

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER
SOPHIA GONSALVES-BROWN
1101 14th Street NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005

v. MUR No. _____

DONALD J. TRUMP
TRUMP 47 COMMITTEE, INC.
and BRADLEY T. CRATE in his
official capacity as treasurer
P.O. Box 509
Arlington, VA 22216

AMERICA FIRST ACTION FUND
and ASHLEY HAYEK in her official
capacity as treasurer
1777 N Kent St.
Arlington, VA 22209

RIGHT FOR AMERICA
and JOHN PLISHKA in his official
capacity as treasurer
1390 Chain Bridge Rd., Ste 515
McLean, VA 22101

COMPLAINT

1. Days before the 2024 election, Donald Trump took the stage at New York’s Madison Square Garden for an event marketed as one of the final campaign rallies of Trump’s 2024 presidential campaign. But despite being billed by Trump’s own “Trump 47” joint fundraising committee as a Trump campaign rally, this October 27, 2024, event was largely paid for by two super PACs, America First Action Fund—a group funded almost entirely by Linda McMahon, who now serves in Trump’s Cabinet as the Secretary of Education—and Right for America, which combined to pay over \$1 million for the event. By doing so, these super PACs appear to have blatantly violated federal campaign finance laws that prohibit super PACs from making direct or in-kind contributions to federal candidates—a condition of being allowed to raise and spend unlimited sums of

money, including corporate funds, on elections. Trump and his authorized joint fundraising committee, the Trump 47 Committee, also appear to have violated the law by knowingly accepting these super PACs' contributions, which were never reported as contributions and were vastly in excess of prevailing federal contribution limits.

2. By raising money outside of the Federal Election Campaign Act's ("FECA" or the "Act") source and amount restrictions while contributing to Trump's campaign through their payments for the Madison Square Garden event, these super PACs acted as vehicles for their donors to unlawfully underwrite Trump's 2024 presidential campaign, thus circumventing the Act's contribution limits and depriving the public of timely, complete, and accurate information regarding the sources of funding for Trump's campaign.
3. This complaint is filed pursuant to 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(1) and is based on information and belief that Trump, the Trump 47 Committee, America First Action Fund, and Right for America have violated FECA, 52 U.S.C. § 30101, *et seq.* "If the Commission, upon receiving a complaint . . . has reason to believe that a person has committed, or is about to commit, a violation of [FECA] . . . [t]he Commission *shall make an investigation* of such alleged violation."¹

FACTS

4. Donald J. Trump was the successful 2024 candidate for president, and the Trump 47 Committee, Inc. ("Trump 47") is a joint fundraising committee that, during the 2024 election cycle, raised funds for Trump's 2024 authorized campaign committee, Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc., Trump's leadership PAC, Save America, the Republican

¹ 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2) (emphasis added); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 111.4(a).

National Committee (RNC), and fifty Republican Party state committees.² Trump 47 first registered with the Commission as “2024 RNC VICTORY” on January 31, 2024.³ After Trump became the Republican Party’s presumptive presidential nominee in March 2024, the committee was renamed “Trump 47 Committee,”⁴ and Trump authorized it to fundraise for him on April 17, 2024.⁵ Trump 47’s current treasurer, Bradley T. Crate, was appointed to that position on March 26, 2024.⁶

5. Trump 47 raised over \$368 million during the 2024 election cycle, while spending over \$100 million on operating expenditures.⁷ Between October 22, 2024, and November 4, 2024, Trump 47 reported making three disbursements totaling \$649,867 to “MSG Arena LLC,” each of which was for “Event expense: facility rental.”⁸
6. America First Action Fund (“AFAF PAC”) is an independent-expenditure only political committee (“IEOPC”), more commonly referred to as a super PAC, organized on October 22, 2024.⁹ Its treasurer, Ashley Hayek,¹⁰ previously worked for Trump’s 2020

² Trump 47 Comm., Inc., Amend. Statement of Org. at 1 (Jan. 31, 2025), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/870/202501319748800870/202501319748800870.pdf>.

³ 2024 RNC Victory, Statement of Org. at 1 (Jan. 31, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/941/202401319608085941/202401319608085941.pdf>.

⁴ Trump 47 Committee, Inc., Amend. Statement of Org. at 1 (Mar. 14, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/870/202501319748800870/202501319748800870.pdf>.

⁵ Donald J. Trump, Amend. Statement of Candidacy at 1 (Apr. 17, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/824/202404179633441824/202404179633441824.pdf>.

⁶ Trump 47 Committee, Inc., Amend. Statement of Org. at 1 (Mar. 26, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/591/202403269627412591/202403269627412591.pdf>.

⁷ Trump 47 Committee, Inc., Financial Summary 2023-2024, <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00867937/?tab=summary&cycle=2024>.

⁸ Trump 47 Committee, Inc., Amend. 30-Day Post-Gen. Election Report at 960 (Feb. 11, 2025), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202502119753399914> (reporting payments of \$327,686 on October 22, 2024, \$239,019 on October 31, 2024, and \$83,162 on November 4, 2024).

⁹ America First Action Fund, Statement of Org. at 1 (Oct. 22, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/016/202410229710074016/202410229710074016.pdf>.

¹⁰ *Id.*

presidential campaign, Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. (which was later reorganized as a multicandidate PAC, “Make America Great Again PAC”).¹¹

7. AFAF PAC has reported raising a total of \$1,150,000 from just two contributors: a \$1 million contribution from Linda McMahon on October 18, 2024, and a \$150,000 contribution from Common Sense for America PAC, Sen. John Kennedy’s leadership PAC, on October 23, 2024.¹²
8. During the 2024 election cycle, AFAF PAC reported spending over \$167,000 on independent expenditures and over \$569,000 on operating expenditures.¹³
9. AFAF PAC reported disbursing \$500,000—its single largest disbursement by far—on October 22, 2024, to “Madison Square Garden Entertainment” for “Fundraising Venue and Production.”¹⁴ At least two other of AFAF PAC’s reported disbursements, totaling over \$47,000, are explicitly related to a fundraising event: a November 18, 2024, payment of \$37,267.04 to “Event Strategies, Inc.” for “Signage/Apparel for Fundraising Event” and a December 3, 2024, payment of \$10,693.57 to Hayek (AFAF PAC’s

¹¹ See Disbursements from Donald J. Trump for President, Inc., to Ashley Hayek, https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?data_type=processed&committee_id=C00580100&recipient_name=Ashley+Hayek.

¹² Receipts, America First Action Fund, https://www.fec.gov/data/receipts/?data_type=processed&committee_id=C00891549; see Common Sense for America PAC, Amend. Statement of Org. at 2-3 (May 11, 2023), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/091/202305119581436091/202305119581436091.pdf>.

¹³ America First Action Fund, Financial Summary 2023-2024, <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00891549/?tab=summary&cycle=2024>.

¹⁴ America First Action Fund, 30-Day Post-Gen. Election Report at 12 (Dec. 5, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202412059739515308>.

treasurer) for “Fundraising Travel/Printing/Food/Beverage Reimbursement.”¹⁵ The majority of the committee’s other disbursements are for travel or lodging.¹⁶

10. After the 2024 election, AFAF PAC effectively appears to have gone dormant, raising no funds and spending just over \$20,000 on compliance and overhead costs; it nevertheless reports having over \$390,000 in cash on hand.¹⁷
11. Right for America (“RFA PAC”), organized on January 24, 2024, is also an IEOPC or super PAC, and its original treasurer was Leandro Rizzuto.¹⁸ Its current treasurer, who was appointed in January 2025, is John Plishka.¹⁹
12. During the 2024 election cycle, RFA PAC raised over \$72.5 million and spent almost \$70 million on independent expenditures supporting Donald Trump or opposing his general election opponent, Kamala Harris.²⁰ RFA PAC has reported receiving dozens of five- and six-figure contributions, as well as money from both individuals and corporations.²¹

¹⁵ America First Action Fund, 30-Day Post-Gen. Election Report at 10 (Dec. 5, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202412059739515306>; America First Action Fund, 2024 Year-End Report at 7 (Jan. 31, 2025), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202501319752739747>.

¹⁶ See Disbursements, America First Action Fund, https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?data_type=processed&committee_id=C00891549 (reporting 33 total disbursements including multiple payments to Kimpton Hotel Event[s] for “lodging,” Delta Airlines and United Airlines for “airfare,” Amtrak for “transportation services,” and several individuals for “travel reimbursement”).

¹⁷ America First Action Fund, Financial Summary 2025-2026, <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00891549/?tab=summary&cycle=2026>.

¹⁸ Right for America, Statement of Org. at 1 (Jan 24, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/951/202401249600247951/202401249600247951.pdf>.

¹⁹ Right for America, Amend. Statement of Org. at 1 (Jan. 21, 2025), <https://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/158/202501219747657158/202501219747657158.pdf>.

²⁰ Right for America, Financial Summary 2023-2024, <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00867036/?cycle=2024>; see also Independent expenditures, Right for America, https://www.fec.gov/data/independent-expenditures/?q_spender=C00867036&two_year_transaction_period=2024&cycle=2024&is_notice=false&data_type=processed.

²¹ Right for America, Receipts 2023-2024, https://www.fec.gov/data/receipts/?committee_id=C00867036&two_year_transaction_period=2024&data_type=processed; see, e.g., Right for America October 2024 Quarterly Report at 39 (Oct. 15, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202410159687828712> (reporting \$5 million contribution from David J. Millstone, \$100,000 contribution from Ira Mitzner, and \$25,000 contribution from Brent Mills); *id.* at 54 (reporting \$250,000 contribution from GEO Acquisition II Inc. and \$100,000 contribution from Delray Village Shoppes, Inc.).

13. RFA PAC reported disbursing \$500,000 on October 21, 2024, to “MSG National Properties” for “Event Space Rental.”²² This single disbursement comprised over one-third of the committee’s reported operating expenditures for the 2024 election cycle.

The Madison Square Garden Event

14. On October 27, 2024, just nine days before the 2024 election, Trump held an event at New York City’s Madison Square Garden (“MSG”) that was widely billed, by Trump’s own authorized joint fundraising committee and the press, as a campaign rally.²³ Trump was one of many speakers at the MSG event, including his wife and adult children, as well as his running mate Sen. J.D. Vance. Sergio Gor, who reportedly led RFA PAC,²⁴ also spoke at the event—though he made no apparent mention of the super PAC in his remarks.²⁵ While speaking at the event, Trump outlined policy goals for his presidency and attacked his opponent, Kamala Harris.²⁶
15. The invitation for the MSG event, reproduced below, clearly indicates that the event was being hosted by Trump 47: The document is headed by a “Trump 47” stylized logo, and

²² Right for America, 30-Day Post-Gen. Election Report at 24 (Dec. 5, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202412059739693672>.

²³ Invitation, <https://punchbowl.news/wp-content/uploads/trump-msg-invite.pdf> (attached as Exh. A); *Former President Trump Holds Campaign Rally at Madison Square Garden*, C-SPAN (Oct. 27, 2024), <https://www.c-span.org/program/campaign-2024/former-president-trump-holds-campaign-rally-at-madison-square-garden/650435>; see Lisa Rozner, *et al.*, *Trump Rally at Madison Square Garden Features Offensive, Crude Commentary*, CBS News (Oct. 30, 2024), <https://www.cbsnews.com/newyork/news/donald-trump-madison-square-garden-rally/> (“Thousands of people from around the New York area and other parts of the country descended on Madison Square Garden in New York City on Sunday afternoon for former President Donald Trump’s campaign rally.”).

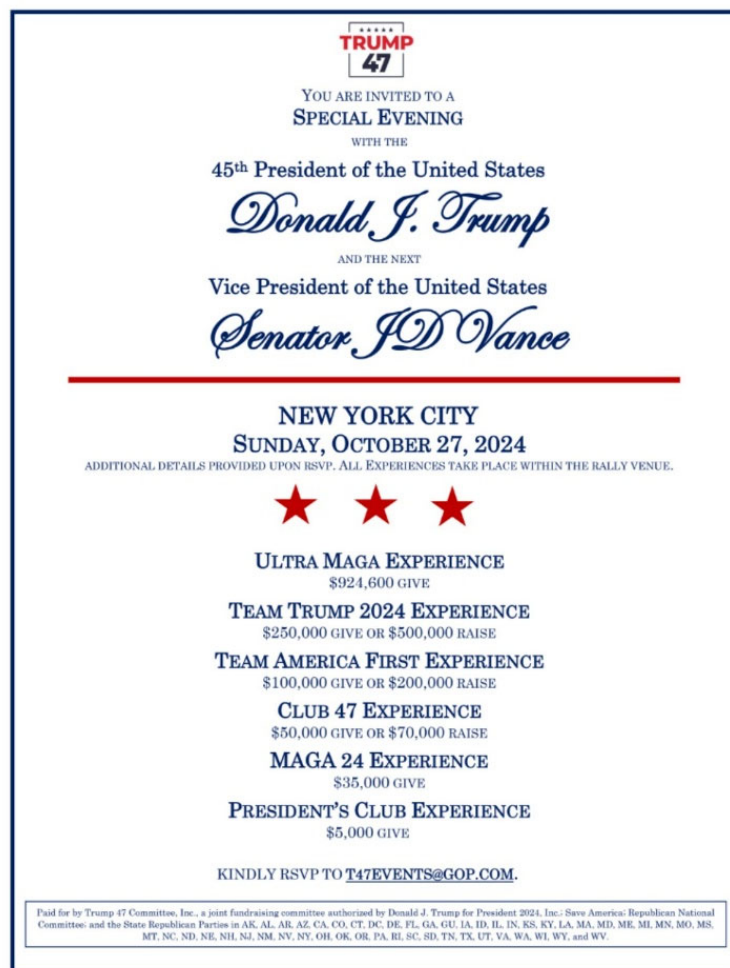
²⁴ See Maggie Haberman, *A New Pro-Trump Super PAC Has Formed, With Ties to Mar-a-Lago*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 23, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/23/us/politics/trump-super-pac-right-for-america.html>.

²⁵ Press Release, *President Trump Announces Speakers, Guests for Historic Rally in Madison Square Garden* (Oct. 25, 2024), <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/news/a10096d3-f985-4122-9ac0-b518b6ecd403> (listing, among the list of speakers for the event, “Sergio Gor, Right for America PAC”); C-SPAN, *supra* note 23.

²⁶ See Rozner, CBS News, *supra* note 23 (“[Trump’s] speech included familiar campaign lines about immigration, his deportation plans, crime, the border, and the economy.”); Shane Goldmacher, *et al.*, *Trump at the Garden: A Closing Carnival of Grievances, Misogyny and Racism*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 27, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html>.

requests prospective attendees to “KINDLY RSVP TO T47EVENTS@GOP.COM.”²⁷

The disclaimer at the bottom states that the communication is “Paid for by Trump 47 Committee, Inc., a joint fundraising committee authorized by Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc.”²⁸ The invitation also provides specific donation tiers that attendees can give. While the invitation does not specifically reference MSG, it provides that the event will be in “New York City” on “October 27, 2024,”—the date of the MSG event—and further indicates that additional details for the event will be “provided upon RSVP.”²⁹



²⁷ See Invitation, <https://punchbowl.news/wp-content/uploads/trump-msg-invite.pdf> (attached as Exh. A).

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

16. Trump’s authorized campaign committee, Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc., issued a press release regarding the MSG event on October 14, 2024, which stated that Trump “will deliver remarks at a rally in New York, New York on Sunday, October 27, 2024.”³⁰ The press release provided details for the event, including that MSG was the venue.³¹ A “Register Here” link for “General Admission Tickets” at the bottom of the press release directs to another webpage, where the disclaimer at the bottom indicates that the communication has been “paid for by Trump 47 Committee, Inc.”³² Another campaign press release, issued on October 25, 2024, listed the speakers who would appear at the MSG event, emphasizing, “This epic event, in the heart of President Trump’s home city, will be a showcase of the historic political movement that President Trump has built in the final days of the campaign.”³³
17. At the MSG event, the signage around the venue, including on the podium at which Trump—among many others, including Trump’s wife and adult children, as well as Vice Presidential candidate J.D. Vance—spoke was the Trump campaign’s signage, a screenshot of which is below.

³⁰ Press Release, *President Donald J. Trump to Hold a Rally at the Iconic Madison Square Garden in New York* (Oct. 14, 2024), <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/news/a07e90aa-b8fa-465d-9f3c-d1969231ca74> (attached as Exh. B).

³¹ *Id.*

³² *President Donald J. Trump to Hold a Rally in New York, New York*, https://event.donaldjtrump.com/events/president-donald-j-trump-to-hold-a-rally-in-new-york-new-york?_gl=1*18vdmby*_gcl_au*MTU1MDk3NDY0MC4xNzYzMDY2NjMw&_ga=2.211915859.617970158.1763066630-798334042.1763066630 (attached as Exh. C).

³³ Press Release, *President Trump Announces Speakers, Guests for Historic Rally in Madison Square Garden* (Oct. 25, 2024), <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/news/a10096d3-f985-4122-9ac0-b518b6ecd403>.



18. The event signage not only referenced both Trump and Vance, it also used the well-known Trump campaign slogan “Make America Great Again!” as well as the phrase “Trump Will Fix It,” messaging that Trump’s campaign introduced and used at events in the closing weeks of the 2024 election.³⁴ Signs held by attendees at the MSG event read “Text Trump to 88022,” an appeal that also appears at the top of the Trump campaign website; individuals who text that number are added to the Trump campaign’s list and prompted to make donations to the Trump campaign.³⁵
19. During his remarks at the MSG event, Trump did not mention either “America First Action Fund” or “Right for America.”³⁶

³⁴ See Peter Baker, *Trump Vows to ‘Fix It,’ Whether It’s Still Broken or Not*, N.Y. Times (Nov. 4, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/politics/trump-economy-immigration-crime.html> (“At rallies in the campaign’s final days, former President Donald J. Trump’s team has posted “Trump Will Fix It” banners.”).

³⁵ See Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Campaign Website, <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/> (viewed Nov. 19, 2025).

³⁶ *Speech: Donald Trump Holds a Campaign Rally in New York City - October 27, 2024*, Roll Call, <https://rollcall.com/factbase/trump/transcript/donald-trump-speech-campaign-rally-new-york-madison-square-garden-october-27-2024/>.

20. After Trump tapped Linda McMahon to serve as his incoming Secretary of Education in December 2024, a report in *Forbes* indicated that McMahon, through a \$1 million contribution to AFAF PAC, had paid at least \$500,000 to finance the MSG event.³⁷

SUMMARY OF THE LAW

Contribution Amount Limits and Source Restrictions

21. Under FECA, a contribution includes “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 Federal office,” and an expenditure includes “any purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office.”³⁸ Under Commission regulations, “anything of value” in either context includes all in-kind contributions, such as the provision of goods or services at no charge or at a discount.³⁹
22. FECA prohibits making contributions to candidates aggregating in excess of a specific per-election amount—\$3,300 per election for the 2024 election cycle—and it further prohibits the knowing acceptance of excessive contributions.⁴⁰ FECA likewise prohibits contributions to political committees other than candidate-authorized committees aggregating in excess of \$5,000 per year, and further prohibits the knowing acceptance of

³⁷ Zach Everson, *Linda McMahon, Trump’s Education Pick, Bankrolled His Raucous Madison Square Garden Rally*, *Forbes* (Dec. 11, 2024), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/zacheverson/2024/12/11/linda-mcmahon-donald-trump-madison-square-garden-department-education/>.

³⁸ 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i), (B)(i).

³⁹ 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.52(d)(1), 100.111.

⁴⁰ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(A), (f); see Contribution Limits for 2023-2024, https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/contribution_limits_chart_2023-2024.pdf.

such contributions.⁴¹ FECA also generally prohibits making or knowingly accepting contributions by corporations and labor organizations.⁴²

23. Pursuant to the Supreme Court’s decision in *Citizens United v. FEC* and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit’s decision in *SpeechNow.org v. FEC*, the Commission has recognized a limited exception to the general \$5,000 limit on contributions to political committees: Committees that only make independent expenditures, and that do not make contributions to or otherwise coordinate with federal candidates, are permitted to solicit and raise unlimited contributions for their independent activities, including contributions from corporations and labor unions.⁴³ These independent-expenditure-only PACs are now commonly known as “super PACs.”⁴⁴
24. Federal courts and the Commission itself have made clear that an essential condition for super PACs to accept unlimited contributions, including corporate and union money, is that they operate independently from candidates—including refraining from contributing to candidate-authorized committees—and “make only *independent* expenditures.”⁴⁵ The Supreme Court, in *Citizens United*, concluded that the government’s interest in prohibiting corporate *independent* expenditures was insufficient because, in the court’s view, the “absence of prearrangement and coordination of an expenditure . . . alleviates

⁴¹ 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(1)(C), (f).

⁴² *Id.* § 30118(a).

⁴³ See *Citizens United v. FEC*, 558 U.S. 310 (2010); *SpeechNow v. FEC*, 599 F.3d 686 (D.C. Cir. 2010); Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) (July 22, 2010); see also 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1), 30118(a).

⁴⁴ Pursuant to a federal district court’s stipulated order and consent judgment in August 2011, the FEC recognized the same limited exception to FECA’s contribution amount limits and source prohibitions for a segregated, noncontribution account of a political committee—now commonly referred to as a “hybrid PAC”—that maintains two separate accounts, one used to make contributions to candidates and the other used exclusively for independent activity. See FEC Statement on *Carey v. FEC* (2011) (Oct. 6, 2011), <https://www.fec.gov/updates/fec-statement-on-carey-v-fec/>; see also Stipulated Order and Consent Judgment, *Carey v. FEC*, No. 11-259 (D.D.C. Aug. 19, 2011).

⁴⁵ Advisory Op. 2010-11 at 3 (Commonsense Ten) (citing *Citizens United* and *SpeechNow*) (emphasis added).

the danger that expenditures will be given as a quid pro quo for improper commitments from the candidate.”⁴⁶ As the D.C. Circuit later noted, “[t]he independence of independent expenditures was a central consideration in the [*Citizens United*] decision.”⁴⁷

25. Because a super PAC’s ability to accept unlimited contributions and corporate general treasury funds arises from these court decisions that, on their face, apply only to groups that only make independent expenditures—and not to groups that contribute directly to or coordinate expenditures with a candidate or political party committee—a political committee that contributes to or coordinates its activity with federal candidates or party committees is, by definition, not a super PAC, and cannot accept contributions that would violate FECA’s contribution amount limits and source prohibitions.

Reporting Requirements

26. Under FECA, all political committees must file periodic reports with the Commission disclosing their activity, including, *inter alia*, itemized information regarding all contributions—including in-kind contributions—and disbursements aggregating in excess of \$200 during a calendar year (or, in the case of a candidate-authorized committee, during an election cycle).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 357.

⁴⁷ *SpeechNow*, 599 F.3d at 693; *see id.* at 696 (“We should be clear, however, that we only decide these questions as applied to contributions to SpeechNow, an independent expenditure-only group. Our holding does not affect, for example, [FECA’s] limits on direct contributions to candidates.”). The Supreme Court has long recognized that “the rationale for affording special protection to wholly independent expenditures” does not extend to coordinated expenditures, since “expenditures made after a ‘wink or nod’ often will be ‘as useful to the candidate as cash’” and pose the same dangers of corruption and abuse. Nothing in *Citizens United* or any other judicial decision altered that conclusion or recognized a corporate right to raise and spend money for these coordinated activities. *See id.*

⁴⁸ 52 U.S.C. § 30104(b).

Soft Money Prohibitions

27. FECA requires that the funds federal candidates and officeholders raise and spend in connection with federal elections comply with federal campaign finance laws.⁴⁹ The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (“BCRA”) amended FECA to prohibit federal candidates and officeholders, their agents, and any entities that they directly or indirectly establish, finance, maintain or control from raising or spending funds in connection with a federal election outside of FECA’s contribution limits, source prohibitions, and reporting requirements — *i.e.*, so-called “soft money.”⁵⁰
28. Specifically, FECA provides, in relevant part:

A candidate, individual holding Federal office, agent of a candidate or an individual holding Federal office, or an entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf of 1 or more candidates or individuals holding Federal office, shall not — (A) solicit, receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds in connection with an election for Federal office, including funds for any Federal election activity, unless the funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.⁵¹

CAUSES OF ACTION

COUNT I:

AFAF PAC AND RFA PAC MADE, AND TRUMP AND TRUMP 47 KNOWINGLY ACCEPTED, PROHIBITED AND UNREPORTED CONTRIBUTIONS

29. The available information supports finding reason to believe AFAF PAC and RFA PAC violated FECA by making prohibited and unreported in-kind contributions to Trump 47

⁴⁹ Under FECA, a “candidate” is defined as “an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal office” and crosses the statutory threshold of receiving aggregate contributions, or making aggregate expenditures, in excess of \$5,000. 52 U.S.C. § 30101(2); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 100.3. Federal candidates must file a written statement designating a principal campaign committee within fifteen days of becoming a candidate. 52 U.S.C. § 30102(e)(1); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 101.1(a).

⁵⁰ *See generally* 52 U.S.C. § 30125; 11 C.F.R. part 300.

⁵¹ 52 U.S.C. § 30125(e)(1); *see* 11 C.F.R. § 300.61.

when each super PAC paid over \$500,000 to offset the costs associated with a Trump campaign rally held at MSG on October 27, 2024. Moreover, there is reason to believe Trump and Trump 47 violated FECA by knowingly accepting and failing to report these in-kind contributions.

30. There is ample information indicating that the October 27, 2024, event at MSG was a Trump 47 event, not an event for either AFAF PAC or RFA PAC.
- a. The invitation for the event contains no reference to AFAF PAC, RFA PAC, nor to any other committee, while it references Trump 47 from top to bottom: it has a stylized “Trump 47” logo at the top and a disclaimer at the bottom explicitly indicating the communication has been paid for by Trump 47. In between, the invitation contains all the hallmarks of a fundraising event for a contribution-limited committee (not a super PAC), including specific donation tiers that attendees to the event can donate to the fundraising committee. The document also asks for prospective attendees to RSVP to an email address, T47EVENTS@GOP.COM, that appears to be a reference to Trump 47, not AFAF PAC or RFA PAC.⁵²
 - b. The MSG event was touted on Trump’s campaign website in an October 14, 2024, press release, which referred to it as a “rally,” and linked to another page paid for and operated by Trump 47, per the disclaimer at the bottom of the page.⁵³ A second campaign press release issued on October 25, 2024,

⁵² See *supra* ¶ 15.

⁵³ See *supra* ¶ 16.

described how the “epic event . . . will be a showcase of the historic political movement that President Trump has built in the final days of the campaign.”⁵⁴

- c. The signage at the MSG event used Trump campaign logos and messaging, including “Make America Great Again!” and “Trump Will Fix It.” The signage also specifically listed Trump and Vance’s names in connection with the 2024 election.⁵⁵ Attendees also held signs that read “Text Trump to 88022,” and individuals who do so are added to the Trump campaign list and prompted to make donations to the Trump campaign.⁵⁶
 - d. Trump’s remarks at the event outlined his proposed policy goals and attacked his general election opponent, Kamala Harris. He appears to have made no mention of AFAF PAC, RFA PAC, or any other group or committee.⁵⁷
 - e. Sergio Gor, who led RFA PAC, spoke at the MSG event but made no mention of the super PAC—and did not solicit funds for it—in his remarks.⁵⁸
31. It is also clear that while Trump 47 paid for part of the MSG event’s costs, AFAF PAC and RFA PAC paid the majority of the costs associated with the event.
- a. Trump 47 reported paying a total of \$649,867 “MSG Arena LLC” for “Event Expense: Facility Rental” in three installments between October 22, 2024—two days before the MSG event—and November 4, 2024.⁵⁹
 - b. AFAF PAC reported paying \$500,000 on October 22, 2024—two days before the MSG event, and the same day as Trump 47’s first payment to MSG Arena

⁵⁴ See *supra* note 33.

⁵⁵ See *supra* ¶¶ 17–18.

⁵⁶ See *supra* note 35.

⁵⁷ See *supra* ¶¶ 14, 19.

⁵⁸ See *supra* notes 24–25.

⁵⁹ See *supra* ¶ 5.

LLC—to “Madison Square Garden Entertainment” for “Fundraising Venue and Production.”⁶⁰ AFAF PAC also appears to have paid at least another \$47,000 in costs directly linked with fundraising, yet it has reported receiving no contributions aside from the \$1 million it reported receiving from Linda McMahon and the \$150,000 it reported receiving from Common Sense for America PAC—both of which preceded the MSG event and the reported fundraising disbursements.⁶¹

- c. RFA PAC reported paying \$500,000 on October 21, 2024—several days before the event, and the day before the payments from AFAF PAC and Trump 47—to “MSG National Properties” for “Event Space Rental.”⁶²

32. Based on the foregoing facts, there is reason to believe AFAF PAC and RFA PAC each paid over \$500,000 to offset costs associated with the Trump 47 event held at MSG on October 27, 2024.

33. AFAF PAC and RFA PAC are self-identified IEOPCs or super PACs that have each reported accepting contributions outside of FECA’s contribution limits and prohibitions,⁶³ a condition of which requires that they refrain from contributing to or coordinating with candidates and candidate-authorized committees.⁶⁴

- a. AFAF PAC reported receiving contributions of \$1 million from Linda McMahon and \$150,000 from Common Sense for America PAC,⁶⁵ each of which are vastly in excess of FECA’s contribution limits.

⁶⁰ See *supra* ¶ 9.

⁶¹ See *supra* ¶¶ 7, 9.

⁶² See *supra* ¶ 13.

⁶³ See 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a), 30118(a).

⁶⁴ See *supra* notes 45–47.

⁶⁵ See *supra* note 12.

- b. RFA PAC, likewise, has reported receiving dozens of five- and six-figure contributions, as well as money from both individuals and corporations.⁶⁶
34. Thus, by paying for event costs incurred by Trump 47, a candidate-authorized joint fundraising committee, there is reason to believe AFAF PAC and RFA PAC made excessive and/or prohibited in-kind contributions.⁶⁷
35. Conversely, there is reason to believe Trump 47 violated FECA by knowingly accepting these excessive and/or prohibited in-kind contributions from AFAF PAC and RFA PAC. The two super PAC collectively paid over \$1 million—considerably more than Trump 47 reported spending—to offset costs incurred by the MSG event, thus clearly supporting the conclusion that Trump 47 knowingly accepted these super PACs’ in-kind contributions.⁶⁸
36. The super PAC’s payments also appear to violate the soft money prohibitions in FECA. Because Trump 47 is a joint fundraising committee that Trump, a federal candidate, authorized to raise funds for his principal campaign committee (among other committees), Trump 47 is unquestionably an “entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf of” Trump.⁶⁹ As such, when Trump 47 knowingly accepted over \$1 million in in-kind contributions from two super PACs, Trump and Trump 47 violated FECA by “receiv[ing] . . . funds in connection with an election for Federal office” that are not “subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of [FECA].”⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See *supra* note 21.

⁶⁷ 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a), 30118(a).

⁶⁸ *Id.* § 30116(f), 30118(a).

⁶⁹ *Id.* § 30125(e)(1).

⁷⁰ *Id.* § 30125(e)(1)(A).

37. In addition, AFAF PAC, RFA PAC, and Trump 47 violated their reporting obligations under the Act by failing to report the super PACs' payments for Trump 47's event as in-kind contributions.⁷¹ Specifically, AFAF PAC and RFA PAC failed to report the value of the reported disbursements for the MSG event as contributions to Trump 47, and Trump 47 conversely failed to report the value of those same reported disbursements as contributions received from AFAF PAC and RFA PAC.⁷² As a result of these reporting failures, voters were deprived of timely, complete, and accurate information about the true sources—including the individuals and corporations that contributed millions of dollars to both super PACs—that were unlawfully underwriting Trump's campaign by paying the majority of costs associated with a campaign fundraising event.
38. Although Commission regulations permit a federal candidate to appear, speak, and otherwise participate as a featured guest at a super PAC's fundraising event (provided they do not solicit soft money while doing so),⁷³ the factual scenario presented here—*i.e.*, super PACs paid a majority of the costs for a candidate-authorized committee's joint fundraising event—is plainly beyond the ambit of the “featured guest” rule. Accordingly, this situation is distinguishable from a previous matter where certain commissioners concluded that no violation of FECA had occurred because the candidate's appearances were covered by the featured guest rule.
39. In MUR 7354, the Commission deadlocked 3-3 on whether to find reason to believe a super PAC made prohibited and excessive campaign contributions when, according to the

⁷¹ *Id.* § 30104(b).

⁷² See 11 C.F.R. § 104.13 (outlining reporting requirements for in-kind contributions).

⁷³ 11 C.F.R. § 300.64 (permitting federal candidates to “attend, speak at, or be a featured guest,” as well as to “solicit funds” that comply with FECA's amount limitations and source prohibitions, at “a non-Federal fundraising event”) *see also* Advisory Op. 2015-09 (Senate Majority PAC) at 8, <https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/aos/2015-09/2015-09.pdf>.

report of the Commission’s Office of General Counsel (which recommended finding reason to believe), the super PAC “organized, promoted, and staged” multiple events for a federal candidate, Chris McDaniel, “at a time when McDaniel’s campaign did not have the funds to pay for such events, according to its reports filed with the Commission.”⁷⁴

The Statement of Reasons of the three commissioners voting against finding reason to believe asserted that “there is no provision in the Act or regulations that converts a super PAC event where express advocacy supporting a ‘special guest’ candidate occurs into a campaign event for that candidate.”⁷⁵ It further concluded that “McDaniel’s participation in the three events and the use of his name in the publicity for those events” falls under Commission regulations allowing a candidate “to appear and speak at [nonfederal fundraising] events.”⁷⁶

40. Even if, *arguendo*, one agreed with these commissioners’ conclusions as to the facts presented in MUR 7354, the facts presented here are clearly distinguishable. Here, two super PACs paid a majority of the costs for an event that was unquestionably *not* a super PAC fundraising event: Neither super PAC was mentioned anywhere on the event signage, on the event invitation, or by any speaker at the event, nor was either super PAC referenced in any promotional materials for the event, such as the Trump campaign press release before the event or the website where prospective attendees were asked to register. These facts undermine any potential argument that the MSG event was an AFAF PAC or RFA PAC fundraising event at which Trump and/or Vance participated as a

⁷⁴ First Gen. Counsel’s Report at 16, MUR 7354 (Remember Mississippi, *et al.*), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/7354/7354_12.pdf; see Certification, MUR 7354 (May 28, 2021), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/7354/7354_13.pdf.

⁷⁵ Statement of Reasons of Vice Chair Allen Dickerson and Commissioners Sean J. Cooksey and James E. “Trey” Trainor III at 10, MUR 7354 (Remember Mississippi, *et al.*), https://www.fec.gov/files/legal/murs/7354/7354_19.pdf.

⁷⁶ *Id.* at 11 (citing 11 C.F.R. § 300.64).

featured guest. Indeed, aside from quietly paying over \$1 million of the MSG event's costs, it appears that neither AFAF PAC nor RFA PAC had any presence whatsoever in connection with the event.

41. In sum, the MSG event was obviously a Trump campaign fundraising event hosted by a Trump-authorized joint fundraising committee, and, as such, the super PACs' payment of *any* of the costs for that event—let alone shouldering the vast majority of the cost by paying over \$1 million—blatantly violated FECA.
42. Accordingly, there is reason to believe Trump, Trump 47, AFAF PAC, and RFA PAC violated FECA's contribution source and amount limitations, as well as its reporting requirements and soft money prohibitions.

COUNT II:
RFA PAC HAS KNOWINGLY ACCEPTED EXCESSIVE AND/OR PROHIBITED CORPORATE CONTRIBUTIONS IN VIOLATION OF 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(F) AND/OR 30118(A)

43. Because RFA PAC made contributions to a federal candidate, Trump, and his authorized committee, Trump 47, there is reason to believe RFA PAC is engaging in ongoing violations of FECA by accepting excessive or prohibited contributions.
44. As outlined in the preceding section, there is ample evidence providing reason to believe RFA PAC has made excessive and/or prohibited contributions to Trump 47. In so doing, RFA PAC is flatly contravening the “independence” required for it to legally accept unlimited contributions and contributions from corporations under the decisions in *Citizens United v. FEC* and *SpeechNOW v. FEC*, as well as FEC Advisory Opinion 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. 310; *SpeechNow*, 599 F.3d 686; Advisory Op. 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten).

45. The Supreme Court’s decision in *Citizens United* and the decision of the D.C. Circuit in *SpeechNow* acknowledged that “[t]he independence of independent expenditures was a central consideration” of the *Citizens United* decision, and concluded accordingly that “contributions to groups that make only independent expenditures also cannot corrupt or create the appearance of corruption.”⁷⁸ Yet RFA PAC is not such a group, as the preceding discussion of its contributions to Trump’s authorized committees makes clear.
46. Likewise, the Commission’s decision in Advisory Opinion 2010-11 (Commonsense Ten) also involved another organization that stipulated it would “make only independent expenditures,”⁷⁹ such that it too does not apply, on its face, to a group like RFA PAC that makes contributions to a candidate-authorized committee.
47. Because RFA PAC has *not* remained independent of candidates but has instead made contributions to candidate-authorized committees, a core requirement on which these decisions were based, the decisions—and the limited exemption for IEOPCs from FECA’s contribution limits and source restrictions—do not apply.
48. As such, from October 21, 2024, when it paid to subsidize the Trump 47 event at MSG, RFA PAC ceased being an IEOPC and could no longer accept contributions outside of FECA’s contribution amount limits—\$5,000 per year for political committees other than authorized candidate committees—and source prohibitions, including the prohibition on corporate contributions. RFA PAC, however, has since that time reported accepting numerous contributions well beyond FECA’s \$5,000 annual contribution limit for non-

⁷⁸ *SpeechNow*, 599 F.3d at 694.

⁷⁹ Advisory Op. 2010-11 at 3 (Commonsense Ten).

candidate-authorized committees, and it may also have accepted prohibited corporate contributions.⁸⁰

49. Because it no longer meets the legal definition of an IEOPC, each excessive and/or corporate contribution that RFA PAC accepts constitutes a separate violation of FECA's contribution amount limits and source prohibitions.⁸¹

50. Although AFAF PAC has not reported any contributions received after the payments for the MSG event, because it has made contributions to a candidate-authorized committee, it too cannot avail itself of the limited legal exemption for IEOPCs recognized by the courts and the Commission. If AFAF PAC were to accept any excessive or corporate contributions, each such contribution would also constitute a separate violation of FECA's contribution limits and source prohibitions.

⁸⁰ *E.g.*, Right for America, 30-Day Post-Gen. Election Report at 11 (Dec. 5, 2024), <https://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?202412059739693659> (reporting a \$500,000 contribution from Toby Scammell received on November 13, 2024); *id.* at 14 (reporting a \$100,000 contribution from National Financial Services, LLC received on October 22, 2024).

⁸¹ 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116(a)(1)(C), (f), 30118(a).

PRAYER FOR RELIEF

51. Wherefore, the Commission should find reason to believe that Trump, Trump 47, AFAF PAC, and RFA PAC have violated 52 U.S.C. § 30101 *et seq.*, and conduct an immediate investigation under 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2).
52. Further, the Commission should seek appropriate sanctions for any and all violations, including civil penalties sufficient to deter future violations and an injunction prohibiting the respondents from any and all violations in the future, and should seek such additional remedies as are necessary and appropriate to ensure compliance with FECA.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Saurav Ghosh
Campaign Legal Center, by
Saurav Ghosh, Esq.
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Washington, DC 20005
(202) 736-2200

/s/ Sophia Gonsalves-Brown
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Washington, DC 20005
(202) 736-2200

November 20, 2025

VERIFICATION

The complainants listed below hereby verify that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon their information and belief, true.

Sworn pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

For Complainant Campaign Legal Center

Saurav Ghosh

Saurav Ghosh, Esq.

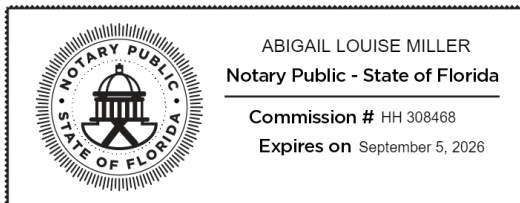
STATE OF FLORIDA, COUNTY OF BROWARD

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of November 2025.

Al Miller

Notary Public

Type of Identification Produced: DRIVER LICENSE



Notarized remotely online using communication technology via Proof.

VERIFICATION

The complainants listed below hereby verify that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon their information and belief, true.

Sworn pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

For Complainant Sophia Gonsalves-Brown

Sophia Elizabeth Gonsalves-Brown

Sophia Gonsalves-Brown

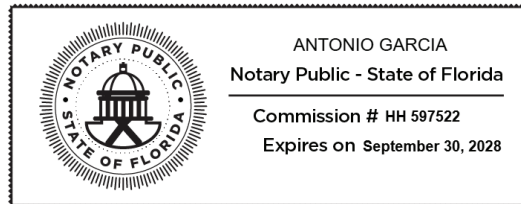
State Of Florida County Of Broward

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20 day of November 2025.

By Sophia Elizabeth Gonsalves-Brown


Antonio Garcia HH 597522
Online Notary

Notary Public



Exp 09/30/2028

Type of Identification: Produced: Drivers License

Notarized remotely online using communication technology via Proof.

Exhibit A



YOU ARE INVITED TO A
SPECIAL EVENING

WITH THE

45th President of the United States

Donald J. Trump

AND THE NEXT

Vice President of the United States

Senator JD Vance

NEW YORK CITY
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 2024

ADDITIONAL DETAILS PROVIDED UPON RSVP. ALL EXPERIENCES TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE RALLY VENUE.



ULTRA MAGA EXPERIENCE

\$924,600 GIVE

TEAM TRUMP 2024 EXPERIENCE

\$250,000 GIVE OR \$500,000 RAISE

TEAM AMERICA FIRST EXPERIENCE

\$100,000 GIVE OR \$200,000 RAISE

CLUB 47 EXPERIENCE

\$50,000 GIVE OR \$70,000 RAISE

MAGA 24 EXPERIENCE

\$35,000 GIVE

PRESIDENT'S CLUB EXPERIENCE

\$5,000 GIVE

KINDLY RSVP TO T47EVENTS@GOP.COM.

Paid for by Trump 47 Committee, Inc., a joint fundraising committee authorized by Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc.; Save America: Republican National Committee; and the State Republican Parties in AK, AL, AR, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DC, DE, FL, GA, GU, IA, ID, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, MA, MD, ME, MI, MN, MO, MS, MT, NC, ND, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NV, NY, OH, OK, OR, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VA, WA, WI, WY, and WV.

Exhibit B

TEXT TRUMP TO 88022!

PLATFORM **NEWS** EVENTS GET INVOLVED

CONTRIBUTE

SHOP

[BACK TO NEWS](#)

President Donald J. Trump to Hold a Rally at the Iconic Madison Square Garden in New York

October 14, 2024

President Donald J. Trump, 45th President of the United States of America, will deliver remarks at a rally in New York, New York on Sunday, October 27, 2024, at 5:00PM EDT.

New York is reeling from the harmful effects of the dangerously liberal policies championed by Kamala Harris and Democrats like Eric Adams. Since Kamala took office, the average New York household has been forced to spend an additional **\$28,537**, including **\$4,282** more on food, **\$4,918** more on shelter, **\$3,992** more on energy, and **\$8,912** more on transportation. These disastrous economic policies are draining the bank accounts of hardworking New Yorkers.

Additionally, thanks to Kamala's reckless open-border policies, over **210,000 migrants** have flooded into New York City since the Spring of 2022, draining vital government resources and overwhelming the city.

The consequences are staggering. The influx of illegal migrants is expected to cost the city a **shocking \$10 billion**, and it's not just the financial burden—crime is spiraling out of control. According to local police officers, illegal immigrants are responsible for about **75 percent** of arrests in midtown Manhattan.

Last month, a news report sounded alarms after an **illegal Venezuelan migrant** with **suspected gang ties** allegedly committed 22 crimes in just six months, yet he still hasn't been deported. This is the chaos Harris has unleashed on New Yorkers.

President Trump's message to New York City is simple and built on his winning record: If you want to return to the strongest economy in over 60 years, rising wages, quality jobs, strong borders, and safer neighborhoods, then vote for the Trump-Vance ticket.

Date and Time:

Sunday, October 27, 2024

5:00PM EDT

Venue:

Madison Square Garden

New York, NY 10001

Timeline of Events:

12:00PM – Doors Open

5:00PM – 45th President of the United States Donald J. Trump Delivers Remarks

General Admission Tickets:

REGISTER HERE

Request Media Credentials:

REGISTER HERE

All requests for media credentials must be submitted by Friday, October 25, 2024, at 5:00PM EDT.



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Exhibit C

[CONTRIBUTE](#)[CONTRIBUTE](#)

President Donald J. Trump to Hold a Rally in New York, New York

The signups for this event are closed!

Event Details

Starts at

Sun, October 27, 2024
05:00 PM (US/Eastern)

Doors Open: 12:00 PM

Madison Square Garden

4 Pennsylvania Plaza

New York, NY 10001

Paid for by Trump 47 Committee, Inc., a joint fundraising committee authorized by Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc.; Save America; Republican National Committee; and the State Republican Parties in AK, AL, AR, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DC, DE, FL, GA, GU, IA, ID, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, MA, MD, ME, MI, MN, MO, MS, MT, NC, ND, NE, NH, NJ, NM, NV, NY, OH, OK, OR, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VA, WA, WI, WY, and WV. By providing your phone number, you are consenting to receive calls and recurring SMS/MMS messages, including autodialed and automated or prerecorded calls and texts, to that number from Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc., the Republican National Committee, and their affiliated committees. Msg & data rates may apply. No purchase necessary. Terms & conditions/privacy policy apply: <https://txtterms.co/88022-2>; <https://gop.com/80810-info>. Please read to learn how information about you is collected, used, and/or disclosed by Donald J. Trump for President 2024, Inc., the Republican National Committee, and any affiliates.

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