2 3 In the Matter of 4) **MUR 6054** 5 **Representative Vernon G. Buchanan** 6 Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph R. Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer 7 8 9 **GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT #2** 10 11 L ACTIONS RECOMMENDED 12 13 Find reason to believe that Vennon G. Buchanan and Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph R. Graters.¹ is his official capacity at treasurer, knowingly and willfully 14 15 violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(f). 16 П. **INTRODUCTION** 17 This matter concerns at least \$70,000 in campaign contributions received by Vern 18 Buchanan for Congress ("VBFC" or "Committee") during the 2006 and 2008 election 19 cycles that were reimbursed with the funds of car dealerships in which Representative 20 Vern Buchanan ("Buchanan") currently holds, or previously held, a majority ownership interest. On June 23, 2009, the Commission found reason to believe that two of the car 21 22 dealerships, 11-2091 LLC d/b/a Hyundai of North Jacksonville ("HNJ") and 1999 L.C. 23 d/ben Vanice Nissan Dodge ("VND"), as until as certain officers, knowingh and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f, 441b(a), and 441a(a), and authorized an investigation. The 24 ensuing investigation into the reimburged contributions has thus far uncovered evidence 25 suggesting that Buchanan and his Committee were aware at the time of the contributions 26 27 made by employees of HNJ that the funds used to make the contributions came from HNJ 28 through undisclosed reimbursements to the individual contributors.

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

¹ Vern Buchanan for Congress amended its statement of organization on March 3, 2009, naming Joseph R. Graters as transmer.

| 1 | More specifically, there is evidence that: |
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| 2 | • Buchanan pressured his minor partners in car dealerships he controlled to |
| 3 | contribute to his political campaigns and to raise contributions to VBFC. |
| 4 | • During his campaigns in the 2006 and 2008 election cycles, Buchanan |
| 5 | told Sam Kazran ("Kazran"), his partner at HNJ, to reimburse |
| 6 | contributions to VBPC with HNF funds. |
| 7 | • In Ootsber 2008, Buchanan promuted Kamun with a false affidavit |
| 8 | stating that Buchanan was unaware of rsimbursed contributions at HNJ |
| 9 | and pressured him to sign it. |
| 10 | • As early as 2003, Buchanan authorized the reimbursement of federal |
| 11 | contributions, despite being told that it was illegal to do so. |
| 12 | Based upon this evidence, described more fully below, we recommend that the |
| 13 | Commission find reason to believe that Representative Vernon G. Buchanan and Vern |
| 14 | Buchanan for Congress and Joseph R. Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, |
| 15 | knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f by knowingly accepting contributions |
| 16 | made in the same of another and § 441a(f) by knowingly accepting excessive |
| 17 | contributions in violation of applicable law. ² |

² Prior to making any recommendations as to whether there is reason to believe that the Committee and Vernon Buchman may have violated the Act, we notified them that the Commission had ascertained information in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities indicating that they may have knowingly accepted contributions that were made by one person in the name of another person in violation of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441f. See letters from Ann Marie Terzaken to the Committee and Vernon Buchman dated December 31, 2009. After a further exchange of correspondence, on January 21, 2010, the Committee filed with the Commission a Motion that "the Commission instruct [OGC] to provide VBFC with the additional information is within obling in commution with deliberthiess consuming whether to second reason to beliable against VBFC in [MUB 608M and Pro-MiJR 479]." The Committee further moved that "the Commission instruct OGC to preside VIFC with a unitan explanation conserving why the sus sponts submission instruct OGC to preside VIFC with a unitan explanation conserving why the sus sponts submission was merged with MUR 6054 without notifying VBFC and a description of the steps taken by the OGC in connection with these matters." See id. This Office addressed those Motions in Mergorandum to the Commission and the Commission approved a latter responding to the

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III. <u>RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION</u>

The investigation thus far has included informal interviews, document requests, and five depositions. The circumstances of the fundraising for VBFC undertaken by Buchanan's business partners and managers at the Buchanan dealerships they operated tend to support the particular testimony and documentary evidence indicating that there is reason to believe that Buchanan and VBFC violated tig. Act.

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PRESEURE TO BALSE CONTRIBUTIONS

9 According to witness testimony, Buchman pressured his minor partners in the car 10 dealerships he controlled to contribute to his campaigns and raise contributions from 11 dealership managers, employees, vendors, and customers. This testimony came 12 principally during our investigation of Sam Kazran and his role in the reimbursements at 13 HNJ and was corroborated in some respects by the testimony of David Long, Buchanan's 14 partner and the general manager of another car dealership. Sarasota Ford, during the 15 2005-2006 election cycle. During his deposition, Kazran testified that (1) Buchanan 16 asked inis paramets during partnership meetings and phone calls to fundraise for his 17 campaign; (2) pressure to raise funds intensified as the campaign sugressed, and (3) the 18 expectation was that the partners needed to quateibute and raise contributions from 19 others.

Committee. See MUR 6054 Memorandum to the Commission, Motions to Instruct OGC to Provide Additional Information and Explain Case Merger Made by Vern Buchanan for Congress, dated January 29, 2010. On February 5, 2010, we sent the letter approved by the Commission to VBFC, and invited the Committee to file any information it deemed relevant by February 11, 2010. To date, the Committee has not provided any additional information. We sent a similar letter to counsel for Vernon G. Buchanan on February 5, 2010, who has not provided any additional information to date.

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1 At the relevant times, Buchanan was the majority owner of approximately fifteen to seventeen car dealerships, primarily located in Florida.³ House of Representatives 2 3 Financial Disclosure Reports for Vernon Buchanan (May 11, 2006). Each dealership was typically structured as a limited liability company owned by a company that Buchanan 4 5 fully owned and a business partner who was responsible for the daily operation of the 6 dealership. Dennis Slatter Lispo at 12-16. All of the Buchaman companies that held 7 Buchapen's controlling overership share of the dealerships were run from a sizele 8 corporate office by a common set of managers. Slater Deno at 12-15. The common 9 executives who managed Buchanan's controlling interest in the dealerships included John 10 Tosch as Chief Executive Officer and Dennis Slater as Corporate Controller and, later. Chief Operating Officer. Slater Depo at 7-8.⁴ All of the operating partners as well as 11 12 Buchanan and his corporate managers (John Tosch, Dennis Slater, and others) attended 13 monthly partner meetings. Long Depo at 50. 14 Dennis Slater testified during his deposition that although Buchanan's campaign 15 was not on the "agenda" for the partner meetings, he was "sure" that Buchanan discussed his campaign's fundraising useds with his partners. Slater Dapo at 47, 50-51. Slater 16 17 testified that that Bunhaman "probably" made comments to him and John Tosch, 18 Buchapan's CEO, about his quarterly fundraising goals. Slater Depo at 60. Slater's testimony is consistent with Kazran's testimony that Buchanan informed the partners that 19 he would be running for Congress and would like their help in raising money. Kazran 20

³ The partners during the 2005-2006 election cycle included, among others, David Long (Sarasota Ford), Shalby Custainger (Venko Nissan Dudge), and Sam Raaran (Hyugdai of Jackstinville). Long Depo at 50-52 and 75; Kazran Depo at 18.

⁴ The Buchanan corporate offices were initially located on the site of the Sarasota Ford dealership but at some point between 2004 and 2006 (witnesses differed in their recollection) they moved off-site to a downtown Sarasota location. Long Dego at 17-18; Slater Depo at 9-10.

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2 noting that "it's the end of the quarter, we need to have money," i.e., near the end of FEC 3 reporting periods. Kazran Depo at 8, 46. As time went along, Buchanan's "intensity... 4 with raising funds gr[ew]." Kazran Depo at 10, 46. As the level of Buchanan's requests 5 for contributions intensified, it "got to a point where the partners were just joking around, 6 we would walk into a meeting and partners would talk about it. 'Well, How much did he 7 hit you for? I'm not going to make any maney this month so I won't be able to provide 8 any money," Kazran Depo at 12-13, 46. 9 According to Kazran, when a partner asked Buchanan why he did not use his own 10 money for his campaign, Buchanan explained that doing so would not look as impressive 11 as if the money was raised from others. Kazran Depo at 17-18, 43-44. "And he always 12 talked about how he needed to raise 3 million, then it went to 4 million, then it went to 5 million when the campaign got closer to the actual election date." Kazran Depo at 18.5 13 14 Kazran thought that the partners considered their efforts for Buchanan's campaign to be a favor for Buchman at first, but "after a while everybody was just kind of fed up 15 with it." Kamen Depo at 45-47.⁶ Kamon also toytified that he and Buchanan's other 16

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Depo at 8-9, 17. Kazran testified that Buchanan repeatedly asked for contributions.

⁵ According to the VBFC disclosure reports filed with the Commission, Buchanan's campaign raised approximately \$3 million by August 26, 2006 (the end of the pre-primary reporting period), \$3.8 million by September 30, 2006 (the end of the October quarterly reporting period), \$5 million by October 18, 2006 (the end of the pre-general reporting period), and \$6.9 million by November 27, 2006 (the end of the postgeneral reporting period.

⁶ Long corroborates Kazran's testimony. Although Long initially raised contributions for VBFC because he wanted to make Mr. Buchanan proud, to show his appreciation, and because he wanted Buchanan's approval, resegnition, acceptance, and appreciation, he eventually because "resentful" about raising funds for Mr. Bischanan because he mought žis "time swould be better appropriated selling arrs." Long Depo M 60, 62-63, 94-95. "It because more of a pain in the ass" as he put more time into it and started receiving calls, letters, and visitors critical of Buchanan's politics from people indicating that they would not buy cars at Sarasota Ford. Long Depo at 95. Long stated that when he agreed to be Buchanan's postner, "being in politics was never part of our conversation." Long Depo at 92-93.

1 partners discussed how much money Buchanan needed to collect from them. Kazran 2 Depo at 15. "So Buchanan spoke more freely, if you will, with the partners, and then that 3 trickled down to the dealerships." Kazran Depo at 15. "Typically, what would normally 4 happen is . . . general managers or partners who would go to their lower level managers and ask them to write a check for \$500 or a thousand dollars, and then they would just 5 6 reimbusse them with cash." Kazran Depo at 15-16. "Buchassa directly was mustly invalued with partness. And the general managers and lower level managers were 7 contacted for neuch smaller portions, with salespeople, financial managers, et cetera." 8 Kazran Depo at 16.7 9 Kazran's testimony regarding the discussion of campaign fundraising at the

10 11 partner meetings and the pressure felt by Buchanan's partners to raise funds is consistent 12 with the testimony of David Long, Buchanan's partner and the general manager at 13 Sarasota Ford during the 2005-2006 election cycle. Long testified that Buchanan 14 discussed his campaign at the partner meetings, and Long "vaguely remembered" that 15 Buchanan "talkied] about the money that needed to be raised and wanted to be raised or was hopefully being raised," and that "he [Buchanan] needed to mise money." Long 16 17 Depo at 57-58. Long testified that he fait that it was "knowed that I cantribute ..., that's where I felt compelled I remember the overriding feeling was that I've get to 18

⁷ While Kazran testified that he discussed fundraising with Buchanan "every single time," Buchanan was not the only person connected to the campaign that Kazran worked with on fundraising. According to Kazran, a woman working for Buchanan in his corporate headquarters who helped with the campaign and eventually became the campaign's spokesperson sometimes called Kazran to ask him to change the amount on the contribution checks, follow-up when a contribution did not arrive on time, or otherwise "apply serious pressure" to send the money. Kazran Depo at 12, 24, 47. He may have been speaking of Sally Tibbets, who is identified in acws articles as Buchanan's spokesperson.

| 1 | contribute." Long Depo at 59-60. ⁸ Long could not remember whether it was John Tosch, |
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| 2 | the Buchanan corporate CEO, or Buchanan himself that asked him to contribute to |
| 3 | VBFC. Long Depo at 58. |
| 4 | Long initially testified that he could not remember whether anyone asked him to |
| 5 | raise funds from others but he later testified during the same deposition that he thought |
| 6 | Buchana asked him to do so: |
| 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 <u>3</u> 14 15 | I can't really remember. I have a tendency to change facts in my mind for some reason. What I remember I just don't recall. I don't recall if somebody looked at me at a partner meeting and said, "Your quota is 40,000. Go to work." I have a vague recollection of, "It sure would be helpful" – I'm paraphrasing – "for us to get the people that we have given so much business to" – "get those people to contribute." Most of my stuff is qualified just from lack of recollection. But I think it was Vem that asked me to ask the people that we had done business with in the part to step up. I'm using my words, not his. |
| 15 16 17 | Long Depo at 59, 61-62; sec also Long Depo at 112 (Long chaimed that he did not have a |
| 18 | quota of contributions to raise). Long testified that Mr. Buchanan told him the above |
| 19 | during a partners meeting and possibly again one-on-one during a break. Long Depo |
| 20 | at 62. |
| 21 | Long had no uncertainty us to his extensive, and in some cases repeated, |
| 22 | solicitation of Sarasota Ford vendors, customers, and employees. Long remembered that |
| 23 | he "was trying to lead the pack and collect the most money from our vendors." Id. |
| 24 | Long estimated that he solicited 30-50 of Seresote Ford's vendors for contributions to |

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^a According to the **PBFC** disclosure reports filed with the Committion, David and Cateline Long, Long's wife, contributed \$4,200 each VBFC on September 30, 2005. David Long previously contributed \$2,000 to Bush-Cheney '04 (Primary) Inc., on November 25, 2003. Dennis Slater also contributed \$2,000 to that committee on November 21, 2003, and testified that it was Buchanan's idea to go to a fundraiser where President Bush would be speaking and that it would cost \$2,000. Slater Depo at 97-100.

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1 VBFC, and that 50% of those vendors that he solicited made contributions. Long Depo

2 at 63-64.9

3 Long also solicited Sarasota Ford customers for contributions. Long Depo at 76. 4 Furthermore, Long solicited nearly all of Sarasota Ford's 150 employees to contribute to 5 VBFC, although only about five employees contributed. Long Depo at \$4, 105-109. 6 Long testified that he asked employees to contribute at meetings and possibly one-on-7 one, and that he "probably" asked amployans more than ance horange it was his "athene." 8 Id. at 84. 9 I know that I felt a little uncomfortable asking. I don't know that I 10 repeatedly asked somebody. I mean, I would ask them a couple times 11 because that's my nature. But somebody that wasn't making a lot of 12 money, I wouldn't best them up ... Well, the first time [] askel an employee] I stan't meonsistable. The second, third, fourth three 13 14 would not uncomformable. Dependents on the level of monter they made and what my feeling was about their ability to contribute would dictate 15 16 really my level of discomfort . . . If a guy is making 300 a wack and he 17 gives 50 bucks, that's an awful lot of money. If someone makes 30 18 grand a month and he gives \$500, its not even as significant as the guy 19 making 300 a week. 20 21 Long Depo at 108-109.

22 Long was "100 percets sure" that he told Buchanan about the contributions he

23 raises for VBFC. Long Depo at 110. Buchanan may have expressed his gratitude in his

24 (Buchanan's) office or at one of the partner meetings. Long Depo et 71.¹⁰

⁹ For example, Long solicited Jim Moran and Associates. Long Depo at 68. Long testified that he nazy have asked Joe Kezer, the Finance Director at Sarasota Ford, to help him solicit vendors. *Id.* at 81-82. In an inflarmal interview, Kezer identified Jim Maran & Associates (aperifically, Karin Norris and Mark Swanson) as a vendor that he heard was pressured to contribute to Buchanan's campaign. According to the FEC contribution database, Mark Swanson of Jim Moran and Associates contributed \$500 to VBFC on January 16, 2006. Additionally, a separate segregated fund called JM Family Enterprises Inc., PAC (of 100 Jim Moran Blvd. in Deerfield Beach, FL) cantributed \$8,600 to VBFC between September 2005 and June 2007.

¹⁰ We have no information indicating that Long reimbursed any of the contributions he solicited and he denied doing so. Long Depo at 117-118.

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BUCHANAN'S ALLEGED INSTRUCTION TO KAZRAN TO REINBURGE CONTRIBUTIONS WITH BEALERSHEFFUNDS

According to Kazran, Buchanan instructed him to have contributors make contributions from joint checking accounts to permit higher contributions from each contributor and directed him to reimburse the contributors using dealership funds.¹¹

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1. Contributions Reimbursed with HNJ funds in 2005

Kazran testified that in Novembur 2005, Buchanan told Mazran that he had to

9 gather as much money as possible and that "I'm going to put your name on \$50,000 that

10 you've got to raise by the end of the quarter." Kazran Depo at 11. According to Kazran,

11 Buchanan instructed Kazran to make sure the personal checking accounts on which the

12 contributors' checks were written had both the husband and wife's name on them.

13 Kazran Depo at 22, 28. Kazran arranged for employees to contribute to VBFC and for

14 their contributions to be reimbursed with HNJ funds. Kazran Depo at 21. In sum, HNJ

reimbursed \$16,800 in contributions in 2005, all dated November 29, 2005.

16 Kazran testified that Buchanan told him to reimburse these employee

17 contributions with HNJ funds:

18 "And he specifically told me get someone year trust and run it through the
 19 corporation." Kazran Depo at 21.

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¹¹ Kazran testificibilitat before he made his first contribution to VHFC, Bunkanan athet if Hazam and his wife were on the same checking account, and when Kazran stated that his wife wrote the checks, Buchanan said that Kazran's contribution could be approximately \$9,000. Kazran Depo at 11. Similarly, when discussing contributions that he reimbursed that were made in the name of Vincent and Patricia Sams, Kazran explained that he thought Vincent wrote a check that had both their names on it and "That was one of the things that I was told you got to make sure there's two people on the check to get the most amount." Kazran Depo at 28.

According to the FEC disalonase statebase, on July 25, 2005, Kazzan (also identified on disclosure reports as Sam Khazrawan) oradributed \$4,200. Kazzan testified that he did not reimburse himself using company funds for his first contribution to VBFC. Kazzan Depo at 13. The FEC disclosure database also indicates that Sam Khazrawan and his wife, Miryam Khazmawan, each contributed \$4,600 to VBPC on September 27, 2007, for a total of \$9,200. These contributions were also not reimbursed.

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| 2 | employees write personal checks and then give them back the money using dealership |
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| 3 | funds. Kazran Depo at 14, 37, 72. |
| 4 | Joshua Farid, Kazran's business partner and brother-in-law, described to us in an |
| 5 | interview a conversation that he overheard between Kazran and Buchanan relating to |
| 6 | reimbursed contributers by HEJ engloyees. Farid stand that this conversation occurred |
| 7 | in 2005, just before Karaya asland him to contribute to the Buckmann campaign. ¹² |
| 8 | According to Farid, he was at the HNJ dealership cae day and new Kazaan walking out of |
| 9 | the "sales tower," apparently engaged in a conversation on his cell phone. When Kazran |
| 10 | saw Farid, he motioned him over to where he was standing, and Farid then followed |
| 11 | Kazran to his office. Once in the office, Kazran held the phone away from his car so |
| 12 | Farid could hear the conversation. Farid said that he recognized the voice to be |
| 13 | Buchanan's. Farid said that Buchanan and Kazran were discussing campaign |
| 14 | contributions. Buchanan stated that he needed Kazran to raise \$50,000 in contributions. |
| 15 | Kazran told Buchaman that he had already contributed the maximum allowable |
| 16 | contribution to the campaign. ¹³ Buchanita then teld Razam to have his employees |
| 17 | contailants to the campaign and than arbaicane than for their canacipations with HNJ |
| 18 | funds. Facily recalled that Buchanan used the team "run it through the company" when |
| 19 | instructing Kazran how to reimburse his employees. |
| 20 | With the exception of Kazran's own first contribution to VBFC, all of the |
| 21 | employee contributions he arranged in 2005 were reimbursed using company funds. |

¹² Farid and his wife contributed \$8,400 to VBFC on March 31, 2006, according to the VBFC disclosure reports in the Commission's disclosure database.

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Kazran explained that "run it through the corporation" meant that Kazran should have

¹³ shapording in the FEC database, Sun Klyperswan contributed \$4,200 to VEFC on July 25, 2005.

1 Kazran Depo at 27, 33, 53. Kazran contacted his office manager. Diana Smith, and his 2 controller, Gail Lephart. He instructed them to write a personal check to VBFC and then 3 to reimburse themselves. Kazran Depo at 21. As controller, Lephart is the dealership 4 executive who could issue checks. Kazran Depo at 21. The first time Kazran told Lephart to use dealership checks to reimburse contributions, he told her that they would 5 be getting money back from Buchanan. Kazyan Depo at 22. "I said, ['H don't know 6 7 when, he just asked me to do it.[']" Kazran Depo at 22. 8 Lephart stated during an interview that just before she made a contribution to 9 VBFC on November 29, 2005, Kazran walked into her office talking on his cell phone. 10 Lephart recalled Kazran stating something close to "Vern, I'll handle it now," and 11 Lephart assumed he was talking to Buchanan. 12 According to Lephart, immediately after ending the call, Kazran told Lephart that he needed her to make a contribution to VBFC. Lephart stated that Kazran also specified 13 14 the amount she needed to contribute, which was greater than \$7,000, using a personal 15 check. Kazran also said that she should reimburse herself for the full amount of the 16 contribution using HNJ funds. Further, Kazran asked Lephart to find other HNJ

17 employees to make similar contributions and to reimburne those contributions, as well as

18 her own, through the HNJ payroll account ¹⁴ Kazran instructed Lephart to send the

19 contributions by overnight delivery to Diane Mitchell at VBFC. She did not recall

20 whether Kazran told her that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse employee

21 contributions to VBFC.

¹⁴ Lephart stated that she created entries in the HNJ payroll account listing the reimbursements as salary payments, which included income tax withholding.

- 1 Lephart contributed in her own name and her husband's name without telling her
- 2 husband about it. Lephart recalled creating the reimbursement check for Diana Smith.
- 3 According to VBFC's disclosure reports, the following HNJ employees made
- 4 contributions to the Committee in 2005 using HNJ funds:

| Lephart, Ernest C. | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|
| Lephart, Ernest C. | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
| Lephart, Gayle | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
| Lephart, Gayle | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
| Smith, Diana M. | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
| Smith, Diana M. | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
| Smith, Gary W. | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |
| Smith, Gary W. | 11/29/2005 | \$2,100.00 |

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According to Kazran, HNJ gave employees the reimbursements on the same day
as their contributions because they did not have enough money in their accounts to cover
the contributions, Kazran Depo at 27-28.

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2. Contributions Reimbursed with HNJ funds in 2006

10 Kazran reimbursed another \$16,800 in contributions made to VBFC with HNJ

11 funds in June 2006, reimbursements that he testified he made at the direction of

12 Buchanan.¹⁵ Kaaran also testified that he reimbursed contributions made by Vincent

13 Saray, and disalasure reports suggest that the contributions were made in the names of

14 Sams and his wife totaling \$7,500 in January 2006. Kazran Depo at 22, 27-28.

15 Farid stated during his interview that Kazran advised him that Buchanan was

16 "pressing him" to raise funds for Buchanan's congressional campaign and that Farid and

¹³ The Committee's disclosure reports indicate that individuals affiliated with Buchanan dealerships contributed an additional \$7,500 to the campaign on the same day. We do not have any information at this time to determine whether these additional contributions were reinformation.

1 his wife responded by contributing a total of \$8,400 on March 31, 2006. According to

2 Farid, a short time afterwards, HNJ employee Gail Lephart gave Farid an HNJ check

3 reimbursing Farid and his wife for the total amount of their contributions.¹⁶ Kazran also

4 testified that he reimbursed contributions made by Vincent Sams, and disclosure reports

5 suggest that the contributions were made in the names of Sams and his wife totaling

6 \$7,500 in January 2006. Kazran Deps at 22, 27-28.

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In sum, it appears that HNJ reimbursed \$02,700 in contributions in 2006, as set

| Sams, Vincent G. | 1/02/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| Sams, Vincent G. | 1/02/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Sams, Patricia G. | 1/02/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Sams, Patricia G. | 1/02/2006 | \$1.200.00 |
| Farid, Atefah K., | 3/31/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Farid, Atefah K. | 3/31/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Farid, Joshua | 3/31/2005 | 32,100.00 |
| Farial, Joshua | 3/31/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Cutzia, Doreen A. | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Cutaia, Doreen A. | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Cutaia, Joseph P. | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Cutaia, Joseph P. | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.90 |
| Khazravan, Eric | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Khazravan, Eric | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Khazravan, Heidi | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |
| Khazravan, Heidi ' | 6/28/2006 | \$2,100.00 |

8 forth in the chart below.

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Kauran testified that these vanu a connection between the \$16,800 in contributions

11 made by HNJ employees and their relatives in June 2006 and a transaction he was

12 negotiating with Buchanan at that time. Kazran Depo at 34-36. Dodge had awarded a

13 new dealership to Kazran at a location called Gwinnett Place, but under his partnership

¹⁶ Lephart issued that she did ndt resull now the 2006 contributions were missibursed by HNJ, including those of the Farids.

agreement, Buchanan had the right of first refusal, Kazran Depo at 53. According to 1 2 Kazran, Buchanan used that right to force Kazran to give Buchanan 51% ownership in 3 Gwinnett Dodge. Kazran Depo at 53. When Kazran later offered to purchase 4 Buchanan's share of Gwinnett Dodge, Buchanan told Kazran that he would have to pay 5 \$1,000,000 to Buchanan. Kazran wanted to pay a lower amount, and he wanted to pay in 6 installments because he did not have the maney. Kazzan Depo at 13, 35. In exchange for 7 agmoing to allow Kazzan to pushing Buchman's share in installments, Buchman wanted Kezran to commit money to VRFC. Kezran Dere at 53.¹⁷ Buchanan told Kezran, "by 8 9 Friday [June 30, 2006] I want you to raise [\$25,000 or \$50,000]." Kazran Depo at 13. 10 That's when he told me, he said - in fact, that Tuesday before the end of the month in June, I bet you its one of the close of time, because he told, 11 12 he said, Friday is the end and I need you to raise - - I don't remember if it was \$25,000 or \$50,000. And he said, If you do that, then I'm going 13 to take one of that payments. So instead of paping him all at once, he 14 15 agreed to let me make myments on his buyout partion, but I had to raise that money.¹⁸ 16 17 18 Kazran Depo at 35; see also id. at 13. 19 According to Kazran, when he explained that he did not have the money 20 Buchanan wanted, Buchanan replied, "Well, don't you have somebody at the dealership 21 you can trust? Just sun it through the correction." Karsan Depo at hi; san also id. at 13.

22 According to the VBFC sug sponts: submission, two HNJ employees and their sponses

¹⁷ According to Buchanan's disclosure reports filed with the House of Representatives, Buchanan purchased biashars of Gwinnett, L.L.C. on January 12, 2086. View Buchanan Lieune of Representatives Financial Disclosure Reports dated May 14, 2007. Kazran and Buchanan concluded their agreement for Kazran to purchase Buchanan's share on June 26, 2006. Kazran Depo at 34-35; Vern Buchanan House of Representatives Financial Disclosure Reports dated May 14, 2007.

¹⁸ The Tuastiny before the end of the month of June in 2006 was June 27, 2006, and the close of the reporting peaked that was included in the July 2006 Quarterly Reports to the Commission was Friday, June 30, 2006.

each contributed \$4,200 to VBFC on June 28, 2006, for a total of \$16,800, contributions

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| 2 | that were reimbursed by HNJ. Sua Sponte Submission at 1-2. |
| 3 | In an interview, Joshua Farid largely corroborated Kazran's account of this |
| 4 | discussion with Buchanan. Farid stated that he witnessed a conversation between Kazran |
| 5 | and Buchanan regarding political contributions to Buchanan's congressional campaign |
| 6 | and ongoing negotiations between Bucheman and Kazran regarding \$300,000 that Mazran |
| 7 | needed to pay Bushesen for a Dodge dealership. Farid stated that in exchange for |
| 8 | Kazran being permitted to pay by instalkment rather than one lamp sum payment, |
| 9 | Buchanan asked Kazran to provide VBFC with either \$25,000 or \$50,000. Farid stated |
| 10 | that based on his conversation with Kazran, he understood that Buchanan wanted Kazran |
| 11 | to again solicit employees to contribute to his campaign and reimburse them for their |
| 12 | contributions through the company. Farid told Kazran that he thought that what |
| 13 | Buchanan asked him to do was improper. |
| 14 | 3. Contributions Reimbursed with HNJ funds in 2007 |
| 15 | HNJ funds were again used to reimburse contributions in 2007, totaling \$18,400. |
| 16 | According to Kazran, Buchanan always told Kazran that he was counting on him as the |
| 17 | only person who avoid "mise this kind of anoney." Kamma Depo at 53. |
| 18 | According to Gail Lephart, Sam Kazran approached har again in 2007 and |
| 19 | explained that employees needed to contribute to VBFC and be reimbursed through the |
| 20 | company. Lephart told Kazran that she was concerned about company funds being used |
| 2 1 | to reimburse contributions, but he only responded with a shrug. Kazran corroborated |
| 22 | Lephart's statement. Kazran Depo at 22. |
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Lephart asked HNJ employee Stephanie Champ to contribute more than \$8,400. 1 assuming that Champ would contribute jointly with another person as Lephart had done 2 3 with her husband. According to Lephart, someone at VBFC later advised her that Champ could not contribute more than \$2,300 (per election). Consequently, Lephart approached 4 HNJ employee Joe Cutaia, who agreed to contribute to VBFC and be reimbursed. 5 Champ gave the reimbursement she reveived from Lephart to Cutaia. The following HNJ 6 employees and family members made contributions with HNJ funds on December 31, 7 2007:19 8

| Cutaia, Doreen A. | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
|---------------------|------------|------------|
| Cutaia, Doreen A. | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
| Champ, Stephanie K. | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
| Champ, Stephanie K. | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
| Lephart, Ernest C. | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
| Lephart, Ernest C. | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
| Lephart, Gayle | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |
| Lephart, Gayle | 12/31/2007 | \$2,300.00 |

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10 Lephart stated that the HNJ funds used for the reimburgement of these contributions came

11 from the dealership's operating account.²⁰

¹⁹ The VBFC *sua sponte* indicates that the date of the contributions made in the names of Gayle and Ernest Lephart as well as Stephanie Champ was November 31, 2007. VBFC *Sua Sponte* at 2. However, the VBFC 2007 Yeas End disclosure report filed by VBFC, the relevant pages of which are attached as Exhibit A to the VBFC *Sua Sponte*, states that these contributions were received by VBFC on December 31, 2007.

²⁰ On another occasion, Kazran told Buchanan that he had raised \$25,000 or \$30,000. Buchanan said that he needed more and instructed Kazran to charge a \$10,000 contailution to VERNFAC, Buchanan's Leadenship PAC, on the HNJ company could card. Kazran Depo at 22-23. The contribution to VERNFAC using the HNJ credit card was the \$4,600 contribution disclosed by VERNFAC as being made by Kazran himself on September 2, 2007. Kazzan Depo at 23.

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4. Total Reimbursements at HNJ

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| 2 | Although VBFC disclosed in its sua sponte that it was aware of \$52,000 in |
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| 3 | reimbursed contributions from HNJ employees, VBFC Sua Sponte at 2, Kazran believed |
| 4 | that the total value of all reimbursements using HNJ funds was very close to or over |
| 5 | \$100,000. Kazran Depo at 48-49. Although the investigation is ongoing, we currently |
| 6 | calcuture that the total amount of reimbursed contributions to VBFC using HNJ funds |
| 7 | was approximately \$67,900: \$16,800 in 2005, \$32,790 in 2006, and 18,400 in 2007. ²¹ |
| 8 | This \$67,900 figure is based on Karran's testimony about the reimbused contributions, |
| 9 | which corresponds closely with Kazran's estimate in an email that he sent to John Tosch |
| 10 | on October 5, 2008, in which Kazran estimated that the amount of reimbursed |
| 11 | contributions, minus unspecified credit card contributions, was \$70,000. See Email from |
| 12 | Sam Kazran to John Tosch, Buchanan's corporate CEO, dated October 5, 2008 at |
| 13 | FEC000001. |
| 14 | |
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²¹ The contributions to VBFC reimbursed using HNJ funds that we have identified that were not included in VBFC's *sua sponte* are the contributions of Joshua Farid and his wife, made on March 31, 2006, totaling \$8,400, as well as contributions of Vincent Sams and his wife, made on January 2, 2006, totaling \$7,500.

| | MUR 6054 General Counsel's | Report #2 | • | 18 |
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1 2 3 4 There is also evidence that at least one other Buchanan dealership, VND, used its 5 funds to reimburse contributions to VBFC, but, 6 L we 7 have less specific information at this time about the extent of Buchanan's involvement, The Commission previously found reason to believe that VND and its general manager, 8 9 Donald M. Caldwell, knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f in connection 10 with VND's apparent reimbursement of five employees' \$1,000 contributions to VBFC. 11 we are continuing to investigate this activity. During his deposition, Kazran testified that 12 Buchanan's business partner at VND, Shelby Curtsinger, had, in effect, admitted to 13 reimbursements at VND by complaining to him that he was "done with" reimbursing contributions because of cash flow problems at the dealership. Kazran Depo at 45-6. 14 So. you know, in that particular instance there was a problem because 15 they were too open about it. I can't quite recall, but I think that's when 16 17 one of the scaler managers had gone to a meeting and said. We're raising money for Vern and write me a check. And he was reimbursing 18 19 them right there and then. And this type of thing yes happening pretty 20 often. 21 22 Kazran Depo at 43. 23 We are continuing to investigate these reimbursements and have taken the 24 deposition of Caldwell. Caldwell confirmed information provided by another VND 25 manager, Carlo Bell, in the complaint and during an interview, namely that Caldwell solicited contributions from VND employees to VBFC in September 2005 and gave them 26 cash "bonuses" at the time of the solicitation in the same amount as the contribution. 27

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Caldwell Depo at 53-57, 71-73. Caldwell insisted, however, that the \$1,000 cash he gave
 to these employees were legitimate bonuses. Caldwell Depo at 45-46, 52-54, 61-65, 71 74, 99-100. VND payroll records and an interview of VND's controller, Christine Hires,
 suggest that bonuses to these employees are not reflected in the company's payroll
 records. ¬

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C. ALLEGED FALSE AFFIDAVIT

Four days before VBFC filed the *sua syspate* in this matter, Buchanan presented Kazran with an affidavit stating that Buchanan was unaware of reimbursed contributions at HNJ. Consistent with his sworn testimony and the other evidence described in this report, Kazran testified that this affidavit was false because Buchanan told Kazran to reimburse his employees' contributions to VBFC.

12 According to Kazran and Farid, HNJ was having financial difficulties by the end 13 of 2007, and they wanted Buchanan to pay back several hundred thousand dollars that 14 Buchanan had withdrawn from HNJ as well as the company funds used to reimburse 15 campaign contributions. Kazran testified that he discovered that Buchanan had withdrawn a total of \$800,000 to \$900,000 from HNJ without his knowledge. Kazran 16 17 Depo at 54-55. Kazran explained that at this point he did not want to be partners with 18 Buchanan any further and wanted Buchanan to buy Kazran's share of a Kia dealership. 19 Kazran Depo at 55.

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| 1 | An email made during the negotiation of their business settlement agreement |
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| 2 | suggests that the repayment of the HNJ funds used to reimburse campaign contributions |
| 3 | was part of the negotiations. On October 1, 2008, Kazran wrote to an attorney |
| 4 | representing Buchanan in the business matter about the possible terms of an agreement |
| 5 | with Buchanan. See Email from Sam Kazran to Roger Gannam dated October 1, 2008 at |
| 6 | FEC0000085-85. |
| 7 8 9 10 | Venn had mentioned he would want to reimburse the stores a bill that he and I spoke of, the total amount is \$83,500, He has copies of 52k, if he likes I can get the rest or he can verify through his record. This was at his request. |
| 11 12 | See id, at FEC0000086. This portion of an otherwise straightforward email about the |
| 13 | necessary loans, financing, and collateral for an agreement between Buchanan and |
| 14 | Kazran appears to refer to Buchanan's repayment of HNJ for the campaign contributions |
| 15 | Sam Kazran reimbursed using HNJ funds. The "52k" figure quoted above matches the |
| 16 | \$52,000 figure stated by VBFC in its sua sponte for the total amount of contributions to |
| 17 | VBFC reimbursed by HNJ. See VBFC Sua Sponte at 2. Kazran testified that he sent to |
| 18 | Buchanan's CEO, John Tosch, copies of the contribution checks that he had people write |
| 19 | to VBFC (which were reimbursed by HNJ) in order to substantiate the amounts that |
| 20 | Buchstean should repay. Kazran Depo at 67-69. |
| 21 | An email communication from Kazran to Tosch several days later suggests that as |
| 22 | part of this settlement, Buchanan and Kazran discussed a proposal by Buchanan to repay |
| 23 | HNJ for its reimbursement of contributions to VBFC. On October 5, 2008, Sam Kazran |

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- emailed John Tosch stating, among other things: 24
- Vern and I will talk about the last part without attornies[sic], I think I 25 have a suggestion that will make him happy He wants to cut a check 26 for all the amount, I have about 70k tracked down the rest are credit 27

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cards, if he wants to verify, I have to call the campaign manager to ask 1 2 her for distails, if you can have someone do titut I would apply leist it. 3 Id. at FEC000002.25 4 5 Buchanan and Tosch signed a draft agreement dated October 2, 2008, offering to 6 Kazran that they "resolve all existing claims among them with respect to all past and current business relationships." Letter from Roger K. Gamman to Sam Kazran dated 7 Outober 2, 2008 ("Buchman Offer Letter"). The Buchman Offer Letter is dated one day 8 9 after Kazzan's canail communication to Roma Gannam and four days before VBFC's sure 10 sponte submission in Pre-MUR 479. 11 According to Kazran, he needed the money that the proposed agreement offered, 12 and it would have saved HNJ and the 500 employees working there. Kazran Depo at 57. 13 Paragraph 12 of the agreement, however, required Kazran to sign an affidavit attached to 14 the agreement. Kazran Depo at 57, 59-60; Buchanan Offer Letter at 4. Exhibit A of the 15 Buchanan Offer Letter, titled "Affidavit of Sam Kazran a/k/a Sam Khazrwan," included 16 the statements: 17 4. During the course of tense and somewhat hostile negotiations between my lawyers and me, and representatives for Buchanan, I advised a representative of 18 19 humhman that one or more of the dealerships of which I was in operational control had reimbursed certain individuals who had contributed to the Buchanan 20 21 for Congress campaign. 22 23 5. Before September, 2008, neither I nor to my knowledge, any other person who 24

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had ever advised Buchanan or any of his representatives had any information that one or both of the dealerships referred to in 1 above [HNJ] reimbursed certain

²⁵ In the same email communication, Kazran expressed to John Tosch his surprise at reports about a sworn statement by Tosch that Buchanan's opponent in the 2006 general election, Christine Jennings, had motivated Kazran to filt a lawsuit and was meeting with Kazran to Electiknan. Email from Sam Kazran to John Touch dated Octahar 5, 2005 at FEC(2000). Kazran asked to me Tosch's statement, stated that he had discussed being contacted by an attorney and CREW but not Jennings, and stated a preference for staying out of "political media." Id. "I am sure they are going to use anything I say against Vern and I do not want to get involved." Id. Kazran suggested that he and Tosch call or write Jennings together to say that "Vern and I have a good relationship and that we simply have a dispute[.]" Id.

| 1 2 2 | individuals for contributions made to the Vernon G. Buchanan for Congress campaign. |
|----------------|---|
| 3 | |
| 4 5 | ••• |
| 6 | 7. No one has advised me that Buchanan or any representative of his knew of any |
| 7 | intention, plan or arrangement by anyone to make a reimbursement, directly or |
| 8 | indirectly, to a person in exchange for making a contribution to the Buchanan for |
| 9 | Congress campaign. |
| 10 | Couldress cambarlan |
| 11 | Buchanan Offer Letter at 2. According to Kazran, on October 2, 2008, Buchanan asked |
| | Dutininan Olite Dutte at 2. Australig to Kazani, th Ottober 2, 2008, Dutininan asket |
| 12 | him to come down to the Samsota Ford dehlarship, and once Kaman arrived, Buchman |
| 13 | statad, "I need a favor. I nand you to sign this affidavit." Kaznan Depo at 60-61. Kazran |
| 14 | testified that he was initially excited to save the company but when he read the affidavit, |
| 15 | he became uncomfortable. Kazran Depo at 61. Kazran testified: |
| 16 | A But this affidavit basically wanted me to say that Vern had no |
| 17 | idea about this and that I'm the one who did all of it, which is |
| 18 | absolutely incorrect. |
| 19 | |
| 20 | Q. When you say "about this," what are you refeating to? |
| 21 | |
| 22 | A. The campaign contributions. He wanted me to say that Vern had |
| 23 | nothing to do with campaign contributions. |
| 24 | |
| 25 | Kazran Depo at 60-61. According to Kazran, Buchanan "made it a condition afterwards |
| 26 | and he did - if I dit not sign the affidavit, to blame everything on me, then there would |
| 27 | be no agreemant and contract to purchase out the dealanship and give me back the |
| 28 | money." Marran Deps at 63. |
| 2 9 | Kazran testified that the statements in the affidavit that Buchanan did not know |
| 30 | about the reimbursements were incorrect and "an absolute lie," and he refused to sign the |
| 31 | agreement. Kazran Depo at 70-72. After Kazran refused, Buchanan said they would |
| 32 | discuss it and then began talking about how he was going to be governor "and I shouldn't |
| 33 | be this I don't want him to be against me but on my side." Kazran Depo at 62. |

1 According to Sam Kazran, by not signing the agreement, he lost his company. Kazran

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- 2 Depo at 62, 86.
- 3

D. BUCHANAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAW

The earliest indication that Buchanan authorized his business partners to 4 reimburse federal contributions using company funds was in 2003, before his candidacy. 5 6 During an informal interview, Salvatore Rosa explained that he was a CPA who worked 7 for Buchanan from 1998 to 2003. For the first two-and-one-half years, Rosa reported 8 directly to Buchanan, and for the remainder of the time, he reported to John Tosch, 9 whom Rosa described as Vernon Buchanan's "right hand." Rosa was listed as treasurer for many of Buchanan's businesses (Buchanan had approximately 52 entities when Rosa 10 11 worked for him) and provided a variety of services to Buchanan. Another witness 12 described Rosa as the Chief Financial Officer. Rosa was listed as an employee of Sarasota 500 and Auto Central Services, Inc. ("ACS"), a "management company." | 13 During his interview, Rosa stated that Buchanan "forced me out" in 2003. 14 15 According to Rosa, Tosch explained that the hostile treatment Rosa began receiving was due to Rosa "embarrassing" Buchanan by repeatedly telling him about improper activities 16 taking place in his businesses. Rosa had heard that there were coerced political 17 contributions at Sarasota Ford in 2000-2001 and that employees' political contributions 18 19 were reimbursed through additions to their paychecks.

According to Rosa, in the early 2000's, Joseph Gruters, then a Sarasota Ford or
 ACS employee who "worked on Buchanan's political stuff," told Buchanan that it was

| 1 | important for Buchanan to show that he had the ability to raise political contributions so |
|----|---|
| 2 | that he could create a groundswell of support. ²⁷ According to Rosa, Buchanan then |
| 3 | pressured employees and managers to attend a George W. Bush/Republican National |
| 4 | Committee joint fundraiser and contribute \$1,000 each. ²⁸ |
| 5 | According to Rosa, around this time, Buchanan called Rosa and instructed him to |
| 6 | help Don Jeukins receive a reimbursement for a political contribution he had made. |
| 7 | Resa identified Jankins as the President of V.B. Investments, and another witness |
| 8 | identified leaking as Buchanan's husiness partner in a car dealership that was the |
| 9 | predecessor to HNJ. Buchanan told Rosa that he wanted Jenkins to be reimbursed by |
| 10 | V.B. Investments, of which Buchanan owned 51% at the time, and that Rosa should tell |
| 11 | Jenkins how to go about using the corporation's money to reimburse Jenkins' |
| 12 | contribution. Rosa informed Buchanan that what he was asking Rosa to do was illegal. |
| 13 | Buchanan replied, "Finesse it, I gotta go" and ended the conversation. According to |
| 14 | Rosa, when he called Jenkins, Jenkins told Rosa that he had already reimbursed himself. |
| 15 | Also at this time, Shelby Curtsinger, Buchanan's partner at VND, toid Rosa that he was |
| 16 | reinfigured for his contribution to the same fundsaiser through a false bossus. According |
| 17 | to Rosa, he advised Buchanan on matual occasions that reinfinitude contributions war: |
| 18 | illegal. |

²⁷ According to Rosa, Gruters eventually became Vernon Buchman's congressional campaign manager. He is currently also serving as the VBFC treasurer.

²⁸ David Long previously contributed \$2,000 to Bush-Cheney '04 (Primary) Inc., on November 25, 2003. Dennis Slater also contributed \$2,000 to that committee on November 21, 2003, and testified that it was Buchanan's idea to go to a fundraiser where President Bush would be speaking and that it would cost \$2,000. Sinter Depo at 97-108.

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1 IV. ANALYSIS

2 The Act prohibits any person from making a contribution in the name of another 3 person. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. The Act also prohibits any person from knowingly accepting a contribution made by one person in the name of another person. Id. In addition, any 4 candidate who receives a contribution in connection with a campaign shall be considered 5 6 as having received the committee, 7 2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(2). In the 2006 election cycle, the individual contribution limit for 8 giving to candidate committees was \$2,100 per election, and in the 2008 election cycle, it 9 was \$2,300 per election. The contributions of a partnership are attributed to both the 10 partners and the partnership itself, that is, the partnership itself is subject to the 11 contribution limit in effect at the time for individuals. See 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(e). 12 Accordingly, a partnership reimbursing contributions totaling more than \$2,100 (in the 2006 cycle) or \$2,300 (in the 2008 cycle) per election would also constitute the making 13 14 of an excessive contribution. Finally, committees may not knowingly accept excessive 15 contributions 2 U.S.C. §441a(f). 16 VBBC, in its sure sporte submission, acknowlednes that it received \$52,000 in 17 contributions made with HNJ funds in the names of others. VBFC Sua Sponte

18 Submission at 2. The available information establishes a reason to investigate whether

19 respondent Rep. Vernon Buchanan, the majority partner in several automobile

20 dealerships including HNJ, directed at least one of his minority partners, Sam Kazran, his

21 partner at HNJ, to use Buchanan dealership funds to contribute to Vern Buchanan for

22 Congress by reimbursing campaign contributions made by (in the name of) dealership

23 employees. Because Vern Buchanan for Congress is Buchanan's principal campaign

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committee and, therefore, Buchanan is an agent of the Committee. his alleged role in the 2 alleged reimbursement of Buchanan dealership employee contributions may indicate that 3 the Committee knowingly and willfully accepted contributions in the name of another 4 and that it knowingly and willfully accepted excessive contributions from HNJ. 5 An investigation into Buchanan and VBFC's knowledge of the reimbursements and the law is necessary given the testimony of his former business partner. Sam Karran, 6 7 that Buchman instanced him to mise custoibutions to VBFC by inviag analoyees 8 contribute to VBFC and reindouse those apployee (and sponsal) contributions using the 9 funds of HNJ and sign an affidavit that he allegedly knew to be false. Important aspects 10 of Kazran's testimony are corroborated by or consistent with statements made by other 11 witnesses, disclosure reports filed by the Committee, and other documentary evidence. 12 Buchanan's business partner at Sarasota Ford, David Long, testified that Buchanan asked 13 him and his other partners to raise money for the campaign, and Long believed that he 14 needed to contribute. Karzan's business partner and brother-in-law, Joshua Farid, 15 described a telephone conversation during which Buchanan instructed Kazran to run reimbarsements "through the company." Farld also stated that it was his understanding 16 17 that Buchanan made the luciness deal to may back funds to HinJ canditioned unton Kezman 18 signing an affidavit that Buchanga had no knowledge of reimbursements. Buchgnan's 19 former accountant, Salvatore Rosa, stated that Buchanan instructed him to help another 20 employee receive a reimbursement for a contribution and that he repeatedly advised 21 Buchanan that reimbursing contributions was illegal. There is also information 22 suggesting that reimbursements were not limited to HNJ. Respondent Donald Caldwell. 23 a dealership manager, appears to have reimbursed contributions made by VND

| 1 | employees, |
|----|---|
| 2 | |
| 3 | Finally, one witness |
| 4 | stated that Buchanan himself offered the use of his vacation home in exchange for that |
| 5 | witness making a contribution to VBFC. |
| 6 | While we continue to investigate the circumstances of the reimbursed |
| 7 | contributions and weigh the credibility of Kazran against other evidence, the evidence |
| 8 | thus far supports an investigation into whether Buchanan and VBFC knowingly and |
| 9 | willfully received contributions in the name of another and excessive contributions, that |
| 10 | is, contributions from Buchanan dealerships that reimbursed contributions made in the |
| 11 | name of their employees, including \$67,900 in contributions from employees of HNJ, |
| 12 | \$5,000 in contributions from employees of VND, |
| 13 | Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that |
| 14 | Vernon G. Buchanan and Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph R. Gruters, in his |
| 15 | official capacity as treasurer, knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and |
| 16 | 441a(f). |
| 17 | V. <u>INVESTIGATION</u> |
| 18 | We intend to investigate the extent of Buchanan and VBFC's knowledge at the |
| 19 | time of contributions to his campaign that the funds used to make the contributions came |
| 20 | from his car dealerships and business partners through undisclosed reimbursements to the |
| 21 | individual contributors, as well as their knowledge of the relevant law. We intend to |
| 22 | submit a request to obtain documents and the sworn testimony of Buchanan, |

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23 and the campaign worker with whom David Long and Sam Kazran communicated about

- 1 the contributions they were raising. We expect to informally interview individuals as
- 2 well, such as the then-treasurer of the Committee. We expect to expeditiously complete
- 3 the investigation in this matter, and, if warranted by the evidence we will have gathered,
- 4 we anticipate quickly proceeding to probable cause briefing.

5 VI. <u>RECOMMENDATIONS</u>

- 1. Find reason to believe that Vernon G. Buchanan knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(f).
- 2. Find reason to believe that Van Buchann for Congress and Joseph R. Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(f).
- 3. Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses.
- 4. Approve the appropriate letters.

Thomasenia P. Duncan General Counsel

Date: 3(9(10

BY:

Stephen A. Gura

Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement

Mark Allen Assistant General Counsel

by MA

Michael A. Columbo Attorney

by mA

Jack A. Gould Attorney

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