The indictment of former President Donald Trump for conduct involving the alleged concealment of hush money payments 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 piece 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 (New York Penal Code § 175.10), including for conduct far less serious than the allegations against Trump. In this essay we make the same point about surreptitious third-party payments benefitting 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 pleaded guilty 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 sentenced him to a year’s imprisonment to run concurrent with his federal sentence 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 two Brooklyn grand juries. Both grand juries returned indictments, and at the time charges were reported as 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 reported 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 tried to conceal the contributions, 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. People v Norman, 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. People v Norman 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 conviction in December 2005 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 *People v. Norman*, 40 A.D.3d 1130, 837 N.Y.S.2d 277 (App. Div. 2007). In January 2006, he was sentenced 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 predicing 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 *John Dote* 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 *Richard Luthmann* 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 in 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 federal case against Michael Cohen. As former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York Preet Bharara succinctly put it on Meet the Press 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 in-kind 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.
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#### I. New York State Prosecutions

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4. David Thomas, David Jones, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009, and Data and Field Services Inc.
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<td>New York state Indictment/Guilty Plea:</td>
<td>Richmond County District Attorney. Then Special Prosecutor Eric Nelson</td>
<td>Staten Island attorney admits to impersonating on social media local NY politicians and a district attorney to influence political races, and to falsifying emails regarding a DA’s campaign</td>
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<td>October 2020 (Guilty Plea)</td>
<td>● Falsifying Business Records in the 1st Degree – 3 counts</td>
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<td>In November 2018, a 17-count indictment was unsealed against Staten Island Attorney Richard Luthmann, charging him “in what is believed to be the first case of its kind” in New York. Luthmann was accused of, and ultimately pleaded guilty to, creating Facebook and Twitter pages to impersonate local candidates – including former Republican Assembly candidate Janine Materna; Councilwoman Debi Rose (D-North Shore); John Gulino, the Staten Island Democratic Party chairman; and District Attorney Michael E. McMahon – to try to influence primary races.</td>
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<td>● Fraudulently or Wrongfully Doing any Act Tending to Affect the Result of any Primary Election, Caucus or Convention (E.L. §17-102(5)) - 2 counts</td>
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<td>Luthmann faced a host of charges, including multiple felony charges of falsifying business records and identity theft. He also faced “charges of criminal impersonation, election law violations, stalking and falsely reporting an incident to the New York Police Department.”</td>
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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:

- Counts 1, 3, 4 – Falsifying Business Records in the First Degree
- Counts 14 & 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))

Luthmann was sentenced 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 January 2023, Luthmann filed a motion to vacate the conviction which in February 2023 the state responded to. The appeal is ongoing, with Luthmann seemingly representing himself. People v. Luthmann, 2022 N.Y. Slip Op. 67767, (N.Y. App. Div. 2022)
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<td>● Falsifying Business Records in the 1st Degree – 10 counts</td>
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**Rockland County’s bus czar uses 10 “straw donors” to funnel over $40,000 in cash contributions to the 2013 county executive campaign of legislator Ilan Schoenberger.**

The Richard Brega case involved campaign finance violations which were prosecuted as a felony violation of New York’s books and records statute.

Brega’s July 2017 arrest was the culmination of a [joint investigation](#) by the Rockland County District Attorney’s Office’s Public Corruption Task Force and the New York State Board of Elections Division of Election Law Enforcement.

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 $9,221.

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 Maziarz, Robert Ortt (and Henry Wojtaszek) | March 2017 (Indictment) | New York state Indictment:  
  - Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the 1st Degree – 5 counts (Maziarz); 3 counts (Ortt)  
Guilty Plea (Maziarz)  
  - Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the 2nd Degree | Office of the New York State Attorney General | Former State Senator Maziarz pleads guilty to misdemeanor count of filing false instrument with state board of elections after funnelling campaign money to an ex-staffer accused of sexual harassment

Former State Senator George Maziarz was indicted in March 2017 with current State Senator Robert Ortt of Niagara County, “on election law violations involving campaign money that was allegedly funneled as illicit payoffs in pass-through schemes.” The case was brought by state Attorney General Eric Schneiderman's office.

Maziarz was “accused of shielding $95,000 in secret campaign payments to a former staff member who left his government job after being accused of sexual harassment.” Maziarz wanted to hire the ex-staffer, Glenn Aronow, as a political consultant but “didn't want to make the hiring public.”
| Indictment against Ortt was dismissed. | Maziarz was accused of helping to put together a “pass-through” 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 alleged 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 |
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.
Prior to the indictments being announced, Wojtaszek had pleaded guilty to violating Election Law Section 14-126-4, a class A misdemeanor.

| David Thomas, David Jones, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009, and Data and Field Services Inc. | March 2015 (Indictment) | New York state Indictment: | Richmond County District Attorney. Then Special Prosecutor Roger Adler |
| Members of Councilwoman Debi Rose’s 2009 campaign and members of the Working Families Party and its operations were the subjects of a five-year-long investigation that accused them of defrauding the city’s Campaign Finance Board |

**BACKGROUND**

The investigation involved Councilwoman Debi Rose’s campaign treasurer, David Thomas, political consultant David Jones, and two entities, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009, and Data and Field Services Inc., all of whom were charged for their scheme to defraud the city’s Campaign Finance Board.

Staten Island DA Daniel Donovan decided not to prosecute the case, requesting a special prosecutor. In January 2012, special prosecutor Roger Adler was appointed and brought charges in fall 2014, with the partially sealed indictment revealed in court in February 2015. Rose “was named an un-indicted co-conspirator” in the 2014 criminal complaint.

The criminal complaint stated at § 23: “Beginning in 2009 and continuing up to the filing of this complaint, the Debi Rose Campaign provided false and misleading documentation to the CFB in an effort to both obfuscate, and conceal, ‘in kind’ campaign contributions, and coordinated campaign goods and services provided...
by various labor unions for which ‘fair market value’ was neither paid, or accurately reported.”

The complaint also alleged that Data and Field Services Inc., a Working Families Party (“WFP”)–run political consultation group, secretly provided discounted services to Rose's 2009 council campaign.

Jones was allegedly paid $5,000 in city matching funds following he and his wife contributing $625 to the Rose campaign. But Jones didn’t possess a written contract for the payment, as required by the Campaign Finance Board, and thus was in criminal possession of the money.

Rose’s campaign also allegedly “paid $7,200 to NY Citizen Services, a group to mask the involvement of the left-wing political ACORN group. ACORN staffer Peter Nagy worked on Ms. Rose's campaign for three months under a ‘sweetheart contract (that) was below market value.’”

The WFP also allegedly gave “more than $500,000 to Data and Field Services Inc. from February 2009 to January 2010 and that Thomas, along with Data and Field Services Inc., WFP, various unions and members of Ms. Rose's campaign worked together to file false campaign filings to the state Board of Elections and city Campaign Finance Board.”

The complaint also alleged that WFP funneled over $500,000 into Data and Field Services Inc. from February 2009 to January 2010.
- Falsifying Business Records in the 1st and 2nd Degree (David Thomas, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009)
- NYC Administrative Code Sec. 3-711(3) (David Thomas, Debi Rose 4 City Council 2009)
- Perjury in the 2nd Degree (David Thomas)

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.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Dote</th>
<th>December 2010 (Indictment)</th>
<th>New York state Indictment:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>October 2011 (Guilty Plea)</td>
<td>- Grand Larceny in the 2nd Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Grand Larceny in the 3rd Degree – 5 counts</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oneida County District Attorney</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.”
● Grand Larceny in the 4th Degree
● Scheme to Defraud in the 1st Degree – 2 counts
● Falsifying Business Records in the 1st Degree – 12 counts
● Perjury in the 1st 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

In December 2010, Dote faced an indictment of over 20 counts:

- 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, Dote pleaded guilty to several of the charges, including: 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 sentenced to six months in Oneida County jail, “five years of probation and ordered to pay at least $500 a month during that time until $65,898.68 in restitution is paid back.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nora Anderson &amp; Seth Rubenstein</th>
<th>December 2008 (Indictment)</th>
<th>New York state</th>
<th>New York County District Attorney</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 2010 (Acquittal)</td>
<td>New York state</td>
<td>State prosecution against New York judge for funnelling excessive funds into her 2008 campaign and intentionally falsifying campaign finance reports</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BACKGROUND**
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.”

**CHARGES**

*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:

- 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
- 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
- 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.

Rubenstein’s $150,000 “loan” wire transfer – Aug. 26, 2008 – and 10-day pre-primary report filing:

- 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
● 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

● Count 6 – 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.

Election Law Violations:

● Counts 7 & 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])

● Counts 9 & 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])

**ACQUITTAL**

Eight of the ten criminal charges in the indictment were dismissed prior to trial on jurisdictional grounds by Supreme Court Justice Michael Obus. People v. Anderson, 5768/08 (Oct. 30, 2009). DA Vance did not appeal the dismissal, 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 found not guilty of both charges.
Clarence Norman  
October 2003 (Two Indictments)  
September 2005 (First Conviction)  
December 2005 (Second Conviction)  

New York state  
First Indictment:  
- Counts 1 - 2 – Offering a False Instrument for Filing in the 1st Degree  
- Counts 3 - 6 – Falsifying Business Records in the 1st Degree  
- 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

Kings County District Attorney  

Assemblyman and leader of the Kings County Democratic Party in Brooklyn stole thousands of dollars in campaign contributions, filing false reports to state Board of Election

In early October 2003, DA Hynes presented evidence of Norman’s campaign spending practices and other matters to two Brooklyn grand juries. Both grand juries returned indictments, and at the time charges were reported as 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.

In respect of the first indictment, Counts 4, 6, 7 and 8 were eventually dismissed, with Norman standing trial for the remaining counts. People v Norman 2004 NY Slip Op 51851(U). In September 2005, Norman was convicted of two felony New York campaign law violations 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).

In respect of the second indictment, 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,
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.

- 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),

2004). Norman was convicted in December 2005 for his 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 People v. Norman, 40 A.D.3d 1130, 837 N.Y.S.2d 277 (App. Div. 2007). In January 2006, he was sentenced to a prison term of 2 to 6 years for the convictions in both trials.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other State Prosecutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Mary Dougherty** | December 2019 (Indictment) | New Jersey Criminal Complaint:  
- Bribery in Official and Political Matters in the 2nd Degree (N.J. Stat § 2C:27-2(d)) |
|              | February 2021 (Guilty Plea) | New Jersey Office of Attorney General |
|              |                             | Conviction:  
- False Swearing in the 4th Degree (N.J. 2C:28-2(a)) |

**Former Morris County freeholder candidate pleads guilty to falsifying election report in connection with illegal $10,000 campaign contribution she received from lawyer in exchange for her support in his reappointment as counsel for Morris County**

Mary Dougherty’s case stems from an investigation in early 2018 by the New Jersey AG’s Office of Public Integrity and Accountability (OPIA) which “focused on political figures in Hudson and Morris counties who allegedly solicited illegal campaign contributions from” Matthew O’Donnell, a Morristown-based tax attorney “in return for promised official action to provide him with government work.”

Dougherty and four others (Sudhan Thomas, a former Jersey City school board president; Jason O’Donnell, an ex-state assemblyman and Bayonne councilman; Parsippany councilman John Cesaro; and 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.

Dougherty was required to forfeit the $10,000 and in March 2019 sentenced to one year’s probation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jerome Westfield Dewald</th>
<th>November 2003 (Conviction)</th>
<th>Michigan Department of Attorney General</th>
<th>Founder of two PACs funneled over $500,000 in contributions to his for-profit corporation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jersey Westfield Dewald</td>
<td>November 2003 (Conviction)</td>
<td>Michigan Department of Attorney General</td>
<td>Founder of two PACs funneled over $500,000 in contributions to his for-profit corporation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jerome Westfield Dewald was the founder and operator of two PACs during the 2000 presidential election, namely “Friends for a Democratic White House” and “Swing States for a GOP White House.”

Dewald, “under the pretense of soliciting campaign funds for each PAC, mailed fundraising letters to political donors whose names and addresses appeared on donor lists maintained by the Federal Election Commission. The PACs collected approximately $750,000 in contributions, but Dewald paid less than 20 percent of that amount to the political parties or to any outside PACs. He instead funneled most of the campaign donations into his own for-profit corporation that provided ‘consulting and administrative services’ to each of the two PACs. The money ultimately flowed into a bank account maintained by Dewald’s consulting firm, or was seized by the State in
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 Prosecutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Indictment</th>
<th>Federal Indictment</th>
<th>U.S. Attorney’s Office</th>
<th>Former government defense contractor executives indicted for unlawful campaign contributions to candidate for Congress and a political action committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Martin Kao, Clifford Chen, and Lawrence “Kahele” Lum Kee | February 2022 (Indictment) | Indictment:  
● Conspiracy to Defraud the United States (Federal Election Commission)  
● Making Conduit Contributions (and Conspiracy) | U.S. Attorney’s Office for the District of Columbia; Criminal Division’s Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice | 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 |
| ● Making Government Contractor Contributions (and Conspiracy) | the LLC “could have raised so much in such a short period of time. The **money had to have come from elsewhere.**” |
|● False Statements (Kao only) | **CLC filed a complaint** with the Federal Election Commission **“alleging** that the contribution violated federal law's 'straw donor ban,' which prevents donors from covering up the true source of their funding by routing the donation through another person or entity – in this case, by creating a puppet company to make the donation instead.” |
| | The **FBI investigation** that followed found much more than a straw 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 funds** from Navatek to Collins’ campaign. |
| | In addition to the $150,000 donation, the trio were accused of allegedly using **family members as “conduits” to funnel** an additional **$52,000 in donations** to Collins’ campaign, then reimbursing themselves for those donations via Navatek funds. |
| | The trio were **indicted** in February 2022 in the **District of Columbia** on the below charges: |
| | ● Count 1 - Conspiracy |
| | ● Count 2 - Conduit Contributions |
| | ● Count 3 - Government Contractor Contributions |
| | ● Counts 4 & 5 - False 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 case docket, sentencing for Kao is set for May, with jury selection for Lum Kee and Chen trial set for April 24.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brian Kelsey</th>
<th>October 2021 (Indictment)</th>
<th>November 2022 (Conviction)</th>
<th>Federal Conviction:</th>
<th>U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Middle District of Tennessee; U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Western District of Tennessee; the Criminal Division’s Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Aiding and Abetting the Acceptance of Excessive Contributions on Behalf of a Federal Campaign</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Conspiracy to Defraud the United States (Federal Election Commission)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Tennessee State Senator pleads guilty to election finance scheme aimed at benefiting his 2016 federal candidacy**

Tennessee State Senator Brian Kelsey was indicted in October 2021. In November 2022, Kelsey pleaded guilty to violating campaign finance laws, including aiding and abetting the acceptance of excessive contributions on behalf of a federal campaign, and conspiring to defraud the Federal Election Commission (“FEC”) as part of a scheme to benefit his 2016 campaign for Congress.

Court documents indicate that Kelsey “admitted that he conspired to, and did, secretly and unlawfully funnel money from multiple sources, including his own Tennessee State Senate campaign committee, to his authorized federal campaign committee. Kelsey, who was a practicing attorney, and his co-conspirators, including Joshua Smith, also caused a national political organization to make illegal and excessive contributions to Kelsey’s federal campaign committee by secretly coordinating with the organization on advertisements 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.”
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.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stevan Hill</th>
<th>November 2019 (Indictment)</th>
<th>September 2021 (Conviction)</th>
<th>Federal Conviction:</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>● Conspiracy to Make Conduit Contributions; Make Excessive Contributions; Cause False Statements to be Made; Cause False Entries in Records</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Criminal Division’s Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**California CEO pleads guilty in conduit campaign contribution case**

Stevan Hill, a California business executive of an online payment processing company, pleaded guilty in September 2021 in the District of Columbia “for conspiring to make and conceal conduit and excessive campaign contributions during the U.S. presidential election in 2016 and thereafter.”

Court documents, including the November 7, 2019 indictment, reveal that between March 2016 and June 2018, Hill conspired with Ahmad “Andy” Khawaja, and others, “to make unlawful 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
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.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gerald G. Lundergan and Dale C. Emmons</th>
<th>August 2018 (Indictment)</th>
<th>Federal Lundergan Conviction:</th>
<th>Two Kentucky men convicted for concealing corporate contributions to U.S. Senate campaign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Conspiracy</td>
<td>Gerald G. Lundergan and Dale C. Emmons were found guilty by a federal jury in Kentucky in September 2019 of conspiring to use over $200,000 in corporate funds to make contributions to the campaign of a candidate for the U.S. Senate, and for causing the concealment of these contributions from the Federal Election Commission.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Making Corporate Campaign Contributions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Causing the Submission of False Statements to the FEC – 4 counts</td>
<td>The pair were indicted in August 2018. Trial evidence revealed that Lundergan “used the funds of S.R. Holding Company Inc. (S.R. Holding), a company he owned, to pay for services provided by consultants and vendors to a campaign for a United States Senate seat in the 2014 election cycle. The candidate for this seat was Lundergan’s daughter, Alison Lundergan Grimes. The evidence established that Lundergan caused the issuance of a number of payments from S.R. Holding funds for services that included audio-video production, lighting, recorded telephone calls and campaign consulting, between July 2013 and December 2015.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Causing the Falsification of Documents with the Intent to Obstruct and Impede a Matter Within the FEC’s Jurisdiction – 4 counts</td>
<td>“The corporate contributions also included monthly payments from S.R. Holding to Emmons and his company during this period. Emmons provided services to the campaign and sought and received compensation from Lundergan and S.R. Holding. Emmons also used the funds of his corporation, Emmons &amp; Company Inc., to pay other vendors and a campaign worker for services rendered to the campaign.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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 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
Causing an Unlawful Corporate Contribution
Making an Excessive Campaign Contribution

Guilty Plea: All Charges

For our purposes, Cohen was charged for his facilitating of Trump’s hush money payment. We discussed Cohen’s conduct in a detailed chronology for Just Security.

Cohen wasted no time in pleading guilty to all charges. 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.

In December 2018, Cohen was sentenced to three years in federal prison and ordered to pay a $50,000 fine.

Kenneth Smukler

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 2017</td>
<td>(Indictment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2018</td>
<td>(Superseding Indictment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2018</td>
<td>(Guilty Plea)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Federal Conviction (Appealed):
- Conspiracy to Commit Campaign Law Violations and to Make False Statements
- Causing Campaign Contributions in

U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania; Election Crimes Branch of the Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice

Kenneth Smukler, former campaign strategist to candidates, was convicted of two campaign finance schemes – paying a candidate’s rival off, and funneling funds via straw donors into the campaign of another – and of obstructing justice in an investigation by the Federal Election Commission.

The first scheme involved Smukler helping to pay off Rep. Bob Brady’s 2012 Democratic primary election challenger, former municipal court judge Jimmie Moore, so that he would withdraw from the race. A $90,000 payoff was agreed to be paid from the Brady campaign, which Moore would use to pay off his campaign debts, including “money that Jimmie Moore for Congress (the Moore...
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
- 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.
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-co-defendant 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 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 52 U.S.C. §§ 30109(d)(1)(A)(i), 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
• Count 10 – causing a 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

CONVICTION AND APPEAL

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 United States v. Smukler, at 480-81).

Smukler then appealed his conviction. Initially, on Jan. 26, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit rejected Smukler’s appeal that 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 granted a new trial on Counts 5 and 6. United States v. Smukler, 991 F.3d 472, 494 (3d Cir. 2021).
| Stephen E. Stockman | March 2017 (Indictment) | April 2018 (Conviction) | Federal Conviction:  
- Mail and Wire Fraud – 7 counts  
- Conspiracy to Make Conduit Campaign Contributions and False Statements to the Federal Election Commission (FEC)  
- Making Coordinated Excessive Campaign Contributions  
- Making False Statements to the FEC – 2 counts  
- Money Laundering – 11 counts  
- Filing a False Tax Return | U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of Texas; Criminal Division’s Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice | **Former Congressman convicted of soliciting thousands from charity foundations to fund his campaign and cover personal expenses**

Former Congressman Stephen E. Stockman was indicted in March 2017. In April 2018, a federal jury convicted Stockman for spearheading a scheme to steal hundreds of thousands of dollars from charitable foundations and their leaders to illegally fund his campaigns for public office and to pay for his and others’ personal expenses. Two others also involved in the scheme pleaded guilty: Thomas Dodd, a former special assistant in Stockman’s congressional office, and Jason Posey, a former Stockman congressional staffer.

Evidence at trial established that, between “May 2010 to October 2014, Stockman solicited and obtained approximately $1.25 million in donations based on false pretenses. Specifically, in 2010, Stockman diverted a significant portion of $285,000 in charitable donations to pay for his and Dodd’s own personal expenses and to further Stockman’s own interests. The evidence at trial established that in 2011 and 2012, Stockman and Dodd received an additional $165,000 in charitable donations, much of which Stockman used to finance his 2012 congressional campaign. According to the evidence at trial, shortly after Stockman took office in the U.S. House of Representatives in 2013, he and Dodd used the name of a nonprofit entity to solicit and receive a $350,000 charitable donation. Stockman used this donation for a variety of personal and campaign expenses, including illegal conduit campaign contributions, a covert surveillance project targeting a perceived political opponent and payments associated with Stockman’s U.S. Senate campaign in early 2014.”
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.”

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<th>Dinesh D’Souza</th>
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**Trump pardoned Dinesh D’Souza who admitted to violating federal campaign election laws by using straw donors to make illegal contributions to the 2012 Senate campaign of Wendy Long**

In March 2012, Dinesh D’Souza “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 sentenced 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.