

# FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Washington, DC 20463

March 16, 2022

## **VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL ONLY**

Marc E. Elias, Ezra W. Reese, and Rebecca K. Mears Elias Law Group LLP 10 G Street NE, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20002

melias@elias.law; ereese@elias.law; rmears@elias.law

RE: MUR 7797

SMP (f/k/a Senate Majority PAC) and Rebecca Lambe in her official

capacity as treasurer

Dear Mr. Elias, Mr. Reese, and Ms. Mears:

On September 18, 2020, the Federal Election Commission notified you of a complaint alleging that your clients, SMP and Rebecca Lambe in her official capacity as treasurer, violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. A copy of the complaint was forwarded to you at that time.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint and information supplied by you, the Commission, on March 10, 2022, found no reason to believe that your clients violated 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(1) by making excessive inkind contributions, and closed the file. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which more fully explains the Commission's decision, is enclosed for your information.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. *See* Disclosure of Certain Documents in Enforcement and Other Matters, 81 Fed. Reg. 50,702 (Aug. 2, 2016).

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely.

Theodore Lutz
Theodore Lutz

Acting Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure Factual and Legal Analysis

1 2 3	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS			
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	RESPONDENTS:	SMP (formerly Senate Majority PAC) and Rebecca Lambe in her official capacity as treasurer Sara Gideon for Maine and Lisa Lunn in her official capacity as treasurer Sara Gideon Maeve Coyle	MUR 7797	
12	I. INTRODUC	CTION		
13	The Complai	nt alleges that SMP (formerly Senate Majority PAC)	and Rebecca Lambe in	
14	her official capacity as treasurer ("SMP"), coordinated with Sara Gideon and Sara Gideon for			
15	Maine and Lisa Lunn in her official capacity as treasurer (the "Gideon Committee") by creating			
16	an advertisement in response to a tweet issued by the Committee's Communications Director,			
17	Maeve Coyle, in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the			
18	"Act"). Specifically, the Complaint alleges that Coyle published a tweet using coded words to			
19	communicate a request or suggestion that advertisements be run in specific markets concerning			
20	specific themes and asserts that the fact that SMP ran thematically similar advertisements in the			
21	identified markets the next day indicated that those advertisements were coordinated with the			
22	Gideon Committee.			
23	As discussed below, because the available information is insufficient to raise a reasonable			
24	inference that SMP coordinated with Sara Gideon and the Gideon Committee, the Commission			
25	finds no reason to believe that Gideon, the Gideon Committee, and Coyle violated 52 U.S.C.			
26	§ 30116(f) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.9 by accepting excessive in-kind contributions in the form of			
27	coordinated communications and finds no reason to believe that SMP violated 52 U.S.C.			
28	§ 30116(a)(1)(A) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(1) by making excessive in-kind contributions in the			
29	form of coordinated communications.			

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## II. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

- 2 Sara Gideon was a 2020 candidate for Senate in Maine and was running for a seat held by
- 3 Sen. Susan Collins. Sara Gideon for Maine is Gideon's principal campaign committee. At the
- 4 time of the tweet referenced in the Complaint, Maeve Coyle was the Gideon Committee's
- 5 Communications Director.<sup>3</sup> SMP is an independent-expenditure-only political committee
- 6 registered with the Commission. During the 2020 election cycle, SMP reported making
- 7 \$372,290,232.12 in independent expenditures in support of or opposition to federal candidates in
- 8 the 2020 cycle, including \$491,914.92 in support of Gideon and \$27,415,557.30 in opposition of
- 9 Collins.<sup>5</sup>

- On the afternoon of September 1, 2020, Coyle, using a Twitter account that noted her role
- 11 as the Gideon Committee's Communications Director, tweeted:

FEC Form 2, Sara Gideon, Amended Statement of Candidacy at 1 (Dec. 6, 2020), https://docquery fec.gov/pdf/639/202012069366414639/202012069366414639.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Id.*; FEC Form 1, Sara Gideon for Maine, Amended Statement of Organization (Dec. 6, 2020), https://docquery fec.gov/pdf/628/202012069366414628/202012069366414628.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Compl. at 3 (Sept. 16, 2020); Gideon Committee Resp. at 1 (Nov. 2, 2020).

FEC Form 1, SMP, Amended Statement of Organization at 1-2 (Nov. 24, 2020), <a href="https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/287/202011249337130287/202011249337130287.pdf">https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/287/202011249337130287/202011249337130287.pdf</a>; see also SMP Resp. at 2 (Nov. 2, 2020) ("SMP is a federally registered Super PAC."). SMP was formerly known as Senate Majority PAC. See FEC Form 1, Senate Majority PAC, Amended Statement of Organization at 1 (Nov. 1, 2016), <a href="https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/439/201611019037017439/201611019037017439.pdf">https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/439/201611019037017439/201611019037017439.pdf</a>; FEC Form 1, SMP, Amended Statement of Organization at 1 (Nov. 15, 2017) (indicating a name change), <a href="https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/356/201711169086695356/201711169086695356.pdf">https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/356/201711169086695356/201711169086695356.pdf</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See SMP: Spending, FEC, <a href="https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00484642/?tab=spending#independent-expenditures">https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00484642/?tab=spending#independent-expenditures</a> (last visited Feb. 16, 2021).

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Voters across Maine should see and hear how Collins has taken money from drug and insurance companies and then voted their way instead of for Maine people.

In Portland they should also see and hear how Collins has stood with Trump and McConnell instead of Maine people.

2:47 PM · Sep 1, 2020 · Twitter Web App

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The same day, SMP uploaded at least two advertisements to YouTube. One, titled "Too

- Much," discussed Senator Collins and her vote on a 2017 tax break.<sup>7</sup> The advertisement claimed
- 4 that this tax break benefitted drug and oil companies, as well as Wall Street, and cited to assorted
- 5 publications. The advertisement then asserts that Collins received more than \$5 million from
- 6 "corporate special interests" and cites to the "FEC" in support of this claim. 9 The second, titled
- 7 "No Thanks," also notes Susan Collins's vote on the 2017 Tax Bill and shows former President
- 8 Donald Trump making complimentary statements about Collins. 10 Like "Too Much," "No
- 9 Thanks" computes the benefit that this tax bill provided to drug and oil companies as well as
- Wall Street, and claims that Collins received more than \$5 million from corporate special
- 11 interests. 11

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Compl. at 2. (Sept. 16, 2020). Although the Complaint lists the tweet in question as having occurred at 1:47pm, it appears that the tweet was actually issued at 2:47 pm. *See* Maeve Coyle (@maevemcoyle), TWITTER (Sept. 1, 2020, 2:47 PM), <a href="https://twitter.com/maevemcoyle/status/1300867976103702530">https://twitter.com/maevemcoyle/status/1300867976103702530</a>. The Complaint was notarized in Iowa, suggesting that Complainant may be in a different time zone, which may explain this discrepancy.

SMP, *Too Much*, YOUTUBE (Sept. 1, 2020), <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SLRPHIAyfbo&feature">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SLRPHIAyfbo&feature</a> = youtu.be. It is unclear at what time the advertisement was uploaded to YouTube.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* 

Id.

SMP, *No Thanks*, YOUTUBE (Sept. 1, 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qgj4Q7g\_zKc&feature=youtu.be.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Id*.

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1 According to the Complaint, these advertisements aired on television on September 2,

- 2 2020, the day after Coyle's tweet. 12 The Complaint, citing to a tweet issued by the Collins
- 3 campaign, notes that "No Thanks," the advertisement featuring former President Trump, ran in
- 4 Portland while "Too Much" ran in Bangor and Presque Isle, Maine. 13 The Complaint also cites a
- 5 September 2, 2020, article in the *Bangor Daily News*, which characterized the Coyle tweet as
- 6 "attempt[ing] to draw attention to anti-Collins narratives that the campaign wants highlighted by
- 7 outside groups it is barred from coordinating with formally."<sup>14</sup>
- 8 The Complaint asserts that each advertisement was a coordinated communication,
- 9 satisfying the "conduct" prong of the coordination analysis and argues that there is no "publicly
- available information safe harbor" to the "request or suggestion" conduct standard. The
- 11 Complaint, citing to 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(e), asserts that "[a]greement or formal collaboration
- between the person paying for the communication and the [candidate or candidate's committee]
- is not required for a communication to be a coordinated communication."<sup>16</sup>
- In response, SMP asserts that it created the advertisements in question in "August 2020"
- and shipped the advertisements to the television stations on August 31, 2020, the day before
- 16 Coyle's tweet. 17 SMP characterizes the advertisements as featuring "information about Senator

Compl. at 3 (citing Team Collins (@TeamCollins207), TWITTER (Sept. 2, 2020, 2:02 p m.), <a href="https://twitter.com/TeamCollins207/status/1301218842702761985">https://twitter.com/TeamCollins207/status/1301218842702761985</a>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Id*.

Compl. at 2 (citing Jessica Piper, Michael Shepherd, & Caitlin Andrews, *Attacks In Maine's US Senate Race Shift to the Husbands Of The Party Candidates*, BANGOR DAILY NEWS, Sept. 2, 2020, <a href="https://bangordailynews.com/2020/09/02/politics/daily-brief/attacks-in-maines-us-senate-race-shift-to-the-husbands-of-the-party-candidates/">https://bangordailynews.com/2020/09/02/politics/daily-brief/attacks-in-maines-us-senate-race-shift-to-the-husbands-of-the-party-candidates/</a>).

Compl. at 5.

<sup>16</sup> Compl. at 8.

<sup>17</sup> SMP Resp. at 2 (Nov. 2, 2020).

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- 1 Susan Collins's record, specifically her vote for the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 and its
- 2 detrimental impact, and the fact that she has taken millions in contributions from corporate
- 3 interests." SMP also asserts that "no coordination occurred," and that the Complaint fails to
- 4 establish that a coordinated communication occurred because the temporal proximity and
- 5 thematic similarities between Coyle's tweet and the advertisements are insufficient to satisfy the
- 6 conduct prong of the Commission's coordination framework. 19 SMP further contends that
- because Coyle's tweet was posted on a public webpage and was not shared with a select
- 8 audience, it was insufficient to satisfy the conduct prong.<sup>20</sup>
- Gideon, the Gideon Committee, and Coyle submitted a joint response, asserting that the
- 10 Complaint should be dismissed as a matter of law because Coyle's tweet was not made to a
- select group of recipients and because the Complaint does not allege that SMP and the
- 12 Committee communicated privately. 21 The Response also states that Coyle's Twitter account
- was "publicly available," Twitter users do not need approval to view her posts, and Coyle "posts"
- a wide range of campaign updates and political messages for public consumption."<sup>22</sup>

## III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

The Act defines "contribution" to include "any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of

money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> *Id*.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* at 2-4.

Gideon Committee Resp. at 3.

Gideon Committee Resp. at 2.

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- 1 Federal office."<sup>23</sup> "Anything of value" includes in-kind contributions.<sup>24</sup> When a person makes an
- 2 expenditure in cooperation, consultation, or in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a
- 3 candidate or the candidate's authorized committee or their agents, it is treated as an in-kind
- 4 contribution.<sup>25</sup> The Act prohibits any person from making, and any candidate or committee from
- 5 knowingly accepting, an excessive contribution.<sup>26</sup> For the 2020 election cycle, contributions by
- 6 persons other than multicandidate committees to any candidate and his or her authorized political
- 7 committees are limited to \$2,800 per election.<sup>27</sup>

8 Under Commission regulations, a communication is "coordinated" with a candidate, an

9 authorized committee, a political party committee, or agent thereof, and is treated as an in-kind

contribution, if the communication meets a three-part test: (1) payment for the communication by

- a third party; (2) satisfaction of one of five "content" standards of 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and
- 12 (3) satisfaction of one of six "conduct" standards of 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d). <sup>28</sup> According to the
- regulations, all three prongs are required for a communication to be considered a coordinated
- 14 communication.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i); see also 52 U.S.C. § 30101(9)(A)(i) (similarly defining "expenditure").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B); 11 C.F.R. § 109.20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a), (f); 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.1(b)(1), 110.9.

<sup>52</sup> U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A); 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(b)(1)(i); Price Index Adjustments for Contribution and Expenditure Limitations and Lobbyist Bundling Disclosure Threshold, 84 Fed. Reg. 2504, 2506 (Feb. 7, 2019). Multicandidate committees are subject to separate limits. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *Id.* § 109.21(a).

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The payment prong is satisfied when a person, other than the candidate, authorized 1 committee, or political party committee pays for the communication.<sup>30</sup> SMP paid for the 2 3 advertisements, satisfying the payment requirement. The Complaint asserts that the "content" 4 standard was met because the advertisements identified a public candidate and were 5 disseminated on television in the candidate's jurisdiction within 90 days of the election.<sup>31</sup> Respondents do not dispute that both the payment and content standards are satisfied.<sup>32</sup> 6 7 The six types of conduct that satisfy the conduct standard are: (1) request or suggestion; 8 (2) material involvement; (3) substantial discussion; (4) common vendor; (5) former employee; and (6) republication.<sup>33</sup> The request or suggestion conduct standard is satisfied when a 9 10 communication is created, produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion of a candidate or 11 her authorized committee, or alternatively, at the request or suggestion of the person paying for the communication with the candidate or her authorized committee's assent to the suggestion.<sup>34</sup> 12 13 The Commission explained that this conduct standard is "intended to cover requests or suggestions made to a select audience, but not those offered to the public generally."35 It 14 15 explicitly distinguished "a request that is posted on a web page that is available to the general

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> 11 C.F.R § 109.21(a)(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Compl. at 5; see also 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c).

See Gideon Committee Resp. at 2 ("[T]he Complaint fails to allege any facts demonstrating that the conduct prong was satisfied with regard to either of these advertisements."); SMP Resp. at 3 ("The Complaint alleges no facts that demonstrate that the conduct prong was satisfied in connection with the Advertisements.").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(6).

<sup>34</sup> *Id.* § 109.21(d)(1)(i)-(ii).

Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 432 (Jan. 3, 2003) ("Coordination E&J").

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1 public," which does not satisfy the conduct standard, from a "request posted through an intranet

2 service or sent via electronic mail directly to a discrete group of recipients," which does.<sup>36</sup>

3 The Commission has analyzed previous cases alleging "request or suggestion" using this

4 framework, and has concluded that information on a public website does not satisfy the meaning

of "request or suggest" under the conduct standard.<sup>37</sup> In reaching these conclusions, the

Commission noted that the alleged requests had all been accessible to the general public and that

there was no indication that private communications had occurred beyond the public notice.<sup>38</sup>

As in these prior matters, Coyle's Twitter account is accessible by the general public, and at the time of the tweet in question, it openly acknowledged her role with the Gideon campaign, and her account had a significant number of followers.<sup>39</sup> As such, the available information does

11 not indicate that Coyle's tweet was a targeted request to a select audience. 40

Additionally, SMP has asserted that coordination was impossible because the advertisements in question were created and distributed to television stations before Coyle published her tweet. The available information appears consistent with SMP's assertion that the advertisements were developed before Coyle's tweet because they were published on YouTube within hours of Coyle's tweet and aired on television stations throughout Maine the day after the tweet. Without more information, the record fails to support a reasonable inference that the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> *Id*.

See Factual & Legal Analysis at 9, MUR 6821 (Shaheen for Senate, et al); see also Factual & Legal Analysis at 9-10, MUR 7124 (McGinty for Senate, et al).

Factual & Legal Analysis at 10, MUR 7124.

See supra note 6 and accompanying text (noting Coyle's disclosed affiliation with the Gideon Committee); Maeve Coyle (@mavemcoyle), TWITTER, <a href="https://twitter.com/maevemcoyle">https://twitter.com/maevemcoyle</a> (indicating that Coyle has more than 2,000 followers) (last visited Feb. 17, 2021); compare with First Gen. Counsel's Rpt. ("FGCR") at 2-4, MUR 6908 (noting ways in which the Twitter accounts in question were kept anonymous).

See Coordination E&J, 68 Fed. Reg.at 432.

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- 1 Coyle tweet resulted in a coordinated in-kind contribution from SMP to the Gideon Committee. 41
- 2 Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to believe a violation of the Act occurred as to all
- 3 Respondents.

Had the Committee received in-kind contributions in the form of coordinated communications, it would have been obligated to report those contributions. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b); 11 C.F.R. § 104.3. However, because the Complaint did not allege any reporting violations and the Commission is finding no reason to believe a violation occurred with respect to the allegations of excessive in-kind contributions in the form of coordinated communications, we do not reach the issue of reporting obligations.