by federal candidates, officeholders, and other covered persons); Conciliation Agreement ¶¶ 7, 8 ("CA"), MUR 7048 (Cruz for President) (same); Factual & Legal Analysis at 11("F&LA"), MURs 6563 and 6733 (Rep. Aaron Schock).

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However, although Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, and registered as a 1 federal candidate on January 6, 2020, the available information suggests that in the context of the 2 overall relationship between Donalds and FBD, Donalds retained "the authority or ability to 3 direct or participate in the governance of' FBD during his federal candidacy.⁴⁶ After Donalds 4 resigned as Chair, FBD never changed its name, and its website continued to display Donalds's 5 name and the statement: "Friends of Byron Donalds is associated with Byron Donalds." 6 Moreover, the amounts raised and spent by FBD are some indicia that Donalds maintained and 7 controlled it, given that almost all of the funds raised were later used to support Donalds's 8 federal candidacy. Thus, while Donalds resigned as Chair of FBD in January 2020, other 9 information before the Commission suggests that Donalds continued to play some type of 10 prominent role with the state committee. 11

FBD's response does not adequately rebut the allegation that Donalds maintained and 12 controlled FBD as a federal candidate. FBD never explains why it continued to bear Donalds's 13 name if it no longer had any affiliation with the candidate. And while FBD contends that the 14 statement regarding Donalds's association with FBD was mistakenly left on the website, it does 15 not provide any supporting information or sworn statements explaining why FBD failed to 16 correct the mistake for at least eight months, and not until the Complaint was filed in August 17 2020. Further, although respondents filed letters with the Florida Division of Elections 18 indicating that Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, those letters do not fully resolve 19 the question of whether Donalds otherwise continued to exercise control over FBD without the 20 21 formal title of Chair. Further, there is tension between the FBD's June 4, 2020, disbandment letter filed with the Florida Board of Elections, in which it stated it was ceasing operations, and 22

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its \$107,456 contribution to Trusted Conservatives on June 22, 2020, a contribution it did not
 disclose, despite the Florida Board of Elections' direction to file a closing report, which it also
 did not do.
 <u>The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that Friends of Byron</u>

5 6 The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that Friends of Byron Donalds and Byron Donalds Improperly Solicited, Received, Directed, Transferred, or Spent Non-Federal Funds

7 Because the available information suggests that FBD was an entity that was maintained 8 and controlled by Donalds while he was a federal candidate beginning in January 2020, FBD was 9 prohibited from "soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending" non-federal funds. 10 And the current record indicates that FBD spent non-federal funds by making a contribution to 11 Trusted Conservatives on June 22, 2020, to support Donalds's election for U.S. Congress.⁴⁷ 12 Further, given that FBD spent almost all of the funds that it received to make a contribution to 13 Trusted Conservatives, the facts indicate that FBD spent little money on its stated purpose of 14 supporting causes and candidates in the state of Florida but instead appears to have become a 15 vehicle to finance Donald's federal candidacy with non-federal funds. 16 In addition, the available information supports a reasonable inference that Donalds, as a 17 federal candidate, directed non-federal funds in connection with a federal election. As described 18 above, the vast majority of the funds FBD received were used to ultimately support Donalds's 19 federal candidacy, through Trusted Conservatives' independent expenditures in support of 20 Donalds or in opposition to his challengers. That FBD would transfer so much of the funds it 21 received to Trusted Conservatives to support Donalds without any direction or involvement by 22 him appears unlikely, especially where there is indicia that Donalds maintained or controlled 23 FBD while he was a federal candidate, as described above. 24

⁴⁷ *See* Compl., Ex. C (Contributions to Friends of Byron Donalds); Transparency USA, Conservatives for Effective Government, Donors.

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1	Although the available information does not conclusively establish that FBD and Donalds
2	violated section 30125(e), the Commission has advised that a reason to believe finding "by itself
3	does not establish the law has been violated." ⁴⁸ Rather, a reason to believe finding is warranted,
4	"where the evidence in the matter is at least sufficient to warrant conducting an investigation,
5	and where the seriousness of the alleged violation warrants either further investigation or
6	immediate conciliation." ⁴⁹ In this matter, there is credible information suggesting that Donalds
7	maintained and retained control of FBD long after he registered as a federal candidate, FBD's
8	statement to the Florida Board of Elections that it was ceasing operations was not consistent with
9	its subsequent \$107,456 contribution to Trusted Conservatives, and Trusted Conservatives used
10	\$82,025 of that money to finance independent expenditures ("IEs") that supported only
11	Donalds's federal election, and made no other IEs. Under these circumstances, an investigation
12	is warranted to determine exactly what role Donalds played in FBD's governance, management,
13	and spending during the 2020 election cycle. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission
14	find that there is reason to believe that FBD and Donalds violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by
15	soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending non-federal funds to advance Donalds'
16	candidacy. ⁵⁰
17	With respect to the other respondents, there is insufficient available information to make

With respect to the other respondents, there is insufficient available information to make a definitive recommendation at this time. While CFEG received a substantial transfer of funds from FBD, an entity controlled by Donalds, it is unclear at this time whether CEFG was

⁴⁸ *See* Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action in Matters at the Initial Stage in the Enforcement Process, 72 Fed. Reg. 12,545 (Mar. 16, 2007).

⁴⁹ *Id*.

⁵⁰ *See* MUR s 7370 & 7496 (New Republican PAC, *et al.*) (recommending RTB as to IEOPC for soft money violations and an investigation to determine extent of candidate's role in the activities).

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1	controlled by Donalds or that he directed the transfer from CFEG to FBD. It is also unclear
2	whether Donalds's principal campaign committee had any involvement in these activities.
3	Information discovered during the proposed investigation into Donalds's involvement with FBD,
4	CFEG, Byron Donalds for Congress, and Trusted Conservatives ⁵² may inform our analysis as to
5	whether Donalds and the other Respondents solicited, received, directed, transferred, or spent
6	non-federal funds. Therefore, we recommend that the Commission take no action at this time as
7	to allegations that CFEG or Byron Donalds for Congress violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e). ⁵³
8 9	B. The Commission Should Take No Action at this Time Regarding the Allegation that Friends of Byron Donalds and Conservative for Effective
10 11 12 13	Government Violated the Act by Making Contributions in the Name of Another to Trusted Conservatives The Act prohibits both making a contribution in the name of another or knowingly
11 12	Another to Trusted Conservatives
11 12 13	Another to Trusted Conservatives The Act prohibits both making a contribution in the name of another or knowingly
11 12 13 14	Another to Trusted Conservatives The Act prohibits both making a contribution in the name of another or knowingly permitting one's name to be used to effect such a contribution and knowingly accepting a
11 12 13 14 15	Another to Trusted Conservatives The Act prohibits both making a contribution in the name of another or knowingly permitting one's name to be used to effect such a contribution and knowingly accepting a contribution made in the name of another. ⁵⁴ This provision proscribes both "false name"
11 12 13 14 15 16	Another to Trusted Conservatives The Act prohibits both making a contribution in the name of another or knowingly permitting one's name to be used to effect such a contribution and knowingly accepting a contribution made in the name of another. ⁵⁴ This provision proscribes both "false name" contributions and "straw donor" or "conduit" contributions. ⁵⁵

⁵² The available information does not indicate that Trusted Conservatives was controlled by or that it coordinated with Donalds or his agents with respect to this matter. However, we will make appropriate recommendations as to possible enforcement action if the investigation yields information indicating otherwise.

⁵³ See MURs 7370 & 7496 (New Republican PAC, *et al.*) (recommending an investigation into a federal candidate's specific role with respect to the raising and spending by an entity that solicited, received, directed, transferred, or spent non-federal funds in support of the candidate.).

⁵⁴ 52 U.S.C. § 30122.

⁵⁵ 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b); United States v. O'Donnell, 608 F.3d 546, 549, 553 (9th Cir. 2010).

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress, *et al.*) First General Counsel's Report Page 15 of 16

- 1 subsequently refunded to FBD (with an additional \$20,038.66). Further, Trusted Conservatives
- 2 reported FBD as the source of the contribution. However, we recommend that the Commission
- 3 take no action at this time as to these allegations, pending the results of the investigation into
- 4 Donalds's involvement with FBD, and CFEG in the transfers of these funds.

5 III. INVESTIGATION

- 6 We propose an investigation into Donalds's involvement with FBD, CFEG, and Trusted
- 7 Conservatives with respect to these transfers from the time Donalds created FBD in August 2019
- 8 through August 2020. We intend to use informal means to obtain this information but
- 9 recommend that the Commission authorize the use of compulsory process if informal means
- 10 prove ineffective.

11 IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

12 1. Find reason to believe that Friends of Byron Donalds and Noreen A. Fenner as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by soliciting, receiving, directing, 13 transferring, or spending non-federal funds; 14 15 2. Find reason to believe that Byron Donalds violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by 16 soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending non-federal funds; 17 18 3. Take no action at this time as to the allegation that Conservatives for Effective 19 Government and David Ramba as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by 20 soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending non-federal funds; 21 22 4. Take no action at this time as to the allegation that Byron Donalds for Congress 23 and Bradley T. Crate in his official capacity as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. 24 § 30125(e) by soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending non-25 federal funds; 26 27 5. Take no action at this time as to the allegation that Friends of Byron Donalds and 28 Noreen A. Fenner as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30122 by making 29 contributions in the name of another; 30 31 6. Take no action at this time as to the allegation that Conservatives for Effective 32 Government and David Ramba as treasurer violated 52 U.S.C. § 30122 by making 33 34 contributions in the name of another; 35

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1	7.	Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses;
2 3	8.	Authorize the use of compulsory process; and
4	0.	Autorize the use of computiony process, and
5	9.	Approve the appropriate letters.
6	2.	
7		Lisa J. Stevenson
8		Acting General Counsel
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10		
11		Charles Kitcher
12		Acting Associate General Counsel for Enforcement
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14		
15	4-8-21	<u>Stephen Gura by JL</u> Stephen A. Cura
16	Date	Stephen A. Cura
17		Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement
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20		<u>Jin Lee</u> Im Lee
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22		Acting Assistant General Counsel
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25		Dominique Dillenseger Dominique Dillenseger
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30 31		tual and Legal Analysis for Friends of Byron Donalds and Noreen A. Fenner as
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THIS PROPOSED DRAFT WAS VOTED ON BUT NOT APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION.

1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2 3	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS
4 5 6 7	RESPONDENTS: Friends of Byron Donalds MUR 7783 and Noreen Fenner, treasurer
7 8	I. INTRODUCTION
9 10	This matter was generated by a Complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission by
11	the Campaign Legal Center, alleging that Friends of Byron Donalds and Noreen Fenner,
12	treasurer ("FBD") violated the soft money prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
13	1971, as amended ("the Act"). Specifically, the complaint alleges that Byron Donalds, a
14	candidate for Florida's 19th Congressional District, established and controlled FBD, a state
15	committee, and through a complex series of transactions involving another state committee,
16	Conservatives for Effective Government ("CFEG"), transferred non-federal funds to a federal
17	independent expenditure-only political committee, Trusted Conservatives, to support Donalds's
18	candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives in 2020, in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e).
19	FBD denies the allegations, asserting that all funds it raised were in connection with
20	Donalds's activities as a member of the Florida House of Representatives, before he became a
21	federal candidate, and Donalds had no involvement with FBD after his resignation as Chair of
22	FBD on January 3, 2020. ¹
23	As discussed below, the available information supports a reasonable inference that FBD
24	was an entity that was established, financed, maintained, or controlled by Donalds while he was
25	a federal candidate and that FBD improperly solicited, received, directed, transferred, or spent
26	non-federal funds to support Donald's candidacy. Accordingly, the Commission finds reason to

believe that Friends of Byron Donalds and Noreen Fenner, treasurer violated 52 U.S.C.

1

Resp. of FBD (Sept. 28, 2020).

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 11

- 1 § 30125(e) by soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending soft money in connection
- 2 with a federal election.
- 3 II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

4 A. Establishment of Friends of Byron Donalds

5 From 2016 through 2020, Donalds was a State Representative for the 80th District of

6 Florida. On August 22, 2019, Donalds formed Friends of Byron Donalds, a Florida state

7 political committee; Donalds was the committee's chair and Noreen A. Fenner was its treasurer.²

8 On that same day, FBD also registered with the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS") as a political

9 organization under Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code.³ According to its website, the

10 state committee's mission was "to promote and support principled conservative causes and

11 candidates in the State of Florida."⁴ Right below the mission statement was the statement

¹² "Representative Byron Donalds is associated with Friends of Byron Donalds."⁵

- Between September 2019 and January 2020, FBD raised \$98,707, with nearly half of
- those funds raised in December 2019.⁶ A number of the donations appeared to be from sources

⁵ *Id*.

See FBD, Statement of Organization of Political Committee, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (Aug. 22, 2019), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached to Complaint, Ex. A).

³ See FBD PC, IRS Form 8871 (Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status) (Aug. 22, 2019) (FBD filed an amended notice on June 4, 2020 noting Noreen Fenner as Chair and Treasurer, and an amended/final notice on July 14, 2020). FBD also filed Form 8872 (Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures) (July 14, 2020), disclosing \$107,456 in expenditures from June 4, 2020, through June 30, 2020.

⁴ The Complaint provided a screenshot of the FBD website homepage displaying the mission statement (Compl., Ex. B).

⁶ See Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contributions Query Result for FBD, 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/contrib.exe (attached to</u> Compl. Ex. C).

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 11

- 1 prohibited under the Act, such as corporations and federal contractors.⁷ On January 3, 2020,
- 2 FBD reported making an \$87,000 contribution, which was approximately 88% of the funds it had
- 3 raised, to CFEG, another Florida political committee.⁸ Before that contribution, FBD had made
- 4 \$7,679.66 in disbursements.⁹ Also on January 3, Donalds resigned as Chair of FBD, and Noreen
- 5 Fenner became Chair and remained its treasurer.¹⁰ FBD filed a statement with the Florida
- 6 Division of Elections and an amended notice with the IRS notifying them of the change.¹¹
- 7 Although Donalds had resigned as Chair of FBD, FBD never changed its name, and as of August
- 8 2020, the FBD website's home page (<u>http://friendsofbyrondonalds.org/</u>) still displayed the
- 9 statement "Representative Byron Donalds is associated with Friends of Byron Donalds."¹² FBD
- 10 contends the statement was mistakenly left on the website and that it had since been removed.¹³

11

¹² Compl., Ex. B.

⁷ Id.

⁸ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. CFEG, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contributions Query Results, 2020 election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/contrib.exe</u>.

⁹ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. FBD's other disbursements prior to the transfer to CFEG were to Ana Maria Rodriguez Campaign (\$1,000.00), PAC Financial Management (\$2,179.66), and Front Line Strategies, Inc. (\$4,500.00).

¹⁰ See FBD, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/committees/ComDetail.asp?account=74495</u> (last visited Dec. 7, 2020). CFEG, a Section 527 organization, registered as a Florida state political committee on January 17, 2017, and is still active. CFEG Resp. (Oct. 1, 2020).

¹¹ FBD, Change of Officers, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (Jan. 3, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached as Exhibit E of the Complaint); Friends of Byron Donalds PC, Amended IRS Form 8871(Jan. 3, 2020).

¹³ Resp. of FBD at 2.

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 4 of 11

1 2	B. Activities of Friends of Byron Donalds After Donalds Registers as a Federal Candidate
3 4	On January 6, 2020, three days after he resigned as Chair of FBD, Donalds filed a
5	Statement of Candidacy for the Republican nomination in Florida's 19th Congressional District
6	with the Commission and designated Donalds for Congress as his principal campaign
7	committee. ¹⁴
8	From January 3, 2020, when Donalds resigned as Chair, until May 28, 2020, FBD
9	reported receiving one additional contribution of \$1,000. ¹⁵ On May 28, 2020, five months after
10	FBD reported making an \$87,000.00 contribution to CFEG, FBD reported receiving a
11	\$107,038.66 contribution from CFEG, ¹⁶ although the CFEG Expenditure page reflects a different
12	date for the contribution, June 28, 2020. ¹⁷ In its response to the Complaint, FBD referred to this
13	transfer as a "refund" of FBD's earlier contribution. ¹⁸ FBD did not explain why the contribution
14	was refunded.
15	On June 4, 2020, FBD filed a disbandment letter with the Florida Department of State

16 Division of Elections, stating: "Please be advised that Friends of Byron Donalds has ceased

¹⁴ Byron Donalds Statement of Candidacy (Jan. 6, 2020). Donalds was also a candidate for re-election to the Florida House for the 80th District during the same cycle, but did not qualify for the ballot for the state Republican primary. *See* <u>https://ballotpedia.org/Byron_Donalds</u>.

¹⁵ Compl. Ex. C (reflecting a \$1,000 contribution from Floridians for Economic Advancement on Jan. 14, 2020).

¹⁶ *See* FBD, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contribution Query Result; Compl. Ex. C.

¹⁷ *See* CFEG, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Results, 2020 election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>.

¹⁸ Resp. of FBD at 2.

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 5 of 11

1	operations. Please close this account." ¹⁹ The Division of Elections replied, acknowledging
2	receipt of the disbandment letter and indicating that a final report must be filed no later than
3	June 19, 2020. ²⁰ The Election Division's website, however, does not reflect that FBD ever filed
4	a final report with Florida election officials. ²¹ In addition, FBD filed an amended and final
5	notice with the IRS. ²² FBD states that it has no plans to become politically active in the future
6	and is maintaining its active status with the IRS solely to pay legal fees associated with the
7	response. ²³
8	Despite FBD's disbandment letter, on June 22, 2020, FBD made a contribution of
9	\$107,456 to Trusted Conservatives, an independent expenditure-only political committee that
10	supported Donalds's federal candidacy. ²⁴ Although Trusted Conservatives reported receiving the
11	contribution, ²⁵ Friends of Byron Donalds never disclosed to Florida election officials that it
12	made a contribution to Trusted Conservatives. ²⁶

¹⁹ FBD, Disbandment Letter, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (June 4, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached as Exhibit F of the Complaint).

²⁰ Florida Dept. of State Letter to FBD (June 4, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495.</u>

²¹ Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Campaign Documents Search, <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u>.

²² FBD PC, Amended IRS Forms 8871 (June 4, 2020) and Amended/Final Form 8871 (July 14, 2020).

²³ Resp. of FBD at 1.

²⁴ Trusted Conservatives Statement of Organization (Jan. 24, 2020).

²⁵ Trusted Conservatives 2016 July Quarterly Report at 7, (July 9, 2020).

²⁶ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. ..

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 6 of 11

- 1 On August 18, 2020, Donalds won the Republican primary for Florida's 19th
- 2 Congressional District, and later won the November 3, 2020, general election.²⁷ On
- 3 November 17, 2020, Trusted Conservatives filed a termination report with the Commission,
- 4 which was approved.²⁸
- 5

The following chart summarizes the timeline of events at issue in this matter:

Date	Event
August 22, 2019	Donalds forms state committee Friends of Byron Donalds ("FBD") with himself as Chair.
Sept. 2019-Jan. 2, 2020	FBD raises \$98,707.
Jan. 3, 2020	 Donalds resigns as Chair of FBD. FBD makes an \$87,000 contribution (approx. 88% of the amount raised) to CFEG, another state committee.
Jan. 6, 2020	Donalds files Statement of Candidacy for Florida's 19th Congressional District.
Jan. 24, 2020	Federal IEOPC Trusted Conservatives files Statement of Organization with Commission.
May 28, 2020	CFEG contributes \$107,038.66 to FBD.
June 4, 2020	FBD files disbandment letter with Florida Division of Elections.
June 22, 2020	Trusted Conservatives receives \$107,456 contribution from FBD. ²⁹
August 2020	 (1) All of Trusted Conservatives independent expenditures (\$82,025 in direct mail expenditures) during the 2020 election cycle support Donalds or oppose his challengers in the FL-19 race, balance of expenditures are for administrative expenses.³⁰ (2) Donalds wins August 18, 2020, Republican Primary.
November 3, 2020	Donalds wins 2020 general election.
November 17, 2020	Trusted Conservatives files Termination Report.

²⁷ Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Aug. 18, 2020 Primary Election, Republican Primary, <u>https://results.elections.myflorida.com/Index.asp?ElectionDate=8/18/2020&DATAMODE</u>=; November 3, 2020, General Election, <u>https://results.elections.myflorida.com/Index.asp?ElectionDate=11/3/2020&DATAMODE</u>=.

²⁸ See Trusted Conservatives, 2020 Termination Report (Nov. 17, 2020) and 2020 Termination Approval (Dec. 1, 2020).

²⁹ See Trusted Conservatives, 2020 July Quarterly Report, FEC Form 3X at 7 (July 9, 2020).

³⁰ Trusted Conservatives, 24 and 48 Hour Report of Independent Expenditures, FEC Schedule E at 1-7 (Aug. 11, 2020). <u>https://docquery_fec.gov/pdf/535/202008119261294535/202008119261294535.pdf</u>.

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 7 of 11

- C. **The Complaint and Responses** 1 2 The Complaint argues that FBD is "established," and "controlled by or acting on behalf of" Donalds because the entity bears Donalds's name: Donalds signed the committee's statement 3 of organization and was its Chair; and, as late as August 2020, the committee's website stated 4 that Donalds was associated with FBD.³¹ The Complaint further argues that the timing and 5 amounts of the contributions, and the chain of transfers-from FBD to CFEG, back to FBD, and 6 finally to Trusted Conservatives-were intended to obscure the true sources of these funds and to 7 funnel illegal contributions into Donalds's federal race.³² 8 9 FBD denies the allegations. FBD states that once Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, Donalds had no interactions with FBD, including any role in decision-making regarding 10 FBD's spending after that date.³³ FBD argues that the Complaint's allegations are 11 unsubstantiated, based solely on the timeline of events, and Donalds's pre-candidacy association 12 with FBD does not taint the independence of the organization's later expenditures.³⁴ 13 III. **LEGAL ANALYSIS** 14 Α. The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that Friends of Byron 15 Donalds Violated the Act by Soliciting, Receiving, Directing, Transferring or 16 **Spending Non-Federal Funds** 17 18 1. Legal Standard 19 The Act prohibits federal candidates and officeholders, their agents, and entities directly 20 or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf of one or 21 31 Compl. ¶¶ 2, 20, 21.
 - ³² Compl.
 - ³³ Resp. of FBD at 2, 3.

 34 *Id.* at 3 (citing to Statements of Reasons in MURs 6789 and 6852 (Special Operations for America, *et al.*) and MUR 6928 (Santorum).

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 8 of 11

1	more candidates or individuals holding federal office, from "solicit[ing], receiv[ing], direct[ing],
2	transfer[ing], or spend[ing] funds in connection with an election for Federal office, unless the
3	funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of [the] Act."35
4	The Act limits contributions to non-authorized, non-party committees to \$5,000 in any
5	calendar year. ³⁶ Although an IEOPC may accept contributions from corporations and
6	individuals without regard to that \$5,000 limitation, ³⁷ federal officeholders and candidates, or an
7	entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf
8	of a federal candidate or officeholder may only solicit, receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds up
9	to \$5,000 from permissible sources on behalf of or to such a committee. ³⁸
10	To determine whether a candidate or his or her agent "directly or indirectly establishes,
11	finances, maintains, or controls" an entity, the Commission considers ten non-exhaustive factors
12	"in the context of the overall relationship between the sponsor and the entity." ³⁹ One of the
13	factors includes whether the candidate or his or her agent "has the authority or ability to direct or
14	participate in the governance of the entity."40
15	

³⁵ See 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1)(A); see also 11 C.F.R. § 300.61.

³⁸ See Advisory Op. 2011-12 (Majority PAC) at 3 ("AO 2011-12") (determining that solicitation restrictions under 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1)(A) remain applicable to contributions solicited by federal candidates, officeholders, and other covered persons); Conciliation Agreement ¶¶ 7, 8 ("CA"), MUR 7048 (Cruz for President) (same); Factual & Legal Analysis at 11("F&LA"), MURs 6563 and 6733 (Rep. Aaron Schock).

³⁹ 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(c)(2).

⁴⁰ *Id.* § 300.2(c)(2)(ii).

³⁶ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(C).

³⁷ See SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 696 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (*en banc*) (holding that contribution limits are unconstitutional as applied to individuals' contributions to political committees that only make independent expenditures); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Common Sense Ten) ("AO 2010-11") (concluding that corporations, labor organizations, political committees, and individuals may each make unlimited contributions to IEOPCs).

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

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 9 of 11

2.

1 2 FBD Appears to Have Been An Entity that was Established, Financed, Maintained or Controlled by a Federal Candidate

3 As the plain language of the statute indicates, the prohibition at section 30125(e) applies 4 after an individual becomes a candidate or officeholder. The current record indicates that 5 Donalds was not a federal candidate at the time he first became Chair of FBD in August 2019. 6 7 However, although Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, and registered as a federal candidate on January 6, 2020, the available information suggests that in the context of the 8 overall relationship between Donalds and FBD, Donalds retained "the authority or ability to 9 direct or participate in the governance of" FBD during his federal candidacy.⁴¹ After Donalds 10 11 resigned as Chair, FBD never changed its name, and its website continued to display Donalds's 12 name and the statement: "Friends of Byron Donalds is associated with Byron Donalds." 13 Moreover, the amounts raised and spent by FBD are some indicia that Donalds maintained and controlled it, given that almost all of the funds received were later used to support Donalds's 14 15 federal candidacy. Thus, while Donalds resigned as Chair of FBD in January 2020, other information before the Commission suggests that Donalds continued to play some type of 16 prominent role with the state committee. 17

FBD's response does not adequately rebut the allegation that Donalds maintained and controlled FBD as a federal candidate. FBD never explains why it continued to bear Donalds's name if it no longer had any affiliation with the candidate. And while FBD contends that the statement regarding Donalds's association with FBD was mistakenly left on the website, it does not provide any supporting information or sworn statements explaining why FBD failed to correct the mistake for at least eight months, and not until the Complaint was filed in August

⁴¹ *Id.*

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 10 of 11

1	2020.	Further, although respondents filed letters with the Florida Division of Elections
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2	indicating that Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, those letters do not fully resolve
3	the question of whether Donalds otherwise continued to exercise control over FBD without the
4	formal title of Chair. Further, there is tension between the FBD's June 4, 2020, disbandment
5	letter filed with the Florida Board of Elections, in which it stated it was ceasing operations, and
6	its \$107,456 contribution to Trusted Conservatives on June 22, 2020, a contribution it did not
7	disclose, despite the Florida Board of Elections' direction to file a closing report, which it also
8	did not do.

9 10

3. <u>The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that FBD Improperly</u> Solicited, Received, Directed, Transferred, or Spent Non-Federal Funds

11 Because the available information suggests that FBD was an entity that was maintained 12 13 and controlled by Donalds while he was a federal candidate beginning in January 2020, FBD was prohibited from "soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending" non-federal funds. 14 And the current record indicates that FBD spent non-federal funds by making a contribution to 15 Trusted Conservatives on June 22, 2020, to support Donalds's election for U.S. Congress.⁴² 16 Further, given that FBD spent almost all of the funds that it received to make a contribution to 17 Trusted Conservatives, the facts indicate that FBD spent little money on its stated purpose of 18 19 supporting causes and candidates in the state of Florida but instead appears to have become a vehicle to finance Donald's federal candidacy with non-federal funds. 20

21

⁴² *See* Compl., Ex. C (Contributions to Friends of Byron Donalds); Transparency USA, Conservatives for Effective Government, Donors.

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds for Congress) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 11 of 11

1	Although the available information does not conclusively establish that FBD violated
2	section 30125(e), the Commission has advised that a reason to believe finding "by itself does not
3	establish the law has been violated." ⁴³ Rather, a reason to believe finding is warranted, "where
4	the evidence in the matter is at least sufficient to warrant conducting an investigation, and where
5	the seriousness of the alleged violation warrants either further investigation or immediate
6	conciliation." ⁴⁴ In this matter, there is credible information suggesting that Donalds maintained
7	and retained control of FBD long after he registered as a federal candidate, FBD's statement to
8	the Florida Board of Elections that it was ceasing operations was not consistent with its
9	subsequent \$107,456 contribution to Trusted Conservatives, and Trusted Conservatives used
10	\$82,025 of that money to finance independent expenditures ("IEs") that supported only
11	Donalds's federal election, and made no other IEs. Under these circumstances, the Commission
12	finds that there is reason to believe that FBD violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by soliciting,
13	receiving, directing, transferring, or spending non-federal funds to advance Donalds' candidacy.

⁴³ *See* Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action in Matters at the Initial Stage in the Enforcement Process, 72 Fed. Reg. 12,545 (Mar. 16, 2007).

⁴⁴ *Id*.

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

1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION			
2 3	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS			
4 5 6	RESPONDENT: Byron Donalds MUR 7783			
7	I. INTRODUCTION			
8 9	This matter was generated by a Complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission by			
10	the Campaign Legal Center, alleging that Byron Donalds, a candidate for Florida's 19th			
11	Congressional District, violated the soft money prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign			
12	Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). Specifically, the complaint alleges that Donalds			
13	established and controlled Friends of Byron Donalds ("FBD"), a state committee, and through a			
14	complex series of transactions involving another state committee, Conservatives for Effective			
15	Government ("CFEG"), transferred non-federal funds to a federal independent expenditure-only			
16	political committee, Trusted Conservatives, to support his candidacy for the U.S. House of			
17	Representatives in 2020, in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e).			
18	Donalds denies the allegations, asserting that all funds raised by FBD were in connection			
19	with his activities as a member of the Florida House of Representatives, before he became a			
20	federal candidate, and he had no involvement with FBD after his resignation as Chair of FBD on			
21	January 3, 2020. ¹			
22	As discussed below, the available information supports a reasonable inference that FBD			
23	was an entity that was established, financed, maintained, or controlled by Donalds while he was			
24	a federal candidate and that Donalds improperly solicited, received, directed, transferred, or			
25	spent non-federal funds to support his candidacy. Accordingly, the Commission finds reason to			
26	believe that Donalds violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by soliciting, receiving, directing,			
27	transferring, or spending soft money in connection with a federal election.			

1

Resp. of Byron Donalds (Sept. 10, 2020).

MUR 7783 (Byron Donalds) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 2 of 11

1 II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

2 A. Establishment of Friends of Byron Donalds

- 3 From 2016 through 2020, Donalds was a State Representative for the 80th District of
- 4 Florida. On August 22, 2019, Donalds formed Friends of Byron Donalds, a Florida state
- 5 political committee; Donalds was the committee's chair and Noreen A. Fenner was its treasurer.²
- 6 On that same day, FBD also registered with the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS") as a political
- 7 organization under Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code.³ According to its website, the
- 8 state committee's mission was "to promote and support principled conservative causes and
- 9 candidates in the State of Florida."⁴ Right below the mission statement was the statement
- ¹⁰ "Representative Byron Donalds is associated with Friends of Byron Donalds."⁵
- Between September 2019 and January 2020, FBD raised \$98,707, with nearly half of
- 12 those funds raised in December 2019.⁶ A number of the donations appeared to be from sources
- prohibited under the Act, such as corporations and federal contractors.⁷ On January 3, 2020,
- 14 FBD reported making an \$87,000 contribution, which was approximately 88% of the funds it had

⁵ *Id*.

² See FBD, Statement of Organization of Political Committee, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (Aug. 22, 2019), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached to Complaint, Ex. A).

³ See FBD PC, IRS Form 8871 (Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status) (Aug. 22, 2019) (FBD filed an amended notice on June 4, 2020 noting Noreen Fenner as Chair and Treasurer, and an amended/final notice on July 14, 2020). FBD also filed Form 8872 (Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures) (July 14, 2020), disclosing \$107,456 in expenditures from June 4, 2020, through June 30, 2020.

⁴ The Complaint provided a screenshot of the FBD website homepage displaying the mission statement (Compl., Ex. B).

⁶ See Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contributions Query Result for FBD, 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/contrib.exe (attached to</u> Compl. Ex. C).

⁷ *Id*.

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1	raised, to CFEG, another Florida political committee. ⁸ Before that contribution, FBD had made
2	\$7,679.66 in disbursements. ⁹ Also on January 3, Donalds resigned as Chair of FBD, and Noreen
3	Fenner became Chair and remained its treasurer. ¹⁰ FBD filed a statement with the Florida
4	Division of Elections and an amended notice with the IRS notifying them of the change. ¹¹
5	Although Donalds had resigned as Chair of FBD, FBD never changed its name, and as of August
6	2020, the FBD website's home page (<u>http://friendsofbyrondonalds.org/</u>) still displayed the
7	statement "Representative Byron Donalds is associated with Friends of Byron Donalds." ¹²
8 9 10	B. Activities of Friends of Byron Donalds After Donalds Registers as a Federal Candidate
1	On January 6, 2020, three days after he resigned as Chair of FBD, Donalds filed a
2	Statement of Candidacy for the Republican nomination in Florida's 19th Congressional District

¹² Compl., Ex. B.

⁸ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. CFEG, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contributions Query Results, 2020 election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/contrib.exe</u>.

⁹ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. FBD's other disbursements prior to the transfer to CFEG were to Ana Maria Rodriguez Campaign (\$1,000.00), PAC Financial Management (\$2,179.66), and Front Line Strategies, Inc. (\$4,500.00).

¹⁰ See FBD, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/committees/ComDetail.asp?account=74495</u> (last visited Dec. 7, 2020). CFEG, a Section 527 organization, registered as a Florida state political committee on January 17, 2017, and is still active. CFEG Resp. (Oct. 1, 2020).

¹¹ FBD, Change of Officers, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (Jan. 3, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached as Exhibit E of the Complaint); Friends of Byron Donalds PC, Amended IRS Form 8871(Jan. 3, 2020).

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- 1 with the Commission and designated Donalds for Congress as his principal campaign
- 2 committee.¹³
- 3 From January 3, 2020, when Donalds resigned as Chair, until May 28, 2020, FBD
- 4 reported receiving one additional contribution of \$1,000.¹⁴ On May 28, 2020, five months after
- 5 FBD reported making an \$87,000.00 contribution to CFEG, FBD reported receiving a
- ⁶ \$107,038.66 contribution from CFEG,¹⁵ although the CFEG Expenditure page reflects a different
- 7 date for the contribution, June 28, 2020.¹⁶
- 8 On June 4, 2020, FBD filed a disbandment letter with the Florida Department of State
- 9 Division of Elections, stating: "Please be advised that Friends of Byron Donalds has ceased
- 10 operations. Please close this account."¹⁷ The Division of Elections replied, acknowledging
- 11 receipt of the disbandment letter and indicating that a final report must be filed no later than
- ¹² June 19, 2020.¹⁸ The Election Division's website, however, does not reflect that FBD ever filed

¹³ Byron Donalds Statement of Candidacy (Jan. 6, 2020). Donalds was also a candidate for re-election to the Florida House for the 80th District during the same cycle, but did not qualify for the ballot for the state Republican primary. *See* <u>https://ballotpedia.org/Byron_Donalds</u>.

 ¹⁴ Compl. Ex. C (reflecting a \$1,000 contribution from Floridians for Economic Advancement on Jan. 14, 2020).

¹⁵ *See* FBD, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Contribution Query Result; Compl. Ex. C.

¹⁶ See CFEG, Campaign Finance Activity, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Results, 2020 election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>.

¹⁷ FBD, Disbandment Letter, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections (June 4, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495</u> (attached as Exhibit F of the Complaint).

¹⁸ Florida Dept. of State Letter to FBD (June 4, 2020), <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495.</u>

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- a final report with Florida election officials.¹⁹ In addition, FBD filed an amended and final
- 2 notice with the IRS. 20
- 3 Despite FBD's disbandment letter, on June 22, 2020, FBD made a contribution of
- 4 \$107,456 to Trusted Conservatives, an independent expenditure-only political committee that
- 5 supported Donalds's federal candidacy.²¹ Although Trusted Conservatives reported receiving
- 6 the contribution,²² Friends of Byron Donalds never disclosed to Florida election officials that it
- 7 made a contribution to Trusted Conservatives.²³
- 8 On August 18, 2020, Donalds won the Republican primary for Florida's 19th
- 9 Congressional District, and later won the November 3, 2020, general election.²⁴ On
- 10 November 17, 2020, Trusted Conservatives filed a termination report with the Commission,

11 which was approved.²⁵

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¹⁹ Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Campaign Documents Search, https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/campaign-docs/?account=74495.

²⁰ FBD PC, Amended IRS Forms 8871 (June 4, 2020) and Amended/Final Form 8871 (July 14, 2020).

²¹ Trusted Conservatives Statement of Organization (Jan. 24, 2020).

²² Trusted Conservatives 2016 July Quarterly Report at 7, (July 9, 2020).

²³ See FBD, Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Expenditures Query Result for 2020 Election, available at <u>https://dos.elections.myflorida.com/cgi-bin/expend.exe</u>. ...

²⁴ Florida Dept. of State, Division of Elections, Aug. 18, 2020 Primary Election, Republican Primary, <u>https://results.elections.myflorida.com/Index.asp?ElectionDate=8/18/2020&DATAMODE</u>=; November 3, 2020, General Election, <u>https://results.elections.myflorida.com/Index.asp?ElectionDate=11/3/2020&DATAMODE</u>=. .

²⁵ *See* Trusted Conservatives, 2020 Termination Report (Nov. 17, 2020) and 2020 Termination Approval (Dec. 1, 2020).

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The following chart summarizes the timeline of events at issue in this matter:

Date	Event
August 22, 2019	Donalds forms state committee Friends of Byron Donalds ("FBD") with himself as Chair.
Sept. 2019-Jan. 2, 2020	FBD raises \$98,707.
Jan. 3, 2020	 Donalds resigns as Chair of FBD. FBD makes an \$87,000 contribution (approx. 88% of the amount raised) to CFEG, another state committee.
Jan. 6, 2020	Donalds files Statement of Candidacy for Florida's 19th Congressional District.
Jan. 24, 2020	Federal IEOPC Trusted Conservatives files Statement of Organization with Commission.
May 28, 2020	CFEG contributes \$107,038.66 to FBD.
June 4, 2020	FBD files disbandment letter with Florida Division of Elections.
June 22, 2020	Trusted Conservatives receives \$107,456 contribution from FBD. ²⁶
August 2020	 (1) All of Trusted Conservatives independent expenditures (\$82,025 in direct mail expenditures) during the 2020 election cycle support Donalds or oppose his challengers in the FL-19 race, balance of expenditures are for administrative expenses.²⁷ (2) Donalds wins August 18, 2020, Republican Primary.
November 3, 2020	Donalds wins 2020 general election.
November 17, 2020	Trusted Conservatives files Termination Report.

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C. The Complaint and Responses

The Complaint argues that FBD is "established," and "controlled by or acting on behalf of" Donalds because the entity bears Donalds's name; Donalds signed the committee's statement of organization and was its Chair; and, as late as August 2020, the committee's website stated that Donalds was associated with FBD.²⁸ The Complaint further argues that the timing and

²⁶ See Trusted Conservatives, 2020 July Quarterly Report, FEC Form 3X at 7 (July 9, 2020).

²⁷ Trusted Conservatives, 24 and 48 Hour Report of Independent Expenditures, FEC Schedule E at 1-7 (Aug. 11, 2020). <u>https://docquery_fec.gov/pdf/535/202008119261294535/202008119261294535.pdf</u>.

²⁸ Compl. ¶¶ 2, 20, 21.

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1	amounts of the contributions,	and the chain of	transfers-from	FBD to CFEG,	back to FBD, and
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- 2 finally to Trusted Conservatives—were intended to obscure the true sources of these funds and to
- 3 funnel illegal contributions into Donalds's federal race.²⁹
- 4 Donalds denies the allegations. He contends that while he was involved in the initial
- 5 leadership of FBD in 2019, he was not a federal candidate or officeholder at that time, and all
- 6 fundraising by FBD was in connection with his activities as a member of the Florida House of
- 7 Representatives.³⁰ He states that once he resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, he had no
- 8 interactions with FBD, including any role in decision-making regarding FBD's spending after
- 9 that date.³¹

10 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

- 11A.The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that Byron Donalds Violated12the Act by Soliciting, Receiving, Directing, Transferring or Spending13Non-Federal Funds
- 14 15
- 1. <u>Legal Standard</u>

The Act prohibits federal candidates and officeholders, their agents, and entities directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf of one or more candidates or individuals holding federal office, from "solicit[ing], receiv[ing], direct[ing], transfer[ing], or spend[ing] funds in connection with an election for Federal office, . . . unless the funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of [the] Act."³²

²⁹ Compl.

³¹ *Id*.

³⁰ Resp. of Byron Donalds at 2.

³² See 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1)(A); see also 11 C.F.R. § 300.61.

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1	The Act limits contributions to non-authorized, non-party committees to \$5,000 in any
2	calendar year. ³³ Although an IEOPC may accept contributions from corporations and
3	individuals without regard to that \$5,000 limitation, ³⁴ federal officeholders and candidates, or an
4	entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf
5	of a federal candidate or officeholder may only solicit, receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds up
6	to \$5,000 from permissible sources on behalf of or to such a committee. ³⁵
7	To determine whether a candidate or his or her agent "directly or indirectly establishes,
8	finances, maintains, or controls" an entity, the Commission considers ten non-exhaustive factors
9	"in the context of the overall relationship between the sponsor and the entity." ³⁶ One of the
10	factors includes whether the candidate or his or her agent "has the authority or ability to direct or
11	participate in the governance of the entity." ³⁷
12 13	2. <u>Friends of Byron Donalds Appears to Have Been An Entity that was</u> Established, Financed, Maintained or Controlled by a Federal Candidate
14 15	As the plain language of the statute indicates, the prohibition at section 30125(e) applies
16	after an individual becomes a candidate or officeholder. The current record indicates that
17	Donalds was not a federal candidate at the time he first became Chair of FBD in August 2019.

³³ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(C).

³⁴ See SpeechNow.org v. FEC, 599 F.3d 686, 696 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (*en banc*) (holding that contribution limits are unconstitutional as applied to individuals' contributions to political committees that only make independent expenditures); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Common Sense Ten) ("AO 2010-11") (concluding that corporations, labor organizations, political committees, and individuals may each make unlimited contributions to IEOPCs).

³⁵ See Advisory Op. 2011-12 (Majority PAC) at 3 ("AO 2011-12") (determining that solicitation restrictions under 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1)(A) remain applicable to contributions solicited by federal candidates, officeholders, and other covered persons); Conciliation Agreement ¶¶ 7, 8 ("CA"), MUR 7048 (Cruz for President) (same); Factual & Legal Analysis at 11("F&LA"), MURs 6563 and 6733 (Rep. Aaron Schock).

³⁶ 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(c)(2).

³⁷ *Id.* § 300.2(c)(2)(ii).

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However, although Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, and registered as a 1 federal candidate on January 6, 2020, the available information suggests that in the context of the 2 overall relationship between Donalds and FBD, Donalds retained "the authority or ability to 3 direct or participate in the governance of" FBD during his federal candidacy.³⁸ After Donalds 4 resigned as Chair, FBD never changed its name, and its website continued to display Donalds's 5 name and the statement: "Friends of Byron Donalds is associated with Byron Donalds." 6 Moreover, the amounts raised and spent by FBD are some indicia that Donalds maintained and 7 controlled it, given that almost all of the funds raised were later used to support Donalds's 8 federal candidacy. Thus, while Donalds resigned as Chair of FBD in January 2020, other 9 information before the Commission suggests that Donalds continued to play some type of 10 prominent role with the state committee. 11 Although Donalds and FBD filed letters with the Florida Division of Elections indicating 12 that Donalds resigned as Chair on January 3, 2020, those letters do not fully resolve the question 13 of whether Donalds otherwise continued to exercise control over FBD without the formal title of 14 Chair. Further, there is tension between the FBD's June 4, 2020, disbandment letter filed with 15 the Florida Board of Elections, in which it stated it was ceasing operations, and its \$107,456 16 contribution to Trusted Conservatives on June 22, 2020, a contribution it did not disclose, despite 17 the Florida Board of Elections' direction to file a closing report, which it also did not do. 18

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3 4 The Commission Should Find Reason to Believe that Byron Donalds Improperly Solicited, Received, Directed, Transferred, or Spent Non-Federal Funds

The available information suggests that FBD was an entity that was maintained and 5 controlled by Donalds while he was a federal candidate beginning in January 2020, and the 6 current record indicates that FBD spent non-federal funds by making a contribution to Trusted 7 Conservatives on June 22, 2020, to support Donalds's election for U.S. Congress.³⁹ Further, 8 given that FBD spent almost all of the funds that it received to make a contribution to Trusted 9 Conservatives, the facts indicate that FBD spent little money on its stated purpose of supporting 10 causes and candidates in the state of Florida but instead appears to have become a vehicle to 11 finance Donald's federal candidacy with non-federal funds. 12 The available information supports a reasonable inference that Donalds, as a federal 13

candidate, directed non-federal funds in connection with a federal election. As described above, 14 the vast majority of the funds FBD received were used to ultimately support Donalds's federal 15 candidacy, through Trusted Conservatives' independent expenditures in support of Donalds or in 16 opposition to his challengers. That FBD would transfer so much of the funds it received to 17 Trusted Conservatives to support Donalds without any direction or involvement by him appears 18 unlikely, especially where there is indicia that Donalds maintained or controlled FBD while he 19 was a federal candidate, as described above. 20

- 21
- 22

Although the available information does not conclusively establish that Donalds violated section 30125(e), the Commission has advised that a reason to believe finding "by itself does not

³⁹ See Compl., Ex. C (Contributions to Friends of Byron Donalds); Transparency USA, Conservatives for Effective Government, Donors.

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1	establish the law has been violated." ⁴⁰ Rather, a reason to believe finding is warranted, "where
2	the evidence in the matter is at least sufficient to warrant conducting an investigation, and where
3	the seriousness of the alleged violation warrants either further investigation or immediate
4	conciliation." ⁴¹ In this matter, there is credible information suggesting that Donalds maintained
5	and retained control of FBD long after he registered as a federal candidate, FBD's statement to
6	the Florida Board of Elections that it was ceasing operations was not consistent with its
7	subsequent \$107,456 contribution to Trusted Conservatives, and Trusted Conservatives used
8	\$82,025 of that money to finance independent expenditures ("IEs") that supported only
9	Donalds's federal election, and made no other IEs. Accordingly, the Commission finds that
10	there is reason to believe that Byron Donalds violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e) by soliciting,
11	receiving, directing, transferring, or spending non-federal funds to advance Donalds' candidacy.

⁴⁰ *See* Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action in Matters at the Initial Stage in the Enforcement Process, 72 Fed. Reg. 12,545 (Mar. 16, 2007).

⁴¹ *Id*.