

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Washington, DC 20463

September 5, 2023

VIA ELECTRONIC AND FIRST CLASS MAIL

Matthew Nelson Tunstall, Register No. 73685-509 FCI Mendota Federal Correctional Institution P.O. Box 9 Mendota, CA 93640 premiummediateam@gmail.com

> RE: MUR 8162 (AR 23-01) Support American Leaders PAC

Dear Mr. Tunstall:

On January 25, 2023, the Federal Election Commission notified Support American Leaders PAC and you in your official capacity as treasurer (the "Committee") that it had ascertained information in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities that the Committee may have violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act") or Commission regulations.

Upon further review of the potential violations, the Commission, on August 30, 2023, voted to dismiss as an exercise of prosecutorial discretion the allegations that the Committee (1) violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.9 by accepting excessive contributions; (2) violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b) and 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.1, 104.3 by failing to file accurate reports of its cash on hand; and (3) violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(4), (g)(2) and 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.3(b)(3)(vii), 104.4(b)(2), (c) by failing to indicate the state in which its independent expenditures were disseminated in connection with a presidential primary election. The Commission admonishes the Committee for these apparent violations of the Act and Commission regulations. Accordingly, the Commission closed the file in this matter, and administratively terminated the Committee. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which more fully explains the Commission's findings, is enclosed.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. *See* Disclosure of Certain Documents in Enforcement and Other Matters, 81 Fed. Reg. 50,702 (Aug. 2, 2016). If you have any questions, please contact Justine A. di Giovanni, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1574.

Sincerely,

Ana J. Pena-Wallace Ana J. Peña-Wallace

Ana J. Peña-Wallace Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure: Factual and Legal Analysis

1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS
3 4 5	RESPONDENT: Support American Leaders PAC and Matthew MUR 8162 Tunstall in his official capacity as treasurer
6 7	I. INTRODUCTION
8	This matter was generated based on information ascertained by the Federal Election
9	Commission in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities. ¹ The Reports
10	Analysis Division ("RAD") referred Support American Leaders PAC and Matthew Tunstall in
11	his official capacity as treasurer ("Support American Leaders" or the "Committee") to the Office
12	of General Counsel ("OGC") for three apparent violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act
13	of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). The three violations include: (1) receipt of apparent excessive
14	contributions totaling \$173,240.00; (2) a mathematical discrepancy of \$421,579.84 between the
15	ending cash-on-hand balance of the Committee's 2019 October Quarterly Report and the starting
16	cash-on-hand balance of the Committee's 2019 Year-End Report; and (3) failing to disclose the
17	presidential primary state for independent expenditures ("IEs") totaling \$372,534.67.
18	The Committee's treasurer was a respondent in another matter recently resolved by the
19	Commission and was sentenced to prison in connection with a related criminal prosecution
20	earlier this year. Under these circumstances, and as discussed in further detail below, the
21	Commission (1) opens a MUR; (2) dismisses as a matter of prosecutorial discretion the
22	allegation that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.9 by accepting
23	excessive contributions; (3) dismisses as a matter of prosecutorial discretion the allegation that
24	the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b) and 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.1 and 104.3 by failing to file

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See 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2).

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- 1 accurate reports of its cash on hand; (4) dismisses as a matter of prosecutorial discretion the
- 2 allegation that the Committee violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(4), (g)(2) and 11 C.F.R.
- 3 §§ 104.3(b)(3)(vii), 104.4(b)(2), (c) by failing to indicate the state in which its IEs were
- 4 disseminated in connection with a presidential primary election; (5) issues an admonishment
- 5 letter to Tunstall on behalf of the Committee; and (6) directs RAD to administratively terminate
- 6 the Committee.
- 7 II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND
- 8 A. Support American Leaders PAC and the Referral
- 9 Support American Leaders is a non-connected multicandidate hybrid committee that first
- 10 registered with the Commission on September 24, 2018.² Other than from January 24, 2020,
- 11 through July 19, 2020,³ Matthew Tunstall has been the Committee's treasurer since its initial
- 12 registration.⁴ Between its inception and its last reported receipt on April 20, 2021, the

² Support American Leaders, Statement of Organization at 1 (Sept. 24, 2018) [hereinafter Original Statement of Organization], <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/240/201809249124236240/201809249124236240.pdf</u>; Support American Leaders, Amended Statement of Organization at 2 (Jan. 4, 2022) [hereinafter Current Statement of Organization], <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/959/202201049474866959/202201049474866959.pdf</u>; *see also* 52 U.S.C. § 30101(4)(A); 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(e)(3).

³ Support American Leaders, Amended Statement of Organization at 1 (Jan. 24, 2020), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/822/202001249167339822/202001249167339822.pdf</u>; Support American Leaders, Amended Statement of Organization at 1 (July 20, 2020), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/125/202007209250469125/202007209250469125</u>.pdf.

⁴ Current Statement of Organization at 1; Original Statement of Organization at 1.

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- 1 Committee reported raising \$1,807,552.45.⁵ Within the same time period, it reported spending a
- 2 total of \$2,991,320.12,⁶ \$393,371.49 of which the Committee reported as being for IEs.⁷
- 3 On July 13, 2021, RAD referred Support American Leaders to OGC for three findings.⁸
- 4 First, RAD referred the Committee's receipt of apparent excessive contributions totaling
- 5 \$173,240.00.⁹ The Committee subsequently amended its reports in January 2022, clarifying that
- 6 all of the originally reported excessive or prohibited contributions should have been reported as
- 7 non-contribution *Carey* funds, but also introducing new excessive contributions totaling
- 8 \$7,040.00, as shown below:

Source	Date	Amount	Aggregate Year-to-Date	Amount Excessive — Original ¹⁰	Amount Excessive — Amended ¹¹
	Nov. 19, 2020	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00	\$14,000.00	\$0.00
Adams, Elmer W	Nov. 19, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$9,000.00		
Adams, Einer w	Nov. 19, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$14,000.00		\$0.00
	Nov. 19, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$19,000.00		

⁵ *FEC Receipts: Filtered Results*, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/receipts/?data_type=processed&</u> <u>committee_id=C00688069</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing all receipts reported by the Committee).

⁶ *FEC Disbursements: Filtered Results*, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?data_type=processed&committee_id=C00688069</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing all disbursements reported by the Committee).

⁷ *FEC Independent Expenditures: Filtered Results*, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/independent-expenditures/?data_type=processed&q_spender=C00688069&is_notice=false&most_recent=true</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing all IEs reported by the Committee).

⁸ Referral at 4-5 (July 13, 2021). Though the Committee appears to have committed further violations, only those discussed herein warranted referral to OGC. *See id.* at 2-5.

⁹ *Id.* at 4.

¹⁰ Support American Leaders, 2019 February Monthly Report (Feb. 8, 2019) [hereinafter Original 2019 February Monthly Report], <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/776/201902089145478776/201902089145478776.pdf;</u> Support American Leaders, 2020 30-Day Post-General Report (Dec. 14, 2020), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/553/202012159387342553/202012159387342553.pdf</u>.

¹¹ Support American Leaders, Amended 2019 February Monthly Report (Jan. 12, 2022) [hereinafter Amended 2019 February Monthly Report], <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/485/202201129474974485/20220112947</u> <u>4974485.pdf</u>; Support American Leaders, Amended 2020 30-Day Post-General Report (Jan. 12, 2022), <u>https://doc</u> <u>query.fec.gov/pdf/818/202201139474976818/202201139474976818.pdf</u>.

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Source	Date	Amount	Aggregate Year-to-Date	Amount Excessive — Original ¹⁰	Amount Excessive — Amended ¹¹
Baker, Edward	Nov. 4, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,000	\$0.00
Daker, Euwaru	Nov. 4, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00	\$3,000	\$0.00
	Nov. 4, 2020	\$100.00	\$5,100.00		
Branch, Edward	Nov. 4, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$5,100.00	N/A	\$130.00
	Nov. 12, 2020	\$30.00	\$5,130.00		
	Nov. 13, 2020	\$200.00	\$6,095.00		
Chaves, Kathleen	Nov. 17, 2020	\$100.00	\$6,195.00	N/A	\$400
	Nov. 17, 2020	\$100.00	\$6,195.00		
Hair, Gail	Nov. 9, 2020	\$1,000.00	\$6,000.00	N/A	\$1,000.00
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	¢5,000,00	¢0.00
Hair, Gale ¹²	Nov. 7, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$0.00
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$500.00	\$500.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$1,000.00	\$1,500.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$2,000.00	\$3,500.00		\$0.00
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$1,500.00	\$5,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00	\$15,000.00	
Hair, Robert	Nov. 7, 2020	\$500.00	\$10,500.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$1,000.00	\$11,500.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$1,500.00	\$13,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$2,000.00	\$15,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$20,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$2,000.00	\$10,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$1,500.00	\$10,000.00		
	Nov. 7, 2020	\$1,000.00	\$10,000.00	1	
TT 1 1	Nov. 7, 2020	\$500.00	\$10,000.00	1	
Hoelscher,	Nov. 10, 2020	\$100.00	\$10,135.00	N/A	\$5,310.00
Robert W	Nov. 10, 2020	\$35.00	\$10,135.00		
	Nov. 13, 2020	\$35.00	\$10,185.00		
	Nov. 13, 2020	\$15.00	\$10,185.00		
	Nov. 17, 2020	\$100.00	\$10,285.00		
	Nov. 19, 2020	\$25.00	\$10,310.00		
Maffett, James	Nov. 6, 2020	\$200.00	\$5,800.00	N/A	\$200.00
	Nov. 5, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00		
D 1 I	Nov. 5, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00	¢15.000.00	¢0.00
Renal, Joe	Nov. 5, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00 \$0.0	\$0.00
	Nov. 5, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$20,000.00		

¹² Despite similar names and dates of contribution, based on the address information associated with the contributions, "Hair, Gail" and "Hair, Gale" appear to be distinct individuals.

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Source	Date	Amount	Aggregate Year-to-Date	Amount Excessive — Original ¹⁰	Amount Excessive — Amended ¹¹
Reynal, Joe ¹³	Nov. 5, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,000	\$0.00
Keynal, Joe	Nov. 5, 2020	\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00		
Support America ¹⁴	Jan. 31, 2019	\$114,240.00	\$114,240.00	\$114,240.00	\$0.00
			Totals:	\$173,240.00	\$7,040.00

1	Second, RAD referred Support American Leaders for a mathematical discrepancy of
2	\$421,579.84 between the ending cash-on-hand balance of the Committee's 2019 October
3	Quarterly Report (\$423,034.51) and the starting cash-on-hand balance of the Committee's 2019
4	Year-End Report (\$1,454.67). ¹⁵ The Committee subsequently amended both its 2019 October
5	Quarterly and 2019 Year-End Reports on January 13, 2022, to eliminate this discrepancy. ¹⁶
6	Third and finally, RAD referred Support American Leaders for failing to disclose the
7	Presidential Primary state for IEs totaling \$372,534.67 in the reports detailed below: ¹⁷

Report	Date	# IEs	Total Amount
24-Hour Report	Dec. 27, 2019	4	\$116,184.81
24-Hour Report	Dec. 31, 2019	4	\$19,589.50
Original 2019 Year-End Report,	Jan. 21, 2020	8	\$135,774.31 ¹⁸
Sched. E			

¹³ Despite similar names and dates of contribution, based on the address information associated with the contributions, "Renal, Joe" and "Reynal, Joe" appear to be distinct individuals.

¹⁴ Amended 2019 February Monthly Report, sched. A at 6. The Committee originally reported this contribution as coming from "Support America" with no address information provided, but amended its report to reflect that the funds came from Support American Leaders PAC, without further explanation. *See* Original 2019 February Monthly Report, sched. A at 6.

¹⁵ Referral at 2-3, 5; *see* Support American Leaders, 2019 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Sept. 30, 2019), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/457/201910249165293457/201910249165293457.pdf</u> (reporting cash on hand at close of the reporting period of \$423,034.51); Support American Leaders, 2019 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 21, 2020), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/635/202001219167294635/202001219167294635.pdf</u> (reporting cash on hand at beginning of the reporting period of \$1,454.67).

¹⁶ See Support American Leaders, Amended 2019 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Jan. 13, 2022), <u>https://doc</u> <u>query.fec.gov/pdf/565/202201139474982565/202201139474982565.pdf</u> (reporting closing cash on hand of \$309,569.45); Support American Leaders, Amended 2019 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 13, 2022), <u>https://docquery</u> .fec.gov/pdf/712/202201139474982712/202201139474982712.pdf (showing opening cash on hand of \$309,569.45).

¹⁷ Referral at 3-5.

¹⁸ These IEs are the same as those disclosed on the December 27 and December 31, 2019 24-Hour Reports.

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Report	Date	# IEs	Total Amount
24-Hour Report	Jan. 15, 2020	6	\$65,104.93
24-Hour Report	Jan. 24, 2020	4	\$33,255.43
24-Hour Report	Feb. 7, 2020	5	\$69,869.40
24-Hour Report	Feb. 21, 2020	4	\$68,519.60
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	·	\$372,534.67 ¹⁹

1 The Committee subsequently amended its reports to indicate that the IEs were for the 2020

2 General Election rather than the Primary.²⁰

3

4

B. RAD's Communications with Tunstall

In the course of developing the Referral and in connection with separate Administrative

5 Fines matters, RAD communicated or attempted to communicate with Tunstall 76 separate

6 times, with the last successful attempt occurring on January 27, 2022. Support American

7 Leaders has been a respondent in nine Administrative Fines matters, and \$76,500.00 in fines has

8 been assessed against it. Of this amount, the Committee has paid a total of \$25.00, and four of

9 the matters have been transferred to the Treasury Department for collection. During his last

10 communication with RAD, Tunstall expressed that the Committee would be unable to make any

¹⁹ This total only counts the IEs disclosed on both the December 27 and December 31, 2019 24-Hour Reports and the 2019 Year-End Report once.

²⁰ Support American Leaders, Amended 24-Hour Report (Jan. 12, 2022), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/858/202201129474975858/202201129474975858.pdf</u> (amending December 27, 2019 24-Hour Report); Support American Leaders, Amended 24-Hour Report (Jan. 12, 2022), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/671/202201129474976671.pdf</u> (amending December 31, 2019 24-Hour Report); Support American Leaders, Amended 24-Hour Report (Jan. 12, 2022), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976762/202201129474976776/202201129474976776/202201129474976776/202201129474976776/202201129474976776/202201129474976776/202201129474976783/202201129474976790/202201129474976790/202201129474976790.pdf (amending February 21, 2020 24-Hour Report).</u>

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further payments, and its last-reported cash on hand was negative \$267,554.80.²² Since its initial 1 2 registration with the Commission, Support American Leaders received 23 Requests for 3 Additional Information ("RFAIs") from RAD regarding apparent errors and violations in its reports and, in many cases, its failure to file them.²³ 4 5 С. **Tunstall and Relevant Legal Proceedings** Tunstall formed and led a series of other political committees, including Progressive 6 Priorities PAC and Liberty Action Group.²⁴ In November 2021, the Department of Justice 7 8 indicted Tunstall and his associates, Robert Reyes and Kyle Davies, on numerous criminal 9 charges including conspiracy, wire fraud, and money laundering in connection with their 10 activities conducted via Progressive Priorities PAC and Liberty Action Group, alleging that the 11 three defendants fraudulently solicited and obtained over \$3.5 million in contributions via the 12 two political committees, with only \$19.00 distributed to "any candidate's authorized campaign committee or to any political cause."²⁵ Tunstall and each of his associates pleaded guilty to, 13 14 among other counts, conspiracy to cause false statements to the Commission, and on April 24, 15 2023, Tunstall was sentenced to ten years in prison and ordered to forfeit \$789,818.00 and pay a

²² Support American Leaders, 2020 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 4, 2022), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/952/</u> 202201049474866952/202201049474866952.pdf.

²³ See Support American Leaders PAC: Committee Filings 2017-2018, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00688069/?tab=filings&cycle=2018</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing one RFAI during the 2018 election cycle); See Support American Leaders PAC: Committee Filings 2019-2020, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00688069/?tab=filings&cycle=2020</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing 13 RFAIs during the 2020 election cycle); See Support American Leaders PAC: Committee Filings 2021-2022, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00688069/?tab=filings&cycle=2020</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing 13 RFAIs during the 2020 election cycle); See Support American Leaders PAC: Committee Filings 2021-2022, FEC.GOV, <u>https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00688069/?tab=filings&cycle=2022</u> (last visited August 16, 2023) (showing nine RFAIs during the 2022 election cycle).

Progressive Priorities PAC, Amended Statement of Organization at 1 (Oct. 22, 2019), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/671/201910229165266671/201910229165266671.pdf</u> (showing Tunstall as treasurer); Factual Basis for Plea of Guilt ¶ 2, *United States v. Tunstall*, No. 21-CR-223-LY (W.D. Tex. Dec. 7, 2022) [hereinafter Tunstall Plea] ("TUNSTALL . . . founded Liberty Action Group Political Action Committee").

²⁵ Indictment ¶ 35, United States v. Tunstall, No. 1:21-CR-00223-LY (W.D. Tex. Nov. 2, 2021).

1	special assessment of \$200.00. ²⁶ Tunstall was a respondent in his individual capacity and in his
2	official capacity as treasurer in MUR 7468 (Progressive Priorities PAC), which related in part to
3	the conduct at issue in the criminal matter, and which the Commission recently resolved by
4	taking no further action beyond admonishing Tunstall. ²⁷ The available information indicates that
5	Tunstall's work for Support American Leaders was similar to the fraudulent scheme he
6	perpetrated in connection with those groups.
7	Though Support American Leaders was not the subject of the criminal action, Reyes's
8	Factual Basis for Plea of Guilt discusses "subsequent fraudulent activities similar in manner and
9	means to those TUNSTALL and REYES employed in the operations of Liberty Action Group
10	and Progressive Priorities" PAC. ²⁸ The Factual Basis states:
11 12 13 14 15	On or about September 24, 2018, TUNSTALL caused Support American Leaders to be registered with the FEC. Support American Leaders was a political action committee that claimed to raise political contributions to support the election of [Donald Trump] in 2020
16 17 18 19 20 21 22	From approximately 2018 through at least December 31, 2021, TUNSTALL oversaw the operations of Support American Leaders and [another of his political committees,] Campaign to Support the President, and employed several other individuals, including REYES, to perpetuate the fraudulent scheme. Of the approximately \$3,690,249.05 million raised by Support American Leaders and Campaign to Support the President, the two PACs

²⁶ Tunstall pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to commit wire fraud and to cause false statements to the Commission and one count of money laundering. Judgment in a Criminal Case, *United States v. Tunstall*, No. 1:21-CR-00223-LY (W.D. Tex. Apr. 24, 2023). Reyes was sentenced to seven years in prison, and Davies to five years of probation. Press Release, Dep't of Justice, Three Individuals Sentenced for Soliciting Millions of Dollars in Contributions to Scam PACs (Apr. 25, 2023), <u>https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/three-individuals-sentenced-solicitingmillions-dollars-contributions-scam-pacs</u>. Reyes also agreed to forfeit \$809,920.40 in connection with his plea agreement. Press Release, Dep't of Justice, California Man Pleads Guilty to \$3.5 Million Scam-PAC Fraud (Aug. 9, 2022), <u>https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/california-man-pleads-guilty-35-million-scam-pac-fraud</u>.

²⁷ Cert. (July 27, 2023), MUR 7468 (Progressive Priorities PAC, *et al.*); *see* Memorandum to the Commission re: Updated Recommendations Following Sentencing of Matthew Tunstall (July 19, 2023), MUR 7468 (Progressive Priorities PAC).

²⁸ Factual Basis for Plea of Guilt ¶ 34, *United States v. Reyes*, No. 21-CR-223-2 (W.D. Tex. Aug. 5, 2022) [hereinafter Reyes Plea].

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1 2	distributed a total of approximately \$1,500 to any candidate's authorized campaign committee or to any political cause
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	TUNSTALL and REYES used Support American Leaders and Campaign to Support the President to obtain money based on false and misleading representations about the PACs' purported efforts, activities, and spending. Specifically, through written fundraising solicitations, telephone call solicitations, online solicitations, and other means, TUNSTALL and REYES falsely represented to donors that their donated funds would be used in support of [Donald Trump].
11 12 13 14 15 16	Instead, TUNSTALL and REYES again used the funds they acquired through the scheme to pay for additional fraudulent solicitations for money on behalf of Support American Leaders and Campaign to Support the President, to enrich themselves directly, and to support their independent, unrelated business ventures. ²⁹
17	According to their pleas, Tunstall and his co-conspirators used the funds obtained from
18	the political committees they created for their personal benefit by transferring funds obtained
19	through the fraudulent solicitations to personal and business bank accounts controlled by
20	Tunstall and the co-defendants and by intentionally overpaying vendors in order to obtain
21	refunds that could be concealed from the Commission. ³⁰ The pleas also explain that Liberty
22	Action Group and Progressive Priorities PAC's activities were misreported in filings with the
23	Commission. ³¹

²⁹ *Id.* ¶¶ 36-40; *see also* Press Release, Dep't of Justice, California Man Pleads Guilty to \$3.5 Million Scam-PAC Fraud (Aug. 9, 2022), <u>https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/california-man-pleads-guilty-35-million-scam-pac-fraud</u> ("Reyes admitted to operating additional fraudulent PACs beyond the 2016 election cycle, Support American Leaders and Campaign to Support the President, from which he received approximately \$95,000 generated from false and misleading solicitations to donors.").

³⁰ Tunstall Plea ¶¶ 15-21, 36-45; Reyes Plea ¶¶ 11-14, 26-40; Factual Basis for Plea of Guilt ¶¶ 10-14, *United States v. Davies*, No. 21-CR-223-3 (W.D. Tex. Mar. 25, 2022) [hereinafter Davies Plea].

³¹ Tunstall Plea ¶¶ 23-24, 30-32; Reyes Plea ¶¶ 15-16, 20-22; Davies Plea ¶¶ 15-16, 20-22.

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1 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

2

A. Prohibited and Excessive Contributions

3 The Act prohibits corporations from making contributions to federal candidates or their 4 authorized committees, and prohibits candidates and authorized committees from knowingly receiving or accepting such contributions.³² In addition to the limitations on corporate 5 6 contributions, the aggregate individual contribution limit to non-connected political committees is \$5.000.00 per calendar year.³³ No committee shall knowingly accept any contribution in 7 violation of the limit.³⁴ 8 9 Pursuant to Carey v. FEC, a hybrid political committee, which makes both IEs and direct 10 contributions, can accept unlimited and corporate contributions but must maintain separate 11 accounts: a non-contribution account for the purpose of making IEs and a contribution account 12 that is subject to the Act's amount and source limitations from which to make contributions to federal candidates.³⁵ The Commission has also issued guidance on the formation and operation 13 14 of hybrid political committees and explained that the Commission would not enforce the 15 corporate contribution ban and the limitation amounts against non-connected political 16 committees for the purpose of making contributions to candidates and political parties as long as

³² 52 U.S.C. § 30118(a); 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(a), (b)(1).

³³ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(C); 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(d).

³⁴ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(f); 11 C.F.R. § 110.9.

³⁵ *Carey v. FEC*, 791 F. Supp. 2d 121 (D.D.C. 2011) (granting limited preliminary injunction enjoining Commission from enforcing 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(C) and (a)(3) with regard to contributions received for IEs by a non-connected political committee if such committee: (1) maintains a "soft money" account for use in making IEs in federal elections and a separate "hard money" account that accepts contributions subject to "statutory contribution limits" for making contributions to "candidates, candidates' committees, or national parties"; and (2) "proportionally pays related administrative costs from those accounts").

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1	certain requirements are met. ³⁶ First, that the political committee deposits such contributions in
2	a "Non-Contribution Account," which is for "the purpose of financing independent expenditures,
3	other advertisements that refer to a Federal candidate, and generic voter drives." ³⁷ Second, that
4	that account is "segregated from any accounts that receive source-restricted and amount-limited
5	contributions." ³⁸ Third, that each account pays a percentage of administrative expenses that
6	closely corresponds to the percentage of activity for that account. ³⁹ The guidance also provided
7	instructions for reporting the receipt of contributions deposited into a Non-Contribution Account,
8	stating that a committee: (1) should disclose such contributions on "Line 17 of Form 3X, titled
9	'Other Federal Receipts,'" and (2) "[w]hen itemizing on Schedule A, electronic filers should
10	identify those receipts by entering 'Non-Contribution Account' as memo text or in the
11	description field."40
12	Accordingly, Support American Leaders, as a hybrid committee, could not accept
13	excessive contributions unless they were designated for its non-contribution account. Though
14	the Committee subsequently amended its reports to reflect that all of the originally reported
15	\$173,240.00 in excessive or prohibited contributions were non-contribution Carey funds, these

⁴⁰ *Id.*

³⁶ See Press Release, FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC*: Reporting Guidance for Political Committees that Maintain a Non-Contribution Account, FEC.GOV (Oct. 5, 2011), <u>https://www.fec.gov/updates/fec-statement-on-</u> <u>carey-fec/</u> (requiring non-connected committees that make IEs to maintain a separate "contribution" account to be able to make contributions to federal candidates from receipts that are subject to the Act's amount limitations and source prohibitions).

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*

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1	amendments also introduced new excessive contributions totaling \$7,040.00.41 Further, the
2	Committee did not make these amendments until January 13, 2022, more than two years after the
3	original disclosures for the majority of the contributions at issue, and three years after the
4	\$114,240.00 contribution from "Support America."
5	Under the facts outlined above, there is sufficient information for the Commission to
6	open a MUR and find reason to believe that Support American Leaders violated 52 U.S.C.
7	§ 30116(f) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.9 by accepting excessive contributions.
8	B. Misreported Cash on Hand
9	The Act requires committee treasurers to file reports of receipts and disbursements in
10	accordance with the provisions of 52 U.S.C. § 30104.42 These reports must include, among other
11	things, the total amount of receipts, disbursements, and cash on hand, including the appropriate
	unings, the total amount of receipts, disoursements, and easilon hand, meruding the appropriate
12	itemizations, where required. ⁴³
12 13	
	itemizations, where required. ⁴³
13	itemizations, where required. ⁴³ Here, there was a mathematical discrepancy of \$421,579.84 between the ending cash-on-

⁴¹ It is unclear from the available information whether the funds were actually deposited into correctly organized *Carey* non-contribution accounts. Based on the circumstances of this matter, including the approximate two-year delay with amending its reports and the treasurer's prior conduct in causing false statements to be made to the Commission, it is possible that the amendments reflect an attempt to obscure any violations of the Act rather than the actual treatment of the funds at issue.

⁴² 52 U.S.C. § 30104(a)(1); *accord* 11 C.F.R. § 104.1(a).

⁴³ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3.

⁴⁴ Referral at 2-3, 5; *see* Support American Leaders, 2019 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Sept. 30, 2019), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/457/201910249165293457/201910249165293457.pdf</u> (reporting cash on hand at close of the reporting period of \$423,034.51); Support American Leaders, 2019 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 21, 2020), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/635/202001219167294635/202001219167294635.pdf</u> (reporting cash on hand at beginning of the reporting period of \$1,454.67).

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1 on January 13, 2022, to eliminate this discrepancy,⁴⁵ they did so more than two years after

2 receiving an RFAI regarding the discrepancy.

Thus, the available information is sufficient for the Commission to find reason to believe that Support American Leaders violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b) and 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.1 and 104.3 by failing to file accurate reports of its cash on hand.

6

C. Misreported Independent Expenditures

7 An IE is an expenditure that expressly advocates the election or defeat of a clearly 8 identified federal candidate and "that is not made in concert or cooperation with or at the request 9 or suggestion of such candidate, the candidate's authorized political committee, or their agents, or a political party committee or its agents."⁴⁶ An unauthorized political committee that makes 10 IEs must report them in its regularly scheduled disclosure reports.⁴⁷ In addition, a political 11 12 committee that makes IEs aggregating \$10,000.00 or more at any time up to and including the 13 20th day before the date of a given election, must file a report describing those expenditures within 48 hours of dissemination of IEs;⁴⁸ for such expenditures made less than 20 days, but 14 15 more than 24 hours, before the date of a given election, the political committee must file a report describing those expenditures within 24 hours of their dissemination.⁴⁹ 16 17 To determine whether the dollar amount thresholds for filing IE reports are met, the 24-

18 and 48-hour filing requirements begin to run when the IEs aggregating to at least \$1,000.00 or

⁴⁵ See Support American Leaders, Amended 2019 October Quarterly Report at 2 (Jan. 13, 2022), <u>https://doc</u> <u>query.fec.gov/pdf/565/202201139474982565/202201139474982565.pdf</u> (reporting closing cash on hand of \$309,569.45); Support American Leaders, Amended 2019 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 13, 2022), <u>https://docquery</u> <u>.fec.gov/pdf/712/202201139474982712/202201139474982712.pdf</u> (showing opening cash on hand of \$309,569.45).

⁴⁶ 52 U.S.C. § 30101(17).

⁴⁷ See id. § 30104(b)(4)(H)(iii); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3(b)(3)(vii).

⁴⁸ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b)(2).

⁴⁹ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(g)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(c).

\$10,000.00, respectively, are "publicly distributed."⁵⁰ For purposes of aggregating IEs, each 1 state's presidential primary election is a separate election,⁵¹ and accordingly, the report must 2 3 disclose the state for which primary such IEs are distributed. 4 Here, RAD referred Support American Leaders for failing to disclose the Presidential 5 Primary state for IEs totaling \$372,534.67 disseminated between December 27, 2019, and 6 February 21, 2020. Though the Committee amended its reports in January 2022 to indicate that 7 the IEs were for the 2020 General Election rather than the presidential primary, these 8 amendments were made approximately two years after the date of the expenditures at issue, and 9 the timing of the expenditures between December 2019 and February 2020 does not support the 10 amendments' claims that the expenditures were for the general election: The first Republican election in the 2020 election cycle was the Iowa caucus held on February 3, 2020,⁵² and Donald 11 Trump, the candidate the IEs supported, was not nominated for the general election until August 12 2020.53 13 14 Accordingly, the available information is sufficient for the Commission to find reason to 15 believe that Support American Leaders violated 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b)(4), (g)(2) and 11 C.F.R. 16 104.3(b)(3)(vii), 104.4(b)(2), (c) by failing to indicate the state in which it disseminated its

17 IEs in connection with a presidential primary election.

⁵⁰ 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.4(b)(2), (c), (f); 109(c)-(d).

⁵¹ Advisory Opinion 2003-40 at 4 (Navy Veterans).

⁵² FEC, 2020 PRESIDENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY DATES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER at 5 (July 17, 2020), <u>https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/2020pdates.pdf</u>.

⁵³*Republican National Convention, 2020*, BALLOTPEDIA, <u>https://ballotpedia.org/Republican_National_</u> <u>Convention, 2020</u> (last visited August 16, 2023). Reyes's guilty plea further suggests that the IEs the Committee reported were fraudulent: "Of the approximately \$3,690,249.05 million raised by Support American Leaders and Campaign to Support the President, the two PACs distributed a total of approximately \$1,500 to any candidate's authorized campaign committee or to any political cause." Reyes Plea ¶ 37. As this issue was not referred by RAD, the Commission makes no findings as to this potential violation here.

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1 IV. DISPOSITION

As discussed above, there is sufficient information to justify a finding of reason to believe as to all of the violations at issue in this matter. However, given the particular facts, circumstances, and limitations in this matter, including the ordering of the Commission's priorities on its docket, the Commission exercises its prosecutorial discretion to dismiss the allegations, and issues an admonishment letter.⁵⁴ The Commission further directs RAD to administratively terminate the Committee.

8 Given the apparent violations and the significant amount in violation, under other 9 circumstances, based on the facts presented here the Commission would find reason to believe as 10 to each of the above violations without reservation. However, a number of factors indicate that 11 further enforcement action against Tunstall would be an imprudent use of Commission 12 resources, as it would not likely vindicate the Commission's interest in disclosure, extract any 13 significant civil penalty or injunctive relief, or meaningfully deter future violations of the Act by 14 Tunstall or his associates involved in the operation of Support American Leaders. 15 First, given the available information indicating that the Committee, like Progressive Priorities PAC and Liberty Action Group, was a fraudulent "scam PAC" operated primarily to 16 enrich Tunstall personally,⁵⁵ it is unlikely that accurate information is readily available that 17 18 would clarify the public record with respect to the Committee's activities. Second, the Committee reports a negative cash-on-hand balance of over \$267,000.00,⁵⁶ and Tunstall has 19 20 already forfeited nearly \$800,000.00 in connection with his criminal sentencing, which indicates

⁵⁵ See supra notes 28-31 and accompanying text.

⁵⁴ *Heckler*, 470 U.S. at 831.

⁵⁶ Support American Leaders, 2020 Year-End Report at 2 (Jan. 4, 2022), <u>https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/952/</u>202201049474866952/202201049474866952.pdf.

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1	that neither the Committee nor Tunstall would be able to pay any additional penalty that the
2	Commission may seek to assess. ⁵⁷ Third, Tunstall has already been sentenced to a ten-year term
3	of imprisonment for conduct involving the operation of fraudulent political committees,
4	including causing false statements to be filed with the Commission; ⁵⁸ therefore, action by the
5	Commission is unlikely to provide further deterrence against future violations of the Act.
6	Accordingly, in light of the Commission's Statement of Policy Regarding Commission
7	Action in Matters at the Initial Stage in the Enforcement Process, a dismissal pursuant to Heckler
8	v. Chaney is appropriate here. ⁵⁹ The policy indicates that dismissal pursuant to Heckler is
9	appropriate when matters "do not merit the additional expenditure of Commission resources,"
10	even if "the Commission concludes that a violation of the Act did or very probably did occur."60
11	The Statement of Policy further notes that:
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	The Commission has previously used the finding 'reason to believe, but take no further action' in cases where the Commission finds that there is a basis for investigating the matter or attempting conciliation, but the Commission declines to proceed for prudential reasons. As discussed below, the Commission believes that resolving these matters through dismissal or dismissal with admonishment more clearly conveys the Commission's intentions and avoids possible confusion about the meaning of a reason to believe finding. ⁶¹
21	As such dismissing the allocations as a matter of prospectation is appropriate here

21 As such, dismissing the allegations as a matter of prosecutorial discretion is appropriate here.

⁶¹ *Id.* at 12,545.

⁵⁷ Judgment in a Criminal Case, *United States v. Tunstall*, No. 1:21-CR-00223-LY (W.D. Tex. Apr. 24, 2023).

⁵⁸ Tunstall Plea ¶¶ 24, 32; Judgment in a Criminal Case, *United States v. Tunstall*, No. 1:21-CR-00223-LY (W.D. Tex. Apr. 24, 2023).

⁵⁹ *Heckler v. Chaney*, 470 U.S. 821 (1985); Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action in Matters at the Initial Stage in the Enforcement Process, 72 Fed. Reg. 12,545, 12,545 (Mar. 16, 2007) [hereinafter Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action].

⁶⁰ Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action at 12,545-46.

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1 The Commission therefore opens a MUR and, consistent with the Commission's actions in MUR 7468,⁶² dismisses the allegations as a matter of prosecutorial discretion with 2 3 admonishment. Because Tunstall likely cannot meaningfully clarify the public record with 4 respect to the Committee's activities, opening a MUR and issuing an admonishment letter 5 represents the Commission's sole opportunity to advance its disclosure interest, as opening a MUR will permit the file to become public.⁶³ Additionally, issuing an admonishment letter to 6 7 Tunstall will clarify to both the Respondent and the regulated community that the Commission 8 takes violations of the Act seriously, and that, absent the present circumstances, it would pursue similar violations through the enforcement process.⁶⁴ In addition, consistent with past matters, 9 the Commission instructs RAD to administratively terminate the Committee.⁶⁵ 10

⁶² See supra note 27 and accompanying text.

⁶³ See, e.g., Cert. ¶ 2, MUR 8013 (RR 20L-26) (Kristine Schanbacher for Congress) (opening a MUR and dismissing as a matter of prosecutorial discretion); Cert. ¶ 1, MUR 6395 (PMUR 502) (Leonard Roberto, *et al.*) (opening a MUR, dismissing as a matter of prosecutorial discretion and issuing a letter of caution as to some respondents and finding no reason to believe as to the remaining respondents).

⁶⁴ This is consistent with Commission precedent. *See, e.g.*, Cert. (Aug. 10, 2022), MUR 7880 (Mike Gaul); Admonishment Letter (Aug. 17, 2022), MUR 7880 (Mike Gaul) (admonishing treasurer who filed false statement of organization purporting to be a joint fundraising representative of a political committee that was neither aware of Gaul's committee nor had consented to joint fundraising with it); Amended Cert. (May 11, 2021), MUR 6997 (Ams. Socially United, *et al.*); Admonishment Letter (May 12, 2021), MUR 6997 (Carey Lee Peterson) (admonishing treasurer for failing to maintain records, failing to file accurate disclosure reports, and fraudulently soliciting contributions where treasurer had been convicted of unrelated securities fraud charges in federal court); Cert. (July 20, 2020), MURs 7011, 7092 (HC4President, *et al.*); Admonishment Letter (July 22, 2022), MURs 7011, 7092 (HC4President, *et al.*) (admonishing respondents for fraudulent misrepresentation violations in matter where treasurer had pleaded guilty to related violations in federal court); Cert. (Dec. 9, 2016), MUR 7072 (Babulal Bera, *et al.*); Admonishment Letter (Jan. 4, 2017), MUR 7072 (Babulal Bera) (admonishing respondent who had made contributions in the names of others where respondent had pleaded guilty to related charges in federal court).

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Cert. ¶ 2, MUR 6997 (Ams. Socially United, *et al.*) ("Instruct the Reports Analysis Division to administratively terminate Americans Socially United."); Cert. ¶ 2, MURs 7011, 7092 (HC4President, *et al.*) ("Instruct the Reports Analysis Division to administratively terminate HC4President and Socially Responsible Government.").