

Ryan P Mulvey
12425 Rue Cheaumont
San Diego, CA 92131
May 6, 2009

Fair Political Practices Commission
Enforcement Division
ATTN: Annaraine Diaz
428 J Street, Suite #620
Sacramento, CA 95814

RE: FFPC Complaint # 08/0799
(Filed Nov/Dec 2008 by Drs. MaryRose Consiglio and Thomas J. Sherman)

Dear Ms Diaz:

My name is Ryan Patrick Mulvey. I live at 12425 Rue Cheaumont, San Diego, CA, 92131. My phone number is (858) 349-2058. My e-mail address is ryan.mulvey-10@sandiego.edu. I am 21 years old and attend the University of San Diego. I am employed as a parish organist by the Diocese of San Diego. I am also the former Operations Manager for the Republican Party of San Diego County. I was employed in this position from around August of 2006 until my resignation, effective the beginning of January 2009. Prior to this, I was a paid intern for the Party from June 2006 to my hiring as Operations Manager.

I am filing this affidavit with your office as further testimony to the existing complaint filed by Drs. MaryRose Consiglio and Tom Sherman. I hope that my account of what I witnessed might aid in your office's investigation. I am willing to discuss any of the material within this letter, even in a court of law, if so called upon. I am also willing to answer questions.

As Operations Manager, I was in a unique position of observing intimate details of the machinations of the Party. I was in charge of maintaining our database and website, of serving as liaison with elected officials, of directing our candidate endorsement process, and of accounting finances. I tracked all income which was received through our office and was responsible for the final disbursements of payments for debts. I worked closely with April Boling, our assistant treasurer and accountant. I was also employed by Boling during the past general election; I was responsible for the initial preparation of government disclosure reports and the general ledger tracking for the local Party and other PACs. Because of this unique perspective, and the close relationships I was able to develop, I saw a side to Tony Krvaric, current county chairman, and Ron Nehring, former county chairman currently serving as chairman of the California Republican Party (CRP), that others rarely witness. There have been numerous occasions, some over extended periods of time, during which both Krvaric and Nehring exhibited behavior that I found both inappropriate and questionable. It is my intent to share these observations with you.

May 6, 2009

Page 2

Ron Nehring, while chairman of the local Party, insisted on receiving Hyatt Rewards Points for the monthly public committee meetings held, according to the Election Code, at the Manchester Grand Hyatt. Monthly costs for these meetings often equaled or exceeded \$1,500.00-\$1,900.00. On one occasion, Nehring, realizing the hotel had suspended this accumulation of award points (since the Party was paying), had staff continuously call hotel catering services to have the points reinstated. Nehring continued this behavior while at the CRP, and used the awards accumulated to take personal vacations around the world. While chairman of San Diego he even took an excursion to London for the weekend on these points, or so he boasted to staff. He was very liberal in his expensing of hotels, car rentals, etc. even in the San Diego region, little more than an hour or two drive from his home in Crest, CA. After he left San Diego for the CRP, Nehring retained Party property, including a laptop, which he has yet to return as of January 2009. Recent media reports have exposed this same sort of behavior at the CRP to this day; disclosures show Nehring even expensing gym memberships as part of the Party's "victory strategy."

Nehring also utilized county Party employees in his CRP election campaigns "without reimbursement," or rather on the local Party's dime. Staff was asked to attend convention and "required" to assist in his campaigning, which included, but was not limited to, whipping voters and distributing fliers, buttons, signs, etc. Nehring (and Krvaric) also required staff to assist in the campaigns of CRP Vice-Chair Tom Del Becaro and CRP Vice-Chair-South Warene Wall. At these same conventions, Nehring and Krvaric masterminded a proxy scheme by which they obtained blank signed proxy appointments from CRP members across the state. These were assigned to "trustworthy" alternates who were pressured to vote for particular candidates. This happened to me at the 2008 Spring Convention. I was given two proxies and threatened into voting for particular candidates, though I did not ultimately do so. I was accused of not "being on the team."

I was told of a special arrangement prior to my employment between the county Party and our preferred publisher, Bieber Communications. While Nehring was chairman he incurred campaign finance violation fines. However, rather than have the Party pay for it, and consequently have a blot on his "record," he arranged for Bieber Communications to admit culpability and pay the fine in their entirety. In return, the Party was to use Bieber for all our design and publication needs. Nehring encouraged Bieber to "pad" invoices, essentially charging extra, so they would eventually be repaid. When Krvaric was first chairman, he was unaware of this arrangement and was rather angry that we were continuing to use Bieber at an elevated price compared to competitors. Eventually, though, he acquiesced and continued Nehring's practice.

Krvaric has also abused his financial privileges. Throughout my employment he submitted numerous incomplete or suspicious reimbursement requests. Many of these were eventually approved by April Boling. In one instance, invoices were unavailable, but it is my understanding Krvaric was still reimbursed. Mileage reimbursements hardly ever included the specifics required of employees; often, they consisted of merely "2,000 miles" for "Party business," etc. Employees were required by Krvaric to provide detailed descriptions of travel, including odometer readings. Krvaric spent thousands of dollars on items unapproved by the Executive Committee, including laptops. When Krvaric was elected chairman, he

May 6, 2009

Page 3

proceeded to submit reimbursement requests to the sum of \$6,000.00+ for a trip to Washington, DC, which had taken place over a year previously. Boling initially hesitated to approve this because of the length of time that had elapsed and the inconvenience of amending over a year of reports. Krvaric was ultimately reimbursed, to the best of my knowledge, in full.

Additionally, during the last election cycle, Krvaric approved payment of over \$4,000 to Jerry VanDeWeghe, campaign manager for Robert Ilko, a candidate in San Diego City Council District 5. VanDeWeghe was thereafter given monthly "contract" payments, though he provided no tangible service to the Party. In fact, Krvaric often complained of VanDeWeghe's "uselessness." It was understood within the office that this arrangement was approved in order to eliminate any competition for Carl DeMaio, who was a favorite of Krvaric, Nehring, and the "inner-circle" leadership of the Party, which included Coronado Communications, a favored vendor.

Krvaric organized a similar scheme for Michael McSweeney, Vice-Chairman of the local Party, who was fired from the re-election campaign of Mayor Jerry Sanders after it was publically revealed he had attempted to bribe one of the mayor's opponents. Krvaric also withheld payment from other candidate to whom he had a verbal contract to pay filing fees, etc. These candidates included Jeff Perwin and Dan Felser. Krvaric's refusal to reimburse Felser lead to two private suits against the Party and Jonathan Buettner, former COO, which were eventually settled out of court. Perwin, who was also contracted for database management and GOTV precinct operations, was repeatedly harassed by Krvaric, who would withhold or delay payment of services provided. Krvaric accused Perwin of not fulfilling his obligations to the Party (as a candidate and as a vendor) and threatened to end his involvement in local politics if he did not cooperate with his demands. In fact, Krvaric ordered me on numerous occasions to ignore Perwin's calls and e-mails for these stated reasons. Eventually, payment was disbursed after Krvaric obtained an ex-officio alternate appointment for one of his favorites.

Krvaric's relationship with Coronado Communications is rather suspicious. During the election cycle, there were numerous e-mails and joke graphics that were passed among committee members and donors lambasting Krvaric as a "part-time partner" of Coronado. Allegedly, he was getting a "cut" of the profits from business he himself was providing as chairman of the Party. I meet Krvaric numerous times at Coronado Communications' headquarters (then located in downtown San Diego) to have check requests signed. Tony seemed to have his own desk at which he was always working. Often he would spend long periods of time at this desk. He had a close relationship with both Duane Dichara and Jennifer Jacobs; the former being considered a "puppet master" of local politics both in San Diego and Sacramento.

Krvaric withheld payment for almost a year on legal services provided by McAteer & McAteer of San Diego. He was apparently unsatisfied with their services and had expected them to provide them *pro bono*. He expressed these very sentiments to me in person, exclaiming they ought to be grateful they were even asked by him to provide this legal advice. He told me he would "destroy" them and their reputation in the city, telling donors to

May 6, 2009

Page 4

take their legal needs elsewhere. He hinted at doing this for other vendors as well, including the Party's preferred office supply printer, Minuteman Press.

Krvaric and Nehring also manipulated the committee and executive board on other elections issues. Krvaric rejected the standard endorsement questionnaire submitted to all GOP candidates. He specifically added questions regarding criminal record, to target conservative Christian activist James Hartline, as well as whether candidates had declared bankruptcy. The latter was specifically included to harass and intimidate long-time GOP activists Larry and Rose Urdahl. James Kelly, a member of the committee and a colleague of Larry Urdahl on the Grossmont Union High School Board of Trustees, was instrumental in this harassment. Numerous committee members protested this singling out; Krvaric refused to publically acknowledge their complaints. Krvaric and Nehring also pushed through numerous endorsements of local officials and candidates for CRP office without prior notification to the membership or debate within the meeting. Dissenting committee members were frequently accused of "not being on the team," especially if they raised concern over early appointments, or those appointments made by "acclamation."

I know for a fact that Krvaric and other Executive Board members were responsible for the publication of slates for the Central Committee elections. Jonathan Buettner, former COO of the Party, told me how he was in attendance at these meetings during which names were compiled; he was upset in the end, since he was not been chosen for inclusion. I also learned of the existence of these secret meetings from Gary Felien, the Party's treasurer, in casual conversation. I was also aware that April Boling, the Party's accountant, was aware of what was going on, as she was the treasurer for the slate's front organization. I do not know the extent to which she was knowledgeable of Krvaric, Nehring, and other committee members' involvement.

As for other committee matters, Krvaric has violated numerous sections of the State Election Code and the bylaws of the Republican Party of San Diego County. Due to basic ignorance of the rules of parliamentary procedure outlined in our bylaws, Krvaric has repeatedly refused to allow debate or to entertain valid motions, despite my objections (as an experienced parliamentarian) and those of William Baber, lawyer and committee parliamentarian, with whom I often collaborated. This was especially highlighted in the controversy over the filling of vacancies to the committee. Not only did Krvaric refuse to dismiss members who had violated the bylaws by a universal standard, picking and choosing who to remove instead, he also deliberately misled committee members and legal counsel. Both Nehring and Krvaric lied to Charles Bell of Sacramento, CA, who is often employed by the Party for legal advice. Jonathan Buettner and I, took it upon us to contact Bell on numerous occasions to clarify his memoranda and express our hesitancy to accept what Nehring and Krvaric were telling him privately. Ultimately, we retrieved documentary evidence of Krvaric's wrongfulness, based on a footnote in one of Bell's memos. These were provided to legal counsel and a final letter was released to the Committee, paid out of its funds. Krvaric refused to make this final memo available as he had with all the others supporting his position. Bell refused to take calls or to respond to e-mails from members or staff. Krvaric confronted both Buettner and me over this matter, accusing us of being

May 6, 2009

Page 5

“disloyal,” “backstabbing,” and not part of the “team.” To this day the memo has not been released.

Before I left the Party last January, and after Jonathan Buettner had been “dismissed,” Krvaric invited me to a private lunch. He took the opportunity to confront me over a number of the issues above, including the Bell memorandum. He asked whether I thought him to be my “leader” and whether I “stood behind him.” He continued on about loyalty and “steadfastness” no matter what actions he might take. He suggested that “staffers” do not understand the complexity of politics and should merely “follow” no matter their consciences. Krvaric expressed distress over the current situation in the office; he forbade former employees, including Nicole Parsons and Laura Schencker, from even setting foot in the office again, accusing them of being “sexual harassment liabilities.” He lamented how he should be the “godfather of politics in San Diego.” He told me that we (the staff) had disappointed him because we had not helped him reach this image, garnering favors and “debts” to his name; he wanted people to “owe him” and *vice versa*. Krvaric finally stated that the next year would involve “cleaning house” and taking care of committee members who were not cooperating with his regime. I returned to the office, having expressed hesitancy to continue in my position, but promising “loyalty” in the mean time. I felt so physically repulsed that I resigned my position within a week.

I remain an alternate member of the committee. Many members, donors, and volunteers, not realizing I am no longer on staff, approach me with countless complaints of harassment and neglect. Barret Tetlow, the current Executive Director, has verbally abused more than one committee member and refuses to answer phone calls and e-mails on many occasions. Committee members are also harassed continuously by Krvaric and his executive board. Anthony Porrello, a dedicated Party and committee member has been verbally assaulted by Tetlow. He is essentially banned from headquarters and has been surrounded by Krvaric and Tetlow, have threatened calling the police if Porrello does not stay away. My regular member, Dayna Hydrick, has been nearly physically accosted by Tetlow. Two months ago we were both surrounded by “friends of Tony,” who questioned why were not in the assigned seats now determined by Krvaric. Despite her handicap, she was told to sit in an uncomfortable position. Eventually, we moved in protest to the back of the room, but such harassment is commonplace.

Committee members are also denied access to Executive Board meetings, which was not regular policy previously. Rosters are not provided to members, despite the fact they are public information regarding elected officials. Krvaric has suggested that members collect information on their own to make their own lists. Attendance reports are no longer provided for members, leaving no accountability as to whether individuals are in compliance with the bylaws. Finally, meeting announcements are not provided in accordance with the bylaws. Minutes are often incomplete; financial information is never provided. In my own experience, Krvaric and his staff have refused to include me in committee mailings and virtually ignore my appointment, which has been in place since 2006.

On May 11, 2009, at the latest regular central committee meeting, Gary Felien, in his “secret” treasury report to committee members, discussed certain “accusations” being spread around

May 6, 2009

Page 6

the committee by "certain individuals." He did not elaborate and Tony refused to allow any discussion of the matter, but Felien seemed to be concerned over rumors regarding financial mismanagement. He ended his remarks as follows (this is not a direct quote): "*Even if there was something going on, it'd be like .1% or something, and that's nothing in the large scheme of things. We shouldn't be worried about that small amount of money...we have so much something's bound to get lost.*" This is the sort of chicanery committee members are forced to endure month in and month out.

I recognize the length of this complaint, but I would like to recall one more incident that is not necessarily in violation of the law, but still gives an impression of the current leadership's attitude. Just weeks ago, at the annual Lincoln-Reagan Dinner, I was an invited guest of Congressman Darrell Issa. Seated at the table were his staff and other committee members ostracized by Krvaric as "disloyal." Originally, the congressman's table was placed near the front, as it should have been, given his sponsorship level and political position; I know this from personal experience. Immediately before the event, though, Elizabeth Moyer, another staffer, under direction from Krvaric, moved our table to the very back of the room, near the service entrance. Naturally, Issa's district director took notice of this. Moyer approached Jonathan Buettner that night and accused him of working to get Krvaric's "enemies," the "bad" committee members, on Issa's guest list. Krvaric was certainly within his rights, I suppose, to do what he did. But the mind-set with which he did it is indicative of his general attitude towards others, towards the committee, and towards politics in general. He does not care for democratic exercise or for dissent. In this way, I would consider him a dangerous individual; he will continue to harass, intimidate, and control as long as he possibly can.

I hope that what I have been able to provide is helpful in your investigation. If I recall any further events, which is likely given the extensive experience I have with both Krvaric and Nehring, I will be sure to report them to you as quickly as they come to mind. And, as I mentioned previously, I am more than willing to answer any questions, to provide any clarification, and to give any testimony, as it is deemed necessary.

Thank you for your time and attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Ryan P Mulvey