### Survey of Prosecutions for Covert Payments to Benefit Political Campaigns

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Part of Just Security's work on accountability and election law.

The indictment of former President Donald Trump for conduct involving the alleged concealment of hush money <u>payments</u> to benefit a presidential campaign raises the question whether his case is being treated like other cases. That question is fundamental to ensuring the equal application of the law and protecting free and fair elections. In this essay and accompanying table of cases (the "Table") we analyze 17 analogous campaign finance and related prosecutions in the State of New York and nationally. Our research shows that third-party payments covertly made to benefit a candidate are routinely and successfully prosecuted as campaign finance violations in New York and elsewhere under a variety of state and federal statutes.

This essay is the fourth in a *Just Security* series about the Manhattan case and follows our <u>piece</u> demonstrating that New York prosecutors regularly bring and win prosecutions for felony violations of the state's books and records statute on falsifying business records (<u>New York Penal Code § 175.10</u>), including for conduct far less serious than the allegations against Trump. In this essay we make the same point about surreptitious third-party payments benefiting a candidate or campaign: there is nothing novel about prosecuting them. Quite the opposite.

New York State itself offers a number of important, closely analogous campaign finance cases that resulted in convictions for conduct similar to Trump's, including falsifying business records. We begin there.

#### Richard Brega

The Richard Brega case involved campaign finance violations which were prosecuted as a felony violation of New York's books and records statute. In that regard, the Brega case is on all fours with DA Bragg's case which reportedly also will seek to elevate the books and records violation to a felony on a campaign finance basis.

Brega ran Rockland County's bus system and transported students on a multi-million dollar contract.

A Rockland County grand jury indictment in July 2017 accused Brega of, between April 2013 and August 2013, using 10 "straw donors," including his family, friends, and employees of his company, Brega Transportation, to secretly funnel over \$40,000 in (cash) campaign donations to the 2013 county executive campaign of legislator Ilan Schoenberger.

The indictment charged Brega with ten felony counts of falsifying business records, namely that "with the intent to defraud and commit another crime and to aid and conceal the commission thereof" Brega "caused" false entries regarding the donations to be entered in the business records of the New York State Board of Elections.

"The campaign contribution limit for an individual donating to Legislator Schoenberger in 2013 was \$9,221. The straw donations were reported by 'Friends of Ilan Schoenberger' to the New York State Board of Elections as individual contributions of the ten straw donors," the District Attorney's Office stated. Brega was "accused of causing those records to be false, as the money that was funneled into the Schoenberger account was his own."

In May 2018, Brega <u>pleaded guilty</u> to one count of first-degree falsifying business records, and admitted to using his "brother-in-law, Anielo Feola, as a go-between to conceal the origin of a \$6,000 donation" to Schoenberger. In December 2018, Judge David Zuckerman <u>sentenced him to a year's</u> imprisonment to run concurrent with his <u>federal sentence</u> of 4 years and 2 months in prison for a separate bribery conviction which was passed the day earlier.

#### **Clarence Norman**

Another earlier case that resembles the potential Trump prosecution is that of Clarence Norman. Among other similarities, Norman's election law violations were treated as the predicate acts for a falsifying business records felony charge—a path that we expect DA Bragg to follow. Indeed, the Norman case may offer an even closer parallel than Brega.

## **Background**

Clarence Norman was a member of the New York State Assembly from the 43rd Assembly District in Central Brooklyn for 23 years, and since 1990 the leader of the powerful Kings County Democratic Party in Brooklyn.

Norman's criminal activity was extensive and complex, as too were the criminal investigations, prosecutions, and appeals that followed. Brooklyn District Attorney Charles J. Hynes charged six in a judicial bribery scandal in 2003, and accused local party leadership of facilitating a sham judicial selection process. This spurred a sprawling corruption investigation into Norman's role in Brooklyn's party machine politics. Within months, former judicial candidates alleged that Norman threatened to withdraw party support unless they hired consultants friendly with party leadership – reportedly a \$100,000 proposition. As part of this investigation, prosecutors pored over Norman's financial records, including his interactions with campaign funds and government reimbursements.

In early October 2003, DA Hynes presented evidence of Norman's campaign spending practices and other matters to <u>two Brooklyn grand juries</u>. Both grand juries returned indictments, and at the time <u>charges were reported as</u> including: (1) failing to report a lobbyist's political contribution, worth thousands of dollars, to the State Board of Elections; (2) grand

larceny for depositing a \$5,000 check for his campaign into his personal bank account; and (3) 76 counts of filing for reimbursement from taxpayer money for over \$5,000 in travel expenses already paid for by the party.

It was alleged by prosecutors that in 2000 and 2002, Norman spoke with Ralph Bombardiere, the executive director of the New York State Association of Service Stations and Repair Shops ("the Association"), a political action committee, and "knowingly and willfully" solicited him to pay certain campaign expenses. People v. Norman, 2007 NY Slip Op 04667 [40 AD3d 1128] (May 29, 2007). "Pursuant to the agreements each year that the Association would do so, the executive director received invoices for purchases made for various campaign expenses, and he caused the Association to pay all but one of those invoices. Although those payments constituted in-kind contributions to" Norman's campaigns, he did not inform the treasurer of the Committee to Re-Elect Assemblyman Clarence Norman, Jr. ("the Committee"), the political organization formed to receive contributions and make expenditures on behalf of Norman's re-election campaigns, that the Association had made the payment. "Because she was unaware of the payments, the treasurer did not include them in the January 2001 Periodic Report ("the January 2001 Report") or the January 2003 Periodic Report ("the January 2003 Report") she was required to file with the New York State Board of Elections ("the Board of Elections")." People v Norman, 2004 NY Slip Op 51851(U).

Contributions were <u>reported</u> to total \$7,423.30 in 2000 and \$5,400 in 2002. "There was no accusation that the money had gone into Mr. Norman's pocket. Rather, it was used to pay expenses for the primary elections, like printing and shopping bags." Prosecutors argued that Norman had <u>tried to conceal the contributions</u>, because he knew they exceeded the maximum of \$3,100 then permitted by state law.

### Charges 1: First Indictment

A ten-count indictment was returned in respect of Norman's solicitation of contributions and falsification of business records, for which he stood trial. <u>People v Norman</u>, 2004 NY Slip Op 51851(U) (Dec. 15, 2004).

Counts related to expenses paid by the Association in 2000:

- Count 1 Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the 1st Degree, alleging that Norman
  presented the January 2001 Report to the Board of Elections, knowing the report
  contained "a false statement and false information" and with intent to defraud the
  Board
- Counts 3 & 4 Falsifying Business Records in the 1st Degree, alleging that Norman prevented the making of a true entry and caused the omission of such an entry in the records of the Committee (count 3) and the Board of Elections (count 4).
- Count 9 A felony election law violation, alleging that Norman "knowingly and willfully" solicited a person to make expenditures in connection with his candidacy, "for the purpose of evading the contribution limitations" of Article 14 of the Election

law, in violation of what was then Election Law §14-126(4), now Election Law §14-126(6).

Counts related to expenses paid by the Association in 2002:

- Count 2 Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the 1st Degree, alleging that Norman
  presented the January 2003 Report to the Board of Elections, knowing the report
  contained "a false statement and false information" and with intent to defraud the
  Board.
- Counts 5 & 6 Falsifying Business Records in the 1st Degree, alleging that he prevented the making of a true entry and caused the omission of such an entry in the records of the Committee (count 5) and the Board of Elections (count 6).
- Count 7 "received a contribution and failed to provide the treasurer of the Committee with 'a detailed account' of it within 14 days of its receipt, in violation of Election Law §14-122.
- Count 8 received a contribution from a single contributor that amounted to more than ninety-nine dollars and failed to file a statement of its receipt, in violation of Election Law §14-102.
- Count 10 A felony election law violation, alleging that Norman "knowingly and willfully' solicited a person to make expenditures in connection with his candidacy, 'for the purpose of evading the contribution limitations' of Article 14 of the Election Law, in violation of Election Law §14-126(4)," now Election Law §14-126(6).

Counts 4, 6, 7 and 8 were eventually dismissed, with Norman standing trial for the remaining counts. <u>People v Norman</u> 2004 NY Slip Op 51851(U). In dismissing some counts, the court helpfully identified election law violations as the predicate crime to the felony count for falsifying business records:

"Since it is a crime indeed a felony for a person 'acting on behalf of a candidate or political committee [to] knowingly and willfully ... solicit any person to make [expenditures in connection with the nomination for election or election of any candidate] for the purpose of evading the contribution limitations of [article 14 of the Election Law], 'Election Law § 14-126(4), this evidence is also sufficient to establish that the defendant concealed these solicitations and contributions from the treasurer and thus prevented the making of a true entry, and caused the omission of a true entry in the records of both the Committee and the Board of Elections with 'intent to defraud includ[ing] an intent to commit another crime or to aid or conceal the commission thereof." Penal Law § 175.10." *Id*.

#### Charges 2: Second Indictment

The second indictment returned a seven-count indictment against Norman in respect of, in main, his stealing of the \$5,000 check. People v Norman, 2004 NY Slip Op 51392(U) (Nov. 16, 2004).

"During the months of October and November of 2001, the treasurer of the Club wrote a number of checks, including three payable to the Committee. One, dated October 17, 2001, was for three thousand dollars, and included the notation 'Election Expenses.' Another, dated November 20, 2001, was for two thousand five hundred dollars, and had no notation indicating its purpose. The treasurer of the Committee deposited both of these checks in the Committee's account at Carver Federal Savings Bank. The treasurer of the Club also wrote a third check payable to the Committee, dated October 30, 2001, for five thousand dollars, and wrote on the check the notation 'contribution.' On October 31, 2001, the defendant signed his name on the back of this check and deposited it in a personal account he maintained at another bank in Kings County. The defendant told neither the treasurer nor the secretary of the Committee about this check." *Id*.

"In January, 2002, the treasurer of the Club filed a report with the Board of Elections, which listed the contributions the Club had received and the disbursements it had made during the period between July 16, 2001, and January 15, 2002. In that report, the treasurer included the five thousand dollar check, along with the other two checks, as contributions the Club had made to the Committee. On January 23, 2002, the treasurer of the Committee mailed to the Board of Elections the Committee's January Report. In that report, the treasurer listed the contributions the Committee had received during the period between July, 2001, and January, 2002, including the two checks from the Club that she had deposited in the Committee's account, but not the five thousand dollar check, of which she was unaware." *Id*.

#### The counts on the indictment were as follows:

- Count 1 Grand Larceny in the 3rd Degree, and alleges that he stole more than three thousand dollars from the Committee.
- Counts 2 and 3 Falsifying Business Records in 1st Degree, and allege that, with intent to defraud, including the intent to aid and conceal the commission of a crime, the defendant prevented the making of a true entry, and caused the omission of a true entry in the records of the Committee (count 2) and of the Board of Elections (count 3).
- Count 4 Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the 1st Degree, and alleges that he presented the January Report to the Board of Elections, knowing the report contained "a false statement and false information" and with intent to defraud the Board.
- Counts 5, 6 and 7 criminal violations of the Election Law, see Election Law § 126(2), and allege, respectively, that he received a contribution and failed to provide the treasurer of the Committee with 'a detailed account' of it within 14 days of its receipt, in violation of Election Law §14-122 [count 5]; that he received a contribution from a single contributor that amounted to more than ninety-nine dollars and failed to file a statement of its receipt, in violation of Election Law §14-102 [count 6]; and that he received a contribution to a political committee and converted it to his personal use, in violation of Election Law §14-130 [count 7].

Counts 3, 5, 6, and 7 were eventually dismissed, and Norman stood trial on the remaining counts. People v Norman, 2004 NY Slip Op 51392(U) (Nov. 16, 2004).

#### **Convictions**

In respect of the first trial and indictment, in September 2005, Norman was convicted of two felony New York campaign finance laws for soliciting illegal contributions in his 2000 and 2002 primary campaigns for his seat in the New York State Assembly (counts 9 and 10), as well as one felony and one misdemeanor count of falsifying business records of those contributions and preventing the making of a true entry and causing the omission of an entry in the Committee's records (counts 3 and 5).

The second trial and indictment led to a <u>conviction in December 2005</u> for Norman's taking of the \$5,000 check, on counts of grand larceny in the third degree, falsifying business records in the first degree, and offering a false instrument for filing in the first degree. The conviction was affirmed in <u>People v. Norman</u>, 40 A.D.3d 1130, 837 N.Y.S.2d 277 (App. Div. 2007). In January 2006, he was <u>sentenced</u> to a prison term of 2 to 6 years for the convictions in both trials.

### Other Examples and Table

Brega and Norman are just two examples of predicating a books and records felony on campaign finance violations. As we note in the Table, there are other New York prosecutions combining charges of falsifying business records in the first degree with New York Election Law violations, though only in relation to state, not federal, elections.

In the <u>John Dote</u> case, the defendant pleaded guilty to felony falsification of business records and to two violations of New York Election Law – unlawful use of campaign funds and failure to account to the party treasurer. He did so in connection with his stealing over \$59,000 from his own campaign funds. The books and records charge accused him of filing false financial reports with the state Board of Elections "with the intent to conceal his ongoing larcenies."

In the <u>Richard Luthmann</u> case, the defendant was accused of impersonating New York political figures on social media in an attempt to influence campaigns. He too pleaded guilty to felony falsifying business records as well as to misdemeanors under New York's election law. The falsifying business records charges against Luthmann related to his creating false records on the social media sites, "with the intent to injure them."

Of course, there are distinctions with the Trump case, including that the foregoing cases concerned state candidates whereas Trump was seeking federal office. But as we explained <u>in</u> the second essay in this series. Bragg has formidable arguments on preemption and other possible Trump defenses that enable the Manhattan DA to prosecute the former presidential candidate as others have been prosecuted in New York.

What's more, there are many other cases – in New York and nationally – that address this type of conduct as a campaign finance violation. These cases, individually and collectively, contradict the assertion that there is anything novel about prosecuting covert benefits to a campaign as alleged in the Trump hush money scheme.

That is not to say that every case of this kind that has been prosecuted in New York or nationally has resulted in conviction. The vast majority have. But where they did not result in conviction, the charges generally still made it to the jury. We discussed one of those cases, that of John Edwards, at length in the second essay in this series, rebutting common misunderstandings of the matter. Another similar (non-hush money) example covered in the Table is the prosecution by then-Manhattan DA Cyrus Vance against *Nora Anderson and Seth Rubenstein*.

Finally, of course, there is also the <u>federal case</u> against Michael Cohen. As former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York Preet Bharara succinctly put it on <u>Meet the Press</u> this Sunday:

"Michael Cohen, who was not only charged with this type of crime but this particular crime. And he thought it was a crime, pled guilty to it. His lawyer thought it was a crime, allowed him to plead guilty to it. The prosecutors in the Southern District of New York thought it was a crime. The judge accepted the guilty plea, thought it was a crime."

What's more, the "[Federal Election] Commission's Office of the General Counsel (OGC) recommended finding reason to believe that Cohen and the Trump Organization made, and Trump and Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. (the Committee) accepted and failed to report, illegal contributions," according to the Chair and another commissioner of the FEC. (In a split decision that fell along partisan lines, the full FEC voted against investigating charges that Trump and his Committee had violated campaign finance laws.)

In the Table below, we looked at a total of 15 additional cases beyond Brega and Norman, all of which concern covert benefit to a campaign, either by a third-party providing cash or inkind support, or services, or through covertly funneling other contributions. The Table is not a comprehensive survey of all past cases, but provides strong insight into these types of cases.

The Table of cases follows.

## **Order of Cases in the Table**

## I. New York State Prosecutions

- 1. Richard Luthmann
- 2. Richard Brega
- 3. George Maziarz, Robert Ortt (and Henry Wojtaszek)
- 4. David Thomas, David Jones, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009, and Data and Field Services Inc.
- 5. John Dote
- 6. Nora Anderson & Seth Rubenstein
- 7. Clarence Norman

## II. Other State Prosecutions

- 1. Mary Dougherty
- 2. Jerome Westfield Dewald

## III. Federal Prosecutions

- 1. Martin Kao, Clifford Chen, and Lawrence "Kahele" Lum Kee
- 2. Brian Kelsey
- 3. Stevan Hill
- 4. Gerald G. Lundergan and Dale C. Emmons
- 5. Michael Cohen
- 6. Kenneth Smukler
- 7. Stephen E. Stockman
- 8. Dinesh D'Souza

<b>Defendant</b>	<b>Indictment</b> /	<u>Offenses</u>	<b>Prosecuting</b>	<u>Case Summary</u>	
	Conviction	(Federal/State)	<b>Authority</b>		
	<u>Date</u>				
		<u> </u>	New York State Pro	secutions	
Richard November 2018 New York state Richmond County Staten Island attorney admits to impersonating on social					
Luthmann	(Indictment)		District Attorney.	local NY politicians and a district attorney to influence political	
		Indictment/Guilty Plea:	Then Special	races, and to falsifying emails regarding a DA's campaign	
	October 2020		Prosecutor Eric		
	(Guilty Plea)	<ul> <li>Falsifying</li> </ul>	Nelson	In November 2018, a 17-count indictment was unsealed against	
		Business		Staten Island Attorney Richard Luthmann, charging him "in what is	
		Records in the		believed to be the <u>first case of its kind" in New York.</u> Luthmann was	
		1st Degree – 3		accused of, and ultimately pleaded guilty to, <u>creating Facebook and</u>	
		counts		<u>Twitter pages to impersonate local candidates</u> – including former	
		<ul> <li>Fraudulently or</li> </ul>		Republican Assembly candidate Janine Materna; Councilwoman	
		Wrongfully		Debi Rose (D-North Shore); John Gulino, the Staten Island	
		Doing any Act		Democratic Party chairman; and District Attorney Michael E.	
		Tending to		McMahon – to try to influence primary races.	
		Affect the			
		Result of any		Luthmann <u>faced a host of charges</u> , including multiple felony charges	
		Primary		of falsifying business records and identity theft. He also faced	
		Election,		"charges of criminal impersonation, election law violations, stalking	
		Caucus or		and falsely reporting an incident to the New York Police	
		Convention		Department."	
		( <u>E.L. §17-</u>			
		<u>102(5)</u> ) - 2		The violations of election law "stem from alleged attempts to affect	
		counts		the results of two primaries — Materna's race against Ronald	
				Castorina for the Republican candidacy for the South Shore	

Assembly seat in September of 2016 and Rose's race against Kamillah Hanks in September of 2017 for the Democratic candidacy for the North Shore City Council seat. Castorina and Rose won those contests and went on to win the general election." "Luthmann launched a fake page for Ms. Materna that falsely represented her views.... One post, for instance, called for more housing projects. Another was titled 'Black Lives Matter,' and showed Ms. Materna with former Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr., which hurt Ms. Materna in the conservative district. (One Facebook commenter told Ms. Materna that she'd lost a vote.)." The fake account he made of Rose "said Ms. Rose 'welcomes' a welfare hotel for drug addicts and criminals." In 2017 interviews, Hanks and Castorina denied being involved in Luthmann's fake Facebook pages. "But records showed that Mr. Luthmann was paid \$1,650 for petitioning expenses by Ms. Hanks's campaign, and Facebook Messenger conversations reviewed by The Times suggested both politicians were tied to Mr. Luthmann's efforts." Court papers alleged that Luthmann "tried to pay a stripper \$10,000 to claim that she had been raped in 2015" by McMahon when he was running for the office. He was accused also of "falsifying e-mails pertaining to DA McMahon's campaign in 2015," and in 2016, DA McMahon asked for a special prosecutor to be appointed, Eric Nelson. "The charge of falsely reporting an incident to the NYPD stems from a report Luthmann allegedly filed claiming that his computers had been 'trespassed." This wasn't true, and Luthmann had made false statements to detectives.

	The falsifying business records charges against Luthmann related to him creating false records of the campaign runners on the social media sites, "with the intent to injure them." "If you look at the indictment, my client is alleged to have falsified the business records of Twitter and Facebook," said Luthmann's lawyer, Joseph Sorrentino. "And I don't believe that as a third party user of those sites, he can do that."
	GUILTY PLEA
	In October 2020, Luthmann pleaded guilty to three counts of falsifying business records and two counts of election law violations:
	<ul> <li>Counts 1, 3, 4 – Falsifying Business Records in the First Degree</li> <li>Counts 14 &amp; 15 – Election Law misdemeanors – Fraudulently or wrongfully does any act tending to affect the result of any primary election, caucus or convention (E.L. §17-102(5))</li> </ul>
	Luthmann was <u>sentenced</u> to time served on the falsifying business records counts, to two years' probation in each case to run concurrently in respect of the election law violations.
	He explicitly waived the right of appeal. In <u>January 2023</u> , Luthmann filed a motion to vacate the conviction which in <u>February 2023</u> the state responded to. The appeal is ongoing, with Luthmann seemingly representing himself. <u>People v. Luthmann</u> , 2022 N.Y. Slip Op. 67767, (N.Y. App. Div. 2022)

Richard Brega	July 2017	New York state	Rockland County	Rockland County's bus czar uses 10 "straw donors" to funnel
	(Indictment)		District Attorney	over \$40,000 in cash contributions to the 2013 county executive
		Indictment:	and the New York	campaign of legislator Ilan Schoenberger.
	May 2018	<ul> <li>Falsifying</li> </ul>	State Board of	
	(Guilty Plea)	Business	Elections Division	The Richard Brega case involved campaign finance violations which
		Records in the	of Election Law	were prosecuted as a felony violation of New York's books and
		1st Degree – 10 counts	Enforcement	records statute.
				Brega's July 2017 arrest was the culmination of a joint investigation
		Guilty Plea:		by the Rockland County District Attorney's Office's Public
		<ul> <li>Falsifying</li> </ul>		Corruption Task Force and the New York State Board of Elections
		Business		Division of Election Law Enforcement.
		Records in the		
		1st Degree		In respect of Brega's illegally funneling of over \$40,000 in cash
				contributions to legislator Ilan Schoenberger's 2013 campaign, a
				Rockland County grand jury in July 2017 returned an indictment
				accusing Brega of, between April 2013 and August 2013, using
				"straw donors," including his family, friends, and employees of his
				company, Brega Transportation. The campaign contribution limit at
				the time was <u>\$9,221.</u>
				The indictment charged Brega with ten counts of falsifying business
				records in the first degree – "with the intent to defraud and commit
				another crime and to aid and conceal the commission thereof' Brega
				"caused" false entries regarding the donations to be entered in the
				business records of the New York State Board of Elections
				("NYSBOE").
				It was actually Schoenberger's campaign, "Friends of Ilan
				Schoenberger," that filed the contributions with NYSBOE, stating
				that the contributions had come from ten individuals. The truth was

				they were straw donors, an illegal practice. As such, Brega was "accused of causing those records to be false, as the money that was funneled into the Schoenberger account was his own."  In May 2018, Brega pleaded guilty to one count of felony falsifying business records, and admitted to using his "brother-in-law, Anielo Feola, as a go-between to conceal the origin of a \$6,000 donation" to Schoenberger's campaign.  In December 2018, he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment to run concurrent with his federal sentence of 4 years and 2 months in prison which was passed the day earlier.
George	March 2017	New York state	Office of the New	Former State Senator Maziarz pleads guilty to misdemeanor
Maziarz,	(Indictment)		York State Attorney	count of filing false instrument with state board of elections after
Robert Ortt		Indictment:	General	funnelling campaign money to an ex-staffer accused of sexual
(and Henry		<ul> <li>Offering a False</li> </ul>		harassment
Wojtaszek)		Instrument for		
		Filing in the 1st		Former State Senator George Maziarz was <u>indicted</u> in March 2017
		Degree –5		with current State Senator Robert Ortt of Niagara County, "on
		counts		election law violations involving campaign money that was allegedly
		(Maziarz); 3		<u>funneled as illicit payoffs in pass-through schemes."</u> The case was
		counts (Ortt)		brought by state Attorney General Eric Schneiderman's office.
		Guilty Plea (Maziarz)		Maziarz was "accused of shielding \$95,000 in secret campaign
		<ul> <li>Offering a False</li> </ul>		payments to a former staff member who left his government job after
		Instrument for		being accused of sexual harassment." Maziarz wanted to hire the ex-
		Filing in the 2nd		staffer, Glenn Aronow, as a political consultant but "didn't want to
		Degree		make the hiring public."

Indictment against Ortt	Maziarz was accused of helping to put together a "pass-through"
was dismissed.	scheme in which his campaign, the Committee to Elect Maziarz State
	Senate (the "Maziarz Committee"), and the Niagara County
	Republican Committee (the "Niagara Committee"), led by former
	chairman Henry Wojtaszek, paid a public relations firm, which then
	transferred funds on to Aronow. The "two committees paid the
	former government staff member \$49,000 in 2012 and \$46,000 in
	2013-2014. To conceal these payments—and to avoid public scrutiny
	of his decision to retain the former staffer for campaign-related
	work—Maziarz, acting with others, falsely reported the expenditures
	on five separate filings with the New York State Board of Elections
	as payments to pass-through entities, rather than to the staff
	member."
	Ortt was "accused of padding his mayoral salary through a no-show
	job for his wife, who was indirectly paid \$21,500 over four years by
	the Niagara County GOP." It was said that "in order to make up for a
	difference in salary that Ortt would be paid as Mayor (Ortt previously
	served as Town Clerk/Treasurer), Ortt and others devised a pass-
	through scheme to pay Ortt's wife." Payments from the Niagara
	County GOP "Committee didn't go directly to Ortt's wife, according
	to Schneiderman's office. Instead, they were routed through a public-
	relations firm and the former Maziarz staffer — neither of whom
	were named in the court documents — who disguised them as
	payments for graphic-design work."
	The payments to Ortt's wife were then <u>alleged</u> to have been "falsely
	reported as payments to one of the same pass-through entities that
	was used to pay for the former senate staff member for Maziarz."
	CHARGES AND OUTCOMES
	CHARGES AND OUTCOMES

Both Maziarz and Ortt were charged with Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the First Degree. Maziarz faced five counts, and Ortt faced three. The charges related to allegedly filing false information in the county GOP Committee's and the Maziarz Committee's disclosure reports to the Board of Elections in furtherance of a "multilayered pass-through scheme." The pair were never charged with falsifying business records, or any specific violation of election laws, for example, Section 14-126-4. However, reporting at the time characterized the charges as "felony election law violations." Indeed, Ortt's own motion to have his indictment dismissed stated that the prosecutors' case theory was that the pair acted in "violation of the election law to intentionally report an expenditure made to a third party" (p.4). Ortt's three counts were dismissed in June 2017 by Albany County Court Judge Peter Lynch. In his ruling, Lynch wrote, "There was no valid line of reasoning and permissible inferences which could lead a rational grand juror to issue an indictment in this case... there is nothing in the record to evidence that defendant Ortt personally prepared, signed or filed the disclosure reports." Maziarz tried at least twice to have the counts on his indictment dismissed. Marziarz's trial was set for March 2018, but that month he pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor for filing a false instrument in the second degree, instead of the first degree as initially charged. As part of the plea, he accepted the allegations against him and was fined \$1,000 as well as court costs. 15 of 46

				Prior to the indictments being announced, Wojtaszek had <u>pleaded</u> guilty to violating Election Law Section 14-126-4, a class A misdemeanor.
David	March 2015	New York state	Richmond County	Members of Councilwoman Debi Rose's 2009 campaign and
Thomas,	(Indictment)		District Attorney.	members of the Working Families Party and its operations were
David Jones,		Indictment:	Then Special	the subjects of a five-year-long investigation that accused them of
Debi Rose 4		<ul> <li>Grand Larceny</li> </ul>	Prosecutor Roger	defrauding the city's Campaign Finance Board
City Council		in the 3rd	Adler	
2009, and Data		Degree (David		BACKGROUND
and Field		Thomas, Debi		
Services Inc.		Rose 4 City		The investigation involved Councilwoman Debi Rose's campaign
		Council 2009,		treasurer, David Thomas, political consultant David Jones, and two
		David Jones)		entities, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009, and Data and Field Services
		<ul> <li>Criminal</li> </ul>		Inc., all of whom were <u>charged</u> for their scheme to defraud the city's
		Possession of		Campaign Finance Board.
		Stolen Property		
		in the 3rd		Staten Island DA Daniel Donovan decided not to prosecute the case,
		Degree (David		requesting a special prosecutor. In January 2012, special prosecutor
		Thomas)		Roger Adler was appointed and brought charges in fall 2014, with the
		<ul> <li>Conspiracy in</li> </ul>		partially sealed indictment revealed in court in February 2015. Rose
		the 4th Degree		"was named an un-indicted co-conspirator" in the 2014 criminal
		(David Thomas,		complaint.
		Debi Rose 4		
		City Council		The criminal complaint stated at § 23: "Beginning in 2009 and
		2009, Data &		continuing up to the filing of this complaint, the Debi Rose
		Field Services		Campaign provided false and misleading documentation to the CFB
		Inc.)		in an effort to both obfuscate, and conceal, 'in kind' campaign
		<ul> <li>Offering a False</li> </ul>		contributions, and coordinated campaign goods and services provided
		Instrument for		

Filing in the 1st by various labor unions for which 'fair market value' was neither and 2nd paid, or accurately reported." Degrees (David Thomas, Debi The complaint also alleged that Data and Field Services Inc., a Working Families Party ("WFP")-run political consultation group, Rose 4 City secretly provided discounted services to Rose's 2009 council Council) • NYC campaign. Administrative Code Sec. 3-Jones was allegedly paid \$5,000 in city matching funds following he and his wife contributing \$625 to the Rose campaign. But Jones 711(3) (David didn't possess a written contract for the payment, as required by the Thomas, Debi Rose 4 City Campaign Finance Board, and thus was in criminal possession of the Council 2009) money. • Election Law Sec. 14-126(J) Rose's campaign also allegedly "paid \$7,200 to NY Citizen Services, (David Thomas, a group to mask the involvement of the left-wing political ACORN Debi Rose 4 group. ACORN staffer Peter Nagy worked on Ms. Rose's campaign for three months under a 'sweetheart contract (that) was below City Council 2009) market value." • Election Law Sec. 14-126 (J) The WFP also allegedly gave "more than \$500,000 to Data and Field Services Inc. from February 2009 to January 2010 and that Thomas, (David Thomas, Debi Rose 4 along with Data and Field Services Inc., WFP, various unions and members of Ms. Rose's campaign worked together to file false City Council 2009) campaign filings to the state Board of Elections and city Campaign • Tampering with Finance Board." **Public Records** (David Thomas, The complaint also alleged that WFP funneled over \$500,000 into Debi Rose 4 Data and Field Services Inc. from February 2009 to January 2010. City Council 2009)

		<ul> <li>Falsifying         Business         Records in the         1st and 2nd         Degree (David         Thomas, Debi         Rose 4 City         Council 2009)</li> <li>NYC         Administrative</li> </ul>		The complaint said Thomas conspired and acted "in concert" with staffers from "DFS, WFP, various labor unions, and members of the Rose campaign to file false and inaccurate campaign filings with both the state Board of Elections, the CFB, and knowingly attempted to cover up those violations."  CHARGES/OUTCOME  The four defendants were indicted in February 2015 on the charges mentioned in the third column of this Table.
		Code Sec. 3-711(3) (David Thomas, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009) Perjury in the 2nd Degree (David Thomas)		In March 2017, Adler announced that he intended to dismiss the charges in "interests of justice," with Justice William E. Garnett tossing the charges and sealing the court file.
John Dote	December 2010 (Indictment)  October 2011 (Guilty Plea)	New York state  Indictment:  • Grand Larceny in the 2nd Degree • Grand Larceny in the 3rd Degree – 5 counts	Oneida County District Attorney	John Dote, Chairman of New York's Oneida County Independence Party, pleaded guilty to felony falsifying business records and two violations of New York State Election Law – unlawful use of campaign funds and failure to account to party treasurer – in connection to him stealing over \$59,000 in campaign funds.  The case against John Dote accused him of "routinely diverting cash and checks from party fundraisers into his own bank accounts and using the money to pay his personal expenses." The funds he stole were contributed by "party members and supporters over the past several years."

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- Grand Larceny in the 4thDegree
- Scheme to
   Defraud in the
   1st Degree 2
   counts
   Falsifying
   Business
   Records in the
   1st Degree 12
   counts
- Perjury in the1st Degree
- Money Laundering
- Criminal Tax
  Fraud in the 5th
  Degree 2
  counts
- New York
  Election Laws,
  namely
  unlawful use of
  campaign funds
  and failure to
  account to party
  treasurer Misdemeanors

# **CHARGES**

In <u>December 2010</u>, Dote faced a indictment of <u>over 20 counts</u>:

- "Second-degree grand larceny, for stealing \$59,908.68 from the county Independence Party.
- Five counts of third-degree grand larceny, for stealing: \$11,000 from Hanna; \$6,700 from GVH Realty, LLC; \$5,000 from G.V.H. Development; \$5,850 from Mansur Rafizadeh, owner of Nirvana Spring Water in Boonville; and \$4,656 from Kristen Shaheen, a former officer for the local Independence Party.
- Fourth-degree grand larceny, for stealing \$3,000 from Atef Zeina.
- Two counts of first-degree scheme to defraud.
- Twelve counts of first-degree falsifying business records, related to financial disclosure statements filed with the Oneida County and New York State boards of elections between 2005 and 2010.
- First-degree perjury, for falsely stating his true income in Oneida County Family Court.
- Money laundering."
- Two counts of fifth-degree criminal tax fraud
- New York's election laws, namely misdemeanor crimes of unlawful use of campaign funds and failure to account to party treasurer.

In October 2011, <u>Dote pleaded guilty to several of the charges</u>, <u>including</u>: second degree grand larceny, for stealing \$59,908 belonging to the Independence Party he chaired; first-degree scheme

				to defraud, admitting to an intent to defraud contributors; first-degree falsifying business records, for filing false financial reports with the state Board of Elections "with the intent to conceal his ongoing larcenies;" and violations of New York's election laws, namely unlawful use of campaign funds and failure to account to party treasurer. He also pleaded guilty to counts included on separate indictments related to criminal impersonation and evidence tampering.
				As part of his plea agreement with Oneida County District Attorney Scott McNamara, Dote admitted that he stole the Independence Party funds "by diverting them to bank accounts under his exclusive control and then making cash withdrawals and purchases for his personal use." He also "admitted to using party funds to purchase items such as groceries, cigarettes, a mattress, personal hygiene products, cash withdrawals, and the payment of rent and utility bills for his private residence," and "admitted that throughout this time he concealed his actions and did not account to the Independence Party treasurer for the party funds he stole and spent on himself."  He was <u>sentenced</u> to six months in Oneida County jail, "five years of probation and ordered to pay at least \$500 a month during that time
Nora	December 2008	New York state	New York County	until \$65,898.68 in restitution is paid back."  State prosecution against New York judge for funnelling
Anderson &	(Indictment)	110W 10IR State	District Attorney	excessive funds into her 2008 campaign and intentionally
Seth		Offering a False	j	falsifying campaign finance reports
Rubenstein	April 2010	Instrument for		
	(Acquittal)	Filing in the 1st Degree – 4 counts		BACKGROUND

Falsifying
Business
Records in the
1st Degree –
counts
• Campaign
Contribution
be Under Tru
Name of
Contributor -
counts
Knowingly a
Willingly
Violating the
Contribution
Limits of the
Election Law
2 counts

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- and *v* –

The state prosecution against Nora Anderson, a Manhattan Surrogate's Court judge, and Seth Rubenstein, Anderson's mentor and head of the Brooklyn legal firm where she worked, related to Anderson's successful 2008 campaign for Surrogate, in which the two were alleged to have funneled excessive campaign contributions into Anderson's campaign, intentionally filing false campaign finance reports.

At a trial starting in March 2010, Manhattan DA Cyrus Vance, alleged that campaign disclosure reports filed by Anderson the New York State Board of Elections ("NYSBOE") and the New York City Board of Elections ("NYCBOE") falsely indicated that \$250,000 worth of contributions from Rubenstein were in fact her own personal funds. It was alleged that Anderson deposited the money into her personal accounts to avoid exceeding contribution limits, and that she then gave them to the committee that ran her campaign.

In August 2008, Rubenstein gave to Anderson (1) a check for \$100,000 characterized as a "gift" and (2) a "loan" of \$150,000 via wire transfer Rubenstein's brokerage account into Anderson's brokerage account and then into the Committee's bank account. Anderson then filed campaign reports to both the NYSBOE and NYCBOE which falsely represented her as the contributor for the payments. Committee documents were also drafted to that effect.

During opening statements, lawyers for Anderson and Rubenstein "conceded that Mr. Rubenstein gave her a \$100,000 gift and a \$150,000 loan, hoping she would use the money for her campaign. But once Mr. Rubenstein gave her the money, the lawyers said, it belonged to her. And so the finance reports saying that she contributed her own money to herself were accurate." Lawyers also

		argued "that members of Judge Anderson's campaign committee
		were the ones who prepared, signed and filed the disclosure reports,
		and so she was not the one responsible for potential errors in them."
		<u>CHARGES</u>
		DA Vance indicted Anderson and Rubenstein in December 2008 on the below counts. See People v. Anderson, 5768/08 (Oct. 30, 2009).
		Rubenstein's \$100,000 "gift" check to Anderson – Aug. 12, 2008 – and 11-day pre-primary report filing:
		<ul> <li>Count 1 – Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the First Degree – Falsely reported in an 11-day pre-primary report to NYSBOE the \$100,000 contribution as Anderson's not Rubenstein's illegal, excessive contribution</li> <li>Count 2 - Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the First Degree – Falsely reported to NYCBOE the \$100,000 contribution as Anderson's not Rubenstein's illegal, excessive contribution</li> <li>Count 3 – Falsifying Business Records in the First Degree – the Committee's copy of the aforementioned report constitutes a false entry made in the business records of the Committee, retained in its Kings County office.</li> </ul>
		Rubenstein's \$150,000 "loan" wire transfer – Aug. 26, 2008 – and 10-day pre-primary report filing:
		<ul> <li>Count 4 – Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the First Degree - Falsely reported the loan in a 10-day pre-primary to the NYSBOE</li> </ul>
	22 of 46	

	<ul> <li>Count 5 – Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the First Degree - Falsely reported the loan in a 10-day pre-primary to the NYCBOE</li> <li>Count 6 – Falsifying Business Records in the First Degree –</li> </ul>
	the Committee's copy of the aforementioned report constitutes a false entry made in the business records of the
	Committee, retained in its Kings County office.
	Election Law Violations:
	<ul> <li>Counts 7 &amp; 8 – Election Law misdemeanor of "campaign contribution to be under the true name of contributor" by misrepresenting, in the Committee's records, the true source of the contributions from Rubenstein (Election Law §§14-120[1] and 14-126[2])</li> <li>Counts 9 &amp; 10 – Election Law misdemeanor of "knowingly and willfully violating the contribution limits of the Election Law," also pertaining to the \$100,000 contribution and \$150,000 loan (Election Law §14-126[3])</li> </ul>
	<u>ACQUITTAL</u>
	Eight of the ten criminal charges in the indictment were <u>dismissed</u> prior to trial on jurisdictional grounds by Supreme Court Justice Michael Obus. <u>People v. Anderson</u> , 5768/08 (Oct. 30, 2009). <u>DA Vance did not appeal the dismissal</u> , and Anderson and Rubenstein were tried on the two remaining counts of Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the First Degree (Counts 2 and 5).
	In April 2010, after a jury trial, Anderson and Rubenstein were <u>found</u> not guilty of both charges.

Clarence	October 2003	New York state	Kings County	Assemblyman and leader of the Kings County Democratic Party
Norman	(Two		District Attorney	in Brooklyn stole thousands of dollars in campaign contributions,
	Indictments)	First Indictment:		filing false reports to state Board of Election
		• Counts 1 - 2 –		
	September 2005	Offering a False		In early October 2003, DA Hynes presented evidence of Norman's
	(First	Instrument for		campaign spending practices and other matters to two Brooklyn
	Conviction)	Filing in the 1st		grand juries. Both grand juries returned indictments, and at the time
		Degree		charges were reported as including: (1) failing to report a lobbyist's
	December 2005	• Counts 3 - 6 -		political contribution, worth thousands of dollars, to the State Board
	(Second	Falsifying		of Elections; (2) grand larceny for depositing a \$5,000 check for his
	Conviction)	Business		campaign into his personal bank account; and (3) 76 counts of filing
		Records in the		for reimbursement from taxpayer money for over \$5,000 in travel
		1st Degree		expenses already paid for by the party.
		• Count 7 –		
		"received a		In respect of the first indictment, Counts 4, 6, 7 and 8 were
		contribution and		eventually dismissed, with Norman standing trial for the remaining
		failed to provide		counts. People v Norman 2004 NY Slip Op 51851(U). In September
		the treasurer of		2005, Norman was convicted of two felony New York campaign law
		the Committee		violations for soliciting illegal contributions in his 2000 and 2002
		with 'a detailed		primary campaigns for his seat in the New York State Assembly
		account' of it		(counts 9 and 10), as well as one felony and one misdemeanor count
		within 14 days		of falsifying business records of those contributions and preventing
		of its receipt, in		the making of a true entry and causing the omission of an entry in the
		violation of		Committee's records (counts 3 and 5).
		Election Law		
		§14-122.		In respect of the second indictment, Counts 3, 5, 6, and 7 were
		• Count 8 –		eventually dismissed, and Norman stood trial on the remaining
		received a		counts. People v Norman, 2004 NY Slip Op 51392(U) (Nov. 16,

contribution 2004). Norman was convicted in December 2005 for his taking of the \$5,000 check, on counts of grand larceny in the third degree, from a single contributor that falsifying business records in the first degree, and offering a false amounted to instrument for filing in the first degree. The conviction was affirmed in People v. Norman, 40 A.D.3d 1130, 837 N.Y.S.2d 277 (App. Div. more than ninety-nine 2007). In January 2006, he was sentenced to a prison term of 2 to 6 dollars and years for the convictions in both trials. failed to file a statement of its receipt, in violation of Election Law §14-102. • Counts 9 - 10 -"knowingly and willfully" solicited a person to make expenditures in connection with his candidacy, "for the purpose of evading the contribution limitations" of Article 14 of the Election law, in violation of what was then Election Law §14-126(4),

now Election	
Law §14-126(6)	
Convicted on counts 3,	
5, 9, 10.	
Second Indictment:	
• Count 1 –	
Grand Larceny	
in the 3rd	
Degree	
• Counts 2 - 3 –	
Falsifying	
Business	
Records in the	
1st Degree	
• Count 4 –	
Offering a False	
Instrument for	
Filing in the 1st	
degree	
• Counts 5 - 7 –	
criminal	
violations of the	
Election Law,	
see Election	
Law § 126(2),	
and allege,	
respectively,	
that he received	
a contribution	

and failed to	
provide the	
treasurer of the	
Committee with	
'a detailed	
account' of it	
within 14 days	
of its receipt, in	
violation of	
Election Law	
§14-122 (count	
5); that he	
received a	
contribution	
from a single	
contributor that	
amounted to	
more than	
ninety-nine	
dollars and	
failed to file a	
statement of its	
receipt, in	
violation of	
Election Law	
§14-102 (count	
6); and that he	
received a	
contribution to a	
political	
committee and	

		converted it to his personal use, in violation of Election Law §14-130 (count 7).  Convicted on counts 1,		
		2, 4.	Other State Prosec	eutions en la companya de la companya del companya della companya
		l		
Mary	December 2019	New Jersey	New Jersey Office	Former Morris County freeholder candidate pleads guilty to
Dougherty	(Indictment)		of Attorney General	falsifying election report in connection with illegal \$10,000
		Criminal Complaint:		campaign contribution she received from lawyer in exchange for
	February 2021	Bribery in		her support in his reappointment as counsel for Morris County
	(Guilty Plea)	Official and		
		Political Matters		Mary Dougherty's case stems from an investigation in early 2018 by
		in the 2nd		the New Jersey AG's Office of Public Integrity and Accountability
		Degree (N.J.		(OPIA) which "focused on political figures in Hudson and Morris
		Stat § 2C:27-		counties who allegedly solicited illegal campaign contributions from"
		2(d))		Matthew O'Donnell, a Morristown- based tax attorney "in return for
				<u>promised official action</u> to provide him with government work."
		Conviction:		
		<ul> <li>False Swearing</li> </ul>		Dougherty and four others (Sudhan Thomas, a former Jersey City
		in the 4th		school board president; Jason O'Donnell, an ex-state assemblyman
		Degree (N.J.		and Bayonne councilman; Parsippany councilman John Cesaro; and
		2C:28-2(a))		ex-Mount Arlington councilman John Windish – hereinafter, "the
				four defendants") were accused of promising O'Donnell that they
				would "would vote or use their official authority or influence to hire
				or continue to hire his law firm for lucrative government legal work."
				In exchange, "[e]nvelopes and paper bags filled with cash were

delivered to the defendants by" O'Donnell "at various locations. Other times" O'Donnell "offered checks from illegal "straw donors"— individuals reimbursed to write checks to the defendant's campaign in amounts that complied with the legal limit on individual donations." In September 2018, during her unsuccessful run for freeholder, Dougherty "accepted \$10,000 cash in \$100 denominations" that O'Donnell "delivered in a take-out coffee cup. Dougherty later returned the cash, asking" O'Donnell "to replace the cash with four checks, each within the \$2,600 individual contribution limit." O'Donnell "told Dougherty he would use the returned \$10,000 in cash to pay four individuals. "The pair met again at the same restaurant, where Dougherty accepted four checks, each in the amount of \$2,500 payable to 'Mary for Morris Freeholder.'" The following exchange reportedly took place when the checks were delivered. O'Donnell said: "These are my straws... so I just need your support for my reappointment. Don't forget me." Dougherty replied: "I won't. I promise. A friend is a friend, my friend." On Oct. 26, she signed and filed a false Form R-1 report of contributions and expenditures with the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC), reporting that legitimate donors – Jason Miller, Michael Cardone, LM Investments Inc. and RF Realty Inc. – had each made contributions of \$2,500. She knew this information to be untrue. Initially, in December 2019, Dougherty and the other four defendants were charged separately in a complaint-summons with second degree bribery in official and political matters, a New Jersey law (N.J. Stat § 2C:27-2(d)). Thomas, Cesar and Windish, who held public office at

				the time of the offending, were also charged with the state's second-
				degree acceptance or receipt of unlawful benefit by a public servant
				for official behavior.
				However, in February 2021, Dougherty pleaded guilty to false
				swearing, a fourth-degree crime under N.J. 2C:28-2(a), admitting to
				filing a false report with ELEC. That same month, Attorney General
				Gurbir S. Grewal announced that the four defendants had now been
				separately indicted by the state grand jury.
				separately maleted by the state grand jury.
				Dougherty was required to forfeit the \$10,000 and in March 2019
				sentenced to one year's probation.
Jerome	November 2003	Michigan	Michigan	Founder of two PACs funneled over \$500,000 in contributions to
Westfield	(Conviction)	8	Department of	his for-profit corporation
Dewald		Indictment:	Attorney General	
		<ul> <li>Obtaining</li> </ul>		Jerome Westfield Dewald was the founder and operator of two PACs
		Money Under		during the 2000 presidential election, namely "Friends for a
		False Pretenses,		Democratic White House" and "Swing States for a GOP White
		\$1,000 or more		House."
		but less than		
		\$20,000 (MCL		Dewald, "under the pretense of soliciting campaign funds for each
		750.218(4)(a))		PAC, mailed fundraising letters to political donors whose names and
		<ul> <li>Obtaining</li> </ul>		addresses appeared on donor lists maintained by the Federal Election
		Money Under		Commission. The PACs collected approximately \$750,000 in
		False Pretenses,		contributions, but Dewald paid less than 20 percent of that amount to
		Less Than \$200		the political parties or to any outside PACs. He instead funneled most
		(MCL		of the campaign donations into his own for-profit corporation that
		750.218(2))		provided 'consulting and administrative services' to each of the two
		• Common-law		PACs. The money ultimately flowed into a bank account maintained
		Fraud (MCL		by Dewald's consulting firm, or was seized by the State in

		750.280) – 2 counts  • Larceny by Conversion, \$20,000 or More (MCL 750.362) – 2 counts		conjunction with the underlying criminal investigation" Dewald v. Wriggelsworth, 748 F.3d 295, 297 (6th Cir. 2014).  Dewald was indicted for obtaining money under false pretenses, common-law fraud, and larceny by conversion, and in November 2003 was convicted on all counts following a jury trial. Dewald appealed his conviction to the Michigan Court of Appeals, which rejected his claim. He then filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan, which was granted on Dewald's convictions for fraud and larceny by conversion. The State then appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, which reversed, holding that federal campaign finance law did not clearly preempt the state crimes under these circumstances. Dewald v. Wriggelsworth, Id.
			Federal Prosecut	<u>tions</u>
Martin Kao, Clifford Chen, and Lawrence "Kahele" Lum Kee	February 2022 (Indictment)	Federal  Indictment:	U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia; Criminal Division's Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice	Former government defense contractor executives indicted for unlawful campaign contributions to candidate for Congress and a political action committee  Martin Kao, Clifford Chen, and Lawrence "Kahele" Lum Kee, all of Honolulu, were employed by a U.S. Government defense contractor, which was prohibited from making contributions in federal elections.  An investigation by the Campaign Legal Center (CLC) discovered a mysterious \$150,000 contribution from a "Society of Young Women Scientist and Engineers LLC" to 1820 PAC, a Super PAC which was supporting the 2020 re-election bid of Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME). The LLC had been created just over a month prior to the donation. There was nothing on public record which suggested how

<ul> <li>Making</li> </ul>	the LLC "could have raised so much in	such a short period of time.
Government	The money had to have come from elsev	±
Contractor	inomey had to have come from cise	
Contributions	CLC filed a complaint with the Federal	Flection Commission
(and	"alleging that the contribution violated f	
`		
Conspiracy)	ban,' which prevents donors from cover	0 1
• False	funding by routing the donation through	- ·
Statements (Kao	this case, by creating a puppet company	to make the donation
only)	instead."	
	The <u>FBI investigation</u> that followed four	
	donor scheme. The Bureau said that the	true contributor had been
	Navatek, now known as Martin Defense	Group, for which Kao was
	CEO and where the others accused held	positions. The LLC had been
	set up as a shell company to funnel fund	s from Navatek to Collins'
	campaign.	
	In addition to the \$150,000 donation, the	e trio were accused of
	allegedly using family members as "con	duits" to funnel an additional
	\$52,000 in donations to Collins' campai	
	themselves for those donations via Nava	· ·
	The trio were <u>indicted</u> in February 2022	in the District of Columbia
	on the below charges:	
	on the other charges.	
	Count 1 - Conspiracy	
	Count 1 Conspiracy     Count 2 - Conduit Contributions	
	Count 2 - Conduit Contributions     Count 3 - Government Contractor	or Contributions
	• Counts 4 & 5 - False Statements	
	Counts 4 & 3 - Paise Statements	(Kao only)

		In August 2022, Kao reached a plea agreement with prosecutors (see
		also statement of offense), pleading guilty on all counts except Count
		3. According to the <u>case docket</u> , sentencing for Kao is set for May,
		with jury selection for Lum Kee and Chen trial set for April 24.

Brian Kelsey	October 2021	Federal	U.S. Attorney's	Tennessee State Senator pleads guilty to election finance scheme
	(Indictment)		Office for the	aimed at benefiting his 2016 federal candidacy
		Conviction:	Middle District of	
	November 2022		Tennessee; U.S.	Tennessee State Senator Brian Kelsey was <u>indicted</u> in October 2021.
	(Conviction)	<ul> <li>Aiding and</li> </ul>	Attorney's Office	In November 2022, Kelsey pleaded guilty to violating campaign
		Abetting the	for the Western	finance laws, including aiding and abetting the acceptance of
		Acceptance of	District of	excessive contributions on behalf of a federal campaign, and
		Excessive	Tennessee; the	conspiring to defraud the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") as
		Contributions	Criminal Division's	part of a scheme to benefit his 2016 campaign for Congress.
		on Behalf of a	Public Integrity	
		Federal	Section, Department	Court documents indicate that Kelsey "admitted that he conspired to,
		Campaign	of Justice	and did, secretly and unlawfully funnel money from multiple sources,
				including his own Tennessee State Senate campaign committee, to
		<ul> <li>Conspiracy to</li> </ul>		his authorized federal campaign committee. Kelsey, who was a
		Defraud the		practicing attorney, and his co-conspirators, including Joshua Smith,
		United States		also caused a national political organization to make illegal and
		(Federal		excessive contributions to Kelsey's federal campaign committee by
		Election		secretly coordinating with the organization on advertisements
		Commission)		supporting Kelsey's federal candidacy, which caused false reports of
				contributions and expenditures to be filed with the FEC."
				The Senator and his co-conspirators "orchestrated the concealed
				movement of \$91,000 – \$66,000 of which came from Kelsey's State
				Senate campaign committee, and \$25,000 of which came from a
				nonprofit corporation that publicly advocated on legal justice issues –
				to a national political organization for the purpose of funding
				advertisements that urged voters to support Kelsey in the August
				2016 primary election. Kelsey and his co-conspirators also caused the
				political organization to make \$80,000 worth of contributions to
				Kelsey's federal campaign committee in the form of coordinated
				expenditures."
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		Smith pleaded guilty in October 2020 to "aiding and abetting the solicitation, receipt, direction, transfer, and spending of soft money in connection with a federal election."  Kelsey was set to be sentenced on March 28, faced with a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment on each count. However, in March 2023, Kelsey's new legal team filed a motion to withdraw his November 2022 guilty plea and asked the court to dismiss his case. "Though they haven't directly responded to Kelsey's motion, federal prosecutors on Friday asked the judge to delay Smith's sentencing date, also set for March 28, until after Kelsey's motion is ruled on."

Stevan Hill	November 2019	Federal	Criminal Division's	California CEO pleads guilty in conduit campaign contribution
	(Indictment)		Public Integrity	case
		Conviction:	Section, Department	
	September 2021	<ul> <li>Conspiracy to</li> </ul>	of Justice	Stevan Hill, a California business executive of an online payment
	(Conviction)	Make Conduit		processing company, pleaded guilty in September 2021 in the District
		Contributions;		of Columbia "for conspiring to make and conceal conduit and
		Make Excessive		excessive campaign contributions during the U.S. presidential
		Contributions;		election in 2016 and thereafter."
		Cause False		
		Statements to be		Court documents, including the November 7, 2019 <u>indictment</u> , reveal
		Made; Cause		that between between March 2016 and June 2018, Hill conspired
		False Entries in		with Ahmad "Andy" Khawaja, and others, "to make unlawful
		Records		contributions to several political committees, thereby circumventing
				contribution limits and causing the political committees to
				unwittingly submit false reports to the Federal Election
				Commission."
				According to admissions in the plea agreement reached in August
				2016, "Khawaja gave Hill \$100,000 to contribute in Hill's name to a
				political committee supporting a candidate running for U.S. president
				in the 2016 election cycle. The purpose of making the contribution in
				Hill's name was to allow Khawaja to exceed contribution limits set
				by federal law. The contribution was made in connection with a
				political event hosted by Khawaja in October 2016."
				It was further admitted by Hill that, "in June 2017, Khawaja gave
				him approximately \$50,000 to contribute in Hill's name to another
				political committee. Again, the purpose of making the contribution in
				Hill's name was to allow Khawaja to exceed contribution limits set
				by federal law." Additionally, "in January 2018, Khawaja gave him
				approximately \$50,000 to contribute in Hill's name to another
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				political committee. Again, the purpose of making the contribution in Hill's name was to allow Khawaja to exceed contribution limits set by federal law. The contribution was made in connection with a political event hosted by Khawaja in March 2018."
Gerald G.	August 2018	Federal	U.S. Attorney's	Two Kentucky men convicted for concealing corporate
Lundergan and	(Indictment)		Office for the	contributions to U.S. Senate campaign
Dale C.		<u>Lundergan</u>	Eastern District of	
Emmons	September 2019		Kentucky; Criminal	Gerald G. Lundergan and Dale C. Emmons were found guilty by a
	(Conviction)	Conviction:	Division's Public	federal jury in Kentucky in September 2019 of conspiring to use over
		<ul> <li>Conspiracy</li> </ul>	Integrity Section,	\$200,000 in corporate funds to make contributions to the campaign of
		<ul> <li>Making</li> </ul>	Department of	a candidate for the U.S. Senate, and for causing the concealment of
		Corporate	Justice	these contributions from the Federal Election Commission.
		Campaign		
		Contributions		The pair were <u>indicted</u> in August 2018. Trial evidence revealed that
		<ul> <li>Causing the</li> </ul>		Lundergan "used the funds of S.R. Holding Company Inc. (S.R.
		Submission of		Holding), a company he owned, to pay for services provided by
		False		consultants and vendors to a campaign for a United States Senate seat
		Statements to		in the 2014 election cycle. The candidate for this seat was
		the FEC – 4		Lundergan's daughter, Alison Lundergan Grimes. The evidence
		counts		established that Lundergan caused the issuance of a number of
		<ul> <li>Causing the</li> </ul>		payments from S.R. Holding funds for services that included audio-
		Falsification of		video production, lighting, recorded telephone calls and campaign
		Documents with		consulting, between July 2013 and December 2015."
		the Intent to		
		Obstruct and		"The corporate contributions also included monthly payments from
		Impede a Matter		S.R. Holding to Emmons and his company during this
		Within the		period. Emmons provided services to the campaign and sought and
		FEC's		received compensation from Lundergan and S.R. Holding. Emmons
		Jurisdiction – 4		also used the funds of his corporation, Emmons & Company Inc., to
		counts		pay other vendors and a campaign worker for services rendered to the

		Emmons  Conviction:  Conspiracy  Making Corporate Campaign Contributions  Causing the Submission of False Statements – 2 counts  Causing the Falsification of Documents with the Intent to Obstruct and Impede – 2 counts		campaign. Those services included recorded telephone calls, technological support services, and other campaign-related expenses."  The pair also concealed these activities from other officials associated with the campaign, and their concealments caused the campaign to unwittingly file false reports with the FEC given the reports "failed to disclose the source and amount of the corporate contributions."
Michael Cohen	August 2018 (Criminal Information)  August 2018 (Guilty Plea)	Federal  Criminal Information:  Tax Evasion – 5 counts  Making False Statements to a Federally Insured Bank	U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York	Michael Cohen pleads guilty in Manhattan federal court to eight counts, including making \$280,000 in unlawful, excessive contributions to the Trump campaign  The facts of the federal prosecution against Michael Cohen are well known.  In August 2018, a criminal information document was filed which accused Cohen of a breadth of criminal conduct. He "concealed more

		<ul> <li>Causing an</li> </ul>		than \$4 million in personal income from the IRS, made false
		Unlawful		statements to a federally-insured financial institution in connection
		Corporate		with a \$500,000 home equity loan, and, in 2016, caused \$280,000 in
		Contribution		payments to be made to silence two women who otherwise planned
		3.5.1.		to speak publicly about their alleged affairs with a presidential
		Making an     Excessive		
				candidate, thereby intending to influence the 2016 presidential
		Campaign		election."
		Contribution		
				For our purposes, Cohen was charged for his facilitating of Trump's
		Guilty Plea: All		hush money payment. We discussed Cohen's conduct in a <u>detailed</u>
		Charges		chronology for Just Security.
				Cohen wasted no time in <u>pleading guilty to all charges</u> . The Justice
				Department's sentencing memorandum stated that he "acted in
				coordination with and at the direction of Individual-1," who has been
				identified as Trump.
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				In December 2018, Cohen was <u>sentenced</u> to three years in federal
				prison and ordered to pay a \$50,000 fine.
Kenneth	October 2017	Federal	U.S. Attorney's	Kenneth Smukler, former campaign strategist to candidates, was
Smukler	(Indictment)		Office for the	convicted of two campaign finance schemes – paying a
		Conviction (Appealed):	Eastern District of	candidate's rival off, and funneling funds via straw donors into
	March 2018	<ul> <li>Conspiracy to</li> </ul>	Pennsylvania;	the campaign of another – and of obstructing justice in an
	(Superseding	Commit	Election Crimes	investigation by the Federal Election Commission
	Indictment)	Campaign Law	Branch of the Public	
		Violations and	Integrity Section,	The first scheme involved Smukler <u>helping to pay off Rep. Bob</u>
	December 2018	to Make False	Department of	Brady's 2012 Democratic primary election challenger, former
	(Guilty Plea)	Statements	Justice	municipal court judge Jimmie Moore, so that he would withdraw
		<ul> <li>Causing</li> </ul>		from the race. A \$90,000 payoff was agreed to be paid from the
		Campaign		Brady campaign, which Moore would use to pay off his campaign
		Contributions in		debts, including "money that Jimmie Moore for Congress (the Moore
L	1	L	1	

Excess of **Federal Limits** • Causing the Moore Campaign Committee to Make False Reports to the FEC Engaging in a Scheme to Falsify and Conceal Facts from the FEC • Engaging in a Scheme to Falsify and **Conceal Facts** from the FEC Making Campaign Contributions in Excess of **Federal Limits** • Making \$2,000 or More in Conduit Contributions in the Name of

Another

campaign) owed to several vendors, to Moore himself and to Moore's campaign manager, Carolyn Cavaness."

"Smukler arranged for the Moore campaign to receive \$90,000 from the Brady campaign through false documents and a series of concealing pass-throughs, including the consulting firm of another Brady associate and co-conspirator, D.A. Jones. Smukler ensured that the Brady campaign reported none of the concealed payments, which exceeded the federal contribution limits, to the Federal Election Commission (FEC). Rather, he executed the scheme by ensuring that the three installments were falsely and illegally disguised from the FEC and the public as payments for poll and consulting services."

The second scheme took place between 2014 and 2015, in which Smukler "made, caused, and concealed excess and conduit contributions and engaged in a falsification and obstruction scheme involving a different Congressional candidate," Rep. Marjorie Margolies. "The excess contributions came from associates of Smukler and were funneled through two of Smukler's consulting companies. The conduit contributions were routed through another political consultant and the candidate."

After having learned that the candidate's campaign was losing money ahead of the primary elections, around May 2014, "one of Smukler's companies made a \$78,750 payment to the campaign that was used to pay for primary election expenses." But Smukler lied to the campaign, alleging the funds had come from a "segregated media account," when in fact the payment had been funded by an associate of Smukler's, thus constituting an illegal campaign contribution.

•	Making \$10,000
	or More in
	Conduit
	Contributions in
	the Name of
	Another
•	Obstruction of

Justice

Additionally, "after Smukler's candidate lost the primary election, the campaign did not have sufficient funds to repay the contributions that the campaign had received for the general election. To conceal this shortfall, Smukler funneled illegal contributions totaling \$150,000 from an associate to the campaign through two of Smukler's consulting companies. Smukler falsely told the campaign that these payments were refunds of money that had been 'escrowed' in Smukler's companies for general election expenses, when, in fact, the money had come not from any such account but from Smukler's associate, and the money could not have been 'escrowed' campaign funds because Smukler's companies had already spent a significant portion of the funds they had received from the campaign."

The jury also found Smukler guilty of causing "the [Moore] campaign to falsely characterize the payments from his companies as refunds in FEC reports and in a letter to the FEC from unwitting campaign counsel, which led the FEC to dismiss a pending complaint against the campaign by another candidate in the primary." Smukler was further convicted by the jury of "making unlawful conduit contributions to the campaign in 2014, through Jones, and again in 2015 through the candidate herself."

For further details on Smukler's conduct, see United States v. Smukler, 991 F.3d 472, (3d Cir. 2021).

## **CHARGES AND CONVICTION**

In October 2017, a grand jury indicted Smukler and then-codefendant Jones for election law offenses related to the Brady campaign. But Jones pleaded guilty and cooperated with prosecutors against Smukler. Smukler was later charged on a superseding

indictment in March 2018 for his conduct related to the Margolies 2014 campaign in addition to the 2012 Brady campaign. See United States v. Smukler, 991 F.3d 472, 481 n.6, from which the below charges are taken.  SUPERSEDING INDICTMENT COUNTS  Brady's 2012 congressional primary campaign:  Count 1 – conspiracy to commit campaign law violations and to make false statements, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371  Count 2 – causing campaign contributions in excess of federal limits, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30109(d)(1)(A)(i), 30116(f), and 18 U.S.C. § 2  Count 3 – causing the Brady campaign committee to make
false reports to the FEC, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§  30104(a)(1), 30104(b)(5)(A), 30109(d)(1)(A)(i), and 18  U.S.C. § 2  • Count 4 – causing the Moore campaign committee to make false reports to the FEC, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§  30104(a)(1), 30104(b)(5)(A), 30109(d)(1)(A)(i), and 18  U.S.C. § 2  • Count 5 – engaging in a scheme to falsify and conceal facts from the FEC, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 1001(a)(1)  Margolies' 2014 congressional primary campaign:  • Count 6 – engaging in a scheme to falsify and conceal facts from the FEC, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 2 and 1001(a)(1)

	• Count 7 – making campaign contributions in excess of federal
	limits, in violation of <u>52 U.S.C. §§ 30109(d)(1)(A)(i)</u> ,
	30116(f), and 18 U.S.C. § 2
	• Count 8 – making \$2,000 or more in conduit contributions in
	the name of another, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §
	30109(d)(1)(A)(ii), 30116(f), 30122, and 18 U.S.C. § 2
	• Count 9 – making \$10,000 or more in conduit contributions in
	the name of another, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §
	30109(d)(1)(D), 30116(f), 30122, and 18 U.S.C. § 2
	<ul> <li>Count 10 – causing a campaign committee to make false</li> </ul>
	reports to the FEC, in violation of 52 U.S.C. §§ 30104(a)(1),
	30104(b)(5)(A), 30109(d)(1)(A)(i), and 18 U.S.C. § 2
	• Count 11 – obstruction of justice, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§
	2 and 1505.
	CONVICTION AND APPEAL
	<u> </u>
	In December 2018, a jury returned a guilty verdict on nine of the
	eleven charges, acquitting Smukler on Counts 3 and 10. He "received
	a sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment, along with fines and
	assessments" (see <u>United States v. Smukler</u> , at 480-81).
	assessments (see onited states v. smakler, at 400-01).
	Smukler then appealed his conviction. Initially, on Jan. 26, the U.S.
	Smaker then appeared his conviction. Initially, on sun. 20, the C.S.
	Court of Anneals for the Third Circuit rejected Smukler's anneal that
	Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit <u>rejected Smukler's appeal</u> that
	the trial judge that given improper instructions to the jury on the
	the trial judge that given improper instructions to the jury on the definition of "willfully." But in March 2021, the federal appeals court
	the trial judge that given improper instructions to the jury on the definition of "willfully." But in March 2021, the federal appeals court vacated its earlier ruling and upheld seven of nine convictions and
	the trial judge that given improper instructions to the jury on the definition of "willfully." But in March 2021, the federal appeals court

Stephen E.	March 2017	Federal	U.S. Attorney's	Former Congressman convicted of soliciting thousands from
Stockman	(Indictment)		Office for the	charity foundations to fund his campaign and cover personal
		Conviction:	Southern District of	expenses
	April 2018	<ul> <li>Mail and Wire</li> </ul>	Texas; Criminal	
	(Conviction)	Fraud – 7	Division's Public	Former Congressman Stephen E. Stockman was <u>indicted</u> in March
		counts	Integrity Section,	2017. In April 2018, a federal jury convicted Stockman for
		<ul> <li>Conspiracy to</li> </ul>	Department of	spearheading a scheme to steal hundreds of thousands of dollars from
		Make Conduit	Justice	charitable foundations and their leaders to illegally fund his
		Campaign		campaigns for public office and to pay for his and others' personal
		Contributions		expenses. Two others also involved in the scheme pleaded guilty:
		and False		Thomas Dodd, a former special assistant in Stockman's
		Statements to		congressional office, and Jason Posey, a former Stockman
		the Federal		congressional staffer.
		Election		
		Commission		Evidence at trial established that, between "May 2010 to October
		(FEC)		2014, Stockman solicited and obtained approximately \$1.25 million
		<ul> <li>Making</li> </ul>		in donations based on false pretenses. Specifically, in 2010,
		Coordinated		Stockman diverted a significant portion of \$285,000 in charitable
		Excessive		donations to pay for his and Dodd's own personal expenses and to
		Campaign		further Stockman's own interests. The evidence at trial established
		Contributions		that in 2011 and 2012, Stockman and Dodd received an additional
		<ul> <li>Making False</li> </ul>		\$165,000 in charitable donations, much of which Stockman used to
		Statements to		finance his 2012 congressional campaign. According to the evidence
		the FEC – 2		at trial, shortly after Stockman took office in the U.S. House of
		counts		Representatives in 2013, he and Dodd used the name of a nonprofit
		<ul><li>Money</li></ul>		entity to solicit and receive a \$350,000 charitable
		Laundering – 11		donation. Stockman used this donation for a variety of personal and
		counts		campaign expenses, including illegal conduit campaign contributions,
		<ul> <li>Filing a False</li> </ul>		a covert surveillance project targeting a perceived political opponent
		Tax Return		and payments associated with Stockman's U.S. Senate campaign in
				early 2014."
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				According to trial evidence, in connection with Stockman's Senate campaign, Posey "used a nonprofit entity to secure a \$450,571 donation in order to fund a purported independent expenditure for a mass-mailing project attacking Stockman's opponent. In reality, the independent expenditure was directed and supervised by Stockman. Only approximately half of the donation was spent on the mail campaign, and Posey used a portion of the unspent balance to pay for expenses associated with Stockman's Senate campaign and to fund personal expenses."
Dinesh D'Souza	January 2014 (Indictment)	Federal	U.S. Attorney's Office for the	Trump pardoned Dinesh D'Souza who admitted to violating federal campaign election laws by using straw donors to make
	(2210202220)	Guilty Plea:	Southern District of	illegal contributions to the 2012 Senate campaign of Wendy Long
	May 2014	• Contributions in	New York	and the second of the second comparison of the second seco
	(Guilty Plea)	the Names of Other – Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 • Causing False Statements		In March 2012, <u>Dinesh D'Souza</u> "contributed \$10,000 to the Senate campaign of Wendy Long on behalf of himself and his wife, agreeing in writing to attribute that contribution as \$5,000 from his wife and \$5,000 from him." In August 2012, he "directed other individuals with whom he was associated, namely his assistant and a woman with whom" he "was romantically involved (the 'Straw Donors'), to make contributions to Wendy Long's campaign for the United States Senate (the 'Long Campaign') on behalf of themselves and their spouses that totaled \$20,000 with the promise that he would reimburse them for the contributions. Later that same day or the next day," D'Souza, "as promised, reimbursed the Straw Donors \$10,000 each in cash for the contributions. When confronted by Long, D'Souza "initially misled the candidate before admitting what he had done."

In January 2014 he was charged for his scheme in a two-count indictment.  In May 2014 he pleaded guilty, admitting that "he caused two close associates to contribute \$10,000 each to the Long Campaign with the understanding that he would reimburse them for their contributions and that he did reimburse them." He "also admitted that he knew that what he was doing was wrong and something the law forbids." He pleaded to "one count of making campaign contributions in the names of other people," in violation of federal law.
He was <u>sentenced</u> to "five years of probation, with eight months during the first year to be served in a community confinement center."
In May 2018, then-President Trump pardoned D'Souza.