

111TH CONGRESS }
1st Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

{ REVIEW NO.
10-6002

**OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES**

Report and Findings

Transmitted to the
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
on September 1, 2010
and released publicly pursuant to H. Res. 895 of the
110th Congress as amended



September 2010

House of Representatives Office of Congressional Ethics Review No. 10-6002

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September 2010

OFFICE OF
CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
BOARD

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED ELEVENTH CONGRESS

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Omar S. Ashmawy, *Acting Staff Director and
Chief Counsel*
Paul J. Solis, *Investigative Counsel*

REPORT

Review No. 10-6002

The Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the “Board”), by a vote of no less than four members, on August 27, 2010, adopted the following report and ordered it to be transmitted to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the United States House of Representatives.

SUBJECT: Representative Joseph Crowley

NATURE OF THE ALLEGED VIOLATION: H.R. 4173, formally known as the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2009 (the “Financial Reform Bill”) was reported out of the Committee on Financial Services on the afternoon of December 2, 2009. The Financial Reform Bill was passed by the House on December 11, 2009. During that nine-day interim period, Representative Crowley held four fundraising events for his congressional and leadership campaign committees. At two fundraising events, all attendees represented entities or were individuals registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill. Further, Representative Crowley’s professional fundraiser offered one-on-one meetings between Representative Crowley and entities registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill during the nine-day period noted above.

If Representative Crowley solicited or accepted contributions in a manner which gave the appearance that special treatment or access was being provided to donors or the appearance that the contributions were linked to an official act, then he may have violated House Rules and Standards of Conduct.

RECOMMENDATION: The Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics recommends that the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct further review the above allegations because there is a substantial reason to believe that Representative Crowley solicited or accepted contributions in a manner which gave the appearance that special treatment or access was provided to donors or that contributions were linked to an official act.

VOTES IN THE AFFIRMATIVE: 5

VOTES IN THE NEGATIVE: 0

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OR STAFF DESIGNATED TO PRESENT THIS REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT: Omar S. Ashmawy, Acting Staff Director & Chief Counsel.

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FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW

Review No. 10–6002

On August 27, 2010, the Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the “Board”) adopted the following findings of fact and accompanying citations to law, regulations, rules, and standards of conduct (*in italics*). The Board notes that these findings do not constitute a determination that a violation actually occurred.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

1. There is a substantial reason to believe that Representative Crowley solicited or accepted contributions in a manner which gave the appearance that special treatment or access was being provided to donors and the appearance that the contributions were linked to an official act.

2. The Board notes that, among other facts, Representative Crowley held a fundraising event on December 10, 2009, the day before the House voted on the Financial Reform Bill, where all thirteen attendees were either registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill or were representatives of entities registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill. The Board further notes that Representative Crowley was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, authored two amendments to the Financial Services Bill and as Chair of the New Democrat Coalition, negotiated with House Democratic leadership on amendments to the Financial Reform Bill.

B. JURISDICTIONAL STATEMENT

3. The allegations that were the subject of this review concern Representative Crowley, a Member of the United States House of Representatives from the 7th District of New York. The Resolution the United States House of Representatives adopted creating the Office of Congressional Ethics (the “OCE”) directs that, “[n]o review shall be undertaken . . . by the board of any alleged violation that occurred before the date of adoption of this resolution.”¹ The House adopted this Resolution on March 11, 2008. Because the conduct under review occurred after March 11, 2008, review by the Board is in accordance with the Resolution.

C. PROCEDURAL HISTORY

4. The OCE received a written request for a preliminary review in this matter signed by at least two members of the Board on May

¹H. Res. 895, 110th Cong. § 1(e) (2008) (as amended).

24, 2010. The preliminary review commenced on May 25, 2010.² The preliminary review was scheduled to end on June 23, 2010.

5. At least three members of the Board voted to initiate a second phase review in this matter on June 21, 2010. The second-phase review commenced on June 24, 2010.³ The second-phase review was scheduled to end on August 7, 2010.

6. The Board voted to extend the forty-five day second-phase review by an additional fourteen days, as provided by the Resolution, on July 29, 2010. Following the extension, the second-phase review was scheduled to end on August 21, 2010.⁴

7. The Board voted to refer the matter to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and adopted these findings on August 27, 2010.

8. This report and findings were transmitted to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct on November 3, 2010.⁵

D. SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITY

9. The investigation required the collection of evidence from a number of sources.

10. The OCE requested and received documentary and, in some cases testimonial evidence, from the following sources:

- (1) Representative Crowley;
- (2) Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff; and
- (3) Representative Crowley's Professional Fundraiser.

11. The OCE requested and received documentary information from the following sources:

- (1) Air Line Pilots Association;
- (2) American Express;
- (3) Guardian Life Insurance;
- (4) Independent Community Bankers of America;
- (5) KPMG;
- (6) Magazine Publishers of America;
- (7) Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance;
- (8) MasterCard;
- (9) Morgan Stanley;
- (10) Mortgage Bankers Association;
- (11) National Apartment Association;
- (12) New York Life;
- (13) Hartford Advocates Fund;
- (14) Oppenheimer Funds, Inc.;
- (15) Target;
- (16) JP Morgan Chase;
- (17) Time Warner;
- (18) Verizon Wireless;
- (19) Zurich Holdings;

²A preliminary review is "requested" in writing by members of the Board of the OCE. The request for a preliminary review is "received" by the OCE on a date certain. According to H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress (the "Resolution"), the timeframe for conducting a preliminary review is thirty days from the date of receipt of the Board's request.

³According to the Resolution, the Board must vote on whether to conduct a second-phase review in a matter before the expiration of the thirty-day preliminary review. If the Board votes for a second-phase, the second-phase begins when the preliminary review ends. The second-phase review does not begin on the date of the Board vote.

⁴*Id.* at § 1(c)(2)(A)(ii) (2008).

⁵Pursuant to Rule 10 of the OCE's Rules for the Conduct of Investigations, the report and findings were transmitted on November 3, 2010.

- (20) PricewaterhouseCoopers;
 - (21) UBS;
 - (22) General Electric;
 - (23) National Association of Real Estate Investment Trusts;
- and
- (24) The host of a December 10, 2009 fundraising event for Representative Crowley.

II. REPRESENTATIVE CROWLEY'S DECEMBER 2009 FUNDRAISING EVENTS

A. HOUSE PRECEDENT, RULES, AND STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

12. The House of Representatives intends that Members adhere to the standards of conduct stated in Rule 23 of the Rules of the House and other relevant Rules of the House, in the Ethics Manual, in the Code of Ethics for Government Service, and in various precedents of the House and the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct ("Standards Committee") in matters related to ethics. In establishing the OCE, the House charged the Board of the OCE with assisting it in the enforcement of these standards of conduct.

13. In this matter, as the citations below indicate, the Board reviewed the conduct at issue under the pertinent standards set out in the Ethics Manual and the memorandum of the Chair and Ranking Member of the Standards Committee in the matter of Representative Tom DeLay. The cited sections in the Ethics Manual and the memorandum in the DeLay matter relate to the propriety of certain types of political fundraising activity conducted in proximity to pending business of the House and its committees. The Board respects the final authority of the Standards Committee in matters referred to it by the OCE for the Standards Committee to determine whether conduct apparently proscribed by this or other standards is deemed to be a violation. In this matter, as with all referrals to the Standards Committee for further review, the OCE board reaches no conclusion that a violation has occurred but only determines if there is substantial reason to believe that a violation *may* have occurred.

14. The OCE Board sees its responsibility to assess the apparent applicability of standards of conduct to the facts and circumstances of the conduct adduced during its time-limited process and under its prescribed authority. It has done so in this matter. It would be inappropriate for the OCE Board to interpret the standard expressed in the DeLay matter differently than indicated by the precedents and writings of the Standards Committee.

15. *"It is probably not wrong for the campaign managers of a legislator . . . to request contributions from those for whom the legislator has done appreciable favors, but this should never be presented as a payment for the services rendered. Moreover, the possibility of such a contribution should never be suggested by the legislator or his staff at the time the favor is done. Furthermore, a decent interval of time should be allowed to lapse so that neither party will feel that there is a close connection between the two acts. The Standards Committee has long advised Members and staff that they should always exercise caution to avoid even the appearance that so-*

*licitations of campaign contributions are connected in any way with an action taken or to be taken in their official capacity.”*⁶

16. “[N]o solicitation of a campaign or political contribution may be linked to an action taken or to be taken by a Member or employee in his or her official capacity”⁷ In addition, a Member may not accept any contribution that is linked with any specific official action taken or to be taken by that Member.”⁸

17. “[T]he scope of the House standards of conduct in this area is broader than that of the criminal bribery statute . . . the House standards of conduct generally preclude any link between the solicitation or receipt of a contribution and a specific official action.”⁹

18. “Put another way, there are fundraising activities that do not violate any criminal statute but well may violate House standards of conduct.”¹⁰

19. “[T]here are certain proffered campaign contributions that must be declined, and certain fundraising opportunities that must be forgone, solely because they create an appearance of improper conduct.”¹¹

20. “The broad House standards of conduct in this area are extremely important ones.”¹²

21. These standards were expressly addressed in the Standards Committee’s 2004 “Statement of the Committee regarding disposition of the complaint filed against Representative Tom DeLay.” In that case, a June 2002 energy fundraiser was held for Representative DeLay, coordinated by a former DeLay staffer working as a lobbyist and various energy industry lobbyists. Five energy companies and their executives attended the event.¹³ Three months later in September 2002, during a House-Senate conference over a broad-sweeping energy bill, Representative DeLay took part in the conference as an appointed conferee.

22. The Standards Committee specifically noted the following factors in finding that Representative DeLay’s fundraising activity did not conform to House standards: (1) the timing¹⁴ of the fundraiser in connection to certain legislative activity under consideration by the House; (2) Representative DeLay’s position of influence on certain legislation; (3) the nature of the fundraising event; (4)

⁶ House Ethics Manual 147 (2008).

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ Memorandum of the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member, Recommendations for disposition of the complaint filed against Representative DeLay (2004), <http://ethics.house.gov/Investigations/Default.aspx?Section=18>.

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Id.* As early as late April 2002, executives from a company that would later attend the June 2002 fundraising event informed the Standards Committee that they were aware of a summer fundraiser for Representative DeLay that could affect their business interests. Further, at the event, Representative DeLay, his legislative staffer focused on energy issues, and his staff counsel, engaged in direct contact with attendees, often discussing a broad range of energy policy issues. The Standards Committee, in finding that certain fundraising activity “did not conform to House standards,” expressly found that “(1) neither Representative DeLay nor anyone acting on his behalf improperly solicited contributions from Westar, and (2) Representative DeLay took no action with regard to Westar that would constitute an impermissible special favor.” Thus, the Standards Committee’s findings not only analyzed an appearance standard absent any finding of improper solicitation of campaign contributions, but it also did so regardless of the ultimate position Representative DeLay took on the energy bill.

¹⁴ The Standards Committee took a broad view of “timing” standards stating that “[i]n particular, there was the timing of the fundraiser, *i.e.*, it took place just as the House-Senate conference on major energy legislation, H.R. 4, was about to get underway.” *Id.* (emphasis added).

presence of key staff members at the event; and (5) the limited number of attendees in direct contact with both Representative DeLay and his staff.¹⁵ In determining whether a matter warrants further review, the OCE compared conduct at issue to these factors as detailed below.

23. Further, when “[a] House staff member is working with representatives of a corporation on legislation supported by that corporation . . . [t]he staff member may do campaign work consistent with the rules set out above, including soliciting contributions. However, at least while the staff member is doing that legislative work, and for a reasonable period thereafter, he should not solicit contributions from the representatives of that corporation.”¹⁶

B. POSITION OF INFLUENCE

24. Representative Crowley is a Member of the House Committee on Ways and Means.¹⁷

25. He authored two amendments to the Financial Reform Bill.¹⁸

26. Representative Crowley is Chief Deputy Whip in the Democratic Caucus and Chair of the New Democrat Coalition.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ House Ethics Manual 147 (2008).

¹⁷ Committee on Ways and Means for the 111th Congress, <http://waysandmeans.house.gov/singlepages.aspx?newsid=10462>.

¹⁸ Committee on Financial Services Markups for the 111th Congress, found at <http://financialservices.house.gov/Hearings/markups.aspx>; Summary of Amendments Submitted to the Rules Committee for H.R. 4173—Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2009, found at <http://rules.house.gov/amendment—details.aspx?NewsID=4516>.

¹⁹ Majority Whip of the 111th Congress, <http://majoritywhip.house.gov/index.cfm?p=WhipTeam>; New Democrat Coalition, <http://ndc.crowley.house.gov/>.

27. Further, as noted below, an email exchange between members of Representative Crowley's staff and PricewaterhouseCoopers indicates that Representative Crowley was in a position to affect the outcome of the Financial Reform Bill.²⁰ Specifically, the staff notes that Representative Crowley and the "New Democrats" reached an agreement with House leadership to affect several amendments of the Financial Reform Bill. As noted, Representative Crowley was Chair of the New Democrat Caucus at the time.²¹

<p>From: Shanti Stanton <[REDACTED]@elmendorfstrategies.com> Sent: Wednesday, December 9, 2009 8:36 PM To: Michael O'Brien <[REDACTED]@Americas-US> Subject: Re: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update</p> <hr/> <p>Basically what all the fin serv companies want...less regulation, that's all I know. No substance, all status here in shanti-land.</p> <p>----- Original Message ----- From: [REDACTED]@us.pwc.com <[REDACTED]@us.pwc.com> To: Shanti Stanton Sent: Wed Dec 09 20:31:39 2009 Subject: Re: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update</p> <p>What is a "pre 2004 standard of preemption"? Don't even know what that means.</p> <p>----- This document was not intended or written by PwC to be used, and it cannot be used, by the taxpayer, for the purpose of avoiding penalties that may be imposed on the taxpayer.</p> <p>----- Original Message ----- From: Shanti Stanton <[REDACTED]@elmendorfstrategies.com> Sent: 12/09/2009 08:29 PM EST To: Michael O'Brien Subject: Fw: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update</p> <p>----- Original Message ----- From: Pase, Adam <Adam.Pase@mail.house.gov> Cc: Winkler, Kate <Kate.Winkler@mail.house.gov> Sent: Wed Dec 09 20:10:55 2009 Subject: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update</p> <p>Friends –</p> <p>I wanted to give you a brief update on the status of our efforts on The Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (H.R. 4173). As you may know, there will be two rules governing H.R. 4173 – 1) a rule governing general debate, which will be debated and voted on tonight; and 2) a rule allowing for consideration of amendments to the bill. Many New Dem members were considering voting "NO" on the rule governing general debate as a result of concerns that some amendments being offered by moderate Democrats were not going to be made in order. I am pleased to report, however, that we have reached an agreement</p>	<p>with House Leadership that will:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Allow for consideration on the Floor of the Murphy-McMahon-Kratovil amendment on derivatives, 2) Allow for consideration on the Floor of the Minnick Amendment to CFPA, and 3) Make changes to the Manager's amendment on the issue of preemption (an issue that has been championed by Congresswoman Bean, the head of our Financial Services Task Force). <p>Please know that while we are awaiting final language on the preemption issue, there was an agreement in concept on this issue that will provide for a true pre-2004 standard on preemption. As a result, Representatives Crowley and Bean intend to vote in support of the rule on the Floor tonight. Thank you.</p>
--	---

C. TIMING OF FUNDRAISING EVENTS

28. Representative Crowley held five fundraising events in December 2009: December 2, 2009; December 7, 2009; two on December 10, 2009; and one on December 15, 2009. Four of the five events were held within the nine-day interval between the markup

²⁰ Email from Shanti Stanton to Michael O'Brien, December 9, 2009 (Exhibit 1 at 10–6002–0002–3).

²¹ New Democrat Coalition, <http://ndc.crowley.house.gov/>.

and the final vote. His two December 10, 2009 fundraising events²² were both held one day before the final vote on the Financial Reform Bill, which occurred on December 11, 2009.

29. Representative Crowley's professional fundraiser stated that she did not recall when the December 2nd event was planned.²³ She stated that the first December 10th event would most likely have been planned in mid-October while the second event would most likely have been planned in November.²⁴

30. The Board notes that the Chairman of the Financial Services Committee told the OCE that Members would have known in November 2009 that the Financial Reform Bill would be out of committee and on the House floor for a final vote in December 2009.²⁵

D. NATURE OF FUNDRAISING EVENTS

31. Representative Crowley's professional fundraiser told the OCE that she begins the fundraising process by setting a date, finding a location for the event, compiling the invitation and emailing the invitation.²⁶ She plans the events anywhere from sixty days to six months in advance.²⁷

32. In addition, the fundraiser will initially send a "blast" or mass email to a list of approximately 3,000 addresses but will also make "follow-up" calls and send "follow-up" emails.²⁸ Representative Crowley's fundraiser stated that the names are selected based on who has contributed in the past and who she would like to attend an event before the end of the campaign cycle.²⁹

²²The early event was held for Representative Crowley's congressional PAC while the later event was held for his leadership PAC. See Transcript of Interview with Representative Crowley's fundraiser, July 13, 2010 ("Fundraiser Transcript") (Exhibit 2 at 10-6002-0012).

²³Fundraiser Transcript (Exhibit 2 at 10-6002-0008).

²⁴*Id.* at 10-6002-0009, 0012.

²⁵Memorandum of Interview of the Chairman of the Financial Services Committee, July 29, 2010 (Exhibit 3 at 10-6002-0021)

²⁶Fundraiser Transcript (Exhibit 2 at 10-6002-0006).

²⁷*Id.*

²⁸*Id.* at 10-6002-0010.

²⁹*Id.* at 10-6002-0011.

33. On December 7, 2009 Representative Crowley held an event in Queens, New York.³⁰ The event was for the Association for Advanced Life Underwriting and New York Life, two entities registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill.³¹

Congressman Joe Crowley (D-NY) Profile

Breakfast with Congressman Joe Crowley
10AM Monday December 7th, 2009
95-25 Queens Blvd.
10th floor
Rego Park, NY 11374

Cell contacts:

Chris Morton – (571) 327-█████
Karla Kirk - (202) 997-█████

Attendees (as of 11.9.09)

Chris Morton, VP Legislative Affairs, AALU
Nat Perlmutter, AALU Board Member
Jor Paone, New York Life
Andrea Perlmutter, AALU Board Member
Robert Miller, AALU Member
Rich Pope, AALU Member
Jim Mendelson

Format for the Meeting

- The event will be an informal coffee. Chris Morton will call the meeting to order by thanking everyone for coming. Chris will talk briefly about AALU and introduce Nat Perlmutter, AALU President elect.
- The rest of the group will introduce themselves
- Chris will then turn the conversation to Nat Perlmutter. Nat will talk briefly and his business and introduce Congressman Crowley
- Nat will turn the conversation over to Congressman Crowley
- After Crowley speaks, we'll move to Q and A.

³⁰ Information sheet for December 7, 2009 breakfast (Exhibit 4 at 10-6002-0023).

³¹ See Lobbyist Disclosure Database, U.S. House of Representatives, <http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov/index.html>.

34. Representative Crowley held a fundraising event on December 10, 2009.³²

35. Representative Crowley's fundraiser stated that Julie Domenick, a lobbyist, offered to host the first December 10th fundraising event at her home.³³

Please Join

Congressman Joseph Crowley
(D-NY)

For a

HOLIDAY COCKTAIL RECEPTION!
with special guest

Senator Mark Warner

Thursday, December 10, 2009
5:00 pm - 7:00 pm

██████████
Washington, DC 20003

Suggested Contribution
\$500 Personal/\$1000 PAC

Please make checks payable to:
Crowley for Congress
50 E Street SE, Suite 1
Lower Level
Washington, DC 20003

For more information or to RSVP, please contact Sara Conrad at
202-543-██████████ or ██████████@theconradgroup.org



³² Transcript of Interview with Representative Crowley July 13, 2010 ("Crowley Transcript") (Exhibit 5 at 10-6002-0039-40); See Fundraising event flyer (Exhibit 6 at 10-6002-0060).

³³ Fundraiser Transcript (Exhibit 2 at 10-6002-0008).

36. However, the Board notes that the email below discusses a November 4, 2009 *request* from Representative Crowley's fundraiser to hold the cocktail event at Ms. Domenick's house.³⁴

From: Julie Domenick [REDACTED]@multiplestrategiesllc.com]
Sent: Wednesday, November 04, 2009 3:04 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: RE: crowley event

in a heart beat.
 dec 10 is calendared.
 my pleasure.

Julie Domenick
 President
 Multiple Strategies LLC
 [REDACTED], Washington, DC 20002
 Phone: 202-965-[REDACTED]
 Cell: [REDACTED]
 Fax: 866-278-9312
 Email: [REDACTED]@MultipleStrategiesLLC.com

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Wednesday, November 04, 2009 2:52 PM
To: Julie Domenick
Subject: crowley event

Hi Julie
 Hope you are well. I can't believe I am going to ask about an event in December but I know we haven't done anything for Joe at your house in a really long time. We are wanting to do an end of the year event for Crowley for Congress and currently have December 10th held on the calendar – 6 p.m. just a reception.
 Would your house be available and would you want to host Joe?
 Thanks for considering!
 Best
 Sara

37. Representative Crowley's fundraiser stated that while she did not know who Ms. Domenick's specific clients were, she knew that before establishing her own political consulting firm, she worked in the financial services industry.³⁵

³⁴ Email from Julie Domenick to Representative Crowley's fundraiser, November 4, 2009 (Exhibit 7 at 10-6002-0062).

³⁵ Fundraiser Transcript (Exhibit 2 at 10-6002-0018).

38. According to the attendance list provided by Representative Crowley,³⁶ of the forty-two attendees present at the December 10, 2009 cocktail event, thirty-one were either registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill or were representatives of entities registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill.³⁷

TO:	Congressman Joseph Crowley	
FR:	Sara Conrad	
DT:	Thursday, December 10, 2009	
RE:	Crowley Events for Dec 10th	
<hr/>		
Date:	Thursday, December 10, 2009	
Time:	5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. - Crowley for Congress Reception 7:00 p.m. - JOE PAC Dinner	
C for C Location:	Home of Julie Domenick [REDACTED] Washington DC	
JOE PAC Location:	The Source Restaurant 575 Penn Ave NW Wash DC	
Staff:	Sara Conrad cell: 202-[REDACTED]	
Attire:	Business	
Background:	The Crowley for Congress Reception will be our last event of the year. We expect 40 people and will raise \$50,000 for Crowley for Congress. Senator Mark Warner is attending the reception as our special guest.	
	The JOE PAC was set up as a make up for those that attended the Greenbrier weekend and to raise money before the end of the year. We expect 20 people and will raise \$40,000 for JOE PAC.	
Crowley for Congress Reception Attendees:		
Cliff	Andrews	
Linda	Bennett	AFSCME
Brad	Cheney	Mortgage Bankers Association of America
Anne	Costello	Bank of NY
Lake	Coulson	NECA
Tor	Cowan	American Federation of Teachers
Jim	Cregan	Magazine Publishers of America
Bill	Cunningham	American Federation of Teachers

³⁶ Attendee Lists for December 10, 2009 events (Exhibit 8 at 10-6002-0064-65).

³⁷ See Lobbyist Disclosure Database, U.S. House of Representatives, <http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov/index.html>.

Menda	Fife	Honeywell
John	Ford	Abbott
Elizabeth	Fox	AFLAC
Kirk	Freeman	NAREIT
Cheryl	Gannon	NAPEO
Libby	Greer	Cauthen Forbes & Williams
John	Hoel	Altria
Robert	Hoffman	Cognizant
Alethia	Jackson	AHIP
Ike	Jones	ICBA
Brendan	Kelsay	Clear Channel
Joel	Kopperud	CIAB
Norm	Lent	
Melissa	Maxfield	Comcast
David	Morgan	American Express
Kate	Moss	The Kate Moss Co
Roger	Mott	Verizon
Kevin	O'Connor	International Association of Fire Fighters
Josh	Raymond	General Electric
Rick	Rossow	NY Life
Cynthia	Sandherr	Deere & Co
Melissa	Schulman	Bockorny Group
Mark	Seklecki	American Hospital Assoc
Gregg	Sheiowitz	Zurich
Erica	Solomon	National Apartment Association
Jesie	Storrs	Travelers
Richard	Sullivan	Capitol Counsel
Golden	Taylor	Ogilvy
Marti	Thomas	Duberstein Group
Dave	Thomas	Mehlman Vogel
Mike	Townsend	Charles Schwab
Eric	Vaughn	National Structured Settlements Association
Steve	Vest	Time Warner
Alison	Weiss	Mass Mutual

39. Representative Crowley held a second fundraising event on December 10, 2009.³⁸

³⁸ Crowley Transcript (Exhibit 5 at 10-6002-0040); See Fundraising event flyer (Exhibit 9 at 10-6002-0068).

40. Representative Crowley's fundraiser stated that the second December 10th event was for Representative Crowley's leadership PAC.³⁹

You are invited to a dinner benefiting

JOE PAC – Jobs, Opportunities & Education

With Honorary Chairman

Congressman Joseph Crowley

(D-NY 7)

Thursday, December 10, 2009

7:00 p.m.

The Source

575 Pennsylvania Ave NW

Washington, DC 20003

Suggested Contribution

\$2500 PAC/\$1000 Personal

Please make checks payable to:

JOE PAC

50 E Street SE, Suite 1

Washington, DC 20003

For more information or to RSVP, please contact Sara Conrad at

202-543-██████ or ████████@theconradgroup.org



³⁹ Fundraiser Transcript (Exhibit 2 at 10-6002-0012).

41. According to the attendance list provided by Representative Crowley,⁴⁰ of the thirteen attendees present at the December 10, 2009 dinner event, all were either registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill or were representatives of entities registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill.⁴¹

JOE PAC Dinner Attendees:		
Don	Auerbach	ICI
Linda	Banton	Lockheed
Mac	Bernstein	DLA Piper
Marshall	Brachman	
Emily	Coyle	Ernst & Young
Dr. Zora	Dow	CME
Susan	Flack	Target
Rob	Griner	JP Morgan
Sam	Morgante	Genworth
Jef	Peterson	
Jeffrey B	Schmitzer	Boeing
Gabri	Werth	US Oncology
Michael	Williams	Credit Suisse

⁴⁰ Attendance Lists for December 10, 2009 events (Exhibit 8 at 10-6002-66).

⁴¹ See Lobbyist Disclosure Database, U.S. House of Representatives, <http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov/index.html>.

42. The Board notes examples of Representative Crowley's fundraiser specifically soliciting financial services entities and asking them to attend the December 10th event.⁴² Both General Electric and AFLAC were registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill.⁴³

From: Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org>
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2009 5:40 PM (GMT)
To: [REDACTED]@ge.com; Prowitt, Peter (GE, Corporate) <[REDACTED]@corporate.ge.com>; Raymond, Joshua (GE, Corporate) <[REDACTED]@ge.com>
Subject: crowley holiday reception
Attach: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Hi all

Attached is the invite for the Crowley Holiday Reception on December 10th! Hope you can join us – come one, come all!
 Best
 Sara

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 6:30 PM
To: Thomas Jolly; Elizabeth Fox
Subject: JOE PAC - Dinner on Thursday, December 10th

Hi Elizabeth and Tom

Hope you are well. I wanted to let you know we have a dinner for JOE PAC on Dec 10th at the Source at 7 p.m. the invite is attached here.

Hope you can join us – I know AFLAC has always supported JOE PAC in the past so wanted to be sure you have this event as our last opportunity before the end of the year to give to Crowley's leadership PAC.

Thanks for considering!

Best
 Sara

⁴² Solicitation emails from Representative Crowley's fundraiser (Exhibit 10 at 10-6002-0070-71).

⁴³ See Lobbyist Disclosure Database, U.S. House of Representatives, <http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov/index.html>.

43. According to the attendance list provided by Representative Crowley, General Electric and AFLAC attended the December 10, 2009 cocktail event.⁴⁴

44. The Board notes that Representative Crowley's fundraiser also specifically solicited representatives from UBS, Morgan Stanley, New York Life, American Express, Ernst & Young, Hartford Associates, and Zurich. All entities were registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Attendance Lists for December 10, 2009 event (Exhibit 8 at 10-6002-0064-65).

⁴⁵ Solicitation emails from Representative Crowley's fundraiser (Exhibit 11 at 10-6002-0073-83); See Lobbyist Disclosure Database, U.S. House of Representatives, <http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov/index.html>.

45. The Board also notes that Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff is discussed in the emails⁴⁶ below as specifically soliciting campaign contributions from entities registered to lobby on the Financial Reform Bill, including Time Warner and Mortgage Bankers Association.⁴⁷

Sara Conrad

From: Vest, Steve [REDACTED]@timewarner.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 5:17 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: RE: congressman crowley

Of course I will be there. Happy to help.

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:36 PM
To: Vest, Steve
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi Steve

I hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a conversation you had with Kate Winkler regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated! Thanks for considering!
 Happy Thanksgiving!
 Sara

From: Koonce, Tom
To: Cheney, Brad;
Subject: FW: congressman crowley
Date: Monday, December 07, 2009 5:15:58 PM
Attachments: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:32 PM
To: Koonce, Tom
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi Tom!

I hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a message that Kate Winkler left for you regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated!

Thanks for considering!

Happy Thanksgiving!

Sara

⁴⁶ Solicitation emails from Representative Crowley's fundraiser (Exhibit 12 at 10-6002-0085-86).

⁴⁷ See Lobbyist Disclosure Database, U.S. House of Representatives, <http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov/index.html>.

46. Further, the Board specifically notes the two emails below.⁴⁸ The first is a November 24, 2009 email from Representative Crowley's fundraiser to an employee at Morgan Stanley, stating that Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff previously discussed attendance at the December 10, 2009 fundraising event with the Morgan Stanley employee.

From: Sara Conrad
To: Michael Stein ([REDACTED]@morganstanley.com)
Sent: 11/24/2009 4:33:15 PM
Subject: congressman crowley
Attachments: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Hi Bruce!

Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a conversation that you had with Kate Winkler regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated! Thanks for considering!
 Happy Thanksgiving!
 Sara

 Sara Conrad
 50 E Street SE
 Suite 1
 Washington DC 20003
 Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
 Fax: 202-554-0440
 Cell: [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

⁴⁸ Email from Representative Crowley's fundraiser to Michael Stein, November 24, 2009 (Exhibit 13 at 10-6002-0088-89).

47. The second email is dated December 4, 2009 and concerns a legislative and policy discussion concerning the Financial Reform Bill between the same Morgan Stanley employee and Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff.⁴⁹ These discussions appear to have occurred nine days apart.

Winkler, Kate

From: Winkler, Kate
Sent: Friday, December 04, 2009 11:04 AM
To: Michael Stein
Cc: Casey, Kevin
Subject: FW: Catch up
Attachments: derivatives -- Lynch Amendment NYSE et al letter.pdf; Derivatives -- clearinghouse talking points.pdf

Hey Michael. Thanks reaching out and the information.

I am looping in Kevin Casey who is back in the office. We are both, as is Joe, well aware of the proposed Lynch amendment. Joe, as well as other members of the New Democrat Coalition, have spoken with leadership regarding their concerns with the Lynch amendment. We will keep you posted on what we hear in terms of the rule and whether it is made in order.

Thanks, kate

From: Stein, Michael J. [REDACTED]@morganstanley.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 2009 4:59 PM
To: Winkler, Kate
Subject: RE: Catch up

Thanks Kate -- look forward to speaking with you soon. Very concerned about the anti-competitive' liquidity draining and market stifling Lynch Amendment to the derivatives section of the financial services reform bill. The House Ag Committee opposes the idea of limiting or restricting ownership of clearing houses or execution facilities and a number of new Dems on the HFSC also opposed it. Whether to keep Lynch restrictions or not may be decided on the floor next week. The only company that supports this limitation is NASDAQ because its screws the NY banks and other NY exchanges (see NYSE letter) and many existing clearing houses (E.g. Options Clearing Corp, LCH)-- and gives them a clear path to a monopoly. Look forward to discussing with you and Joe. Thanks again. MJS

48. On December 1, 2009, Representative Crowley's fundraiser also sent an email to two representatives from General Electric, offering a one-on-one meeting with Representative Crowley.⁵⁰ The final vote on the Financial Reform Bill occurred on December 11, 2009. While the communication does not solicit campaign contributions, the email was generated from Representative Crowley's professional fundraiser and not his legislative staff.

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 2009 5:03 PM
To: Raymond, Joshua (GE, Corporate); Prowitt, Peter (GE, Corporate)
Subject: coffee with joe

Hi all -- peter good to talk to you -- thanks for helping out Crowley for congress and JOE PAC.
 Here are dates and times Joe is free for coffee -- let me know if any of these days work for you all
 Thanks!
 Sara

12/8 -- free until 5 p.m.
 12/10 -- Free from 10-12 and 1-5
 12/15 -- free after 9:30 a.m. until 1 p.m.
 12/16 -- Free until 3:30

⁴⁹ Email from Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff to Michael Stein, December 4, 2009 (Exhibit 13 at 10-6002-0088-89).

⁵⁰ Email from Representative Crowley's fundraiser to Joshua Raymond, December 1, 2009 (Exhibit 14 at 10-6002-0092).

49. The Board notes that Representative Crowley's fundraiser also specifically solicited representatives from the National Association of Real Estate Investment Trusts for one-on-one meetings with Representative Crowley.⁵¹

50. The Board also notes that Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff stated that the office scheduler faxes an "outlook" calendar to Representative Crowley's fundraiser every couple weeks.⁵² The calendar contains "everything from the hearings that Joe's attending to meetings with constituents that he has in the office, names of people coming in."⁵³

51. Further, Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff stated that Representative Crowley's fundraiser would communicate with other staffers "to the extent that staff opts to sometimes go to some of our campaign and fundraising events."⁵⁴

E. PRESENCE OF KEY STAFF

52. Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff attended both December 10th events with Representative Crowley's "most senior legislative staffer."⁵⁵

53. Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff has oversight over policy and legislative issues in the office.⁵⁶

54. At the second December 10th event, Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff recalled speaking with a representative from JP Morgan Chase and also a lobbyist from Peck Madigan.⁵⁷ When asked if she knew who the lobbyist's clients were, Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff stated that she knew he represented people from the financial sector, but did not know specific clients.⁵⁸

F. LIMITED NUMBER OF ATTENDEES

55. At the December 7, 2009 event in Queens, the attendance list provided to the OCE shows seven attendees.

56. At the December 10, 2009 cocktail event, the attendance list provided to the OCE shows forty-two attendees.

57. At the December 10, 2009 dinner event, the attendance list provided to the OCE shows thirteen attendees.

III. CONCLUSION

58. For these reasons, the Board recommends that the Standards Committee further review these allegations concerning Representative Crowley.

IV. INFORMATION THE OCE WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ISSUANCE OF SUBPOENAS

59. In every instance, the OCE asked the recipient of an OCE Request for Information to identify any information they withheld

⁵¹ Solicitation emails from Representative Crowley's fundraiser (Exhibit 15 at 10-6002-0094).

⁵² Transcript of Interview with Representative Crowley's Chief of Staff, July 15, 2010 ("Chief of Staff Transcript") (Exhibit 16 at 10-6002-0103-104).

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ The Board notes that this individual is listed in the current congressional directory as a "Tax Counsel."

⁵⁶ Chief of Staff Transcript (Exhibit 16 at 10-6002-0096-97).

⁵⁷ *Id.* at 10-6002-0100.

⁵⁸ *Id.* at 10-6002-0101.

and the reason they were withholding it. However, absent the authority to subpoena the evidence in possession of the witness, it is impossible for the OCE to verify if information was withheld, but not documented.

60. The OCE included with its Request for Information, a “Request for Information Certification” document that asked those identified by the OCE to “certify that I have provided the Office of Congressional Ethics all information requested in the Request for Information, dated June 1, 2010 and if I have not provided a requested document or certain information, then I have identified the document or information that was not available or withheld and why it was not available or withheld. This certification is given subject to 18 U.S.C. § 1001 (commonly known as the False Statements Act).”

61. Of the twenty-four third-party entities discussed above from which the OCE requested information, the following returned the certification:

(1) Air Line Pilots Association.

62. The following third parties provided documents but did not return the certification:

(1) Independent Community Bankers Association;

(2) National Apartment Association;

(3) Guardian Life Insurance;

(4) Target;

(5) Time Warner Inc.;

(6) Oppenheimer Funds Inc.;

(7) PricewaterhouseCoopers;

(8) New York Life Insurance;

(9) Mortgage Bankers Association;

(10) UBS;

(11) Morgan Stanley;

(12) The host of a December 10, 2009 fundraising event for Representative Crowley;

(13) The Hartford;

(14) MasterCard; and

(15) Verizon Wireless.

63. The following third parties informed the OCE that they would not be providing all of the information requested or did not provide all of the information requested:

(1) National Association of Real Estate Investments;

(2) General Electric;

(3) American Express;

(4) JP Morgan Chase;

(5) Zurich Holdings;

(6) KPMG;

(7) Magazine Publishers of America; and

(8) Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance.

EXHIBIT 1

From: Shanti Stanton <[REDACTED]@elmendorfstrategies.com>
Sent: Wednesday, December 9, 2009 8:36 PM
To: Michael O'Brien/[REDACTED]@Americas-US
Subject: Re: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update

Basically what all the fin serv companies want...less regulation, that's all I know. No substance, all status here in shanti-land.

----- Original Message -----
From: [REDACTED]@us.pwc.com <[REDACTED]@us.pwc.com>
To: Shanti Stanton
Sent: Wed Dec 09 20:31:39 2009
Subject: Re: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update

What is a "pre 2004 standard of preemption"? Don't even know what that means.

This document was not intended or written by PwC to be used, and it cannot be used, by the taxpayer, for the purpose of avoiding penalties that may be imposed on the taxpayer.

----- Original Message -----
From: Shanti Stanton [REDACTED]@elmendorfstrategies.com]
Sent: 12/09/2009 08:29 PM EST
To: Michael O'Brien
Subject: Fw: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update

----- Original Message -----
From: Pase, Adam <Adam.Pase@mail.house.gov>
Cc: Winkler, Kate <Kate.Winkler@mail.house.gov>
Sent: Wed Dec 09 20:10:55 2009
Subject: New Dem Regulatory Reform Update

Friends –

I wanted to give you a brief update on the status of our efforts on The Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (H.R. 4173). As you may know, there will be two rules governing H.R. 4173 – 1) a rule governing general debate, which will be debated and voted on tonight; and 2) a rule allowing for consideration of amendments to the bill. Many New Dem members were considering voting “NO” on the rule governing general debate as a result of concerns that some amendments being offered by moderate Democrats were not going to be made in order. I am pleased to report, however, that we have reached an agreement

with House Leadership that will:

- 1) Allow for consideration on the Floor of the Murphy-McMahon-Kratovil amendment on derivatives;
- 2) Allow for consideration on the Floor of the Minnick Amendment to CFPA; and
- 3) Make changes to the Manager's amendment on the issue of preemption (an issue that has been championed by Congresswoman Bean, the head of our Financial Services Task Force).

Please know that while we are awaiting final language on the preemption issue, there was an agreement in concept on this issue that will provide for a true pre-2004 standard on preemption. As a result, Representatives Crowley and Bean intend to vote in support of the rule on the Floor tonight. Thank you

The information transmitted is intended only for the person or entity to which it is addressed and may contain confidential and/or privileged material. Any review, retransmission, dissemination or other use of, or taking of any action in reliance upon, this information by persons or entities other than the intended recipient is prohibited. If you received this in error, please contact the sender and delete the material from any computer. PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP is a Delaware limited liability partnership.

EXHIBIT 2

0001

1 UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 2 OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
 3 ----- X
 4 IN RE: :
 5 INQUIRY REGARDING : OCE Preliminary Review
 6 CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH CROWLEY : No. 10-6002
 7 :
 8 ----- X

9
 10 TUESDAY, JULY 13, 2010
 11 INTERVIEW OF: REP. CROWLEY'S FUNDRAISER
 12 CONDUCTED FROM 11:00 AM to 11:44 AM
 13

14 HELD AT:
 15 The Rayburn House Office Building
 45 Independence Avenue, SW
 16 Fourth Floor, Room 2404
 17 Washington, DC 20515

18 GREGORY EDWARDS, LLC
 1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW
 19 Suite 261
 Washington, DC 20036
 20 202-346-9330
 www.gregoryedwardsllc.com

21 BY: KIRK A. STURGES
 22 FILE NO.: 1007009

0002

1 PRESENT AT THE INTERVIEW:
 2
 3

4 ANDREW D. HERMAN, ESQUIRE
 Brand Law Group
 5 923 15th Street, NW
 Washington, DC 20005
 6 202-662-9700
 202-737-7565 (FAX)
 7 aherman@brandlawgroup.com

8
 9 PAUL J. SOLIS, INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL
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 11 Washington, DC 20515-0895
 202-225-9739
 12 202-226-0997 (FAX)
 paul.solis@mail.house.gov

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 14 OMAR S. ASHMAWY, INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL
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 15 Office of Congressional Ethics
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17 Washington, DC 20515-0895
 18 202-225-9739
 19 202-226-0997 (FAX)
 20 omar.ashmawy@mail.house.gov
 21
 22

0003

1 I N T E R V I E W
 2 MR. SOLIS: The first kind of
 3 administrative thing -- and Andrew has seen this
 4 before, too -- is under our resolution, we're
 5 required to show you that. It's a copy of 18 USC
 6 1001, popularly titled the False Statements Act.
 7 Generally speaking, don't make false statements to
 8 federal investigators. That's pretty much it.
 9 Then we're also required to have you sign
 10 a document, basically, acknowledging that we have
 11 shown you that; and that's really all it records.
 12 THE WITNESS: Okay.
 13 MR. HERMAN: I don't really understand
 14 that, but I understand that it's --
 15 MR. ASHMAWY: Your boss is the one who
 16 takes credit for putting it in.
 17 THE WITNESS: Is today the 13th?
 18 MR. HERMAN: Yes.
 19 MR. SOLIS: You know it applies
 20 regardless of whether or not we --
 21 MR. HERMAN: Okay.
 22 MR. SOLIS: -- but that's the resolution

0004

1 drafter's --
 2 THE WITNESS: (Interviewee executes
 3 document.)
 4 MR. SOLIS: Great. So it shouldn't take
 5 too much time, just some questions about some
 6 fundraising that you helped the congressman out
 7 with --
 8 THE WITNESS: Sure.
 9 MR. SOLIS: -- and some very general
 10 questions and some specifics about fundraisers.
 11 So, first, I guess, if you can kind of
 12 describe generally the process of fundraising and how
 13 you go about setting up the fundraisers.
 14 THE WITNESS: In general terms, it's, you
 15 know, setting a date, finding a location, compiling
 16 the invitation or putting together an invitation; and
 17 I generally use e-mail, so e-mail or e-mail out the
 18 invite.
 19 MR. SOLIS: About how far out typically
 20 are you planning the events?
 21 THE WITNESS: Anywhere from, I mean,
 22 60 days to six months. There is no real rule of

0005

1 thumb, I guess you would say.
 2 MR. SOLIS: Okay. And when you're
 3 sending the invitations, how does that usually go?
 4 Is it a set of people that you have
 5 identified that you want to talk to or is it a large
 6 group; or does it differ from time to time? So could
 7 you talk a little bit about that?
 8 THE WITNESS: You know, I have a list that
 9 I keep, that I would generally send to. It's a mass

10 -- you know, a blast e-mail or a mass e-mail that
11 goes out once the -- you know, once the invitation is
12 done and we have the details.
13 MR. SOLIS: And is a list prepared for
14 each congressman?
15 THE WITNESS: Each congressman?
16 MR. SOLIS: Right. So do you have
17 separate lists for each of your clients to send
18 invitations to?
19 THE WITNESS: No. I have one database or,
20 you know, one list that I normally use; and, you
21 know, you start from there.
22 MR. SOLIS: Is that list utilized in
0006 every case setting up a fundraiser each time? Are
1 you sending out --
2 THE WITNESS: Not in every --
3 MR. SOLIS: Okay.
4 THE WITNESS: -- in every case.
5 MR. SOLIS: Okay. How long have you been
6 fundraising for Mr. Crowley?
7 THE WITNESS: Four years --
8 MR. SOLIS: Okay.
9 THE WITNESS: -- close to five maybe.
10 Sorry.
11 MR. SOLIS: That's fine. That's fine.
12 That's close enough.
13 I want to show you a document, and this
14 is from the production that Andrew helped prepare for
15 us. This is a -- that's a memo, I think, that's from
16 you.
17 Do you recall? Is that from you?
18 Did you author that document?
19 THE WITNESS: Yes.
20 MR. SOLIS: Do you know when this was
21 created?
22 THE WITNESS: When this memo was created?
0007 1 MR. SOLIS: Yes. Right.
2 THE WITNESS: No.
3 MR. SOLIS: Okay.
4 THE WITNESS: No, not the specific date.
5 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Would it have been
6 near the December 10th, 2009, date, shown on the
7 document?
8 THE WITNESS: More than -- yeah. More
9 than likely because -- but just with the attendees.
10 MR. SOLIS: Do you mean to finalize that
11 list?
12 THE WITNESS: To be honest, I don't, you
13 know --
14 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Do you recall who the
15 memo is prepared for, who it went to?
16 THE WITNESS: It would have been -- yeah.
17 It would have been for the congressman.
18 MR. SOLIS: His staff?
19 THE WITNESS: No.
20 MR. SOLIS: Okay. If you could, look at
21 the C for C location represented there. I assume
22
0008 1 that's the location of the Crowley for Congress
2 fundraiser.
3 THE WITNESS: Yes.
4 MR. SOLIS: It says, home of Julie

5 Dominick. Who is Julie Dominick?
6 THE WITNESS: Julie Dominick offered to
7 host this event at her home.
8 MR. SOLIS: Do you know her profession or
9 what she --
10 THE WITNESS: I've known her for a few
11 years. Yes.
12 MR. SOLIS: Do you know what she does for
13 a living?
14 THE WITNESS: I know that she's a
15 lobbyist.
16 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Do you know if she
17 lobbies any specific industries --
18 THE WITNESS: To be honest --
19 MR. SOLIS: -- or clients?
20 THE WITNESS: -- I don't know who her
21 specific clients are.
22 MR. SOLIS: Okay. I want to show you --
0009
1 this is a fundraising flyer, again, from the
2 documents that came to us.
3 That is the December 2nd, 2009,
4 fundraiser; and you will see your name is on that
5 document.
6 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh (affirmative response).
7 MR. SOLIS: Can you talk a little bit
8 about this or how you went about preparing for this
9 event?
10 THE WITNESS: I mean, I will say the
11 specifics of this event, I don't necessarily recall;
12 but -- yes -- this would have been prepared by me.
13 But the same thing, I would have, you
14 know, gotten the date, the time, put together the
15 invite.
16 MR. SOLIS: Okay. When was it planned?
17 Do you remember?
18 THE WITNESS: I do not know.
19 MR. SOLIS: I guess, just your best
20 estimation, would it have been within a month of that
21 time frame, I mean, just corresponding to how you
22 typically work?
0010
1 THE WITNESS: I mean, I hate to say like a
2 specific time period because I'm not, you know,
3 necessarily sure. I just don't recall.
4 MR. SOLIS: Great. Okay.
5 You know, I had some specific questions
6 about this, I guess, again, to the best that you can.
7 THE WITNESS: Sure.
8 MR. SOLIS: Do you recall how the
9 invitees were selected for that event?
10 THE WITNESS: No, because to be honest,
11 this isn't really necessarily jogging any memories,
12 the December 2nd invite.
13 MR. SOLIS: Do you recall whether there
14 was a focus to this fundraiser?
15 THE WITNESS: No. I'm trying to go back,
16 you know, and just kind of think of -- there may have
17 been a focus, but I can't necessarily think of what
18 the exact --
19 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Did you attend this
20 fundraiser.
21 THE WITNESS: I would have to check to say
22 for sure.

0011
1 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Okay.
2 You will notice -- did you prepare the
3 flyer?
4 THE WITNESS: I would say, yes, only
5 because, I mean, this looks like one of my
6 invitations --
7 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Okay.
8 THE WITNESS: -- you know, from the font,
9 too.
10 MR. SOLIS: All right.
11 THE WITNESS: So I would say yes, by
12 looking at it; but, you know, to say with a
13 guarantee -- but I would say yes.
14 MR. SOLIS: well, maybe assuming that you
15 did or at least recalling on your general experience
16 with putting together flyers like this, I want to
17 show you that underneath his name, the New Democrat
18 Coalition Chair, Chief Deputy whip, Committee on Ways
19 and Means and Committee on Foreign Affairs.
20 How are those designations placed on the
21 flyer? Does that come from the staff or do you place
22 those designations on the flyer?
0012
1 THE WITNESS: No. I would put that on
2 there.
3 MR. SOLIS: Okay. And why would you put
4 those designations on there?
5 THE WITNESS: I guess, I would say, out of
6 habit.
7 MR. SOLIS: Okay. The same kind of thing
8 with this one. This is a December 10th, 5:00 o'clock
9 to 7:00 p.m. fundraiser, same sort of questions.
10 Do you recall being there?
11 THE WITNESS: I was at this event.
12 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Okay.
13 were any of the congressman's staff at
14 that event?
15 THE WITNESS: Not that I -- I mean, I do
16 believe that our Chief of Staff Kate Winkler was
17 there.
18 MR. SOLIS: Again, when this event was
19 planned --
20 THE WITNESS: I don't know the specific
21 date, but I know it was -- I know it was early --
22 you know, we have a quarter -- so early in the
0013
1 quarter, at the beginning of the quarter, you know,
2 which would have been middle October or so.
3 MR. SOLIS: How were the invitees
4 selected?
5 THE WITNESS: This, again, was just like a
6 blast e-mail to our whole list.
7 MR. SOLIS: Was there a focus to this
8 event?
9 THE WITNESS: No focus.
10 MR. SOLIS: If I could go back a little
11 bit from my first question, you said the general list
12 will go out for a fundraiser.
13 Do you make follow-up calls?
14 THE WITNESS: Sometimes.
15 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Sometimes. And how
16 would you select who to follow up with?
17 THE WITNESS: More generally, just it's,
Page 5

18 you know, either people that hadn't RSVPed yet is
19 more the case.
20 MR. SOLIS: Any other reasons you would
21 select a follow-up call besides that?
22 THE WITNESS: You know, just looking
0014
1 through -- I guess looking through -- yeah -- looking
2 through the list of, A, who I haven't heard from and
3 calling them to remind them.
4 I'm trying to think of other -- you know,
5 if there were people that have told me, you know,
6 before that they would like to -- they would like to
7 come to an event, sometimes I keep a list of those
8 few people and would make a call to remind them.
9 MR. SOLIS: Okay.
10 MR. ASHMAWY: How long is that list that
11 you would send out to?
12 THE WITNESS: How long is it?
13 MR. ASHMAWY: Uh-huh (affirmative
14 response).
15 THE WITNESS: The overall list -- I would
16 have to look. I want to say approximately 3,000
17 people.
18 MR. ASHMAWY: So for this -- is it the
19 December 7th --
20 MR. SOLIS: That's December 10th.
21 MR. ASHMAWY: -- the December 10th event,
22 would you have sent out an e-mail to that entire
0015
1 list?
2 THE WITNESS: Yes.
3 MR. ASHMAWY: Roughly how many RSVPs do
4 you normally get?
5 THE WITNESS: For this event?
6 MR. ASHMAWY: Yes. Okay. Yes.
7 Specifically, for that event, how many
8 RSVPs did you get without having to follow up with
9 anybody?
10 THE WITNESS: Oh, without having to follow
11 up, I would have to guess; and I don't really want to
12 guess on this, so --
13 MR. ASHMAWY: Can you give a range?
14 THE WITNESS: I mean, it would be a total
15 guess, so I don't --
16 MR. ASHMAWY: Well, generally speaking,
17 how many RSVPs did you get? If you e-blasted the
18 whole list of 3,000, generally speaking, how many
19 people would you get an RSVP from without having to
20 follow up?
21 THE WITNESS: Without having to follow up?
22 MR. ASHMAWY: Sure. Give a range.
0016
1 THE WITNESS: Ten or 20.
2 MR. ASHMAWY: would you then call the
3 other 2,800 -- my math is that bad -- 2,980 people --
4 THE WITNESS: No.
5 MR. ASHMAWY: -- or would you be a little
6 more selective?
7 THE WITNESS: No. I would not make that
8 many -- no. I would not make those calls.
9 MR. ASHMAWY: How would you then -- so
10 how would you sift through that many people?
11 So you have got 10, 20 -- let's say, 20
12 RSVPs without having to follow up. You now have a
Page 6

13 list of 2,980 people who haven't, who might.
 14 How do you sift through that many people?
 15 How do you decide who you are going to call and who
 16 you are not?
 17 THE WITNESS: I guess, you know, if the
 18 calls that we would make would be to people, like I
 19 said before, that would have either said -- you know,
 20 expressed interest that they wanted an invitation --
 21 you know, they wanted to attend something -- or if it
 22 was people that had contributed in the past and not
 0017 yet contributed this year or that year -- especially
 2 this was the end of that filing period, the end of
 3 that quarter -- that would be --
 4 MR. SOLIS: Would you ever, again, sift
 5 through that group by industry where the people work?
 6 THE WITNESS: For this event?
 7 MR. SOLIS: Right.
 8 THE WITNESS: Not for this event, only or
 9 -- because it was our last event of the quarter, last
 10 event of that filing period, so this was open to --
 11 you know, there was no focus to this event.
 12 MR. SOLIS: Okay. But where there may be
 13 a focus, would you maybe call people based on their
 14 industry?
 15 THE WITNESS: If there was a focus to this
 16 event?
 17 MR. SOLIS: Yes.
 18 THE WITNESS: Yes. I mean, I would
 19 contact them whether it was an e-mail or a phone
 20 call.
 21 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Okay.
 22 One more fundraiser, this, then, probably
 0018 occurred right after that at 7:00 o'clock.
 2 Do you recall this one?
 3 THE WITNESS: I do recall this one.
 4 MR. SOLIS: Were you in attendance at
 5 this?
 6 THE WITNESS: I was.
 7 MR. SOLIS: Again, staff, do you recall
 8 if any of the congressman's staff was at this event?
 9 THE WITNESS: I believe Kate Winkler, our
 10 chief of staff, was there.
 11 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Again, same kind of
 12 list of questions. Was there a focus to this event?
 13 THE WITNESS: No focus.
 14 MR. SOLIS: Invitees selected --
 15 THE WITNESS: Invitees, it would have gone
 16 to our general list.
 17 MR. SOLIS: That 3,000 --
 18 THE WITNESS: Right.
 19 MR. SOLIS: -- large list that you use?
 20 THE WITNESS: Right.
 21 MR. SOLIS: Okay.
 22 THE WITNESS: Now, I'm saying it's 3,000.
 0019 I don't know how --
 2 MR. SOLIS: Right.
 3 THE WITNESS: -- many of those people I
 4 have an e-mail for or even a phone number for or, you
 5 know --
 6 MR. SOLIS: Okay. You said approximately,
 7 so --

8 THE WITNESS: Right.
9 MR. SOLIS: And do you recall when this
10 event was planned?
11 THE WITNESS: It was planned -- I don't
12 know the specific date, but it would have been around
13 the middle of November.
14 MR. SOLIS: The previous event, you said,
15 would have been probably mid October and this one is
16 mid November.
17 Can you kind of walk me through why one
18 would have been planned a month earlier and they are
19 on the same date?
20 THE WITNESS: This one, the first one --
21 which was for Crowley for Congress -- I generally or
22 typically will plan at the end of the quarter, and
0020
1 especially if -- obviously, when they are in town,
2 one generic end-of-the-quarter event. So our filing
3 period was December 31st. So we always do -- you
4 know, every three months, there's a different filing
5 period, so there is generally a specific event or --
6 generally, a general event -- typically, a general
7 event.
8 The same with -- this was for Crowley for
9 re-election. This was Crowley for Congress.
10 This other event was for his leadership
11 PAC. So we scheduled the dinner afterwards for those
12 that could give to the leadership PAC -- again, same
13 filing period, so it's the end of December -- trying
14 to get, you know, the contributions in before that
15 filing period closes.
16 MR. SOLIS: So would some of the
17 attendees or all of the attendees from that 5:00 to
18 7:00 o'clock fundraiser have gone to the second
19 fundraiser?
20 THE WITNESS: I don't know that they all
21 did, but they all would have been -- they all should
22 have received the invite to both.
0021
1 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Okay.
2 The last one here, this is another flyer
3 on December 15th and -- you know, we would go through
4 the same questions.
5 But first I want to ask -- you said
6 before -- and I actually noted it on the first memo I
7 actually showed you as well -- that one of the
8 December 10th fundraisers was going to be the last
9 Crowley for Congress fundraisers of the year.
10 This one, obviously, is December 15th,
11 five days later. Why would there have been that, an
12 additional fundraiser, if there had --
13 THE WITNESS: Right. Well, I think I
14 said, I believe, it's the last generic, you know,
15 just, you know, no focus. I remember this one,
16 specifically, because we rescheduled it from a date
17 back in June.
18 MR. SOLIS: Okay.
19 THE WITNESS: So it was a matter of just
20 finding -- you know, getting it rescheduled.
21 MR. SOLIS: You said, "last generic."
22 Can you tell me what you mean by that?
0022
1 THE WITNESS: That means, you know, I sent
2 it -- you know, it went to our big list, anyone
Page 8

3 welcome to attend, you know.
4 MR. SOLIS: And then what would be
5 something that would differ from a generic --
6 THE WITNESS: well, this would be
7 something that's different from a generic event
8 because it has a focus.
9 MR. SOLIS: Okay. And what was the focus
10 on this one?
11 THE WITNESS: I mean, these people offered
12 to host this event for the congressman, those listed
13 at the top.
14 MR. SOLIS: You said you recall this one
15 specifically. Were you at this fundraiser on the
16 15th?
17 THE WITNESS: I believe so, but I'm not --
18 I recall it being rescheduled, and I believe I was at
19 this event; but I can't say for certain.
20 MR. SOLIS: And because this one had a
21 focus and these individuals offered to host the
22 fundraiser, how were the invitees selected for this
0023
1 one?
2 THE WITNESS: They -- I believe that
3 they -- I believe that they gave me a list, and I
4 e-mailed them; and they could have e-mailed as well.
5 MR. SOLIS: And by "they," do you mean
6 the hosts gave you a list?
7 THE WITNESS: Yeah, the people listed at
8 the top or the groups listed at the top, I should
9 say.
10 MR. SOLIS: Do you recall what that list
11 looked like? Was it --
12 THE WITNESS: I don't recall.
13 MR. SOLIS: -- industry --
14 THE WITNESS: I don't recall right now,
15 you know.
16 MR. SOLIS: And then when you -- you
17 mentioned this was a rescheduled event.
18 when would this have been rescheduled?
19 THE WITNESS: Do you mean when was it
20 originally scheduled?
21 MR. SOLIS: well, you said it was
22 originally scheduled for June, right?
0024
1 THE WITNESS: Right.
2 MR. SOLIS: when would the December 15th
3 date have been set for the rescheduling?
4 THE WITNESS: I don't -- I don't know the
5 -- recall when exactly it would have been, when we
6 would have set the reschedule -- the exact
7 rescheduled date.
8 MR. SOLIS: And this kind of follows on
9 one of my -- one of our questions about how you
10 follow up. This is an e-mail --
11 THE WITNESS: Right.
12 MR. SOLIS: -- and I've highlighted --
13 you know, this is an e-mail you wrote on
14 December 7th. It says, "Hi, Elizabeth and Tom."
15 Do you make e-mails, then, in addition to
16 follow-up calls? Do you make follow-up e-mails?
17 THE WITNESS: Yes.
18 MR. SOLIS: And would the process for
19 selecting the follow up -- identifying the follow-up
20 people, would that be the same as how you make phone

21 calls; or how does that work?
 22 THE WITNESS: How I select who I follow up
 0025 with?
 1
 2 MR. SOLIS: Yes, for e-mails.
 3 THE WITNESS: Most generally, I mean, you
 4 know, it -- like I said, it would be people that have
 5 given in the past that I wanted to follow up.
 6 You know, this would be a little bit
 7 different because it's the end of the year. Since
 8 this is for JOE PAC, you know, you file at the end of
 9 the year; and you start from zero at the beginning of
 10 the next year.
 11 So, you know, this event was our last one
 12 not only of that quarter but of the year. So, you
 13 know, if you didn't give at this, then you would
 14 start anew at the beginning of the year. It's not a
 15 two-year cycle. It's a one-year cycle.
 16 So it would have been following up with
 17 people that I would want to be able to have them
 18 attend before the end of the year closed.
 19 MR. SOLIS: Okay. And I have another
 20 e-mail from you, and I've highlighted a portion there
 21 that's -- you talk about Ms. Winkler, the chief of
 22 staff, and that she had a conversation about the
 0026 event that you're referring to in the e-mail.
 1 Could you talk about Ms. Winkler's role
 2 in the fundraising or your communication with her,
 3 generally, how it works with her, your communication
 4 with her?
 5
 6 THE WITNESS: Just communicating in
 7 general with her or --
 8 MR. SOLIS: with scheduling events, maybe
 9 potential contributors, those types of things.
 10 THE WITNESS: Sure. Scheduling -- I mean,
 11 I do go through her for scheduling, so, you know,
 12 whether -- I get dates from her that I'm able to use
 13 and then, also, report back, you know, what I've
 14 scheduled, so she can add it to the schedule.
 15 MR. SOLIS: And what about selecting
 16 invitees or potential contributors, is there a
 17 communication between you and her about that?
 18 THE WITNESS: Not selecting the invitees.
 19 If someone contacted her saying -- you
 20 know, if someone contacted her and saying, "We want a
 21 invitation," or, "We want" -- you know, "Can you
 22 e-mail me this," she will give it to me to e-mail,
 0027 but not on the -- you know, not, I would say, on the
 1 onset of the specifics of putting together the invite
 2 or finding the location or selecting the overall list
 3 or --
 4
 5 MR. SOLIS: Okay. What about other
 6 individuals on staff, do you work with anyone else?
 7 Have you ever worked with anyone else on Congressman
 8 Crowley's staff?
 9 THE WITNESS: I will work with the
 10 scheduler from time to time.
 11 MR. SOLIS: Is there anyone else?
 12 THE WITNESS: In terms of --
 13 MR. SOLIS: In any capacity of your
 14 efforts to fundraise for the congressman, do you ever
 15 work with any of his staff other than the scheduler

16 or Ms. Winkler?
 17 THE WITNESS: No. I would -- not that
 18 I -- you know, not that I would recall.
 19 But generally, I would work with Kate on
 20 scheduling and setting up our events.
 21 I mean, you know, at times, I would --
 22 may work with our district chief of staff, if we're
 0028
 1 doing, you know, in-district events or --
 2 MR. SOLIS: Right. And then, I guess,
 3 more specifically about the December fundraisers,
 4 what communications did -- the ones that I showed you
 5 here -- what communications did you have with
 6 Ms. Winkler or anyone else on staff or the
 7 congressman about those events?
 8 THE WITNESS: Well, with Kate, it would
 9 have been the scheduling of it -- you know, setting
 10 the time; you know, getting her the information so
 11 she knew the location -- the same with the
 12 schedulers, to make sure that they had all the
 13 details.
 14 You know, it would have been putting
 15 together this memo; and it would have gone to Kate so
 16 that it could -- you know, she would be able to get
 17 it to the congressman.
 18 MR. SOLIS: So she would have worked with
 19 you on that memo.
 20 THE WITNESS: Not worked with me on it. I
 21 would have -- this would have gone to her.
 22 MR. SOLIS: And, then, so in addition to
 0029
 1 scheduling, you know -- and you can maybe explain
 2 what you meant in that first sentence there -- wanted
 3 me to follow up -- you say: Kate wanted me to follow
 4 up on a conversation you had with her regarding an
 5 event for December 10th.
 6 So, in this instance, you and Kate had a
 7 conversation about, like -- the example you gave me
 8 before -- someone might call her about an event and
 9 talk to her about it, and then she will refer it to
 10 you?
 11 THE WITNESS: Exactly.
 12 MR. SOLIS: Okay. And that's what's
 13 represented in that?
 14 THE WITNESS: Well, I don't know, you
 15 know, specifically, about this one.
 16 You know, it could have -- you know, he
 17 could have ran into her and asked her. He could have
 18 called and asked her but --
 19 MR. SOLIS: I realize it was a while ago,
 20 but do you remember anything about --
 21 THE WITNESS: -- him, specifically --
 22 MR. SOLIS: -- this specific e-mail?
 0030
 1 THE WITNESS: No, not necessarily. I
 2 mean, I don't know. I don't want to say exactly this
 3 was how this came down but --
 4 MR. SOLIS: Sure. Okay.
 5 Do you have any other questions?
 6 MR. ASHMAWY: You mentioned that you --
 7 it sounds like you plan fundraisers at the beginning
 8 of each quarter.
 9 Is that kind of how --
 10 THE WITNESS: I attempt to, or I try, yes.
 Page 11

11 MR. ASHMAWY: Okay. So you don't -- do
12 you plan across quarters; or typically, at the
13 beginning of a quarter, you'll put together
14 fundraisers for that quarter?
15 THE WITNESS: What do you mean, "across
16 quarters"?

17 MR. ASHMAWY: I guess, in quarter two,
18 will you plan events in quarter four?
19 THE WITNESS: Sometimes.
20 MR. ASHMAWY: What's your -- what's
21 frequently your most typical practice?
22 THE WITNESS: I would say there is no, you
0031 know, set standard.

2 There are some events that we do every
3 year that are set. You know, he does a
4 sushi-shamrock event every year around Saint
5 Patrick's Day. So I kind of know the date for that
6 one.
7 So, then, you know, sometimes there's
8 events, you know, I try to plan out so we have an
9 idea -- and scheduling, you know, is the harder part
10 of it -- but it doesn't always necessarily work that
11 way, so --

12 MR. ASHMAWY: How many events would you
13 say you plan for Representative Crowley?
14 THE WITNESS: For Congressman Crowley?
15 MR. ASHMAWY: Uh-huh (affirmative
16 response).

17 THE WITNESS: To give you an approximate?
18 MR. ASHMAWY: Yes, just generally, I
19 understand it's not an exact number.
20 THE WITNESS: It would be in -- overall
21 events?
22 MR. ASHMAWY: Yes. Total events: big,
0032 small, medium.

2 THE WITNESS: Maybe 10 or 12 a quarter.
3 MR. ASHMAWY: Okay. Of those 10 or 12 a
4 quarter, how many are probably planned at the
5 beginning of the quarter?
6 THE WITNESS: What do you mean by
7 "planned"? Do you mean exact date scheduled?
8 MR. ASHMAWY: The date -- by "planned," I
9 mean, you sit down on a particular day and you say,
10 "I will have an event on that day in the future."
11 How many -- how often do you do that? Of
12 the 10 or 12 a quarter, for how many of them do you
13 do that in the beginning of a quarter?
14 THE WITNESS: That I would have an exact
15 date for, like, scheduled?
16 MR. ASHMAWY: That you would decide when
17 you were going to have an event --
18 THE WITNESS: I mean, at the beginning of
19 the quarter, how many do I have an exact date for?
20 MR. ASHMAWY: I'm sorry. I'm probably
21 being unclear.
22 So it sounds like a lot of times you plan
0033 events at the beginning of the quarter --

2 THE WITNESS: Right.
3 MR. ASHMAWY: -- for later in a quarter.
4 THE WITNESS: Yes.
5 MR. ASHMAWY: So you said you have about
Page 12

6 10 or 12 events in a quarter. About how many of
 7 those are planned in the beginning of a quarter?
 8 THE WITNESS: I mean, I would have all of
 9 them in some sort of plan; but to have an exact date
 10 for, I mean, I wouldn't.
 11 I can't tell you if I've -- do I have
 12 every exact date at the beginning of the quarter for
 13 every event that's going to come up in that
 14 three months? No.

15 MR. ASHMAWY: Okay. And that makes
 16 sense.

17 THE WITNESS: Okay.
 18 MR. ASHMAWY: How often -- I guess I'm
 19 just trying to understand.
 20 How often are you having sort of like
 21 short -- what I would imagine like short-term planned
 22 events, like, "You know what? We have got an

0034 1 opening. We're going to have an event next month.
 2 We have an opening, and we're going to have an event
 3 in like three weeks, if we can get one together."

4 How often does that happen?
 5 THE WITNESS: How often in generic terms
 6 per quarter?

7 MR. SOLIS: Yeah. I just want to
 8 understand.

9 THE WITNESS: Maybe like a quarter of
 10 them -- you know, not half of them but -- you know,
 11 and it might also be rescheduling. I mean, we may
 12 have had an original date; and we have to reschedule
 13 it for whatever reason, so --

14 MR. ASHMAWY: And that makes sense.
 15 Did any of the events that we are talking
 16 about here fall into that category?

17 THE WITNESS: Of rescheduling.
 18 MR. ASHMAWY: Of rescheduling or just
 19 sort of short term -- you know, I guess the word I'm
 20 really thinking of is a last minute planned event.

21 THE WITNESS: Last minute planning?
 22 MR. ASHMAWY: Yes.

0035 1 THE WITNESS: Well, like I said, on this
 2 one, I don't remember exactly when it was
 3 rescheduled; but this was rescheduled. But it was
 4 rescheduled from June.

5 MR. ASHMAWY: The December 15th.
 6 THE WITNESS: Now, when was the exact date
 7 set of December 15th, I don't have any idea off the
 8 -- you know, to remember about it.

9 Short-term planning, I mean, I don't
 10 know, without knowing the exact date in my head --
 11 maybe the leadership PAC event, because we just took
 12 the opportunity that this night was open for the
 13 congressman and scheduled back-to-back events -- but
 14 I don't know, you know, necessarily how far -- like
 15 when this date was set and how far later this one was
 16 or we decided to or -- decided to do this dinner,
 17 so --

18 MR. ASHMAWY: Well, do you know if any of
 19 these -- well, do you think that all of these events
 20 were planned starting the beginning of that quarter
 21 other than, I guess, the one that was rescheduled?

22 THE WITNESS: I guess I don't know what
 0036

1 you mean by "planned."
2 MR. ASHMAWY: Well, I guess, when you
3 decide you are going to have one.
4 THE WITNESS: So scheduled?
5 MR. ASHMAWY: Sure. Scheduled.
6 THE WITNESS: No. I would say I would not
7 have an exact date at the -- you know, the beginning
8 of this quarter would have been October 1st.
9 Did I have all of these dates set for
10 these events, no, on October 1st.
11 MR. ASHMAWY: Okay. How deep into the
12 quarter would you be before you had events scheduled?
13 THE WITNESS: For this quarter?
14 MR. ASHMAWY: Uh-huh (affirmative
15 response).
16 THE WITNESS: I don't know how far -- you
17 know, I don't know necessarily when all of these are
18 set, off the top of my head, so --
19 MR. SOLIS: You've been doing this for
20 the congressman for a few years; and you mentioned
21 some are yearly, like he does this shamrocks and
22 sushi every year.

0037
1 would any of -- the ones in December,
2 that we referenced today, would any of those have
3 been repeats or year to year situations, an annual
4 event?
5 THE WITNESS: I mean, like I said earlier,
6 we would, you know, typically do something, whether
7 it's for his -- you know, the leadership PAC was
8 ending at the end of the year or, you know, a generic
9 event before the end of the quarter; but I don't know
10 necessarily that these same things happened -- I
11 don't -- you know, that these same things happened
12 that December before.
13 MR. ASHMAWY: I apologize for the
14 bouncing around. That's what happens when you get
15 two people.
16 Julie Dominick, you said that she was a
17 friend of yours you have known for a few years. You
18 said you didn't specifically know who her clients
19 were.
20 Do you know generally what industries she
21 represents?
22 THE WITNESS: I thought that before she --

0038
1 I know that she's on her own now or, I think, she has
2 her own firm.
3 Before that, she worked in the financial
4 services industry; but I don't know necessarily who
5 her specific clients are. I can't list any of her
6 clients off for you.
7 MR. ASHMAWY: I wouldn't expect you to.
8 That would be crazy, if you could.
9 Now that she is on her own, do you know
10 generally what industries she represents?
11 THE WITNESS: No. I mean, to be honest, I
12 haven't looked at her -- I don't believe that I have
13 looked at her client list before.
14 MR. ASHMAWY: I think that was my last
15 question.
16 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Yes. Me, too.
17 MR. ASHMAWY: Thank you very much for
18 your time.

19 MR. SOLIS: Thank you so much.
20 It was great. So we got a lot of good
21 information. Thank you.
22 THE WITNESS: Okay.

0039
1 (At 11:44 a.m., the conducting of
2 the interview was concluded.)
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0040
1 CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
2
3 I, Kirk A. Sturges, being a machine
4 shorthand reporter, do hereby certify that I was
5 authorized to and did report by machine shorthand the
6
7 above and foregoing interview; and that thereafter,
8
9 it was reduced to typewriting by myself; and I
10
11 further certify the pages numbered 3 through 39,
12
13 inclusive, contain a full, true and correct
14
15 transcript of the interview.
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

Kirk A. Sturges, Court Reporter

EXHIBIT 3

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

In Re: Chairman of the House Financial Services Committee
 Review #s: 10-3055; 10-4283; 10-6002; 10-6028; 10-6421; 10-7308; 10-8839; 10-9353
 Date: July 29, 2010
 Location: Rayburn HOB
 Time: 5:00 p.m. – 5:15 p.m. (approximate)
 Participants: Paul Solis
 Nate Wright

Summary: The witness is the Chairman of the House Financial Services Committee. We requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and signed the written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review. The witness consented to an interview on July 29, 2010.
2. The witness told the OCE that nearly 90 percent of the work of the Financial Services Committee in 2009 was focused on the financial reform bill that was voted on in December. The committee held nearly twenty hearings and eight markups on various chapters of the financial reform bill.
3. The witness said that the schedule for when the bill would be voted on was constantly being talked about. The witness stated that certainly by November, Members knew that the bill would be up for a vote in December. Members would know exactly the date of the vote a week in advance. For a hearing, Members would generally receive notice a week in advance. For a markup, Members would generally receive notice a week or two in advance.
4. The witness stated that he canceled several fundraisers around key dates of the financial reform bill to avoid the perception of influence.

I prepared this Memorandum of Interview on August 2, 2010 after interviewing the witness on July 29, 2010 based on the notes staff prepared during the interview. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on July 29, 2010.

Nate Wright
Analyst

EXHIBIT 4

Congressman Joe Crowley (D-NY) Profile

Breakfast with Congressman Joe Crowley
10AM Monday December 7th, 2009
95-25 Queens Blvd.
10th floor
Rego Park, NY 11374

Cell contacts:

Chris Morton - (571) 327-██████
Karla Kirk - (202) 997-██████

Attendees (as of 11.9.09)

Chris Morton, VP Legislative Affairs, AALU
Nat Perlmutter, AALU Board Member
Jor Paone, New York Life
Andrea Perlmutter, AALU Board Member
Robert Miller, AALU Member
Rich Pope, AALU Member
Jim Mendelson

Format for the Meeting

- The event will be an informal coffee. Chris Morton will call the meeting to order by thanking everyone for coming. Chris will talk briefly about AALU and introduce Nat Perlmutter, AALU President elect.
- The rest of the group will introduce themselves
- Chris will then turn the conversation to Nat Perlmutter. Nat will talk briefly and his business and introduce Congressman Crowley
- Nat will turn the conversation over to Congressman Crowley
- After Crowley speaks, we'll move to Q and A.

EXHIBIT 5

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2010 JUL 29 7:45 AM
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1
2
3 - - - - - X
4 IN RE: :
5 INQUIRY REGARDING : GCE Preliminary Review
6 CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH : No. 10-6002
7 CROWLEY :
8 - - - - - X
9

TUESDAY, JULY 22, 2010

INTERVIEW OF: CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH CROWLEY
CONDUCTED FROM 2:27 PM to 2:48 PM

HELD AT:

The Rayburn House Office Building
45 Independence Avenue, SW
Fourth Floor, Room 2404
Washington, DC 20515

GREGORY EDWARDS, LLC
1120 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 261
Washington, DC 20036
202-346-9339
www.gregoryedwardsllc.com

BY: KIRK A. STURGES
FILE NO.: 1007023

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GregoryEdwards, LLC
866 4 Team GE

1
2 PRESENT AT THE INTERVIEW:
3

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5 ANDREW D. HERMAN, ESQUIRE
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10 202-737-7565 (FAX)
11 sbrand@brandlawgroup.com
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13

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1 I N T E R V I E W

2 MS. HORTON: Congressman, this shouldn't
3 take very long, just some general questions about
4 some fundraising practices and then some specifics
5 about some fundraising events you had in December;
6 and to the best of your knowledge, just talk to us
7 about that.

8 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Sure.

9 MR. SOLIS: The first thing -- Andrew and
10 Stan might have brought this up to you -- this is
11 18 USC 1001. It's the False Statements Act. And
12 we're just required to have you acknowledge that it
13 applies --

14 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Okay.

15 MR. SOLIS: -- to our discussion here.

16 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Okay.

17 MR. SOLIS: And then that document right
18 there, once you execute it, just basically outlines
19 that you understand that the Act applies.

20 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Okay. (Congressman
21 executes document.)

22 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Thank you.

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1 So the first thing is, can you describe
2 generally the policy legislative process in your
3 office, maybe the hierarchy of staff, how things work
4 when you're making a decision in those arenas.

5 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: You know, generally
6 speaking, I'm the one who votes; but I look to my
7 legislative director, my EAs, my chief of staff,
8 we -- I'll look for their recommendations.

9 Are you talking about the day -- are you
10 talking specifically about the day of voting or
11 leading up to it or --

12 MR. SOLTS: I'm talking, generally, let's
13 say, your legislative assistant has made a
14 recommendation or is considering some legislation or
15 a policy.

16 Do they go to the LD? Do they go to the
17 chief of staff? Do they have a direct route to you?
18 How does that work?

19 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: You know, it
20 varies. You know, I don't think there is any
21 specific way in which sometimes we're a very
22 close-knit office, so if someone says, "I have an

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1 idea or a thought on something," it may be that
2 that's how it transpires to me; or it could be -- you
3 know, there are any number of bills that we'll have
4 in a year type of thing, so -- or today, we may have
5 anywhere between one to sometimes as many as seven or
6 more, you know, votes in a row.

7 So I may look at the recommendations
8 or -- you know, and that's part of it. Part of it is
9 I may know it's on the agenda in terms of what's on
10 the floor; but it's generally kind of a -- we're all
11 working here together in the same vein to try to, you
12 know, take our positions on these issues as they come
13 up for votes.

14 MR. SOLIS: Does -- the IAs or LD, do
15 they have to go through Kate first to make a decision
16 or make a recommendation and then go to you?

17 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: "Have to," I don't
18 think "have to" is the right word.

19 MR. SOLIS: Okay.

20 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: There is no "have
21 to," per se. We have interaction all the time.
22 There may be some discussion. I think, you know,

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1 generally speaking, you know, Kate is in charge of
2 the day-to-day of the office, so she's -- we have a
3 structure.

4 There is a chief of staff. We have the
5 legislative director, the IAs. The legislative
6 director would have a number of areas onto his or her
7 portfolio as well.

8 You know, we have the LC -- the
9 legislative correspondent -- and we have the
10 scheduler type of thing.

11 So, generally speaking, Kate is in charge
12 of the office, you know, under my purview, though, so
13 to speak.

14 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Fundraising --

15 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

16 MR. SOLIS: -- can you kind of walk me
17 through generally how the planning stages -- what you
18 are aware of, what input you have -- all the way up
19 to the event?

20 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Well, I don't -- I
21 really don't plan the fundraisers. I don't have -- I
22 don't do the -- and I really -- outside of -- I mean,

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1 I can't say how that actually gets done, since I
2 don't do that. That's that done by Sara Conrad,
3 who's my finance director.

4 So, you know, I think that it's done more
5 in conjunction with the office in terms of my
6 schedule -- like what's available, what's not
7 available, you know, what -- when am I able to do
8 something or not able to do something, more along
9 those lines.

10 And I basically -- I may know of a
11 fundraiser the day of the event or I may know the day
12 before or something like that. I may know for some
13 of them, you know, a week or two, or two weeks
14 before, I may have some idea that something is coming
15 up.

16 MR. SOLIS: The ones that you would know
17 a week or two in advance, is there -- why would you
18 know of a fundraiser a week in advance.

19 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Someone will say I
20 may have -- I mean, again, I'm just being
21 hypothetical, because I don't --

22 MR. SOLIS: Okay.

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1 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: But it could be,
2 "I'll see you next week at your event," type of
3 thing. It could be constituent up in New York, "I'll
4 see you. You're having an event. I'll be at it,"
5 and that will trigger something in my mind.

6 MR. SOLIS: Do you have any role at all
7 then in planning the fundraisers?

8 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Normally not, no, I
9 don't.

10 MR. SOLIS: And then you mentioned Sara
11 might get in contact with your staff.

12 What staff members would play a role in
13 the fundraiser?

14 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I would imagine, if
15 anyone, in terms of giving her the information, it
16 would be Kate -- Kate Winkler.

17 MR. SOLIS: Your scheduler?

18 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Kate may actually
19 talk to the scheduler. I don't know. I don't
20 think -- again, I don't know -- the answer is -- to
21 what would happen after that. I won't speculate. I
22 don't know what they do, at that point, you know.

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1 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Does Kate ever talk to
2 you about fundraising events?

3 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Sometimes. It
4 could happen.

5 It could be just in terms of the
6 scheduling -- you know, "Does this work for you? You
7 have a" -- you know, it may be that, "We're thinking
8 about doing this event on such a such and date, you
9 know; and you may have -- you know, your son's
10 graduating."

11 MR. SOLIS: Right.

12 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: You have a school
13 event the next morning. It could be something that
14 may be conflicting.

15 "Is that something that can be moved or
16 something like that?"

17 And I'd said, "I don't know if I can move
18 it or not. Let me check and see," you know, that
19 type of thing.

20 MR. SOLIS: Would Sara Conrad ever
21 contact you directly?

22 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: About --

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1 MR. SOLIS: About a fundraising event.

2 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: It's possible.

3 She may say, "We're thinking about doing
4 an event. What do you think," that type of thing.

5 MR. SOLIS: Would Kate or Sara ever come
6 to you with a guest list?

7 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No. I wouldn't --
8 I don't recollect ever having a list of people who'd
9 be on it.

10 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Do you make follow-up
11 calls before an event?

12 So an invitation goes out for Sara, and
13 then you'll make calls from maybe a list?

14 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Sure. Yes.

15 MR. SOLIS: Do you?

16 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

17 MR. SOLIS: What do you know about the
18 list, the call list? How does that get produced?

19 What does Kate tell you about it or Sara
20 tell you about it?

21 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No. This is Sara.

22 It would -- it could be -- you know, it's

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1 a list. I mean, sometimes it's just page after page
2 in terms of, you know, people, what they're
3 affiliated with or that kind of nature.

4 But I really don't know all that much
5 about how the list is generated or where it's coming
6 from. I don't know that.

7 MR. SOLIS: Does Sara talk with you about
8 how it's generated?

9 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

10 MR. SOLES: Does staff attend
11 fundraisers?

12 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: They have, on
13 occasion, Yes.

14 MR. SOLIS: What staff members would
15 attend fundraisers?

16 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I'm -- I imagine
17 that Kate Winkler has attended, Kevin Casey has
18 attended, on occasion.

19 I mean, I think maybe -- I don't know if
20 all have; but at some point maybe -- you know,
21 they're all welcome to go. There is no prohibition
22 on people, if they want to go to it, you know.

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1 MR. SOLIS: And that was going to be my
2 next question --

3 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

4 MR. SOLIS: -- how they become aware of
5 the fundraisers; and do you invite them? Does Kate
6 invite? How does that work?

7 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I think free food
8 more than anything else, but I don't think -- I don't
9 invite anyone.

10 I don't say, "You need to be here," or,
11 "I want you to be there," or anything like that.

12 And I don't know what Kate's protocol is.
13 I don't know what she says.

14 You know, I don't believe anyone is ever
15 asked to be at a fundraiser.

16 MR. SOLIS: Do they -- do you have a
17 schedule, like maybe a personal schedule or something
18 that the staff can view?

19 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I, from time to
20 time, put things into the schedule, like, I'll say,
21 June 25th is my son's graduation, you know, or,
22 Kenzie's birthday is October 23rd or my wife's

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1 birthday or things that are significant to me that I
2 don't want to be disturbed on or -- not "disturbed"
3 -- that's not the right word -- but like these are
4 special days for me, personally; that it would help
5 me if, you know, we weren't conflicting with
6 something like, you know, fundraising or -- it
7 doesn't have to be fundraising; it could be anything
8 really -- if I can find a way to be home for it.

9 MR. SOLIS: Is that schedule shared with
10 Sara Conrad?

11 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I think Sara knows
12 from me sometimes. You know, she asks, you know,
13 what's happening.

14 I can divulge to her if there's a
15 conflict or if there's a birthday or something like
16 that or something that's coming up on my schedule, my
17 personal time, that I don't want to conflict with
18 that.

19 MR. SOLIS: What about your official
20 time?

21 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I think she would
22 have to have a consultation with Kate on that. It

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1 wouldn't be with me.

2 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Now I just wanted to
3 ask about some specific events, and I have
4 fundraising flyers from events -- and maybe you
5 haven't seen them before -- but just in case they
6 might jog your memory.

7 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Sure.

8 MR. SOLIS: Excuse the three-hole punch
9 there on the side.

10 That December 2nd event, do you -- what
11 can you tell me about that event?

12 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Not a heck of lot,
13 from what I see here. There is not much I can tell
14 you at all about it, to be honest with you.

15 MR. SOLIS: Okay. That's fine.

16 Let's see.

17 Do you recall when it was planned --

18 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

19 MR. SOLIS: -- or what Sara might have
20 told you about it?

21 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

22 MR. SOLIS: I have -- this is eight days

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1 later, on the 10th, from 5:00 to 7:00. Again, what
2 can you tell me about that?

3 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I honestly do not
4 know. Where was this at?

5 MR. SOLIS: Let's see. That one 50 E
6 Street, Southeast.

7 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: 315 C Street,
8 Northeast.

9 MR. SOLIS: Oh, that's right. That's
10 right.

11 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I honestly don't
12 know. I don't --

13 MR. SOLIS: Do you know who Julie
14 Dominick is?

15 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

16 MR. SOLIS: Okay. I believe that's
17 her --

18 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: That's her home?

19 MR. SOLIS: -- that's her residence.

20 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Okay. Yes.

21 MR. SOLIS: Do you have any further
22 recollection of that event?

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1 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Vaguely.

2 MR. SOLIS: Do you know if Ms. Dominick
3 reached out to you or your campaign to have that
4 event or -- -

5 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I don't know.

6 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Do you know who was in
7 attendance at that event?

8 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I guess Mark Warner
9 was there. I don't know. I really don't.

10 MR. SOLIS: Okay. That's fine.

11 I have another one. This was later in
12 the day. This is at 7:00 p.m. I think that one is
13 at a restaurant.

14 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: The Source.

15 MR. SOLIS: -- at The Source.

16 Anything on that?

17 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I do remember being
18 at The Source. I think we were in the basement and
19 -- and that was it.

20 MR. SOLIS: Okay.

21 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

22 MR. SOLIS: Do you recall who was there?

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1 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

2 MR. SOLIS: Then I have one more, just to
3 complete this. That's on the 15th.

4 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

5 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Would you say this is
6 typical for a December, the amount of fundraisers?

7 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes. I think the
8 reason being, if I can, that it's the end of the year
9 and the end of the cycle. And then you have
10 Christmas and then you have Hanukkah, and no one wants
11 to be doing just about anything during those times.
12 So everything is kind of crammed into the latter part
13 of November, the early parts of December.

14 MR. SOLIS: Are you usually in session
15 actually voting in December?

16 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I think it varies
17 from year to year. I don't recall exactly whether we
18 have been or not. Sometimes we are. Sometimes we
19 aren't, I think.

20 MR. SOLIS: Do you have any questions?

21 (To Ms. Horton.)

22 MS. HORTON: How many fundraisers do you

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1 generally have per month?

2 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I don't know. I
3 have a number. I just don't know how many there are. It
4 varies, I think, from time to time.

5 MS. HORTON: Or like weekly, is there an
6 average? I know you wouldn't know a specific number.

7 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I wouldn't. I
8 don't know.

9 MS. HORTON: Did you go to any -- like
10 this week, did you go to any this week?

11 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

12 MS. HORTON: Was it one or two or --

13 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I would say three,
14 that I can recall right now. That may be.

15 MS. HORTON: Now, were they all yours --

16 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

17 MS. HORTON: -- or were you attending
18 others?

19 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No. I was
20 attending others.

21 MS. HORTON: Were any yours?

22 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: One was mine, that

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1 I recall.

2 MS. HORTON: And is that typical to go to
3 other members or other --

4 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

5 MR. SOLIS: Just so I'm clear, you
6 mentioned that typically you'll get a heads-up --
7 maybe the day before, the day of -- you have an event
8 for you, but there are times when it's a week or two
9 you will be aware of an event coming up.

10 Is there any specific nature to the
11 events that you would know that are a week before
12 where you would have that --

13 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

14 MR. SOLIS: -- further --

15 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes. Some are that
16 they're -- I can give you an example. I had an event
17 last week where I perform at. So it's called an
18 unplugged event. So it's an event where I'm
19 participating in that event. So I'm aware of it. I
20 know that, you know, I'm singing at it. So I'm a
21 little more --

22 MR. SOLIS: Practicing.

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1 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: -- cognizant of it.
2 Yes.

3 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Would that be the only
4 kind of event where you would have --

5 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: It could be --
6 another, in terms of a lead-up that I have, an event,
7 you know, for -- there may be a weekend or something
8 that I may be doing -- you know, not just a one-day
9 event, but there may be more of a -- more of me
10 actually having to constantly know that that weekend
11 is off or that time period is off, that type of
12 thing.

13 MR. SOLIS: Okay. And when did you -- if
14 you can recall back in December -- prior to December,
15 actually, when did you recall that you -- when did
16 you realize that you would have to be in session in
17 December?

18 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I don't know.

19 MR. SOLIS: Okay. Do you have any
20 questions? (To Ms. Horton.)

21 MS. HORTON: Do you ever cancel
22 fundraisers?

1 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: I don't recall if
2 we have. I don't know if I ever have.

3 MS. HORTON: And when you do have a
4 fundraiser for yourself and staff attends, do they
5 have any role at the fundraiser?

6 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

7 MS. HORTON: So they don't have to keep
8 people company --

9 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

10 MS. HORTON: -- to give you a break?

11 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No. I mean,
12 there's no requirement on my part that they do that.

13 MR. SOLIS: You said they come for the
14 free food.

15 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: The free food.

16 MR. SOLIS: You mentioned Kevin Casey.
17 What is he on staff? I don't know if I recall that.

18 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: He is my tax policy
19 analyst.

20 MS. HORTON: Does your chief of staff
21 normally attend the fundraisers?

22 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Not always. But

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1 she is offtimes at it -- Yes --

2 MS. HORTON: Does she attend more than
3 others.

4 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: -- in Washington.
5 Than what?

6 MS. HORTON: Does she attend more than
7 any other staff?

8 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: She might. I don't
9 know IF she does.

10 No. I would think that in all
11 likelihood, she does. Yes.

12 But I initially thought you meant did
13 other staff or other offices.

14 And I was like, well, just about every,
15 you know, one that I'm at, there's a chief of staff,
16 you know, that's there.

17 But I would imagine more often than not
18 that she's -- more than likely; but not at every
19 event, though, she's not.

20 MS. HORTON: And what about your LD?

21 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: On occasion,
22 they've been there; but not always.

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1 MS. HORTON: Not as often as the chief of
2 staff?

3 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

4 MS. HORTON: And by LB, also -- he or
5 she -- I forget if it's a male or a female --

6 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: It's a he.

7 MS. HORTON: Does he only come when he's
8 hungry?

9 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Again, it goes back
10 to saying that I don't require anyone to be at my
11 fundraiser.

12 So if they want to be there, it's, you
13 know, either they know people, who are going to be at
14 it, or it's just for the social event.

15 MS. HORTON: And when you say they will
16 know people who will be there --

17 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: They may have
18 friends who are going to be at it.

19 MS. HORTON: -- friends or --

20 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Yes.

21 MR. HORTON: -- people -- would it ever
22 be anyone that is in their particular field?

1 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: It could very well
2 be. I don't pretend to know. I don't know whether
3 that's the case.

4 Again, that's speculative on my part, and
5 I shouldn't be so speculative; but I just -- I don't
6 know what the reasons for them to be there, but they
7 are there on occasion.

8 MS. HORTON: Does anyone -- when you --
9 does anyone ever ask you if any staff will be
10 there --

11 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

12 MS. HORTON: -- if you're making calls --

13 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

14 MS. HORTON: -- or just general questions
15 come up about the fundraiser; or your fundraiser,
16 does she ever ask if any staff --

17 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

18 MS. HORTON: -- will be attending?

19 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: No.

20 MS. HORTON: That's all the questions I
21 have.

22 MR. SOLIS: Those are the only questions

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1 I had.

2 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Okay.

3 MS. HORTON: Thank you so much.

4 CONGRESSMAN CROWLEY: Thank you.

5 MR. SOLIS: Thank you.

6 (At 2:48 p.m., the conducting of the
7 interview was concluded.)

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CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

I, Kirk A. Sturges, being a machine shorthand reporter, do hereby certify that I was authorized to and did report by machine shorthand the above and foregoing interview; and that thereafter, it was reduced to typewriting by myself; and I further certify the pages numbered 3 through 25, inclusive, contain a full, true and correct transcript of the interview.

Kirk A. Sturges, Court Reporter
GregoryEdwards, LLC
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EXHIBIT 6

Please Join
Congressman Joseph Crowley
(D-NY)

For a
HOLIDAY COCKTAIL RECEPTION!
with special guest
Senator Mark Warner

Thursday, December 10, 2009
5:00 pm – 7:00 pm



██████████
Washington, DC 20003

Suggested Contribution
\$500 Personal/\$1000 PAC

Please make checks payable to:
Crowley for Congress
50 E Street SE, Suite 1
Lower Level
Washington, DC 20003

For more information or to RSVP, please contact Sara Conrad at
202-543-██████████ or ██████████@theconradgroup.org

Contributions to Crowley for Congress are not tax deductible for federal income tax purposes. Contributions are limited to personal funds of \$2,400 per person for the Primary 2010 election and \$2,400 for the General 2010 election. Contributions from qualified Federal PACs are limited to \$5,000 per PAC for the Primary 2010 election and \$5,000 for the General 2010 election. Contributions from unions, corporations, national banks, federal government contractors, and foreign nations not admitted and permanent residence are prohibited.

EXHIBIT 7

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org
Sent: Wednesday, November 04, 2009 3:52 PM
To: Julie Domenick
Subject: RE: crowley event
Attachments: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Great! I put this invite together -- what do you think?

From: Julie Domenick [REDACTED]@multiplestrategiesllc.com
Sent: Wednesday, November 04, 2009 3:04 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: RE: crowley event

in a heart beat.
 dec 10 is calendared.
 my pleasure.

Julie Domenick
 President
 Multiple Strategies LLC
 [REDACTED], Washington, DC 20002
 Phone: 202-965-[REDACTED]
 Cell: [REDACTED]
 Fax: 866-278-9312
 Email: [REDACTED]@MultipleStrategiesLLC.com

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org
Sent: Wednesday, November 04, 2009 2:52 PM
To: Julie Domenick
Subject: crowley event

Hi Julie
 Hope you are well. I can't believe I am going to ask about an event in December but I know we haven't done anything for Joe at your house in a really long time. We are wanting to do an end of the year event for Crowley for Congress and currently have December 10th held on the calendar -- 6 p.m. just a reception.
 Would your house be available and would you want to host Joe?
 Thanks for considering!
 Best
 Sara

Sara Conrad
 50 E Street SE
 Suite 1
 Washington DC 20003
 Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
 Fax: 202-554-0440
 Cell: [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

EXHIBIT 8

TO: Congressman Joseph Crowley
FR: Sara Conrad
DT: Thursday, December 10, 2009
RE: Crowley Events for Dec 10th

Date: Thursday, December 10, 2009
Time: 5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. - Crowley for Congress Reception
 7:00 p.m. - JOE PAC Dinner

C for C Location:
 Home of Julie Domenick
 [REDACTED]
 Washington DC

JOE PAC Location:
 The Source Restaurant
 575 Penn Ave NW
 Wash DC

Staff: Sara Conrad cell: 202-[REDACTED]

Attire: Business

Background: The Crowley for Congress Reception will be our last event of the year. We expect 40 people and will raise \$50,000 for Crowley for Congress. Senator Mark Warner is attending the reception as our special guest.

The JOE PAC was set up as a make up for those that attended the Greenbrier weekend and to raise money before the end of the year. We expect 20 people and will raise \$40,000 for JOE PAC.

Crowley for Congress Reception Attendees:

Cliff	Andrews	
Linda	Bennett	AFSCME
Brad	Cheney	Mortgage Bankers Association of America
Anne	Costello	Bank of NY
Lake	Coulson	NECA
Tor	Cowan	American Federation of Teachers
Jim	Cregan	Magazine Publishers of America
Bill	Cunningham	American Federation of Teachers

Menda	Fife	Honeywell
John	Ford	Abbott
Elizabeth	Fox	AFLAC
Kirk	Freeman	NAREIT
Cheryl	Gannon	NAPEO
Libby	Greer	Cauthen Forbes & Williams
John	Hoel	Altria
Robert	Hoffman	Cognizant
Alecia	Jackson	AHIP
Ike	Jones	ICBA
Brendan	Kelsay	Clear Channel
Joel	Kopperud	CIAB
Norm	Lent	
Melissa	Maxfield	Comcast
David	Morgan	American Express
Kate	Moss	The Kate Moss Co
Roger	Mott	Verizon
Kevia	O'Connor	International Association of Fire Fighters
Josh	Raymond	General Electric
Rick	Rossow	NY Life
Cynthia	Sandherr	Deere & Co
Melissa	Schulman	Bockorny Group
Mark	Seklecki	American Hospital Assoc
Gugy	Sheiowitz	Zurich
Erika	Solomon	National Apartment Association
Jesie	Storrs	Travelers
Richard	Sullivan	Capitol Counsel
Gordon	Taylor	Ogilvy
Maria	Thomas	Duberstein Group
David	Thomas	Mehlman Vogel
Mike	Townsend	Charles Schwab
Eric	Vaughn	National Structured Settlements Association
Steve	Vest	Time Warner
Alison	Weiss	Mass Mutual

JOE PAC Dinner Attendees:

Don	Auerbach	ICI
Linda	Banton	Lockheed
Mac	Bernstein	DLA Piper
Marshall	Brachman	
Emily	Coyle	Ernst & Young
DuPon	Dow	CME
Susan	Flack	Target
Rob	Griner	JP Morgan
Sam	Morgante	Genworth
Jef	Peterson	
Lorva	Schmitzer	Boeing
Geoff	Werth	US Oncology
Michael	Williams	Credit Suisse

EXHIBIT 9

You are invited to a dinner benefiting

JOE PAC – Jobs, Opportunities & Education

With Honorary Chairman

Congressman Joseph Crowley

(D-NY 7)

Thursday, December 10, 2009

7:00 p.m.

The Source

575 Pennsylvania Ave NW

Washington, DC 20003

Suggested Contribution

\$2500 PAC/\$1000 Personal

Please make checks payable to:

JOE PAC

50 E Street SE, Suite 1

Washington, DC 20003

For more information or to RSVP, please contact Sara Conrad at

202-543-████ or █████@theconradgroup.org

Contributions to JOE PAC are not tax deductible for federal income tax purposes. Contributions are limited to personal funds of \$5000 per person per year. Contributions from qualified Federal PACs are limited to \$5,000 per PAC per year. Contributions from unions, corporations, national banks, federal government contractors, and foreign nations not admitted and permanent residence are prohibited.

PAID FOR BY JOE PAC



EXHIBIT 10

From: Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org>
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2009 5:40 PM (GMT)
To: [REDACTED]@ge.com; Prowitt, Peter (GE, Corporate)
<[REDACTED]@corporate.ge.com>; Raymond, Joshua (GE, Corporate)
<[REDACTED]@ge.com>
Subject: crowley holiday reception
Attach: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Hi all

Attached is the invite for the Crowley Holiday Reception on December 10th! Hope you can join us – come one, come all!

Best

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

Sara Conrad

From: Elizabeth Fox [REDACTED]@jollyrissler.com]
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 6:59 PM
To: Sara Conrad; Thomas Jolly
Subject: RE: JOE PAC - Dinner on Thursday, December 10th

Hi Sara,

We have a check for Crowley's re-elect event on Thursday, but not the leadership PAC event. One of us will be at his re-elect/holiday reception event.

Has Aflac given to the leadership PAC before? Thought we might have given personal, but not PAC funds?

Thanks,

Elizabeth

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 6:30 PM
To: Thomas Jolly; Elizabeth Fox
Subject: JOE PAC - Dinner on Thursday, December 10th

Hi Elizabeth and Tom

Hope you are well. I wanted to let you know we have a dinner for JOE PAC on Dec 10th at the Source at 7 p.m. the invite is attached here.

Hope you can join us – I know AFLAC has always supported JOE PAC in the past so wanted to be sure you have this event as our last opportunity before the end of the year to give to Crowley's leadership PAC.

Thanks for considering!

Best

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-549-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

EXHIBIT 11

From: Sara Conrad
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 11:00 PM
To: Blocker, Andy; Donnelly, Sarah
Subject: joe pac - crowley
Attachments: JOE PAC December Dinner 2009.doc

Hello again

Also wanted to send you the invite for JOE PAC dinner on Thursday, Dec 10th. Sarah did you get my letter back on our letterhead? Just wanted to be sure.

The invite is attached - hope you can join us!
Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell:
@theconradgroup.org

From: Sara Conrad
To: Michael Stein [REDACTED]@morganstanley.com
Sent: 11/24/2009 4:33:15 PM
Subject: congressman crowley
Attachments: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Hi Bruce!

Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a conversation that you had with Kate Winkler regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated!

Thanks for considering!

Happy Thanksgiving!

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

Greetings -

I hope all is well. I am hosting a coffee fund-raiser for Congressman Joe Crowley (D-NY) at 10:00am on Monday, December 7th at my office (95-25 Queens Blvd. 10th floor, Rego Park, NY 11374.). I am asking you to support Congressman Crowley with a \$1,000 contribution (which – as you know – counts towards your 2009 Legislative Circle Program qualification). Of course - you are also invited to attend if in town. Here is why we need to support Congressman Crowley:

- Congressman Crowley is a member of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee and rising Democratic star.
- Crowley has been rumored to be the 2010 Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.
- Crowley understands our industry and the financial security our products provide to American families.

To contribute you can click [here](http://www.crowleyforcongress.org) or go online to www.crowleyforcongress.org and donate using a personal credit card.

You can also write a personal check payable to “Crowley for Congress” and mail to:
Crowley for Congress
84-56 Grand Ave
Elmhurst, NY 11373

Please write “AALU December 7th Event” in the memo portion of your check.

Don't forget to fax copies of your contributions to Karla Kirk at 202-742-████ or email to █████@aalu.org.

Thank you for your consideration and support.

Sincerely,

Sara Conrad

From: David A Morgan [redacted]@aexp.com
Sent: Wednesday, November 18, 2009 5:36 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Cc: Ellie A Shaw; Arne L Christenson; Phyllis M Tummings
Subject: Re: crowley event

Thank you. Will get back to you shortly

From: Sara Conrad [redacted]@theconradgroup.org
Sent: 11/18/2009 03:21 PM MST
To: David A Morgan
Subject: crowley event

Hi David

Thanks so much for your help to Mr. Crowley. Anything you can do would be great. We are trying to get some money in the door before the end of the year as we have learned that Joe will have a primary – so thinking if we raise some early money that might put a scare into them. But who knows with the crazy politics in New York.

The invite is attached here – Dec 10th at 5 p.m.

Hope you can join us

Best
Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[redacted]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [redacted]
[redacted]@theconradgroup.org

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Sara Conrad

From: [REDACTED]@ey.com
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 9:00 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: Re: JOE PAC dinner on december 10th

Thanks Sara. Emily Coyle will attend for us.

Ernst & Young®

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Assistant: Kelsey Freebing | Phone: 1.202.327. [REDACTED]

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From: Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org>
To: [REDACTED]@ey.com <[REDACTED]@ey.com>
Date: 12/07/2009 06:25 PM
Subject: JOE PAC dinner on december 10th

Hi KC
Wanted to make sure you saw this dinner invite for JOE PAC on Dec 10th
All the best
Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

[attachment "JOE PAC December Dinner 2009.doc" deleted by Kathryn Tomlinovich/PublicPolicy/FYLLP/US]

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From: Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org>
Sent: Wednesday, December 9, 2009 10:57 AM
To:
Cc: Kate Winkler <[REDACTED]@gmail.com>
Subject: Crowley Leadership Board - Reception tomorrow night with Senator Warner - come as our guest
Attach: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Hi all

Just wanted to let you know we have a reception tomorrow night – Congressman Crowley with special guest Senator Mark Warner.

As a member of Joe's leadership board, please feel free to stop by as our guest.

The invite with the details are attached. RSVP to me.

Hope to see you tomorrow night

Best

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

Sara Conrad

From: Gregg Sheiowitz [redacted@zurichna.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 19, 2009 10:59 AM
To: [redacted@gmail.com]
Cc: Sara Conrad
Subject: Re: Crowley Holiday reception

Oh, forgot to let you two know I plan on attending.

Gregg Sheiowitz
Assistant Vice President, Federal Affairs Zurich
1201 F St, NW, Suite 250
Washington, DC 20004
Phone: (202) 585- [redacted]
Fax: (202) 628-2658
Email: [redacted@zurichna.com]
www.zurichna.com

Kate Winkler
<[redacted@gmail.com]>
To
Gregg Sheiowitz
11/19/2009 10:46 AM <[redacted@zurichna.com]>
cc
Sara Conrad
<[redacted@theconradgroup.org]>
Subject
Crowley Holiday reception

here you go. you feeling better?

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Sara Conrad

From: Finch, Annette [redacted@Altria.com]
Sent: Monday, December 07, 2009 5:17 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Cc: Hoel, John
Subject: FW: congressman crowley
Attachments: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Sara - I would like to RSVP for John Hoel to attend the reception for Rep. Crowley on December 10. Thanks! Annette

Annette Finch

Office of Todd Walker and John Hoel
Federal Government Affairs
Altria Client Services Inc.
101 Constitution Avenue, NW
Suite 400W
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-354- redacted
Fax: 202-354-1506
E-mail: redacted@altria.com

From: Sara Conrad [redacted@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:41 PM
To: Hoel, John
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi John!
Hope you are well! Kate Winkler wanted me to follow up on a conversation you had with her regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated!
Thanks for considering!
Happy Thanksgiving!
Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543- redacted
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: redacted
redacted@theconradgroup.org

Sara Conrad

From: [REDACTED]@aol.com
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:33 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: Re: congressman crowley

I will be there-thanks for the invite.

Have a Happy Thanksgiving..

Eric Vaughn

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org>
Date: Tue, 24 Nov 2009 14:32:05 -0700
To: [REDACTED]@aol.com<[REDACTED]@aol.com>
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi Eric!
Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a message that Kate Winkler left for you regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can - the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated! Thanks for considering!
Happy Thanksgiving!
Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

Sara Conrad

From: Vest, Steve [REDACTED@timewarner.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 5:17 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: RE: congressman crowley

Of course I will be there. Happy to help.

From: Sara Conrad [REDACTED@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:36 PM
To: Vest, Steve
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi Steve

Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a conversation you had with Kate Winkler regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated!

Thanks for considering!

Happy Thanksgiving!

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-REDACTED
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: REDACTED
REDACTED@theconradgroup.org

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EXHIBIT 12

Sara Conrad

From: Vest, Steve [redacted@timewarner.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 5:17 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: RE: congressman crowley

Of course I will be there. Happy to help.

From: Sara Conrad [redacted@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:36 PM
To: Vest, Steve
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi Steve
Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a conversation you had with Kate Winkler regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated! Thanks for considering!
Happy Thanksgiving!
Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543- [redacted]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [redacted]
[redacted@theconradgroup.org]

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From: [Koonce, Tom](#)
To: [Cheney, Brad](#);
Subject: FW: congressman crowley
Date: Monday, December 07, 2009 5:15:58 PM
Attachments: [Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc](#)

From: Sara Conrad ([REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org]
Sent: Tuesday, November 24, 2009 4:32 PM
To: Koonce, Tom
Subject: congressman crowley

Hi Tom!

Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a message that Kate Winkler left for you regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated!

Thanks for considering!

Happy Thanksgiving!

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

EXHIBIT 13

From: Sara Conrad
To: Michael Stein ([REDACTED]@morganstanley.com)
Sent: 11/24/2009 4:33:15 PM
Subject: congressman crowley
Attachments: Crowley December 2009 Cocktail Reception.doc

Hi Bruce!

Hope you are well! I wanted to follow up on a conversation that you had with Kate Winkler regarding an event for Congressman Crowley on December 10th. We would love to have you join us if you can – the invite is attached here. Anything you can do for Crowley for Congress before the end of the year would be VERY helpful and appreciated!

Thanks for considering!

Happy Thanksgiving!

Sara

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

Winkler, Kate

From: Winkler, Kate
Sent: Friday, December 04, 2009 11:04 AM
To: Michael Stein
Cc: Casey, Kevin
Subject: FW: Catch up
Attachments: derivatives -- Lynch Amendment NYSE et al letter.pdf; Derivatives -- clearinghouse talking points.pdf

Hey Michael. Thanks reaching out and the information.

I am looping in Kevin Casey who is back in the office. We are both, as is Joe, well aware of the proposed Lynch amendment. Joe, as well as other members of the New Democrat Coalition, have spoken with leadership regarding their concerns with the Lynch amendment. We will keep you posted on what we hear in terms of the rule and whether it is made in order.

Thanks, kate

From: Stein, Michael J. [redacted@morganstanley.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 2009 4:59 PM
To: Winkler, Kate
Subject: RE: Catch up

Thanks Kate -- look forward to speaking with you soon. Very concerned about the anti-competitive' liquidity draining and market stifling Lynch Amendment to the derivatives section of the financial services reform bill. The House Ag Committee opposes the idea of limiting or restricting ownership of clearing houses or execution facilities and a number of new Dems on the HFSC also opposed it. Whether to keep Lynch restrictions or not may be decided on the floor next week. The only company that supports this limitation is NASDAQ because its screws the NY banks and other NY exchanges (see NYSE letter) and many existing clearing houses (E.g. Options Clearing Corp, LCH)-- and gives them a clear path to a monopoly. Look forward to discussing with you and Joe. Thanks again. MJS

From: Winkler, Kate [mailto:Kate.Winkler@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 2009 3:34 PM
To: Stein, Michael J. (GOVTREL)
Subject: RE: Catch up

Hey michael. I got your voice mail. sorry I missed it. I will try to call shortly, but I am under water a bit. It would be great if you could send me and kevin (who will be back on US soil tomorrow) an email regarding the issue you're hoping to discuss. thanks!

From: Stein, Michael J. [redacted@morganstanley.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 2009 2:28 PM
To: Winkler, Kate
Subject: Catch up

Kate -- hope you are well! Please give a shout when you get a chance -- wanted to raise an issue with you and Joe that is coming up next week. Thanks a million -- MJS 202-654-[redacted] or [redacted] (cell)

Michael J. Stein, Managing Director
Morgan Stanley | Government Relations
401 9th, Street NW, Suite 650, 6th Floor | Washington, DC 20004
Phone: +1 202 654-[redacted]
[redacted@morganstanley.com]

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EXHIBIT 14

From: Prowitt, Peter (GE, Corporate) <[REDACTED]@ge.com>
Sent: Tuesday, December 1, 2009 10:15 PM (GMT)
To: Thomson, Lynn H (GE, Corporate) <[REDACTED]@ge.com>
Subject: Sara Conrad/Crowley 202-543-8556

From: Sara Conrad ([REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org)
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 2009 5:03 PM
To: Raymond, Joshua (GE, Corporate); Prowitt, Peter (GE, Corporate)
Subject: coffee with joe

Hi all – peter good to talk to you – thanks for helping out Crowley for congress and JOE PAC.
Here are dates and times Joe is free for coffee – let me know if any of these days work for you all
Thanks!
Sara

12/8 – free until 5 p.m.
12/10 - Free from 10-12 and 1-5
12/15 – free after 9:30 a.m. until 1 p.m.
12/16 - Free until 3:30

Sara Conrad
50 E Street SE
Suite 1
Washington DC 20003
Phone: 202-543-[REDACTED]
Fax: 202-554-0440
Cell: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org

EXHIBIT 15

Kirk Freeman - RE: mr. crowley

From: Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org>
To: Kirk Freeman <[REDACTED]@NAREIT.COM>
Date: 11/30/2009 4:47 PM
Subject: RE: mr. crowley

Anytime on these dates work for you? 30 min coffee?

- 12/8 - free until 5 p.m.
- 12/10 - Free from 10-12 and 1-5
- 12/15 - free after 9:30 a.m. until 5 p.m.
- 12/16 - Free until 3:30

From: Kirk Freeman [mailto:[REDACTED]@NAREIT.COM]
Sent: Monday, November 23, 2009 3:21 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: RE: mr. crowley

Unfortunately, I've got a conflict that night. Dibblee may try to attend. But, I'd love to set up a coffee, if that isn't too much trouble.

>>> Sara Conrad <[REDACTED]@theconradgroup.org> 11/23/2009 2:52 PM >>>
Here are the Crowley for congress and the JOE PAC invites.
But if you want a one on one coffee as well - let me know

-----Original Message-----
From: Kirk Freeman [mailto:[REDACTED]@NAREIT.COM]
Sent: Monday, November 16, 2009 8:07 PM
To: Sara Conrad
Subject: Re: mr. crowley

We've got you covered before the end of the year. Let me get back to you tomorrow or Wed.

file://C:\Documents and Settings\inareit\Local Settings\Temp\XPgrpwise\4B13F70A\dc_dom... 7/1/2010

EXHIBIT 16

0001

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS

1
2
3
4 - - - - - X
5 :
6 IN RE: :
7 : OCE Preliminary Review
8 INQUIRY REGARDING : No. 10-6002
9 CONGRESSMAN JOSEPH :
10 CROWLEY :
11 - - - - - X
12

13 THURSDAY JULY 15, 2010
14 INTERVIEW OF: REP. CROWLEY'S CHIEF OF STAFF
15 HELD AT:
16 The Rayburn House Office Building
17 45 Independence Avenue, SW
18 Fourth Floor, Room 2404
19 Washington, DC 20515

20 Reported by:
21 Ryan K. Black, RPR, CSR-DE, CLR, Notary Public

0002

APPEARANCES:

1
2
3 On behalf of the U.S. House of Representatives
4 Office of Congressional Ethics:
5 PAUL J. SOLIS, ESQUIRE
6 OMAR S. ASHMAWY, ESQUIRE
7 P.O. Box 895
8 Washington, D.C. 20515-0895
9 202-225-9739 (Voice)
10 202-226-0997 (Fax)
11 paul.solis@mail.house.gov
12 omar.ashmawy@mail.house.gov
13
14 On behalf of Rep. Crowley's Chief of Staff:
15 STANLEY M. BRAND, ESQUIRE
16 Brand Law Group
17 923 Fifteenth Street N.W.
18 Washington, D.C. 20005
19 202-662-9700 (Voice)
20 202-737-7565 (Fax)
21 sbrand@brandlawgroup.com

0003

P R O C E E D I N G S
(2:10 p.m.)

BY MR. SOLIS:

Q. So all right. We'll just get right to it.

A. If you could talk a little bit about your role and kind of function as Chief of Staff, generally speaking, what you do for the congressman?

A. I manage a staff of 22 people between our district offices and D.C., oversee the day-to-day operations, so everything from our budget to Joe's overall schedule to the policy work produced by the D.C. staff.

Q. What about fundraising, do you do work in that?

A. I don't. We have a dedicated finance director.

Q. Okay. Do you play any role in

20 fundraising?
 21 A. Making sure he goes to call time.
 0004
 1 Q. Okay. And I'll ask you some questions
 2 later on about your work with Sarah Conrad.
 3 The policy side of things, is there a
 4 Legislative Director in the office?
 5 A. There is.
 6 Q. Okay. who is that?
 7 A. A guy named Jeremy Woodrum [phonetic].
 8 Q. Okay. When he or other staff is
 9 making a policy decision, do you have oversight
 10 over that?
 11 A. Yeah.
 12 Q. Okay. In some offices, just as an
 13 example, the Chief of Staff is more of the
 14 administrator of the office and sort of the LD
 15 kind of has more free reign to make decisions.
 16 I just want to make sure that you are kind of
 17 the last person that sort of is the check with
 18 the decision before it goes to the
 19 congressman, --
 20 A. Yeah. That's accurate.
 21 Q. -- is that accurate?
 0005
 1 Okay. Great. What do you know about
 2 Ms. Conrad's work, if you have any degree of
 3 knowledge of it, about setting up fundraisers
 4 and soliciting funds and things like that, what
 5 do you --
 6 A. I mean, most of Sarah's work
 7 is -- she's well aware of her responsibilities
 8 and Joe's goals and the political hats that he
 9 wears. So, you know, she keeps me apprised of
 10 events that she puts together. Obviously, we
 11 work together to make sure she's not scheduling
 12 things at a time that doesn't work for the
 13 Congressman. But most of our interaction is
 14 about coordinating dates for her to utilize and
 15 set things up. And then, when she does, she
 16 notifies us to be able to put those things on
 17 the calendar.
 18 Q. What do you mean by political hats
 19 that he wears, the Congressman wears?
 20 A. You know, he plays a role at the DCCC.
 21 Q. Okay. Anything else?
 0006
 1 A. No.
 2 Q. Okay. I show you -- this is a
 3 document that Stan helped produce from your
 4 internal set.
 5 A. Yeah.
 6 Q. That's a memo. We talked with Sarah
 7 about that -- about this memo. But what can you
 8 tell me about it? Does this go to you, this
 9 type of memo, or this specific memo, did it go
 10 to you?
 11 A. She'll give Joe and myself a copy
 12 of -- so, yes, I've seen this memo --
 13 Q. Okay.
 14 A. -- before any event that Joe's going
 15 to that I'm also going to that she'll give us a
 16 copy.
 17 Q. Okay. Would that be sort of -- I

18 guess that's typical protocol, a memo like this
19 before a fundraiser, you'll receive something
20 like that?

21 A. Yes.

0007

1 Q. Okay. Anyone else on staff receive
2 that from Ms. Conrad?

3 A. No. I mean, she might send it to our
4 scheduler, --

5 Q. Okay.

6 A. -- more for -- to make sure that
7 whatever the location is is actually correctly
8 put on the schedule, --

9 Q. Right.

10 A. -- as that has sometimes not happened.

11 Q. Okay. And you said this does go to
12 the Congressman as well, right?

13 A. Yes, he'll get a copy.

14 Q. Okay. Why would it go to you as
15 opposed to simply the scheduler, do you know?

16 A. I mean, I oversee Joe's schedule.
17 Even though we have a scheduler, I'm, at the end
18 of the day, responsible --

19 Q. Right.

20 A. -- for making sure he gets to all the
21 right places.

0008

1 Q. Okay. You'll see a name under the C
2 for C location on that -- on that --

3 A. Right.

4 Q. -- memo. It says home of Julie
5 Dominick?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Who is Julie Dominick? Do you know
8 who she is?

9 A. I have met her, yeah.

10 Q. Do you know what she does for a living
11 or what her profession is?

12 A. She's a lobbyist.

13 Q. Okay. Do you know who her clients are
14 or what industry she works in?

15 A. I don't, actually.

16 Q. How many times would you say you've
17 met her?

18 A. Like been in the same room with her?

19 Q. I mean --

20 A. Could you clarify --

21 Q. I mean, so you said you've met her

0009

1 before. So what did you mean by met -- you've
2 met her?

3 A. I mean, I -- as far as I recall, I've
4 probably been in the same room with her 10 times
5 in my three years with Joe.

6 I guess I don't actually know how to
7 answer that. I know who she is. We've spoken.

8 Q. You've spoken, okay. How many times
9 do you think you've spoken with her?

10 A. Minimally. I honestly hesitate to put
11 a number to that. I -- I've --

12 Q. Okay.

13 A. I mean, there are a lot of events in
14 this town where there are hundreds of people.
15 If I see Julie, I'd say, hey, how are you doing?

16 Q. Okay. This is a flier, an invitation
 17 for the December 2nd fundraiser. Were you in
 18 attendance at that fundraiser?
 19 A. I honestly don't know.
 20 Q. Okay. Do you know if anyone else from
 21 the staff was in attendance at that fundraiser?
 0010 A. I don't.
 2 Q. Okay. Do you know if there was a
 3 focus to that fundraiser?
 4 A. I don't.
 5 Q. Okay. That's fine.
 6 A. I don't remember the fundraiser,
 7 so ...
 8 MR. BRAND: If you could maybe explain
 9 what you mean by focus.
 10 MR. SOLIS: Right. I'm sorry about
 11 that.
 12 BY MR. SOLIS:
 13 Q. So sometimes a fundraiser will be
 14 called a Financial Services Luncheon,
 15 Agricultural -- you know, the farm something
 16 producer's -- Milk Producers of the United
 17 States --
 18 A. Sure.
 19 Q. -- fundraiser, and that's --
 20 fundraisers will call that a focus. So I'm just
 21 wondering if there was anything like that you
 0011 recall for this fundraiser?
 2 A. Yeah. I don't remember this
 3 fundraiser.
 4 Q. Okay. I realize there is a lot of
 5 them to go to and some of them blend together.
 6 And, again, you know, I'm going to go through
 7 some of these fundraisers just because I kind of
 8 have to. And if you know what the answer is to
 9 the question, just let me know, --
 10 A. Okay.
 11 Q. -- but when was the event planned, the
 12 December 2nd?
 13 A. This event?
 14 Q. Um-hum.
 15 A. I have no idea.
 16 Q. Okay. How were the invitees selected
 17 for this event?
 18 A. No idea.
 19 Q. No idea?
 20 Have -- now, this is December 10th --
 21 A. Okay.
 0012 Q. -- from 5 to 7, --
 2 A. Um-hum.
 3 Q. -- again, what can you tell me about
 4 that event?
 5 A. That it happened on December 10th.
 6 Q. Were you present for that?
 7 A. I was.
 8 Q. Okay. Was anyone else from staff
 9 there?
 10 A. Kevin Casey [phonetic].
 11 Q. What's his role on staff?
 12 A. Kevin is our senior most legislative
 13 staffer.

14 Q. Okay. Was there a focus to this
15 event?
16 A. No, not that I recall.
17 Q. Invitees to this event, who was there
18 that you -- that you remember? Did you speak
19 with anyone at the event?
20 A. Sure. I honestly don't remember. If
21 I -- I feel like there was somebody there from
0013 the National Apartment -- I'm not even sure I
2 know the name of the organization, --
3 Q. Okay.
4 A. -- but -- I -- I don't recall offhand.
5 Q. Okay. The planning of this event, do
6 you know when this was planned, how far in
7 advance?
8 A. I don't. I have read subsequent
9 to -- I wouldn't have remembered, other than
10 it's been reported in the news that it was
11 planned a month in advance. But that's not
12 something I would have remembered otherwise.
13 Q. Okay. Okay. All right. Number 3
14 here seemed to occur right after at 7:00.
15 Again, were you in attendance at this event?
16 A. Yes.
17 Q. Okay. Anyone else from staff?
18 A. Kevin Casey.
19 Q. Focus to this event?
20 A. No.
21 MR. BRAND: Meaning you don't know?
0014 THE WITNESS: Correct. I don't know.
1 BY MR. SOLIS:
2 Q. That was going to be my next question.
3 when was this event? When was this
4 event planned, do you know?
5 A. I don't.
6 Q. Okay. Do you recall who was at that
7 event? Anyone you spoke with?
8 A. Yes. I recall Rob Greiner [phonetic].
9 Q. who does he work for?
10 A. At the time, he worked for JP Morgan
11 Chase.
12 Q. what did you two talk about?
13 A. Life. I mean --
14 Q. Life. Without getting too personal,
15 could you tell me what you mean by life?
16 A. I really don't remember specifics. I
17 mean, --
18 Q. Any work discussions about your work
19 in the office?
20 A. Not that I recall.
21
0015 Q. Okay. All right. Last one.
2 MR. ASHMAWY: I'm sorry.
3 THE WITNESS: Yeah.
4 MR. SOLIS: Sure. Go ahead.
5 BY MR. ASHMAWY:
6 Q. Is Robert the only one you remember
7 talking to then?
8 A. I remember John Michael Gonzalez.
9 Q. And who's John Michael Gonzalez?
10 A. He works for Madison Peck, Peck
11 Madison. I'm going to mix up the names, but --
Page 5

12 Q. Got it.
13 And who else do you remember being
14 there?
15 A. They're the only two I remember
16 without having somebody jog my memory, so --
17 Q. Okay. Fair enough. No bowls of
18 spaghetti here.
19 John Michael Gonzalez, do you remember
20 what you talked to him about?
21 A. Yes. I think I told him to sit to the
0016 left of somebody there that had a bad -- that
2 can't hear out of their right ear.
3 BY MR. SOLIS:
4 Q. Seriously?
5 A. Yes.
6 Q. That's funny.
7 BY MR. ASHMAWY:
8 Q. That's very considerate of you.
9 Anything else?
10 A. I'm sure we discussed my dating life,
11 as we usually do. But that's probably about it.
12 Q. Can I assume that Mr. Gonzalez and you
13 are friends?
14 A. We're -- yeah, we're friendly on a
15 personal level.
16 Q. Okay. Did work come up at all or
17 anything like that that you recall?
18 A. No. I mean, maybe a general
19 discussion of it's December and we don't want to
20 be in session anymore and hoping to wrap things
21 up. But that would probably be about all I
0017 remember.
1 MR. ASHMAWY: Okay. Thank you.
2 BY MR. SOLIS:
3 Q. Is Mr. Gonzalez a lobbyist?
4 A. He is.
5 Q. Do you know who his clients are, what
6 industries?
7 A. I know he's got folks in financial
8 service sector, but I don't know specific
9 clients offhand.
10 MR. SOLIS: Do you have any more
11 questions on that one?
12 MR. ASHMAWY: No.
13 BY MR. SOLIS:
14 Q. All right. So this is December 15th
15 event, were you in attendance at this event?
16 A. I think so.
17 Q. Any other staff?
18 A. I have zero recollection of this,
19 so ..
20 Q. Why do you think you were there?
21
0018 A. I guess I don't remember being off of
1 work that day. I -- I honestly don't remember.
2 Q. Okay.
3 A. I would --
4 Q. Okay. Again, I'll go through the kind
5 of list of questions you might not know.
6 A. Sure.
7 Q. Focus to the fundraiser?
8 A. Not that I -- I'm aware.

10 Q. Who was at the fundraiser, companies,
11 Lobbyists, if you spoke with anyone?
12 A. Okay. I do -- I do remember being
13 there. Now that I -- I was trying to visualize.
14 Sorry.
15 Q. No problem.
16 A. I do not recall who was there.
17 Q. Okay. When the event was planned?
18 A. I don't know.
19 Q. Okay. I know this is a question I
20 asked Ms. Conrad, but if you could go back to
21 the first document I showed you, that memo, --
0019
1 A. Yes.
2 Q. -- it says --
3 A. Sorry.
4 Q. It says that this December 10th event
5 will be the last event of the year for Crowley
6 for Congress.
7 A. Okay.
8 Q. And then, I'm pretty sure, and correct
9 me if I'm wrong, that December 15th event, you
10 know, that was obviously after the December 10th
11 event and that also is Crowley for Congress.
12 A. Okay.
13 Q. So could you just -- if you could tell
14 me why that would be -- if there was a memo that
15 went out to you and to the Congressman saying
16 that the 10th event would be the last for
17 Crowley for Congress why there would be a
18 December 15th event?
19 A. I don't know.
20 Q. Okay. One more thing to show you
21 here. This is an e-mail from Ms. Conrad, if I
0020
1 could direct you to the middle section there.
2 A. Okay.
3 Q. Hope you -- wait. It says, hope you
4 are well. Kate Winkler wanted to follow up on a
5 conversation you had with her regarding an event
6 for the Congressman on December 10th.
7 Do you recall that conversation with
8 it must be John Holl [phonetic]?
9 A. I don't. I don't.
10 Q. Okay. Would this be something that
11 would happen with some degree of regularity
12 where you would have a conversation with
13 somebody and then -- and then contact
14 Ms. Conrad?
15 A. Can you -- I'm not sure I follow the
16 question.
17 Q. Well, it's -- you know, Ms. Conrad is
18 saying that she's talking about -- you know,
19 she's contacting this Mr. Holl about a
20 conversation you had with him about an event.
21 A. Right.
0021
1 Q. I assume that Ms. Conrad and you had
2 spoken for her to have that knowledge.
3 A. Gotcha.
4 Q. So I'm wondering, that sequence of
5 events, is that something that happens?
6 A. On occasion if I bump into somebody --
7 Q. Okay.

8 A. -- and I know that Joe has an event
9 coming up or they might have heard, hey, I
10 thought I heard your boss is doing something,
11 you know, we always love your boss and want to
12 be helpful, I might call Sarah and say, bumped
13 into so and so, they were inquiring
14 about ... can you send them info.
15 Q. So it happens on occasion?
16 A. Yeah.
17 Q. Okay. Do you recall any
18 communications you had with the Congressman -- I
19 mean, this is going back a little ways -- but in
20 December about December fundraisers, any
21 discussions you had with him?
0022
1 A. No, that's really Sarah's bailiwick,
2 not mine.
3 Q. Oh, okay.
4 MR. SOLIS: Do you have any questions?
5 MR. ASHMAWY: I don't think so.
6 BY MR. SOLIS:
7 Q. Does -- does -- does Sarah talk to
8 anyone else besides -- I might have already
9 covered this, but does Sarah talk to anyone else
10 besides you and Sarah, the scheduler on staff?
11 A. Yeah. Sure. I mean, first of all,
12 she's worked for Joe for a long time. So I
13 think there's some level of personal friendships
14 that she has amongst staff. She would talk to
15 Anne Marie Anzalone [phonetic], who is our
16 District Chief of Staff, for many of the same
17 purposes. She talks to me schedule-wise. Anne
18 Marie is just more familiar with the New York
19 schedule than I am on a day-to-day basis.
20 To the extent that staff opts to
21 sometimes go to some of our campaign and
0023
1 fundraising events, obviously Sarah would talk
2 to those that participate in some of those
3 things.
4 Q. Does Sarah have, I don't know if it's
5 the right word, but a legislative calendar so
6 that she can understand scheduling issues?
7 A. Every once -- probably every couple
8 weeks our scheduler will fax her or send her a
9 copy of the schedule, mostly so she knows when
10 she could try to fit in events.
11 Q. Okay. Okay. What does that schedule
12 look like? Can you describe it?
13 A. Like a calendar on Outlook.
14 Q. What types of information would be put
15 into that schedule?
16 A. Oh, I mean, a variety -- everything
17 from the hearings that Joe's attending to
18 meetings with constituents that he has in the
19 office, names of people coming in.
20 BY MR. ASHMAWY:
21 Q. How about, like, hearings -- like, his
0024
1 hearing schedules and stuff like that?
2 A. Yeah. That's -- every -- everything
3 that he does.
4 Q. Vote schedules, or just basically
5 everything that's on there?

6 A. Votes wouldn't -- I mean, --
 7 Q. To the extent that there's --
 8 A. I mean, votes happen when they happen.
 9 There's minimal --
 10 Q. Planning.
 11 A. -- planning when it comes to that. So
 12 that's not something we integrate on the
 13 calendar.
 14 If he's going to give a speech on the
 15 floor, we'll try to guesstimate what time based
 16 on what we know of the schedules so that we're
 17 not, you know, preventing him from being able to
 18 go to the floor, creating unnecessary conflict.
 19 But that's the only thing that, in terms of the
 20 floor, would be incorporated onto the actual
 21 calendar.

0025
 1 MR. ASHMAWY: Okay. I have nothing
 2 else.
 3 MR. SOLIS: I think we're all set.
 4 THE WITNESS: All right.
 5 MR. BRAND: Thank you.
 6 (Interview concluded -- 2:33 p.m.)
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0026
 1 REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE
 2
 3 I HEREBY CERTIFY that I was present upon
 4 the proceedings of the above-entitled matter and
 5 there reported stenographically the proceedings
 6 had and the testimony produced; and I further
 7 certify that the foregoing is a true and correct
 8 copy of my said stenographic notes.
 9 In testimony whereof, I have hereunto
 10 subscribed my hand this 27th day of July 2010.
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 Ryan K. Black, RPR, CSR-DE, CLR

