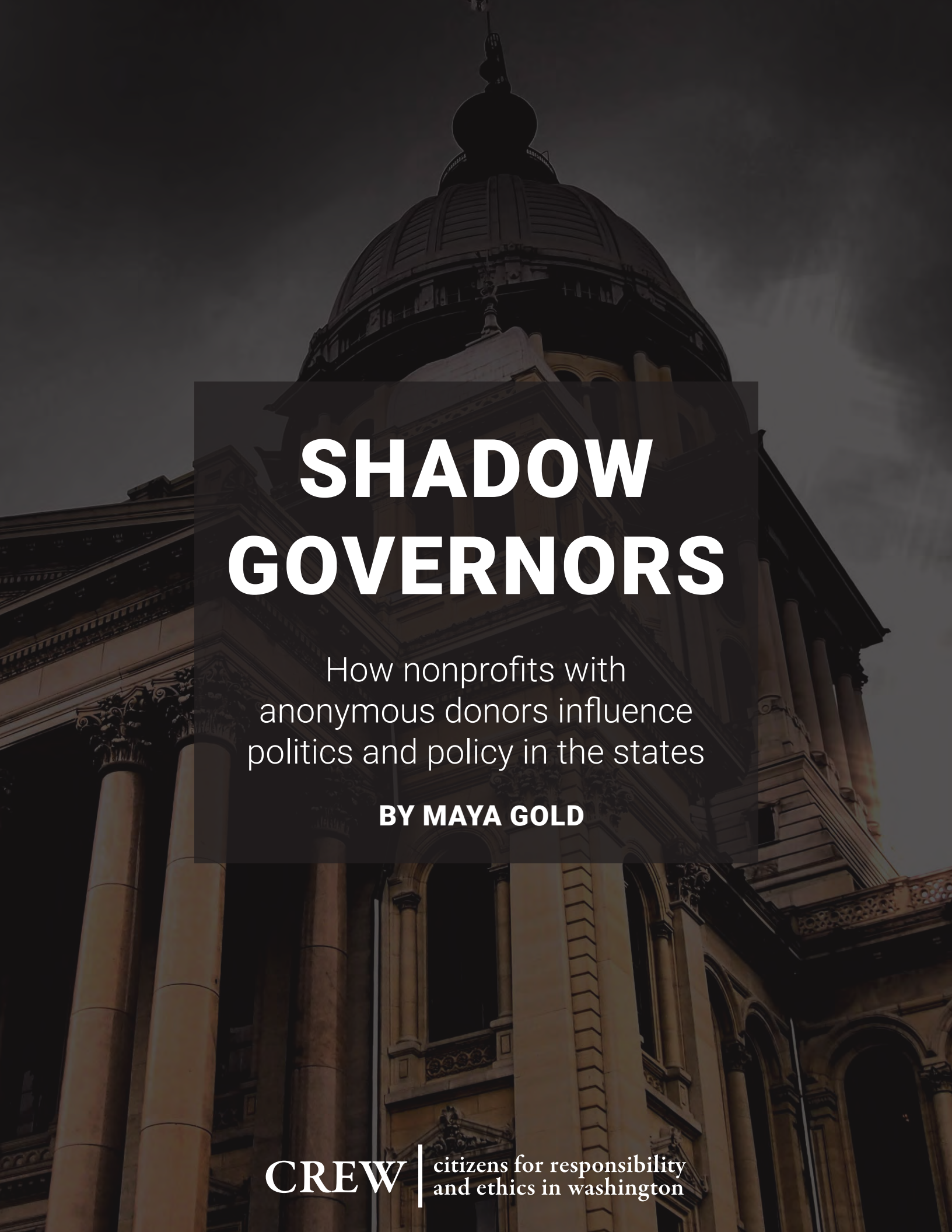




SHADOW GOVERNORS

How nonprofits with
anonymous donors influence
politics and policy in the states

BY MAYA GOLD

CREW

| citizens for responsibility
and ethics in washington

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Key findings.....	3
Introduction.....	4
Methodology.....	9
Alabama: Former Governor Robert Bentley.....	12
Georgia: Governor Nathan Deal.....	15
Idaho: Governor C.L. “Butch” Otter.....	20
Illinois: Governor Bruce Rauner	22
Indiana: Governor Eric Holcomb.....	24
Kansas: Governor Sam Brownback.....	26
Louisiana: Governor John Bel Edwards.....	28
Maine: Governor Paul LePage.....	30
Michigan: Governor Rick Snyder.....	32
Missouri: Former Governor Eric Greitens	38
Montana: Governor Steve Bullock.....	43
Nevada: Governor Brian Sandoval.....	45
New Jersey: Former Governor Chris Christie	47
New Mexico: Governor Susana Martinez.....	50
New York: Governor Andrew Cuomo.....	52
North Carolina: Governor Roy Cooper.....	55
Ohio: Governor John Kasich.....	57
Tennessee: Governor Bill Haslam	60
Wisconsin: Governor Scott Walker	65

KEY FINDINGS

- **More than one in three governors holding office as of January 31, 2017 can be linked to state-level dark money or shadow governance groups.** In all, CREW identified 30 nonprofits associated with 19 governors.
- **Nearly half of all Republican governors and one quarter of all Democratic governors in office as of January 31, 2017 could be linked to a dark money or shadow governance nonprofit.** Fifteen Republican governors (out of 33) and four Democratic governors (out of 16) can be connected to dark money or shadow governance nonprofits.¹
- **Seventy percent of identified groups did not voluntarily disclose their donors to the public.**²
- **Three state governors connected to dark money or shadow governance groups have declared their intention to run for re-election in 2018.**³ More than two-thirds of the governors connected to these types of nonprofits (68%) are currently serving their second or third term in office. Four governors that can be linked to these types of groups (21%) hold office in states with no term limits.⁴
- **Two governors holding office as of January 31, 2017 have resigned amidst scandals in which shadow governance groups played a role.** Former Gov. Robert Bentley (R-AL) resigned after impeachment proceedings had begun regarding his use of public resources to conceal an affair with his senior adviser. That adviser was on the nonprofit Alabama Council for Excellent Government (ACEGov)'s payroll, and ACEGov was named as a co-defendant alongside the governor in at least two lawsuits. Former Gov. Eric Greitens (R-MO) resigned amidst an investigation by the Missouri legislature for a number of alleged offenses. A New Missouri's records were subpoenaed by the Missouri House committee in the course of investigating these charges.

¹ Amber Phillips, "These 3 maps show just how dominant Republicans are in America after Tuesday," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 12, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/11/12/these-3-maps-show-just-how-dominant-republicans-are-in-america-after-tuesday/?utm_term=.37f7419a622e

² Seven of the 30 nonprofits identified have not yet disclosed any financial information, as section 501(c) organizations are only required to submit annual reports.

³ See Kenneth Lovett, "Gov. Cuomo plans to seek reelection despite considered possible 2020 presidential candidate," *New York Daily News* (New York), Nov. 15, 2016. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/gov-cuomo-look-reelection-run-president-article-1.2874698?cid=bitly>; Tina Sfondeles, "Rauner quietly confirms re-election bid," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Jun. 20, 2016. <http://www.chicago.suntimes.com/news/rauner-quietly-confirms-re-election-bid/>; Patrick Marley, "Scott Walker makes clear he'll seek a third term as Wisconsin governor," *Journal Sentinel* (Milwaukee), May 12, 2017. <http://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/2017/05/12/scott-walker-names-campaign-chief/318614001/>.

⁴ "States with gubernatorial term limits." *Ballotpedia*. https://ballotpedia.org/States_with_gubernatorial_term_limits (Accessed February 2, 2018).

INTRODUCTION

Why influence politics and policy publicly when you can do it in secret? Increasingly, nonprofit groups funded by anonymous donors are doing just that, and not just at the federal level — significant sums of untraceable money are being spent in states, both to elect governors and to push their agendas. Even more concerning, many of these nonprofits are run by close allies of those very same governors. This means these politicians likely know who is paying to promote and support them, even as voters and constituents are kept in the dark. As documented in this report, secret nonprofit spending is now widespread in the states: 19 governors in office as of January 31, 2017 have benefitted from 30 closely-aligned groups boosting their campaigns and agendas.

One way donors can secretly exert influence is through dark money groups: nonprofit organizations that, under campaign finance rules loosened in the aftermath of *Wisconsin Right to Life v. FEC* (2007) and *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010), are not subject to any contribution limits and can spend virtually unlimited amounts of money in elections without disclosing their donors. As such, dark money groups allow special interests to anonymously donate unchecked amounts of money that is then used to influence elections. This lack of transparency has in turn eroded accountability. In races where dark money groups are active, voters and constituents do not know who paid to support their elected representatives or, consequently, who their representatives are beholden to.

The rise of dark money spending has been well-documented at the federal level. Overall, political spending by section 501(c)(4) groups — the nonprofit type most commonly associated with dark money — was 115 times greater in 2016 than it was in 2006, the last year before *Wisconsin Right to Life*, and 45 times greater than it was in 2004, the last presidential election before *Wisconsin Right to Life*.⁵ States have seen a similar influx of anonymous spending. The Brennan Center examined a subset of states and found that, on average, dark money spending was 38 times greater in 2014 than it had been in 2006.⁶ Some of that money flowed through groups that are not only funded secretly, but also have close ties to the governors they worked to elect, potentially providing donors more direct influence.

Another avenue for donors to influence governors using secretly-funded nonprofits has received comparably less attention: groups with close ties to a governor already in office that spend money to advance that governor's policy agenda or pet projects. This is not dark money spending in the classical sense, as these organizations are not solely involved in influencing elections. Instead, they are also spending to advance the agenda and/or elevate the status of the governor with whom they are linked. However, these shadow governance groups are similar to dark money nonprofits in that spending is uncapped and does not legally have to be disclosed, aiding officeholders while preventing voters and constituents from knowing who their elected officials rely on for fiscal support. Additionally, since spending by shadow governance groups is not covered by rules surrounding political contributions, the individuals behind shadow governance nonprofits can coordinate with the governors they are supporting.

⁵ "Political Nonprofits (Dark Money)." Center for Responsive Politics. https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/nonprof_summ.php?cycle=2016&type=type&range=tot (Accessed February 2, 2018).

⁶ Chisun Lee, Katherine Valde, Benjamin T. Brickener, and Douglas Keith, "Secret Spending in the States," *Brennan Center for Justice*, accessed January 2, 2018, [https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/Secret Spending in the States.pdf](https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/Secret%20Spending%20in%20the%20States.pdf). (defunct)

Dark Money Groups	Shadow Governance Groups
Don't disclose donors	Don't disclose donors
Spend to elect officeholders	Spend to support an already elected officeholder

A New Missouri, Inc., a nonprofit aligned with former Gov. Eric Greitens (R-MO), is an example of how closely and blatantly a shadow governance group can coordinate with a governor to bolster their political platform. The group was founded by Gov. Greitens' campaign treasurer and run in part by his sister-in-law; Gov. Greitens' senior adviser, Austin Chambers, also works with the group. In March 2017, Chambers told *The Kansas City Star* that there would be "coordination between ANM, the governor's state office, and his campaign."⁷ The group ran ads supporting the governor's budget proposal and attacked Republican lawmakers who were critical of Gov. Greitens or his legislative priorities.⁸ The group also paid for travel to, and food and beverages for, a "campaign-style event" supporting Gov. Greitens, and provided Gov. Greitens' airfare to travel between rallies.⁹

The group became embroiled in the Missouri state legislature's investigation of then-Gov. Greitens after a former campaign staffer testified that the governor directed him to meet with donors who were interested in having their identities concealed.¹⁰ Gov. Greitens announced his resignation on May 29, 2018.¹¹

CREW investigated all 50 state governors holding office as of January 31, 2017 for connections to nonprofit groups involved in politics or policy. Specifically, from February to October 2017, CREW looked for organizations that directly benefited the governor — by either bolstering their election prospects or supporting agenda items that could be concretely connected to the governor — that could also be tied to the governor through a combination of timing (established during or after the governor's initial campaign), scope (operated predominately at the state level), personnel (led by staffers and board members with established connections to the governor) and other shared logistics (used resources such as office space and contractors that were also used by the governor's campaign), and publicly reported ties (the governor makes appearances on behalf of the nonprofit, media reports directly link it to the governor).

While individual governor-affiliated nonprofits have previously been scrutinized by the local media, there has not been a systematic review of these groups across all 50 states until now. CREW found 30 nonprofit groups connected to 19 state governors: 24 shadow governance groups, one classic dark money group, and five groups that spent both on elections *and* to advance a sitting governor's agenda.

⁷ Jason Hancock "Nonprofit linked to Missouri governor raises new questions about 'dark money,' ethics," *The Kansas City Star*, Mar. 8, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article137209643.html>

⁸ Jason Hancock, "Gov. Eric Greitens' nonprofit plans to run TV ads across Missouri," *The Kansas City Star*, Jul. 12, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/local/news-columns-blogs/the-buzz/article160993954.html>; see also Will Schmitt, "Gov. Eric Greitens' nonprofit has prepared attacks on several state senators," *Springfield News-Leader*, May 4, 2017, <https://www.news-leader.com/story/news/politics/2017/05/04/gov-eric-greitens-nonprofit-has-prepared-attacks-several-state-senators/101264250/>

⁹ Hancock, "Gov. Eric Greitens' nonprofit plans to run TV ads across Missouri"; see also Crystal Thomas, "Greitens, Mike Huckabee pump up Joplinites for Missouri's second special session," *Joplin Globe*, Jun. 9, 2017, http://www.joplinglobe.com/news/local_news/greitens-mike-huckabee-pump-up-joplinites-for-missouri-s-second/article_8e14926b-166a-5ce6-a557-f148257f84fd.html

¹⁰ Bryan Lowry and Steve Vockrodt, "Greitens campaign sought to conceal donors' identities, former staffer testifies," *Kansas City Star*, May 2, 2018, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article210313194.html>; Jason Hancock, "Missouri lawmakers subpoena Greitens' top political adviser," *Kansas City Star*, May 14, 2018, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article211103584.html>

¹¹ Mitch Smith and Julie Bosman, "Eric Greitens, Missouri Governor and Rising Republican Star, Resigns Amid Scandal," *New York Times*, May 29, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/29/us/eric-greitens-resigns.html>

CREW found that shadow governance groups were created for a variety of purposes. Fourteen shadow governance groups supported a governor's overall agenda, including the New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund (NERD), which essentially functioned as an off the books source for additional discretionary funding for Gov. Rick Snyder's (R-MI) office, and New Mexico Competes, which defended Gov. Susana Martinez's (R-NM) policies, praising her handling of a Medicaid defrauding scandal and attacking a school district superintendent who opposed her education platform.

Twelve other shadow governance groups targeted more specific goals. In Tennessee, for example, Tennesseans for Student Success, closely tied to Gov. Bill Haslam (R-TN), sponsored a \$137,000 ad buy to support the state's version of the Common Core State Standards, which the governor had helped pass in his first term as governor.¹² In New York, New Yorkers United Together advocated for Gov. Andrew Cuomo's (D-NY) immigration policy, promoting his administration's program that offers legal defense for immigrants.¹³ Indeed, nonprofits with close ties to governors work on issues as diverse as budget and pension reform, term limits, and education (see Table 1).

Five groups were created to fund a governor's inaugural celebrations or to cover other transition costs. These types of groups provide an easy channel for special interests to donate tens of thousands of dollars to newly-established governors, often with limited or no disclosure. For example, in 2011, Real Georgia raised over \$1.7 million for Gov. Nathan Deal's (R-GA) first gala and disclosed its donors to the press.¹⁴ Of the 170 donors, at least 100 were affiliated with lobbyists at the state level. Utilities gave over \$200,000 and insurance companies contributed \$240,000. The group also received \$25,000 from Koch Companies Public Sector, a lobbying arm of Koch Industries.¹⁵ Real Georgia did not disclose its donors for Gov. Deal's 2015 inaugural festivities.

Once these types of groups are established, there is also little stopping them from pivoting to support the governor in other ways. In Michigan, for example, the group Celebrating the Power of Michigan was initially established to fund Gov. Rick Snyder's (R-MI) 2011 inauguration. However, it also funneled money to other nonprofits working to support Gov. Snyder's policy agenda and provide additional outside funding to his office. Similarly, in Maine, the group Maine People Before Politics was initially set up to fund Gov. Paul LePage's (R-ME) transition into office, but later launched a series of ads to generate support for several of the governor's policy proposals.

Some governors are actively and publicly involved with shadow governance groups. Gov. Bruce Rauner (R-IL) and Gov. John Bel Edwards (D-LA) appeared in advertisements paid for by shadow governance groups; Gov. Edwards, Gov. Chris Christie (R-NJ), and Gov. Roy Cooper (D-NC) have appeared at events and fundraisers held by them. Additionally, the staff of these nonprofits often have clear ties to the governor. For example, Tennesseans for Student Success, Education Voters of Idaho, and Real Georgia were run by campaign managers for Gov. Haslam, Gov. Butch Otter (R-ID), and Gov. Deal, respectively.

While shadow governance groups come in a variety of different shapes and sizes, what they have in common is a troubling lack of transparency while maintaining close ties to sitting governors. Seventy percent of identified groups did not voluntarily disclose any donor information to the public. Those that did disclose

¹² Andy Sher, "Student Success' group spending big money to defend Gov. Bill Haslam," *Times Free Press* (Chattanooga, TN), Feb. 19, 2015, <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/politics/state/story/2015/feb/19/groups-spending-supports-governor/289060/>; Grace Tatter, "Commercial about state educational standards makes Super Bowl splash," *Chalkbeat*, Feb. 3, 2015, <https://tn.chalkbeat.org/posts/tn/2015/02/03/commercial-about-state-educational-standards-makes-super-bowl-splash/>.

¹³ Brian M. Rosenthal, "No Links to Cuomo? Their Ad Was Labeled 'Client: Andrew Cuomo,'" *The New York Times*, Jul. 26, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/26/nyregion/watchdogs-say-cuomo-is-skirting-campaign-finance-rules.html?mtrref=t.co>

¹⁴ Aaron Gould Sheinin, "Deal raises more than \$1.7 million for inaugural," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 27, 2011, <http://www.ajc.com/news/local-govt-politics/deal-raises-more-than-million-for-inaugural/BWNsSPoXdn4tQhbO04AXDM/>

¹⁵ Ibid.

released their records with plenty of caveats: Early Edge Action, aligned with Gov. Steve Bullock (D-MT), listed names and amounts for some donors, but not others; Maine People Before Politics, the transition committee for Gov. LePage, originally disclosed its donors (though not amounts), but stopped after the inauguration and its subsequent rebranding; and while Moving Michigan Forward (MMF) fully discloses its donors every quarter, much of its funding comes from other nonprofits connected to Gov. Snyder, including Making Government Accountable, which does not disclose its donors. Indeed, the inconsistency of these organizations with respect to their voluntary disclosures only underscores the importance of full transparency to ensure the accountability of public officials.

All in all, dark money groups and shadow governance groups alike allow state governors to gain from unlimited spending by anonymous sources. This unchecked spending means that special interests and deep-pocketed donors can exert more influence than ever before.

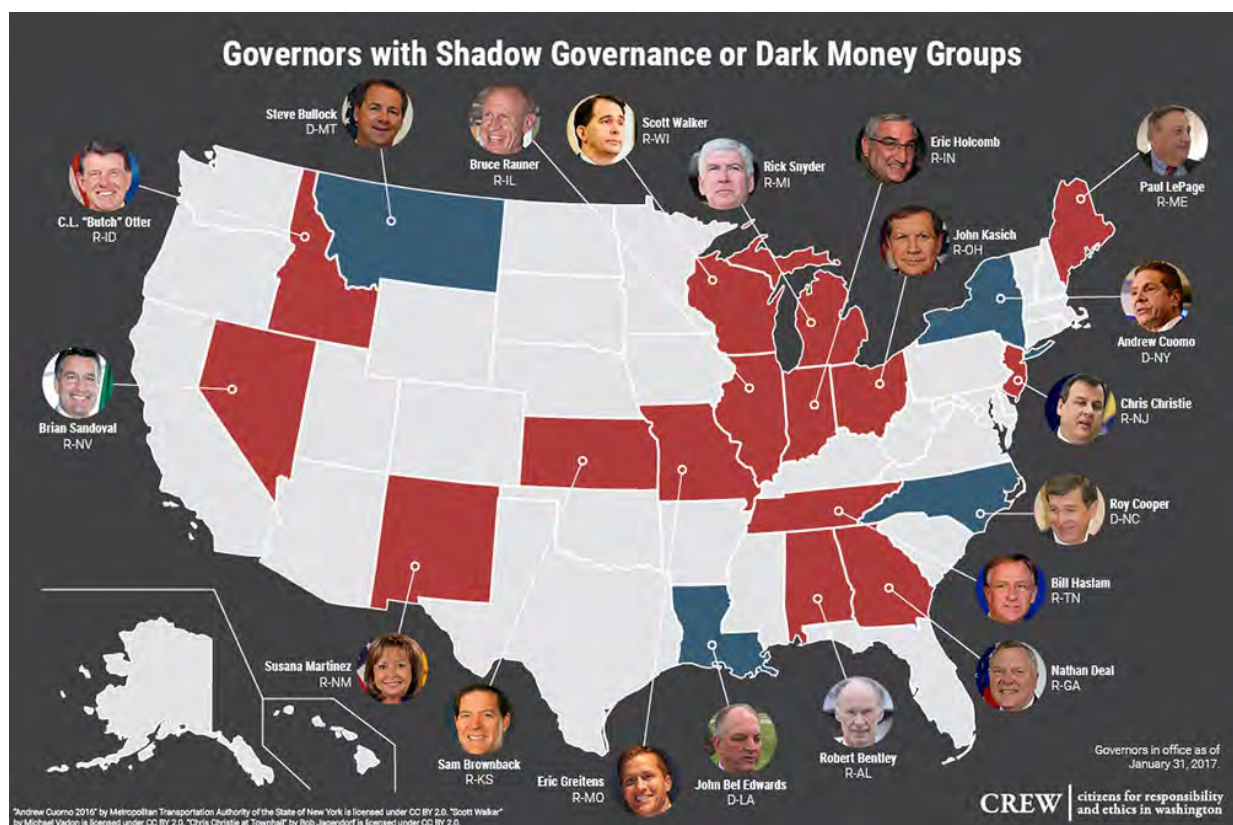


TABLE 1: 30 dark money and shadow governance groups with ties to state governors

State	Group	Governor	Party	Type of Support	Activities	Group Type
Alabama	Alabama Council for Excellent Government	Robert Bentley	Republican	Overall agenda	Supported Gov. Bentley's tax plan; Rebekah Mason, Gov. Bentley's political adviser, was on ACEGov's payroll.	Dark Money; Shadow Governance
Georgia	Georgia Leads on Education	Nathan Deal	Republican	Education	Allegedly planned to promote the governor's proposed constitutional amendment that will allow the state to take over failing schools.	Shadow Governance
Georgia	Georgia Leads/ Georgia First, Inc.	Nathan Deal	Republican	Education	Allegedly planned to promote the governor's proposed constitutional amendment that will allow the state to take over failing schools.	Shadow Governance
Georgia	Coalition for Georgia's Future	Nathan Deal	Republican	Elections, education	Bought ads to support Gov. Deal's 2014 election campaign, then created an ad to support Gov. Deal's school takeover plan.	Dark Money; Shadow Governance
Georgia	Real Georgia	Nathan Deal	Republican	Inauguration	Used to fund Governor Deal's 2011 and 2015 inaugurations, covering both swearing-in ceremonies and both galas, as well as salaries, security, and other costs	Shadow Governance
Idaho	Education Voters of Idaho, Inc.	C.L. "Butch" Otter	Republican	Education	Spent over \$600,000 in campaign ads and other political activity supporting an education reform package	Shadow Governance
Illinois	Turnaround Illinois	Bruce Rauner	Republican	Overall agenda	Booked over \$1 million in ad space to promote a constitutional amendment to create term limits, made an ad featuring Gov. Rauner discussing his "Balanced Budget Plan."	Shadow Governance
Indiana	Imagine Indiana, Inc.	Eric Holcomb	Republican	Inauguration	Gov. Holcomb's transition team.	Shadow Governance
Kansas	Road Map Solutions	Sam Brownback	Republican	Overall agenda, elections	Bought airtime during Gov. Brownback's re-election campaign; supported Gov. Brownback's school finance bill.	Dark Money; Shadow Governance
Louisiana	Rebuild Louisiana	John Bel Edwards	Democrat	Budget	Promoted various aspects of Governor Edwards' political platform, including Medicare expansion and his budget plan.	Shadow Governance
Maine	Maine People Before Politics	Paul LePage	Republican	Transition, budget	Originally Gov. LePage's transition fund; paid for a series of ad campaigns to support various aspects of Gov. LePage's budget platform.	Shadow Governance
Michigan	Celebrating the Power of Michigan	Rick Snyder	Republican	Overall agenda, inauguration	Initially created to fund Gov. Snyder's inauguration gala; after the inaugural events, a large portion of the remaining money was funneled to other nonprofits linked to supporting Gov. Snyder's policy agendas and funding his office.	Shadow Governance
Michigan	Making Government Accountable	Rick Snyder	Republican	Overall agenda	Initially created to raise funds for Gov. Snyder to travel around the country, the nonprofit was used to further obfuscate donations to another of Gov. Snyder's nonprofits and to purchase issue ads to help elect Republicans to the Michigan legislature.	Dark Money; Shadow Governance
Michigan	Moving Michigan Forward	Rick Snyder	Republican	Overall agenda	Outreach and recovery efforts in Flint, Michigan; paying for a public relations firm to respond to the Flint crisis.	Shadow Governance
Michigan	New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund	Rick Snyder	Republican	Overall agenda	Functioned as an off-the-books source for additional discretionary funding for the governor's office. This included a salary for one of Gov. Snyder's top aides; covering the \$4,200 monthly rent of the Detroit Emergency Manager; upgrading an auditorium in the governor's office; buying an alarm system for his private residence; and covering travel expenses for his staff.	Shadow Governance
Missouri	A New Missouri	Eric Greitens	Republican	Overall agenda	Ran numerous ads attacking state lawmakers who were critical of Gov. Greitens or his pet policies; paid for buses to transport supporters to the Capitol for a special legislative session; hosted a rally with Gov. Greitens and former Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee; spent over \$500,000 on television ads focusing on the state budget and taxes; donated to a PAC created to combat the repeal of Missouri's right-to-work law, which Gov. Greitens enacted.	Shadow Governance
Missouri	Committee for a New Missouri	Eric Greitens	Republican	Inauguration	Created to fund Gov. Greitens' 2017 inauguration festivities.	Shadow Governance
Montana	Early Edge Action	Steve Bullock	Democrat	Education	Paid for messaging around the benefits of Early Edge, Gov. Bullock's proposal to provide early childhood education grants to Montana public schools.	Shadow Governance
Nevada	Nevada Can Do Better	Brian Sandoval	Republican	Taxes, education	Commissioned a poll to show support for Gov. Sandoval's plan to increase taxes for education spending; used digital advertisements and social media to advocate for reform in Nevada's tax and education systems.	Shadow Governance
New Jersey	Committee for Our Children's Future	Chris Christie	Republican	Overall agenda	Spent over \$6 million in pro-Gov. Christie advertising.	Shadow Governance
New Jersey	Reform Jersey Now	Chris Christie	Republican	Overall agenda	Paid for advertising such as robocalls and mailers that urged constituents to contact state representatives who opposed Gov. Christie's proposed legislation.	Shadow Governance
New Mexico	New Mexico Competes, Inc.	Susana Martinez	Republican	Overall agenda	Ran an ad campaign supporting Gov. Martinez's handling of a Medicare defrauding scandal; sent fliers attacking the school superintendent of New Mexico's largest city when he opposed Gov. Martinez' education policies.	Shadow Governance
New York	New Yorkers United Together	Andrew Cuomo	Democrat	Immigration	Paid for advertising promoting Gov. Cuomo's immigration policy.	Shadow Governance
New York	Committee to Save New York	Andrew Cuomo	Democrat	Budget, pension	Television and radio advertising supporting Gov. Cuomo's budget and proposed pension cuts; lobbying.	Shadow Governance
North Carolina	Moving NC Forward	Roy Cooper	Democrat	Overall agenda	Held multiple events featuring Gov. Cooper and members of his administration that required donations to attend.	Shadow Governance
Ohio	Balanced Budget Forever	John Kasich	Republican	Budget	Funded Gov. Kasich's travel for a multi-state tour to advocate for a balanced budget constitutional amendment.	Shadow Governance
Ohio	Two Paths America	John Kasich	Republican	Overall agenda, elections	Mailed voter-shaming letters in New Hampshire; rebranded and announced that it would "champion [Gov. Kasich's] campaign themes."	Dark Money; Shadow Governance
Tennessee	Tennesseans for Student Success	Bill Haslam	Republican	Education	Paid for various ad campaigns including ads supporting education standards Gov. Haslam helped pass and an ad attacking a Tennessean House candidate; sent direct mail fliers in support of multiple state legislators; organized constituents to attend a House subcommittee hearing about Common Core State Standards; lobbying.	Shadow Governance
Tennessee	Tennessee Business Partnership	Bill Haslam	Republican	Overall agenda	The main financial backer of a state constitutional amendment campaign that would allow the governor to appoint appellate judges. Also donated money to other organizations connected to Gov. Haslam.	Shadow Governance
Wisconsin	Wisconsin Club for Growth	Scott Walker	Republican	Elections	Spent millions of dollars on advertising, playing an integral role in winning Gov. Walker's recall election	Dark Money

METHODOLOGY

CREW investigated all state governors in office as of January 31, 2017. From February to October 2017, CREW identified groups of interest by searching news reports for a combination of each governor's name and a set of relevant keywords, including "dark money," "nonprofit," "501(c)(4)," and "tax exempt."

Next, CREW compiled additional information about each group from a variety of different sources, including organizational websites, public records, and reports by state-based government watchdog groups, including:

- *Public website (if available)*
- *Official mission statement*
- *Tax status:* All groups had one of three nonprofit tax status classifications:
 - 501(c)(3): Charitable organizations. These groups cannot participate in any political activities and can participate in a limited amount of lobbying.¹⁶
 - 501(c)(4): Social welfare organizations. These groups can participate in some political activities, but politics cannot be their primary activity. They can also participate in an unlimited amount of lobbying.¹⁷
 - 501(c)(6): Business leagues. These groups can participate in some political activities, but politics cannot be their primary activity. They can also participate in an unlimited amount of lobbying.¹⁸
- *Dates of activity:* Dates of activity were determined by each group's corporate business registration. However, it is important to note that organizations registered as "active" in their corporate filings may not currently engage with politics or policy.
- *Type of support:* These determinations were made by looking at nonprofits' activities and materials, rather than their official mission statements. Type of support was classified into the following categories:
 - Overall agenda
 - Inauguration
 - Budget
 - Education
 - Elections
 - Other subject-specific topics, including taxes, immigration, and pension
- *Ties to the governor:* Direct connections between the individuals who established and/or manage the nonprofit and the governor. Direct involvement by the governor in either the creation of the nonprofit and/or its activities.
- *Activities:* Specific actions the nonprofit has taken to provide support for the governor.
- *Other information:* Other relevant groups and individuals associated with the nonprofit, including any evidence that they may have received favorable treatment from the governor.

¹⁶ "The Restriction of Political Campaign Intervention by Section 501(c)(3) Tax-Exempt Organizations," IRS. <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/charitable-organizations/the-restriction-of-political-campaign-intervention-by-section-501c3-tax-exempt-organizations> (Accessed February 2, 2018); "Lobbying," IRS. <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/lobbying> (Accessed February 2, 2018).

¹⁷ "Social Welfare Organizations," IRS. <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/other-non-profits/social-welfare-organizations> (Accessed February 2, 2018).

¹⁸ "Political Campaign Activities - Business Leagues," IRS. <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/other-non-profits/political-campaign-activities-business-leagues> (Accessed February 2, 2018); "Lobbying Activities - Business Leagues," IRS. <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/other-non-profits/lobbying-activities-business-leagues> (Accessed February 2, 2018).

- *Donors and revenue* (when available): Nonprofits are required to file annual tax reports which include gross revenue and expenditures. Consequently, this information was collected for organizations that were established before 2016 and thus have filed tax returns. Though donor information is not publicly released, some nonprofits voluntarily disclosed donors or had their donors disclosed by media reports. This information was also collected when available.

CREW analyzed all of this information to determine whether each nonprofit met two key characteristics of a shadow governance or dark money group: first, the group was unambiguously engaged in actions that benefitted a governor, such as supporting a governor's campaign or working to pass governor's favored policy proposal. Second, the group was not required to disclose donors.

Finally, CREW determined the extent to which the remaining nonprofits could be linked to the governor they were supporting. Groups were evaluated to be closely linked to sitting governors if they met at least three of the following four criteria:

- Articulated Ties: Do the governor and/or nonprofit openly admit affiliation with each other? Has the governor made appearances on behalf of the nonprofit? Does media reporting on the nonprofit directly link it to the governor?
- Personal Relationships: Do staffers of the nonprofit have past ties to the governor? Can the named board members of the nonprofit be directly linked to the governor?
- Timing: Was the nonprofit established after the governor began their campaign for office? (i.e., during the campaign, prior to inauguration, or after inauguration). In general, the scope of the research was confined to nonprofits lending support to governors currently in office or running for office. In a few cases, however, there was substantial evidence that individuals used nonprofits to their advantage prior to announcing their gubernatorial campaign, leading to exceptions.
- Locality: Does the nonprofit operate mainly within the state where the governor serves as chief executive?

This method produced a set of 30 groups tied to 19 state governors, each of which is discussed in detail below.

Table 2: Assessment Criteria Scoring for All Groups

Group	CHARACTERISTICS NECESSARY FOR INCLUSION		INCLUSION REQUIRES 3 OUT OF 4 CHARACTERISTICS			
	Unambiguously engaged in actions that benefit governor	Isn't required to disclose donors	Articulated ties	Personal relationships	Timing	Locality
A New Missouri	X	X	X	X	X	X
Alabama Council for Excellent Government	X	X	X	X	X	X
Balanced Budget Forever (OH)	X	X	X	X	X	
Celebrating the Power of Michigan	X	X	X	X	X	X
Committee for a New Missouri	X	X	X	X	X	X
Committee For Our Children's Future (NJ)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Committee to Save New York	X	X	X	X	X	X
Early Edge Action (MT)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Education Voters of Idaho	X	X	X	X	X	X
Georgia Leads	X	X	X	X	X	X
Georgia Leads on Education	X	X		X	X	X
Maine People Before Politics	X	X	X	X	X	X
Making Government Accountable (MI)	X	X	X		X	X
Moving Michigan Forward	X	X	X	X	X	X
Moving North Carolina Forward	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nevada Can Do Better	X	X	X	X	X	X
New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund (MI)	X	X	X	X	X	X
New Mexico Competes	X	X		X	X	X
New Yorkers United Together	X	X	X	X	X	X
Imagine Indiana	X	X	X	X	X	X
Real Georgia	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rebuild Louisiana	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reform Jersey Now	X	X	X	X	X	X
Road Map Solutions (KS)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tennesseans for Student Success	X	X		X	X	X
Tennessee Business Partnership	X	X		X	X	X
The Coalition for Georgia's Future	X	X	X		X	X
Turnaround Illinois	X	X	X	X	X	X
Two Paths America (OH)	X	X	X	X	X	
Wisconsin Club for Growth	X	X	X	X	X	X

Alabama: Former Governor Robert Bentley

Republican

Assumed office January 17, 2011

Resigned April 10, 2017, roughly halfway into his second term¹⁹

Alabama Council for Excellent Government (ACEGov)

www.ACEGov.com/ (defunct)²⁰

Type of group: Dark money/Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda, elections

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: February 18, 2015 – present²¹

Stated mission: “[T]o support Gov. Bentley in his efforts to solve real problems and to make Alabama greater, stronger and more excellent for all the hardworking men and women who call this great state our home.”²²

Ties to the governor: Established by Cooper Shattuck, Gov. Bentley’s former legal adviser. Shattuck said the organization was formed at the governor’s request.²³

Activities: ACEGov worked to support Gov. Bentley’s tax plan, which would have resulted in a \$541 million tax increase, and planned to support his position on healthcare reform.²⁴ The group commissioned a poll which showed Alabama Republicans’ support of tax hikes; the poll was sent to members of the Alabama legislature to raise support for the governor’s tax reform.²⁵ The reform ultimately failed.²⁶

ACEGov donated \$2,500 to the Alabama Republican Executive Committee on August 19, 2015.²⁷

ACEGov was involved in the scandal that led to Gov. Bentley’s resignation. In March 2016, ex-Alabama Law Enforcement Agency Secretary Spencer Collier, who had been terminated from his position the day before,

¹⁹ Amber Phillips, "Alabama governor resigns, pleads guilty to charges tied to allegations he tried to cover up affair with a top aide," *The Washington Post*, Apr. 10, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/04/10/brought-down-by-an-affair-alabama-gov-robert-bentley-expected-to-resign-today-according-to-news-reports/?utm_term=.3d992edcdfa4

²⁰ "Alabama Council for Excellent Government," *Alabama Council for Excellent Government* (stored on Wayback Machine). <https://web.archive.org/web/20151120155249/http://www.acegov.com/> (Accessed February 6, 2018).

²¹ "Business Entity Records: Alabama Council for Excellent Government" *State of Alabama, Office of the Secretary of State*. <http://arc-sos.state.al.us/cgi/corpdetail.mbr/detail?corp=329100&page=name&file=&type=ALL&status=ALL&place=ALL&city=>

²² Leada Gore, "Gov. Bentley's 'dark money' group: Alabama Council for Excellent Government donates \$2,500 to GOP," *AL.com*, Sep. 9, 2015, http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2015/09/gov_bentleys_dark_money_group.html.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Jordan LaPorta, "Bentley Admin. pushes poll declaring Alabama Republicans want tax increases, not spending cuts," *Yellowhammer News*, Jul. 29, 2015, <http://yellowhammernews.com/politics-2/bentley-admin-pushes-poll-declaring-alabama-republicans-want-tax-increases-not-spending-cuts/>; Cliff Sims, "Team Bentley launches tax-exempt group to push tax increase proposal, healthcare reforms," *Yellowhammer News*, Mar. 26, 2015, <http://yellowhammernews.com/politics-2/team-bentley-launches-tax-exempt-group-to-push-tax-increase-proposal-healthcare-reforms/>

²⁵ LaPorta, "Bentley Admin. pushes poll declaring Alabama Republicans want tax increases, not spending cuts."

²⁶ Leada Gore, "Rebekah Caldwell Mason, Gov. Robert Bentley's chief aide, is not a state employee," *AL.com*, Mar. 24, 2016, http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2016/03/rebekah_caldwell_mason_gov_rob.html.

²⁷ Gore, "Gov. Bentley's 'dark money' group: Alabama Council for Excellent Government donates \$2,500 to GOP."

alleged in a press conference that Gov. Bentley had an affair with Rebekah Mason.²⁸ Mason served as Gov. Bentley's highly influential political adviser, but she was not on the state payroll. Unnamed sources told AL.com, the website of the *Birmingham News*, that she was being paid an undisclosed amount through ACEGov.²⁹

After news of Gov. Bentley's alleged affair became public, ACEGov took steps to lower its own public profile. The group's website was disabled following the scandal. While Shattuck denied that the governor's actions were the cause, explaining that an expired web contract was actually the culprit, the website remained defunct as of January 2018.³⁰ ACEGov's Facebook page and Twitter account were also closed.³¹

Shattuck also sought to distance ACEGov from the governor after the scandal broke, saying that "[t]he entity was formed to support the Governor's legislative initiatives; however, the Governor does not manage or direct this entity. This is not a public entity, and it is not a governmental entity. Therefore, no public funds have been sought or used by this entity, nor has it sought to fulfill any public or governmental purpose."³²

Despite Shattuck's efforts to separate ACEGov from Gov. Bentley, the group was implicated in the governor's illicit activities. ACEGov was named as a co-defendant, alongside Gov. Bentley, in at least two lawsuits. Ex-Alabama Law Enforcement Agency Secretary Collier filed a lawsuit claiming several violations, including wrongful termination.³³ Wendell Ray Lewis, Gov. Bentley's ex-security chief, also filed a wrongful termination suit against Gov. Bentley, including ACEGov as a defendant.³⁴ In September 2016, Richard Raleigh, the attorney representing ACEGov in the Collier lawsuit, told *WHNT News 19* that the nonprofit "[was] considering corporate dissolution."³⁵ The extent of ACEGov's ties to Gov. Bentley's administration was further revealed over the course of preliminary impeachment proceedings. As part of efforts to cooperate with Special Counsel for the Alabama House Judiciary Committee Jack Sharman's impeachment investigation, the Office of the Governor turned over a "Suggested ACEGov Call List," which was sent to Gov. Bentley and members of his staff from one of his chief fundraisers.³⁶ On April 7, 2017, Special Counsel Sharman released a report investigating whether Gov. Bentley should be impeached. ACEGov appeared 48 times in the 131-page report.³⁷

²⁸ Josh Moon, "Collier accuses Bentley of affair, misuse of state resources," *Montgomery Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama), Mar. 23, 2016, <http://www.montgomeryadvertiser.com/story/news/local/alabama/2016/03/23/collier-accuses-bentley-affair-misuse-state-resources/82174644/>.

²⁹ Leada Gore, "Who is Rebekah Caldwell Mason? Gov. Bentley's advisor paid \$426,978 in 2014 election," *AL.com*, Sep. 3, 2015, http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2015/09/who_is_rebekah_caldwell_mason.html.

³⁰ Cassie Fambro and Emily DeVoe, "ACEGOV Distances Itself from Bentley, Addresses Website," *WKRG* (stored on Wayback Machine), Apr. 5, 2016, <http://www.wkrg.com/2016/04/05/acegov-distances-itself-from-bentley-addresses-website/>.

³¹ David Kumbroch, "Pulling back the curtain on Governor Bentley's dark money organization," *WHNT News 19*, Sep. 13, 2016, <http://www.whnt.com/2016/09/13/pulling-back-the-curtain-on-governor-bentleys-dark-money-organization/>.

³² Cassie Fambro and Emily DeVoe, "ACEGOV Distances Itself from Bentley, Addresses Website," *wkrg.com* (stored on Wayback Machine), Apr. 5, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160610055253/http://www.wkrg.com/2016/04/05/acegov-distances-itself-from-bentley-addresses-website/>.

³³ Paul Gattis, "Gov. Bentley joins Rebekah Mason, seeks to 'stay' Collier lawsuit," *AL.com*, Jun. 29, 2016, http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2016/06/gov_bentley_joins_rebekah_mason.html; John Archibald, "Spencer Collier files suit against Gov. Robert Bentley, Rebekah Mason," *AL.com*, Apr. 19, 2016, http://www.al.com/news/birmingham/index.ssf/2016/04/spencer_collier_files_suit_against.html.

³⁴ John Archibald, "Gov. Bentley's former security chief sues, reveals sordid details," *AL.com*, Nov. 23, 2016, http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2016/11/gov_bentleys_former_security_chief.html.

³⁵ Kumbroch, "Pulling back the curtain on Governor Bentley's dark money organization."

³⁶ Special Counsel Jack Sharman, "The impeachment investigation of Governor Robert Bentley: Pre-hearing submission of Special Counsel," *Prepared for Alabama House Judiciary Committee*, Apr. 7, 2017, https://www.scribd.com/document/344431864/Impeachment-investigation-report#from_embed.

³⁷ Special Counsel Jack Sharman, "The impeachment investigation of Governor Robert Bentley: Pre-hearing submission of Special Counsel."

Gov. Bentley resigned April 10, 2017, the same day that an Alabama legislative committee started hearings to impeach him.³⁸

On April 11, 2017, a circuit judge ruled that ex-Security Chief Lewis' wrongful termination lawsuit against Bentley could proceed with ACEGov as a co-defendant.³⁹

Donor disclosure and revenue: ACEGov does not disclose its donors.

During Gov. Bentley's impeachment investigation, Special Counsel Sharman "requested information from ACEGov, including the identity of the donors and attempted to serve ACEGov through its counsel," but the "service was refused."⁴⁰ Indeed, while text messages between Gov. Bentley and others about ACEGov were provided, they were "almost entirely blacked out."⁴¹

Lawyers in ongoing lawsuits attempting to determine who donated to ACEGov have been largely unsuccessful as of April 2017. According to ex-Alabama Law Enforcement Agency Secretary Spencer Collier, a complainant in one of the lawsuits, "I don't think we know anything more about ACEGov than we did a year ago."⁴²

In ACEGov's 2015 filings, it reported a total revenue of \$90,600.⁴³

³⁸ Mike Cason, "Alabama Gov. Bentley impeachment hearings begin today," *AL.com*, Apr. 10, 2017, http://www.al.com/news/birmingham/index.ssf/2017/04/alabama_gov_robert_bentley_imp_1.html; John Archibald, "Alabama Gov. Robert Bentley resigns amid sex scandal," *AL.com*, Apr. 10, 2017, http://www.al.com/news/montgomery/index.ssf/2017/04/alabama_gov_robert_bentley_res_1.html

³⁹ Ken Faulk, "Donors to former Gov. Bentley's 'dark money' group still a mystery," *AL.com*, Apr. 15, 2017, http://www.al.com/news/birmingham/index.ssf/2017/04/donors_to_former_gov_bentleys.html

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Kumbroch, "Pulling back the curtain on Governor Bentley's dark money organization."

Georgia: Governor Nathan Deal

Republican

Assumed office January 10, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two consecutive term limit

Coalition for Georgia's Future, Inc. (CGF)

No public website

Type of group: Dark money/Shadow governance

Type of support: Elections, education

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: July 30, 2014 – December 7, 2016⁴⁴

Stated mission: “Educating Georgians (and all Americans) about the importance of investing in public policy choices that promote economic freedom, individual liberty, greater educational choice and increased opportunity for all.”⁴⁵

Ties to the governor: According to *Governing* magazine, the nonprofit was founded by Gov. Deal’s allies.⁴⁶ Chip Lake, the director of CGF as of May 24, 2017, was also the head of the Georgia Victory Fund, a super PAC established to assist Gov. Deal in his 2014 reelection bid.⁴⁷

Activities: CGF spent about \$200,000 on ads to support Gov. Deal’s 2014 election campaign.⁴⁸

In 2015, Gov. Deal championed a school takeover plan — the proposal, which was a 2016 ballot question, would have created a new statewide school district to “take control of some of Georgia’s most distressed schools.”⁴⁹ CGF created an ad to support the plan.⁵⁰ The proposal failed, 60% to 40%.⁵¹

⁴⁴ “Business Search: Coalition for Georgia’s Future, Inc.” *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*. <https://www.ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=1966352&businessType=Domestic%20Nonprofit%20Corporation> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁴⁵ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Coalition for Georgia’s Future” http://www.990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/471/471450006/471450006_201412_990O.pdf (2014)

⁴⁶ Greg Bluestein and Ty Tagami, “Georgia Governor Signs School Takeover Bill,” *Tribune News Service*, Apr. 23, 2015. <http://www.governing.com/topics/education/georgia-governor-signs-school-takeover.html>

⁴⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Coalition for Georgia’s Future” http://www.990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/471/471450006/471450006_201612_990O.pdf (2016); Emily Schultheis, “Super PAC to aid Georgia governor,” *Politico*, <https://www.politico.com/story/2014/02/new-super-pac-georgia-victory-fund-nathan-deal-jason-carter-103706>

⁴⁸ Greg Bluestein, “School Takeover Plan’s Supporters, Opponents Now Turn to Georgia Voters,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Mar. 29, 2015. <http://www.ajc.com/news/state-regional-govt-politics/school-takeover-plan-supporters-opponents-now-turn-georgia-voters/vIAKT67YMj43cJdCRdWOEM/>; Jim Galloway, “On Nathan Deal’s Behalf, New Group Praises Women in Business—Even Downloadable Ones,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Oct. 3, 2014. <http://www.politics.myaic.com/blog/politics/nathan-deal-behalf-new-group-praises-women-business-even-downloadable-ones/C37o9kMf3cKnB1GwBFS1I/>

⁴⁹ Bluestein, “School Takeover Plan’s Supporters, Opponents Now Turn to Georgia Voters.”

⁵⁰ Coalition for Georgia’s Future, “Thank Gov Deal for Fighting for Education Reform,” *YouTube*, Oct. 21, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iEEQPjuID0> (Jan. 24, 2018).

⁵¹ “Georgia Authorization of the State Government to Intervene in Failing Local Schools, Amendment 1 (2016),” Ballotpedia. [https://www.ballotpedia.org/Georgia_Authorization_of_the_State_Government_to_Intervene_in_Failing_Local_Schools_Amendment_1_\(2016\)](https://www.ballotpedia.org/Georgia_Authorization_of_the_State_Government_to_Intervene_in_Failing_Local_Schools_Amendment_1_(2016)) (Accessed January 24, 2018).

Other information: In its IRS filing for 2014, CGF also reported a \$225,000 grant to American Freedom Builders, a nonprofit with ties to Gov. John Kasich (R-OH) that has spent money to promote Ohio political candidates.⁵²

Donor disclosure and revenue: CGF does not disclose its donors.

In 2014, CGF reported a revenue of \$665,000 and expenditures of \$596,472.⁵³ CGF reported \$0 in revenue in 2016 and \$0 in expenditures in 2016; it was deactivated at the end of the year.⁵⁴

Real Georgia, Inc.

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Inauguration

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: Nov. 8, 2010 – March 9, 2016⁵⁵

Stated mission: “To organize inauguration [sic] and transition committee activities for the newly elected Governor of the state of Georgia.”⁵⁶

Ties to the governor: Real Georgia was originally established as the Gubernatorial Inauguration and Transition Committee of 2011 Inc. to fund Gov. Deal’s inaugural gala. Tom Willis was Real Georgia’s CEO.⁵⁷ Willis began his career as an intern in then Congressman Deal’s D.C. office when he was serving in the House of Representatives, then served as Gov. Deal’s special assistant and local government liaison. Willis also worked as Gov. Deal’s campaign manager for both his initial 2010 race and 2014 re-election.⁵⁸

⁵² U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Coalition for Georgia’s Future” http://www.990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/471/471450006/471450006_201412_990O.pdf (2014); Henry Gomez and Stephen Koff, “Is an Outside Group Tied to Gov. John Kasich Planting Seeds for His Possible White House Bid?” *Cleveland.com*, Sept. 13, 2014. http://www.cleveland.com/open/index.ssf/2014/09/is_an_outside_group_tied_to_go.html

⁵³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Coalition for Georgia’s Future” http://www.990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/471/471450006/471450006_201412_990O.pdf (2014)

⁵⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Coalition for Georgia’s Future” http://www.990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/471/471450006/471450006_201612_990O.pdf (2016); *see also* “Business Search: Coalition for Georgia’s Future, Inc.” *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*. <https://www.ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=1966352&businessType=Domestic%20Nonprofit%20Corporation> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁵⁵ “Business Search: Real Georgia, Inc.” *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*. <https://www.ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=1576702&businessType=Domestic%20Nonprofit%20Corporation> (Accessed January 22, 2018).

⁵⁶ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Committee for Our Children’s Future” http://www.990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/273/273890845/273890845_201506_990O.pdf (2014)

⁵⁷ James Salzer, “Hospitals, Beer Distributors Give to Deal Funds That Shield Donors,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 24, 2016. <http://www.myajc.com/news/state-regional-govt-politics/hospitals-beer-distributors-give-deal-funds-that-shield-donors/U5rp4MiYzuZVveYSdpBgkN/>

⁵⁸ James Salzer, “Deal’s Committee Keeps Big-Money Inaugural Donors Secret,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Apr. 16, 2016. <http://www.myajc.com/news/state-regional-govt-politics/deals-committee-keeps-big-money-inaugural-donors-s/nq6CG/>; “Deal Announces Staff Transitions,” *Governor Nathan Deal, Office of the Governor*, May 1, 2015 <https://www.gov.georgia.gov/press-releases/2015-05-01/deal-announces-staff-transitions> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

Activities: Real Georgia was used to fund Governor Deal's 2011 and 2015 inaugurations, covering both swearing-in ceremonies and both galas, as well as salaries, security, and other costs.⁵⁹

Real Georgia was dissolved shortly after the 2015 inaugural events. According to Willis, "[o]ur intention was always to dissolve Real Georgia following the inauguration, and we did so in a timely manner in full compliance with all reporting requirements for both federal and state laws."⁶⁰

Donor disclosure and revenue: While Real Georgia has disclosed its donors in the past, it did not after the 2015 inauguration and gala.⁶¹

In 2011, Real Georgia raised over \$1.7 million for Governor Deal's first gala and disclosed its donors to the press.⁶² Of 170 donors, at least 100 were affiliated with lobbyists at the state-level. Utilities gave over \$200,000 and insurance companies contributed \$240,000. The group also received \$25,000 from Koch Companies Public Sector, a lobbying arm of Koch Industries.⁶³

Real Georgia did not publicly disclose the donors of the second gala. An *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* investigation linked about \$162,000 in contributions or ticket sales to Real Georgia by reviewing reported expenses of lawmakers and PACs. The 26 identified donors included four lawmakers, the Georgia Republican Party, the Georgia Chamber, the Georgia Trial Lawyer Association PAC, United Health Services, AT&T, and Lockheed Martin. The nonprofit raised \$1.4 million for the 2015 gala.⁶⁴

Georgia Leads, Inc. (GL)/Georgia First, Inc. (GFI)

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Education

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: February 18, 2015 – present ⁶⁵

Stated mission: Georgia Leads "will spearhead initiatives of critical importance to Georgia, including passage of the 2016 Opportunity School District ballot amendment."⁶⁶

Ties to the governor: Tom Willis left his position in the governor's office to run the organization.⁶⁷ Willis began his career as an intern in then Congressman Deal's D.C. office when he was serving in the House of

⁵⁹ Aaron Gould Sheinin, "Deal Raises More Than \$1.7 Million for Inaugural," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 27, 2011.

<http://www.ajc.com/news/news/local-govt-politics/deal-raises-more-than-17-million-for-inaugural/nQts8/>; James Salzer, "Deal's Committee Keeps Big-Money Inaugural Donors Secret," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Apr. 16, 2016.

⁶⁰ James Salzer, "Deal's Committee Keeps Big-Money Inaugural Donors Secret," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Apr. 16, 2016.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Aaron Gould Sheinin, "Deal raises more than \$1.7 million for inaugural," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 27, 2011.

<http://www.ajc.com/news/news/local-govt-politics/deal-raises-more-than-million-for-inaugural/BWNsSPoXdn4tQhbO04AXDM/>

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ James Salzer, "Deal's Committee Keeps Big-Money Inaugural Donors Secret," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Apr. 16, 2016.

⁶⁵ "Business Search: Georgia First, Inc.," *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*.

<https://ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=2031382> (Accessed January 24, 2018); "Business Search: Georgia Leads on Education, Inc.," *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*.

<https://ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=2064972> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁶⁶ "Deal Announces Staff Transitions," *Governor Nathan Deal, Office of the Governor*, May 1, 2015. <https://www.gov.georgia.gov/press-releases/2015-05-01/deal-announces-staff-transitions> (Accessed January 25, 2018).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Representatives, then served as Gov. Deal's special assistant and local government liaison. Willis also worked as Gov. Deal's campaign manager for both his initial 2010 race and 2014 re-election.⁶⁸

Willis was also the CEO of Real Georgia.⁶⁹ When the governor's office was asked to comment on recent Opportunity School District backlash, they forwarded the request to Willis.⁷⁰

Activities: While not much is known about the nonprofit's activities, it allegedly planned to promote the governor's proposed constitutional amendment that would allow the state to take over failing schools.⁷¹ The plan narrowly passed both chambers and was placed on the ballot in November 2016.⁷² When asked, Willis stated that the goal of Georgia Leads is "to push for public policies across Georgia that will advance a pro-jobs and pro-family agenda."⁷³ The measure ultimately failed.⁷⁴

The organization changed its name to Georgia First, Inc. on March 1, 2017.⁷⁵

Donor disclosure and revenue: GL/GFI does not publicly disclose its donors. An *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* investigation revealed the identities of contributors who gave a total of \$150,000. Donors included AT&T, the Georgia retail store lobby, well-connected lobbying firm McGuireWoods, and the Hospital Corporation of America.⁷⁶

The group also received donations from multiple beverage distributors, including the beer distributors lobby and Georgia Crown Distributing. As *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* noted, beer distributors have been fighting Georgia's craft beer brewers over the existing distribution system, which prevents craft beer brewers from selling directly to customers who visit their breweries.⁷⁷

Revenue is not yet reported.

Georgia Leads on Education (GLoE)

www.gaopportunity.org/ (defunct)⁷⁸

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Education

Tax status: 501(c)(3)

⁶⁸ James Salzer, "Deal's Committee Keeps Big-Money Inaugural Donors Secret," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Apr. 16, 2016, <http://www.myajc.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/deals-committee-keeps-big-money-inaugural-donors-s/nq6CG/>; "Deal Announces Staff Transitions," *Governor Nathan Deal, Office of the Governor*, May 1, 2015 <https://www.gov.georgia.gov/press-releases/2015-05-01/deal-announces-staff-transitions> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁶⁹ James Salzer, "Deal's Committee Keeps Big-Money Inaugural Donors Secret," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Apr. 16, 2016.

⁷⁰ Ty Tagami, "School Boards Rebel Against Proposed Takeover of Schools, Local Taxes," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Sept. 5, 2016, <http://www.ajc.com/news/local-education/school-boards-rebel-against-proposed-takeover-schools-local-taxes/4E2cjGBY9z0wNhyXnnNs2K/>.

⁷¹ Salzer, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Jun. 24, 2016.

⁷² Tamar Hallerman, "The Battle Over Nathan Deal's School Takeover Plan is About to Heat Up," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Jun. 28, 2016, <http://www.politics.blog.ajc.com/2016/06/28/the-battle-over-nathan-deals-school-takeover-plan-is-about-to-heat-up/>.

⁷³ James Salzer, "Hospitals, Beer Distributors Give to Deal Funds That Shield Donors," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Jun. 24, 2016.

⁷⁴ "Georgia Authorization of the State Government to Intervene in Failing Local Schools, Amendment 1 (2016)," *Ballotpedia*, [https://www.ballotpedia.org/Georgia_Authorization_of_the_State_Government_to_Intervene_in_Failing_Local_Schools_Amendment_1_\(2016\)](https://www.ballotpedia.org/Georgia_Authorization_of_the_State_Government_to_Intervene_in_Failing_Local_Schools_Amendment_1_(2016)) (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁷⁵ "Business Search: Georgia First, Inc.," *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State* (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁷⁶ Salzer, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Jun. 24, 2016.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ "GA Leads | In Development," *Georgia Leads on Education* (stored on Wayback Machine), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160802005927/http://gaopportunity.org/> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

Active: May 21, 2015 - present⁷⁹

Stated mission: GLoE focused specifically on the 2016 Opportunity School District ballot amendment.⁸⁰

Ties to the governor: The organization's CEO is Benjamin Keane as of November 9, 2017, who served as co-counsel for Gov. Deal and his gubernatorial campaign committee.⁸¹

Activities: While not much is known about the nonprofit, it allegedly planned to promote the governor's proposed constitutional amendment that would allow the state to take over failing schools.⁸² The plan narrowly passed both chambers and was placed on the ballot in November.⁸³ The measure ultimately failed.⁸⁴

Donor disclosure and revenue: GLoE does not disclose its donors. Revenue is not yet reported.

⁷⁹ "Business Search: Georgia Leads on Education, Inc.," *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=2064972> (Accessed January 24, 2018); "Business Search: Georgia First, Inc.," *State of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://ecorp.sos.ga.gov/BusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=2031382> (Accessed January 24, 2018)

⁸⁰ "GA Leads | In Development," *Georgia Leads on Education* (stored on Wayback Machine).

⁸¹ "Business Search: Georgia Leads on Education, Inc.," *Georgia Secretary of State, Georgia Corporations Division*, accessed Jan. 24, 2018; "Benjamin P. Keane", *Dentons.com*, <https://www.dentons.com/en/ben-keane> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁸² "GA Leads | In Development," *Georgia Leads on Education* (stored on Wayback Machine). Because GLoE is 501c3 educational organization, it should be limited in the amount of activity it can undertake to support a ballot initiative.

⁸³ Tamar Hallerman, "The Battle Over Nathan Deal's School Takeover Plan is About to Heat Up," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Jun. 28, 2016, <http://www.politics.blogajc.com/2016/06/28/the-battle-over-nathan-deals-school-takeover-plan-is-about-to-heat-up/>

⁸⁴ "Georgia Authorization of the State Government to Intervene in Failing Local Schools, Amendment 1 (2016)," *Ballotpedia*, [https://www.ballotpedia.org/Georgia_Authorization_of_the_State_Government_to_Intervene_in_Failing_Local_Schools_Amendment_1_\(2016\)](https://www.ballotpedia.org/Georgia_Authorization_of_the_State_Government_to_Intervene_in_Failing_Local_Schools_Amendment_1_(2016)) (Accessed January 24, 2018).

Idaho: Governor C.L. “Butch” Otter

Republican

Assumed office January 1, 2007

Currently serving third term, which will end January 2019; no term limit

Education Voters of Idaho, Inc. (EVI)⁸⁵

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Education

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: Aug. 16, 2012 – Dec. 20, 2013⁸⁶

Stated mission: “To serve as an information resource for questions about education reform issues and legislation in Idaho and to promote education reform through lobbying and general advocacy.”⁸⁷

Ties to the governor: Debbie Field, Gov. Otter’s campaign manager, was on EVI’s founding board of directors.⁸⁸ Gov. Otter and his wife solicited donations for EVI, including \$200,000 from former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg.⁸⁹

Activities: The Students Come First reform package was passed by the Idaho Legislature in 2011.⁹⁰ Spearheaded by Idaho Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Luna, reforms included new limits to the collective bargaining rights of Idaho teachers, performance-based merit pay, and a phasing out of the tenure system.⁹¹

The package was quickly challenged, with opponents gathering enough signatures to put the Students Come First initiatives on the November 2012 ballot, essentially turning the already passed legislation into a referendum question.⁹² Because the Students Come First package was passed through a series of three bills, the ballot had three propositions — Propositions 1-3 — that, if rejected, would have struck down the package in its entirety.⁹³

⁸⁵ EVI also did business as Engage Idaho.

⁸⁶ “Viewing Business Entity: Education Voters of Idaho, Inc.” *Idaho, Office of the Secretary of State*. <https://www.accessidaho.org/public/sos/corp/C195682.html> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁸⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Education Voters of Idaho DBA Engage Idaho” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/460/460819178/460819178_201312_990EO.pdf (2013).

⁸⁸ “Nonprofit must disclose donors to campaign ads, Idaho judge rules,” *Associated Press*, Oct. 28, 2012. http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2012/10/nonprofit_must_disclose_donors.html; U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Education Voters of Idaho DBA Engage Idaho” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/460/460819178/460819178_201212_990O.pdf (2012).

⁸⁹ Betsy Z. Russell, “NY mayor among secret donors to Idaho school campaign,” *The Spokesman-Review*, Oct. 31, 2012. <http://www.spokesman.com/stories/2012/oct/31/ny-mayor-among-secret-donors-idaho-school-campaign/>.

⁹⁰ “Idaho Voters Resoundingly Reject Propositions 1,2 And 3,” *State Impact, Idaho: Bringing the Economy Home*. <https://www.stateimpact.npr.org/idaho/tag/propositions-1-2-3/> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

⁹¹ Stateline, “Idaho Education Changes Under Attack,” *Governing*, Oct. 30, 2012. <http://www.governing.com/news/state/Idaho-Education-Changes-Under-Attack.html>; “Idaho Voters Resoundingly Reject Propositions 1,2 And 3.”

⁹² Stateline, “Idaho Education Changes Under Attack,” Tammy Scardino, “Idaho Education Propositions 1, 2 & 3 to Appear on the Ballot Nov. 6,” *Idaho State Journal*, Oct. 27, 2012. http://www.idahostatejournal.com/members/idaho-education-propositions-to-appear-on-the-ballot-nov/article_16975ff2-209c-11e2-a7fc-001a4bcf887a.html.

⁹³ “Idaho Voters Resoundingly Reject Propositions 1,2 And 3.”

EVI spent over \$600,000 in campaign ads and other political activity supporting the package.⁹⁴ In its financial statements, the group lists the expenditures as “survey of public opinion, promotion of education reform proposals on state ballot, dissemination of information to the public detailing the issues and financial support to like-focused organizations.”⁹⁵ EVI gave \$400,350 of that \$600,000 to Parents for Education Reform (PER), which in turn spent at least a portion of the money to pay for a television ad supporting the laws.⁹⁶ EVI and PER share both addresses and leaders.⁹⁷ EVI also spent \$126,169 on “voter programs.”⁹⁸

The Students Come First package was struck down after all three ballot measures resoundingly failed by margins of 14% to 34%.⁹⁹

Donor disclosure and revenue: EVI was established as a 501(c)(4), which would allow it to keep its donors secret; however, the group was forced to disclose its contributors in October 2012.¹⁰⁰ Secretary of State Ben Ysursa filed suit against EVI, arguing that voters would “suffer irreparable harm if they [couldn’t] find out who put up the money for the ads.” The judge, citing Idaho’s Sunshine initiative, agreed that EVI was a political committee under state law, with an obligation to publicly disclose its donors.¹⁰¹

EVI collected more than \$641,000 in donations. The two largest donors were Albertson’s supermarket heir Joseph B. Scott and Michael Bloomberg, who at the time was serving his third term as mayor of New York City. Scott, whose foundation ran newspaper ads promoting the original Students Come First reform plan in 2011, donated \$250,000. Bloomberg donated \$200,000.¹⁰²

Other donors included the Republican Governors Public Policy Committee, which donated \$50,000, and Wyoming’s Foster Friess, the financier of Rick Santorum’s super PAC, who donated \$25,000. Oregon’s John D. Bryan, a top funder of conservative nonprofit the Club for Growth, Intermountain Gas Co., Idaho Forest Group, M3 Eagle LLC, and Clear Springs Foods of Buhl each gave \$10,000. Out of 25 donors, ten were from out-of-state. Their total donations of \$320,000 nearly matched the in-state donations of \$321,000. Out of the 25 donors, 12 were organizations or businesses.¹⁰³

⁹⁴ Fredreka Schouten, “States push political groups to reveal secret donors,” *USA Today*, Jan. 30, 2013.

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2013/01/30/secret-political-donations-state-crackdowns/1877003/>.

⁹⁵ “Form 990: Education Voters of Idaho DBA Engage Idaho” (2012).

⁹⁶ Ben Wieder, “Idaho Education Changes Under Attack,” *Huffington Post*, Nov. 2, 2012.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/02/idaho-education-changes-u_n_2064624.html; Idaho Secretary of State, “Campaign Financial Disclosure Report Summary Page: Parents for Education Reform / Debbie Field,” <https://sos.idaho.gov/ELECT/Finance/2012/PostGeneral/PAC/ParentsForEducationReform.pdf> (December 6, 2012); “Idaho secretary of state sues education reform group for donor info,” *Associated Press*, Oct. 22, 2012. http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2012/10/idaho_secretary_of_state_sues.html.

⁹⁷ “Idaho secretary of state seeks donor information from education reform group,” *Associated Press*, Oct. 22, 2012.

http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2012/10/idaho_secretary_of_state_seeks.html.

⁹⁸ “Form 990: Education Voters of Idaho DBA Engage Idaho” (2012).

⁹⁹ Emilie Ritter Saunders, “Map: Voters Overturn Luna’s Education Laws, Reject Propositions 1, 2 And 3,” *State Impact, Idaho: Bringing the Economy Home*, Nov. 7, 2012. <https://www.stateimpactnpr.org/idaho/maps/map-voters-overturn-lunas-education-laws-reject-propositions-1-2-and-3/>.

¹⁰⁰ “Nonprofit must disclose donors to campaign ads, Idaho judge rules.”

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Russell, “NY mayor among secret donors to Idaho school campaign.”

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Illinois: Governor Bruce Rauner

Republican

Assumed office January 12, 2015

Currently serving first term, which will end January 2019; no term limit

Turnaround Illinois, Inc. (TI)

www.fixillinois.com (defunct)¹⁰⁴

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: April 24, 2015 - March 17, 2016¹⁰⁵

Stated mission: “Advancing social welfare by promoting policies, ideas, and/or legislation to address major problems burdening Illinois and stifling economic growth and freedom; conducting other lawful activities.”

Ties to the governor: The *Chicago Tribune* billed TI as “an organization controlled by Gov. Bruce Rauner.”¹⁰⁶ In its 2015 tax return, TI listed Gov. Rauner as its “controlling principal” and Citizens for Rauner, Gov. Rauner’s candidate political committee, as a related organization.¹⁰⁷

Activities: TI bought extensive ad time to promote a constitutional amendment to create term limits. As of August 2016, the nonprofit had booked over \$1 million “in broadcast, satellite and cable TV ads.”¹⁰⁸ Gov. Rauner appears at the end of the advertisement TI ran, informing watchers that they should sign a petition for term limits.¹⁰⁹

The *Chicago Tribune* opined that the issue was “pretty much solely political and more than a bit phony.”¹¹⁰ Since Gov. Rauner’s own popularity was flagging at the time of TI’s ad campaign, the *Tribune* speculated that pushing for term limits could be a safe way for Gov. Rauner to boost his polling numbers in advance of his 2018 reelection campaign.¹¹¹ The Illinois Senate passed term limits for its legislators on January 11, 2017.¹¹² In the months after the vote, the TI website was repurposed to promote the “Rauner Balanced Budget Plan,”

¹⁰⁴ “Fix Illinois.” *Fix Illinois* (stored on Wayback Machine) <https://web.archive.org/web/20171015021553/https://fixillinois.com/> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

¹⁰⁵ The last date that Turnaround Illinois filed paperwork was March 16, 2016; however, the website [fixillinois.com](http://www.fixillinois.com) remained active until at least October 2017 (<https://www.web.archive.org/web/20171015021553/https://fixillinois.com/>). The group’s status is now listed as dissolved. See DC.gov, Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs Business Filings Search, “Turnaround Illinois, Inc. - Initial File Number: N00005185366,” <https://www.corponline.dcradc.gov/BizEntity.aspx/ViewEntityData?entityId=4153298> (Accessed September 6, 2017).

¹⁰⁶ Rich Miller, “Rauner looks to improve poll numbers with term limits media blitz,” *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 17, 2016, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/suburbs/daily-southtown/opinion/ct-sta-miller-term-limits-st-0818-20160817-story.html>.

¹⁰⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Turnaround Illinois, Inc.” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473791368/473791368_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

¹⁰⁸ Miller, “Rauner looks to improve poll numbers with term limits media blitz.”

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Austin Berg, “Illinois Senate Passes Term Limits for Legislative Leaders,” *Illinois Policy*, Jan. 13, 2017, <https://www.illinoispolicy.org/illinois-senate-passes-term-limits-for-legislative-leaders/>.

and included an ad featuring Gov. Rauner himself. The website was shut down sometime after October 2017.¹¹³

Other information: TI's 2015 tax return lists two independent contractors, Target Enterprises and C5 Creative Consulting, associated with former Republican Governors Association Executive Director Nick Ayers that were also paid by Gov. Rauner's 2015 campaign.¹¹⁴ Ayers simultaneously worked with dark money groups that funded attacks against Gov. Rauner's opponents.¹¹⁵ CREW later filed complaints against those dark money groups for breaking campaign finance spending laws.¹¹⁶ Ayers is currently chief of staff to Vice President Mike Pence.¹¹⁷

Donor disclosure and revenue: TI does not publicly disclose its donors. It received \$1 million from the Republican Governors Public Policy Committee.¹¹⁸ It reported \$2.5 million in revenue in 2015.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ "Fix Illinois." *Fix Illinois* (stored on Wayback Machine) <https://web.archive.org/web/20171015021553/https://fixillinois.com/> (Accessed January 23, 2018); Fix Illinois, "Fix Illinois | Real Reform," *YouTube*, Mar. 28, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3lDY7M3gr4Q> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

¹¹⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Turnaround Illinois, Inc." http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473791368/473791368_201512_990O.pdf (2015)

¹¹⁵ Russ Choma, "One GOP Consultant, Two Campaigns and a Snarl of Outside Groups," *OpenSecrets.org*, Jul. 28, 2014. <https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2014/07/one-gop-consultant-two-campaigns-and-a-snarl-of-outside-groups>

¹¹⁶ "CREW Holds 10 Dark Money Groups Accountable," *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington*. <https://www.citizensforethics.org/dark-money-uncovered/> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

¹¹⁷ Elizabeth Landers, "Pence replaces his chief of staff," *CNN*, Jun. 29, 2017. <http://www.cnn.com/2017/06/29/politics/mike-pence-chief-of-staff-replacement/index.html>

¹¹⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Republican Governors Public Policy Committee." http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/200/200309803/200309803_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

¹¹⁹ "Form 990: Turnaround Illinois, Inc." (2015).

Indiana: Governor Eric Holcomb

Republican

Assumed office January 9, 2017

Currently serving first term, which will end January 2021; two consecutive term limit

Imagine Indiana, Inc. (II)

www.nextlevelindiana.com (defunct)¹²⁰

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Inauguration

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: November 9, 2016 – present¹²¹

Stated mission: II was “formed to manage [Gov. Holcomb’s] transition and inaugural activities.”¹²²

Ties to the governor: II was formed by William W. Barrett, who donated \$5,400 to Gov. Holcomb’s campaign.¹²³ As of November 9, 2016, its directors include Kyle Hupfer, a “trusted longtime friend of [Gov.] Holcomb” and co-chair of Gov. Holcomb’s transition board who Gov. Holcomb also nominated as Indiana Republican Party chief;¹²⁴ Earl Goode, Gov. Holcomb’s chief of staff;¹²⁵ and Jeff Knight, who also served on Gov. Holcomb’s transition board.¹²⁶

Activities: II, formerly known as Next Level Indiana, Inc., was created the day after Gov. Holcomb won the 2016 gubernatorial race.¹²⁷ Taking Indiana to the “next level” is a catchphrase for Gov. Holcomb; it was a repeated theme of his first State of the State address, where he also announced the creation of the Next Level Indiana Fund.¹²⁸ In April 2017, II retweeted a Twitter ad from American Policy Coalition, a nonprofit

¹²⁰ “Thank You For Your Vote,” *Next Level Indiana* (Stored on Wayback Machine), https://www.web.archive.org/web/*/nextlevelindiana.com (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²¹ State of Indiana Filing History Details (Corporations), “Business Details: Imagine Indiana, Inc.,” *State of Indiana, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://bsd.sos.in.gov/PublicBusinessSearch/BusinessInformation?businessId=1166214&isSeries=False> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²² Niki Kelly, “New governor announces transition team,” *The Journal Gazette (Indiana)*, Nov. 9, 2016, <http://www.journalgazette.net/news/local/indiana/New-governor-announces-transition-team-16236910> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²³ *Ibid.*, “Business Details: Imagine Indiana, Inc.”; Report of Receipts and Disbursements, “Authorized Committee: Eric Holcomb of Indiana,” Federal Election Commission, <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/105/15020151105/15020151105.pdf> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²⁴ Niki Kelly, “Holcomb makes pick for state’s GOP chief,” *The Journal Gazette (Indiana)*, Dec. 12, 2016, <http://www.journalgazette.net/news/local/indiana/Holcomb-makes-pick-for-state-s-GOP-chief-16801454> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²⁵ Brittany Lewis, “Governor-elect Holcomb announces Earl Goode as chief of staff,” *WISH-TV*, Nov. 21, 2016, <http://www.wishtv.com/2016/11/21/governor-elect-holcomb-to-announce-chief-of-staff-transition-board-expansion/> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²⁶ Tony Cook, “Holcomb turns to former Daniels officials for transition team,” *The Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 9, 2016, <http://www.indystar.com/story/news/politics/2016/11/09/holcomb-turns-former-daniels-officials-transition-team/93538888/> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²⁷ “Certificate of Amendment: Next Level Indiana, Inc.” *State of Indiana, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://bsd.sos.in.gov/PublicBusinessSearch/GetBOSFilingDocuments?FilingNo=7644385&BusinessID=1166214> (Accessed February 7, 2018); Laura King, “Republican Eric Holcomb wins governor’s race in Indiana,” *The Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 8, 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/trailguide/la-na-election-day-2016-republican-eric-holcomb-wins-governor-s-1478658217-htmlstory.html> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹²⁸ Schneider and Lange, “Holcomb: Indiana will act with ‘boldness and courage,’” *The Indianapolis Star*, Jan. 17, 2017, <http://www.indystar.com/story/news/politics/2017/01/17/holcomb-indiana-act-boldness-and-courage/96674282/> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

previously associated with Missouri Governor Eric Greitens, advocating for Gov. Holcomb’s infrastructure plan.¹²⁹

II changed its name to Imagine Indiana, Inc. on July 11, 2017.¹³⁰

Donor disclosure and revenue: II has not disclosed its donors. Its revenue has not yet been reported to the IRS.

¹²⁹ Niki Kelly, “Nonprofit backs roads plan,” *The Journal Gazette (Indiana)*, Apr. 19, 2017, <http://www.journalgazette.net/news/local/indiana/20170419/nonprofit-backs-roads-plan> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹³⁰ “Certificate of Amendment: Next Level Indiana, Inc.” State of Indiana, Office of the Secretary of State.

Kansas: Governor Sam Brownback

Republican

Assumed office January 10, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two consecutive term limit

Road Map Solutions, Inc. (RMS)

No public website

Type of group: Dark money/Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda, elections

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: December 6, 2011 - present¹³¹

Stated mission: “Research public policy and public attitudes and report to the public the advancements made toward Kansas Governor Sam Brownback’s Road Map for Kansas.”¹³²

Ties to the governor: David Kensinger, the group’s president as of RMS’ 2016 tax filings, left his position as Gov. Brownback’s chief of staff to oversee RMS.¹³³ Trella Anderson, the group’s director as of RMS’s 2016 tax filings, was Gov. Brownback’s treasurer during his campaign; her husband, T.C. Anderson, is also listed as a director in RMS’ 2016 tax filings and is the treasurer of the Kansas GOP.¹³⁴

Activities: RMS was named for the policy “road map” platform Gov. Brownback ran on in 2010.¹³⁵ The Road Map PAC, which T.C. Anderson also runs, is Gov. Brownback’s personal leadership committee.¹³⁶ RMS bought \$82,000 worth of airtime in 2014 during Gov. Brownback’s re-election campaign, using the ads to “emphasize economic growth in Kansas” and Gov. Brownback’s “policy proposals for education.”¹³⁷ RMS ran an ad praising Gov. Brownback for a new school finance bill after it cleared the legislature with only Republicans voting in approval.¹³⁸

Other information: The nonprofit’s chairman has been implicated in a federal investigation involving Gov. Brownback’s office and accusations of influence peddling. In 2014, Parallel Strategies, a lobbying firm co-founded by RMS chairman David Kensinger, was the subject of an inquiry by the FBI that also implicated

¹³¹ “Business Entity Search: Road Map Solutions, Inc.” *State of Kansas, Office of the Secretary of State*. <https://www.kansas.gov/bess/flow/main?execution=e1s5> (Accessed February 9, 2018)

¹³² U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. “Form 990: Road Map Solutions Inc.” <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2014/453/954/2014-453954108-0bc44ef7-9O.pdf> (2014).

¹³³ Jonathan Shorman, “Inner circle: Longtime associates and opposing personalities tasked with carrying out Brownback’s will,” *The Topeka Capital-Journal*, Oct. 11, 2015. <http://www.mcnline.com/news/2015-10-11/inner-circle-longtime-associates-and-opposing-personalities-tasked-carrying-out#gsc.tab=0>.

¹³⁴ Jonathan Shorman, “Company owned by Republican Party treasurer and Brownback campaign treasurer goes into delinquency,” *The Topeka Capital-Journal*, Jun. 5, 2015. <http://www.mcnline.com/news/2015-06-05/company-owned-republican-party-treasurer-and-brownback-campaign-treasurer-goes>; “Party Officers.” *Kansas GOP*. <https://www.kansas.gop/party-officers> (Accessed January 22, 2018).

¹³⁵ Alexander Burns, “Brownback TV ads to air,” *Politico*, Mar. 18, 2014. <http://www.politico.com/story/2014/03/sam-brownback-tv-ads-kansas-senate-election-2014-104754>.

¹³⁶ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. “Form 8871: Road Map PAC.” <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171347/KANSAS-BROWNBACK-Ft-134-IRS-8871-Road-Map-PAC.pdf> (2011); Dion Lefler, “Koch, Kansas Chamber and Brownback lead last-minute election spends,” *The Wichita Eagle*, Jul. 29, 2016. <http://www.kansas.com/news/politics-government/election/article92680027.html>

¹³⁷ Burns, “Brownback TV ads to air.”

¹³⁸ Scott Rothschild, “In new ad, group backing Brownback praises governor for school bill but doesn’t mention repeal of teacher tenure,” *Lawrence Journal-World*, Apr. 14, 2014. <http://www2.ljworld.com/weblogs/capitol-report/2014/apr/14/in-new-ad-group-backing-brownback-praise/>.

Gov. Brownback's office. A *Topeka Capital-Journal* article covering the inquiry noted that "[q]uestions center on whether Brownback representatives pressured companies or organizations to hire specific lobbying firms or whether entities that showed inadequate deference were targeted for political or financial punishment."¹³⁹ The outcome of the investigation has yet to be reported.

Donor disclosure and revenue: RMS does not publicly disclose its donors. RMS reported a total revenue of \$115,780 in 2016.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Tim Carpenter, "Sources: FBI examines lobbying by Brownback loyalists," *The Topeka Capital-Journal*, Apr. 26, 2014, <http://www.mcnline.com/news/2014-04-26/sources-fbi-examines-lobbying-brownback-loyalists#gsc.tab=0>

¹⁴⁰ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. "Form 990: Road Map Solutions Inc." http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/453/453954108/453954108_201612_990EO.pdf (2016).

Louisiana: Governor John Bel Edwards

Democrat

Assumed office January 11, 2016

Currently serving first term, which will end January 2020; two consecutive term limit

Rebuild Louisiana

www.rebuildlouisiana.com

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Budget

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: February 16, 2016 – present¹⁴¹

Stated mission: “Tell the legislature to work with the Governor to find responsible solutions that combine reasonable cuts with the new revenue necessary to save higher education, critical healthcare services, and TOPS.”¹⁴²

Ties to the governor: Mary Olive Pierson, director of Rebuild Louisiana as of February 2, 2017, represented Gov. Edwards in a case that reviewed his gubernatorial authority in passing an executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity.¹⁴³ Renee Lapeyrolerie, another director of Rebuild Louisiana as of February 2, 2017, was selected by then Governor-elect Edwards to serve on the newly-formed Higher Education Transition Committee in 2015.¹⁴⁴ Gov. Edwards spoke at a fundraiser for Rebuild Louisiana in May 2016, which was attended by supporters of his gubernatorial campaign; his press secretary said that “[t]he governor was there to offer his support for the organization and their goals.”¹⁴⁵ Rebuild Louisiana’s television ads were created by Jared Arsement, who also created Gov. Edwards’ videos during his gubernatorial campaign.¹⁴⁶ Gov. Edwards also appeared in an ad the group released supporting his budget plan, which was retweeted by his spokesman.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Search for Louisiana Business Filings, “Commercial Division File: Rebuild Louisiana” State of Louisiana, Office of the Secretary of State, http://www.coraweb.sos.la.gov/commercialsearch/CommercialSearchDetails.aspx?CharterID=1177668_53EDA371A1 (Accessed February 5, 2018).

¹⁴² “Our Mission | Rebuild Louisiana.” *Rebuild Louisiana*. <https://www.rebuildlouisiana.com/mission/>

¹⁴³ Search for Louisiana Business Filings, “Commercial Division File: Rebuild Louisiana,” Will Sentell, “Attorneys for Gov. John Bel Edwards, Attorney General Jeff Landry argue over authority on LGBT protections,” *The Advocate*, Nov. 29, 2016, http://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/politics/article_3004d62e-b5b0-11e6-9f2b-3f9e314793b9.html (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., “Commercial Division File: Rebuild Louisiana”; “Governor-Elect Edwards Announces Formation of Higher Education Transition Committee,” Office of the Governor (Louisiana), <http://gov.louisiana.gov/news/governorelect-edwards-announces-formation-of-higher-education-transition-committee> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹⁴⁵ Tyler Bridges, “Group raises money to support Gov. John Bel Edwards legislative agenda,” *The Advocate*, Jul. 5, 2016, http://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/politics/legislature/article_ad64ed2f-82f6-5a77-869b-b6d7ffd7f76d.html.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., “Group raises money”

¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Crisp, “Gov. John Bel Edwards releases 30-second ad to try to woo support for his budget, tax plan,” *The Advocate*, Apr. 21, 2017. http://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/politics/legislature/article_02dd7c3a-26dc-11e7-bbc4-7765ba8915d1.html

Activities: Rebuild Louisiana ran a TV ad praising Medicaid expansion in Louisiana, a policy enacted by Gov. Edwards. The group also sent mail fliers and paid for robocalls as well as a digital ad campaign to influence lawmakers on budget and tax issues during the second special session of the state legislature in 2016.¹⁴⁸

In January 2017, Gov. Edwards was featured in a Rebuild Louisiana online ad, listing major accomplishments during his first year in office. Among other state issues, Gov. Edwards touted stabilizing the budget, securing federal funding for flood damages, and the benefits of Medicare expansion.¹⁴⁹ In April 2017, Gov. Edwards again partnered with Rebuild Louisiana to air a TV and digital ad supporting his budget plan.¹⁵⁰

Donor disclosure and revenue: Rebuild Louisiana does not disclose its donors. However, *The Advocate* interviewed attendees of the organization's May 2016 fundraiser, several of whom went on the record as having donated to the nonprofit. Some of the notable donors who attended the event were lobbyists, including Pete Martinez of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America; Bud Courson and Jim Nickel, who represent a broad roster of clients including AT&T and the Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana; Alton Ashy, representing the video poker industry; and trial attorneys Ravi Sangisetty and Dan Foley.¹⁵¹

Its 2016 revenue has not yet been reported to the IRS. The attendees of the May 2016 fundraising event donated at least \$5,000 apiece.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Jeremy Alford, "Media Campaigns Target Lawmakers," *LA Politics*, Jun. 13, 2016 <https://www.lapolitics.com/2016/06/media-campaigns-target-lawmakers/> (Accessed February 5, 2018); Rebuild Louisiana, "Medicaid Expansion is Here Louisiana!" *Youtube*, Jun. 1, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fn1Q0iimbk0> (Accessed February 6, 2018)

¹⁴⁹ Rebuild Louisiana, "Rebuild LA - Gov. John Bel Edwards - Year One," *Youtube*, Jan. 11, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0cVkJpggikUY> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹⁵⁰ Elizabeth Crisp, "Gov. John Bel Edwards releases 30-second ad to try to woo support for his budget, tax plan," *The Advocate*, Apr. 21, 2017 http://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/politics/legislature/article_02dd7c3a-26dc-11e7-bbc4-7765ba8915d1.html (Accessed February 05, 2018)

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, "Group raises money"

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, et al

Maine: Governor Paul LePage

Republican

Assumed office January 1, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two consecutive term limit

Maine People Before Politics (MPBP)

www.mainepeoplebeforepolitics.com

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Transition, budget

Tax status: 501(c)(6)¹⁵³

Active: November 9, 2010 – present¹⁵⁴

Stated mission: “To ensure the people of Maine are informed about issues related to their government’s priorities”¹⁵⁵

Ties to the governor: MPBP was originally known as LePage Transition 2010.¹⁵⁶ Jason Savage, a LePage campaign staffer, was MPBP’s director; he has since left the group to become the executive director of the Maine Republican Party.¹⁵⁷ Lauren LePage, Gov. LePage’s daughter, was the executive director of MPBP from January 2015 to June 2017.¹⁵⁸

Activities: MPBP was originally Gov. LePage’s 2010 transition fund. Its name was changed from LePage Transition 2010 to Maine People Before Politics in 2011.¹⁵⁹

After its rebranding, MPBP launched a series of ad campaigns to support various components of Gov. LePage’s platform. In April 2012, the group aired an ad criticizing Gov. LePage’s predecessor and expressing support for Gov. LePage’s plan to repay the \$484 million debt the state of Maine owed its hospitals. The group also created a companion online petition.¹⁶⁰ The debt was successfully paid off in September 2013.¹⁶¹ In June 2013, MBPB launched a television ad campaign to pressure lawmakers to oppose tax increases. After

¹⁵³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Maine People Before Politics” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/273/273923887/273923887_201510_990O.pdf (2014);

While MPBP is registered as a 501(c)(6), by all appearances and actions MPBP acts as a 501(c)4. It is not a trade association and does not have a dues-paying membership.

¹⁵⁴ Search Corporate Names, “Information Summary: Maine People Before Politics” *State of Maine, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://icrs.informe.org/nei-sos-icrs/ICRS?CorpSumm=20110200ND> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Mike Tipping, “LePage’s Dark Money Political Operation,” *The Tipping Point: Bangor Daily News*, Apr. 04, 2013, <http://www.thetippingpoint.bangordailynews.com/2013/04/04/state-politics/lepage-dark-money/> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., “LePage’s Dark Money”

¹⁵⁸ “#Gen207 Releases Inaugural ‘40 Under 40’ Award List,” *News and Notes: Maine GOP*, <http://www.mainegop.com/news/gen207-releases-inaugural-40-under-40-award-list>; Steve Mistler, “Political group’s calls try to pressure Republicans who support budget deal,” *The Portland Press Herald (Maine)*, Jun. 13, 2015 <http://www.pressherald.com/2015/06/02/lepage-political-machine-targeting-republican-senators-for-budget-deal/>; Bill Hoffmann, “Trump Hires Maine Gov. Paul LePage’s Daughter,” *Newsmax*, Aug 24, 2016, <http://www.newsmax.com/Politics/lauren-lepage-trump-hires-campaign/2016/08/24/id/744999/>; “Lauren LePage | LinkedIn,” *LinkedIn*, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/lauren-lepage-276552130/> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

¹⁵⁹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Maine People Before Politics” <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171355/LEPAGE-MAINE-Ft-157-IRS-MPBP-990-2011.pdf> (2011)

¹⁶⁰ Matthew Stone and Seth Koenig, “LePage supporters launch ad opposing budget deal,” *Bangor Daily News*, Jun. 10, 2013, <http://www.bangordailynews.com/2013/06/10/politics/state-house/lepage-supporters-launch-ad-opposing-budget-deal/>

¹⁶¹ Alanna Durkin, “Maine pays off \$500M debt owed to hospitals,” *Modern Healthcare (AP)*, Sept. 18, 2013, <http://www.modernhealthcare.com/article/20130918/INFO/309189984>

Gov. LePage threatened to veto the budget deal in his weekly radio message, MPBP purchased \$14,000 in advertising in Portland and Bangor; it was estimated that the statewide ad buy was worth \$30,000 - \$35,000.¹⁶² In June 2015, the group paid for a series of robocalls featuring Gov. LePage's daughter, Lauren LePage, criticizing Republican senators for their support of a bipartisan budget.¹⁶³

Donor disclosure and revenue: While Gov. LePage initially disclosed contributors to the LePage Transition 2010 fund — though not the amounts they gave — MPBP has not disclosed any donors since then.¹⁶⁴

Donors to the LePage Transition 2010 fund were almost all corporations and lobbyists. LogistiCare Solutions, LLC, a Georgia-based medical transportation company that did not have business in Maine before Gov. LePage took office donated to the fund; they have since won a \$50 million contract to provide non-emergency transportation to Medicaid patients.¹⁶⁵ Another contributor was Mallinckrodt, a company with a vested interest in preventing chemical cleanup: Mallinckrodt is the former owner of a plant responsible for dumping mercury and other chemicals into Maine's Penobscot River. The business is now under court mandated orders to clean the river.¹⁶⁶

MPBP reported revenue of \$1,167 in its 2016 tax return.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Ibid., "LePage supporters launch ad"

¹⁶³ Ibid., "Political group's calls"

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., "LePage supporters launch ad;" Mike Tipping, "Mike Tipping: 'Yes' on statewide Question 1 would clean up a dark, off-the-books corner of Maine politics," *The Portland Press Herald*, Oct. 31, 2018, <http://www.pressherald.com/2015/10/31/mike-tipping-question-1-yes-would-clean-up-a-dark-off-the-books-corner-of-maine-politics/>

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., "Mike Tipping: 'Yes' on"

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., et al

¹⁶⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Maine People Before Politics" http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/273/273923887/273923887_201610_990O.pdf (2016)

Michigan: Governor Rick Snyder

Republican

Assumed office January 1, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two term limit

Celebrating the Power of Michigan, Inc. (CPM)

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Inauguration, overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: November 17, 2010 – present¹⁶⁸

Stated mission: “To promote the social welfare in the state of Michigan, including engaging in activities to educate the public and elected leaders in the state of Michigan, and activities necessary for the preparation of the governor-elect of the state of Michigan to prepare for and assume the office of governor.”¹⁶⁹

Ties to the governor: Originally established to fund Gov. Snyder’s inauguration. Rich Baird, the president/director of CPM, has worked for Gov. Snyder as a top aide since 2011. Originally paid by the New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund, another nonprofit with ties to Gov. Snyder, Baird was added to the state payroll in 2013.¹⁷⁰ Linda Gobler, CPM’s secretary/director, was appointed to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission by Gov. Snyder.¹⁷¹ Patricia Mooradian, secretary/director through October 31, 2012, was appointed to the Central Michigan University Board of Trustees by Gov. Snyder.¹⁷²

Activities: CPM was initially created to fund Gov. Snyder’s inauguration gala.¹⁷³ After the inaugural events, however, a large portion of the money was funneled to other nonprofits linked to supporting Gov. Snyder’s policy agenda and funding his office. For the 2011 event, CPM raised \$1.4 million and spent \$301,667 on the inauguration itself; another \$900,000 went to New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify (NERD), another nonprofit established by Gov. Snyder.¹⁷⁴ For the 2015 event, CPM raised about \$837,000 and spent \$480,000

¹⁶⁸ Search Summary State of Michigan Corporations Division “Summary for: Celebrating the Power of Michigan, Inc.” *Michigan, Office of the Secretary of State*.
https://cofs.lara.state.mi.us/CorpWeb/CorpSearch/CorpSummary.aspx?ID=800928607&SEARCH_TYPE=1 (Accessed February 9, 2018).

¹⁶⁹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Celebrating the Power of Michigan”
<https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171408/SNYDER-MICHIGAN-Ft-167-IRS-CPM-990-20101.pdf> (2010).

¹⁷⁰ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Celebrating the Power of Michigan”
http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/273/273955283/273955283_201610_990EO.pdf (2015); Jonathan Oosting, “Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder moves top aide Rich Baird onto state payroll, off NERD Fund,” Oct. 18, 2013, *Mlive*,
http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2013/10/michigan_gov_rick_snyder_moves.html. Baird was still a top aide of Gov. Snyder’s as of Feb. 2017; see Ron Fonger, “Snyder advisor believes \$20M in past Flint water loans will be forgiven,” *Mlive*, Feb. 24, 2017.
http://www.mlive.com/news/flint/index.ssf/2017/02/key_advisor_to_gov_snyder_beli.html

¹⁷¹ “Appointment made to Michigan Civil Rights Commission.” *Office of Governor Rick Snyder*. Accessed January 24, 2018.
<http://www.michigan.gov/snyder/0,4668,7-277-57577-306472--,00.html>.

¹⁷² Lindsay Knake, “Gov. Rick Snyder appoints Henry Ford museum president to Central Michigan Board of Trustees,” *MLive*, Aug. 7, 2013.
http://www.mlive.com/news/saginaw/index.ssf/2013/08/gov_rick_snyder_appoints_henry.html

¹⁷³ Lindsey Smith, “Gov. Snyder says non-profit fund, not state, will pay PR firm for help with Flint water crisis,” *Michigan Radio*, Jan. 26,
<http://www.michiganradio.org/post/gov-snyder-says-non-profit-fund-not-state-will-pay-pr-firm-help-flint-water-crisis>.

¹⁷⁴ “Governors’ inaugural celebration plans, by state,” *AP News*, Jan. 3, 2015.
<https://www.apnews.com/9002cf47478f40b3be37c7c6a983d8fb>; For 2011 inauguration spending, see “Form 990: Celebrating the Power of Michigan” (2010).

on the inauguration itself. Another \$350,000 went to Moving Michigan Forward (MMF), the nonprofit founded to replace NERD.¹⁷⁵ CPM was MMF's primary donor in 2015, donating 85% of its revenue for the year.¹⁷⁶

Donor disclosure and revenue: Donors were listed on the programs for both Gov. Snyder's 2011 and 2015 inaugurations, as well as on the now defunct inauguration websites.¹⁷⁷ Donors to the 2015 inauguration included the Amway Corporation, Anheuser-Busch Companies, Delta Air Lines, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, the Michigan Chamber of Commerce, Microsoft, and UnitedHealth Group.¹⁷⁸ Neither the programs nor the websites disclosed how much each donor contributed.¹⁷⁹

New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund (NERD)

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: February 4, 2011 – present¹⁸⁰

Stated mission: "To operate exclusively for the promotion of civic action and social welfare by promoting the common good and general welfare of the residents of, and visitors to the state of Michigan. To support public policies on the federal, state, and local levels, that will bring about civic betterments and social improvements to Michigan residents. To support programs aimed at improving Michigan's business climate and employment opportunities. To encourage and advocate citizen participation in political, civic and governmental events and associated activities. To support activities and programs that improve the quality and effectiveness of government for the state of Michigan. To promote charitable causes, including lessening the burdens of government in the state of Michigan. To receive and administer funds to sponsor, conduct research, secure goods and services, or to hold events in conjunction with the promotion of these purposes."¹⁸¹

Ties to the governor: Gov. Snyder established NERD with the stated aim of "lessening the financial burdens of government in the state of Michigan." The acronym "NERD" was a homage to Gov. Snyder's

¹⁷⁵ Paul Egan, "Snyder fund still collects cash from undisclosed donors," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 2015, <http://www.freep.com/story/news/politics/2015/09/26/snyder-fund-still-collects-cash-undisclosed-donors/72635408/>; CREW analysis of MMF's contributions.

¹⁷⁶ Paul Egan, "Anonymous donors boost Snyder's Flint relief efforts," *Detroit Free Press*, Apr. 28, 2016, <https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/flint-water-crisis/2016/04/28/snyder-flint-water-crisis-relief/83559268/>.

¹⁷⁷ Editorial Board, "Snyder's nonprofit still misses mark on transparency," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 2015, <http://www.freep.com/story/opinion/editorials/2015/09/28/snyder-dark-money/72972996/>.

¹⁷⁸ "2015 Inauguration Sponsors," *Michigan Inauguration 2015* (stored on Wayback Machine), <https://web.archive.org/web/20150930095310/http://michiganinauguration2015.com/> (Accessed Feb. 2, 2018). Gov. Snyder's 2011 inauguration website could not be located.

¹⁷⁹ Paul Egan, "Snyder fund still collects cash from undisclosed donors."

¹⁸⁰ Rick Pluta, "Governor Snyder shutting down controversial NERD fund," *Michigan Radio*, Oct. 21, 2013, <http://www.michiganradio.org/post/governor-snyder-shutting-down-controversial-nerd-fund#stream/0>; While NERD reportedly shut down in late 2013, it is still registered as active according to its corporate entity details on file in Michigan's Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, see Search Summary State of Michigan Corporations Division "Summary for: New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund" *Michigan, Office of the Secretary of State*, https://cofs.lara.state.mi.us/CorpWeb/CorpSearch/CorpSummary.aspx?ID=800929309&SEARCH_TYPE=1 (Accessed February 9, 2018).

¹⁸¹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund" <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171414/SNYDER-MICHIGAN-Ft-179-IRS-NERD-990-2011.pdf> (2011).

nickname, “one tough nerd.”¹⁸² David Nicholson, former vice chairperson of NERD, was appointed to the Wayne State University Board of Governors by Gov. Snyder.¹⁸³ Brad Canale, former secretary/treasurer, was appointed to the Michigan Natural Resources Trust Fund Board by Gov. Snyder.¹⁸⁴ Richard DiBartolomeo, former assistant secretary/treasurer in 2012, was Gov. Snyder’s former campaign aide and one of two paid NERD officers.¹⁸⁵

Activities: NERD essentially functioned as an off-the-books source for additional discretionary funding for the governor’s office. Rich Baird, one of Gov. Snyder’s top aides, was paid by NERD.¹⁸⁶ NERD also covered the \$4,200 monthly rent of Detroit Emergency Manager Kevyn Orr.¹⁸⁷ The nonprofit paid to upgrade an auditorium in the governor’s office, bought an alarm system for his private residence and covered travel expenses for his staff.¹⁸⁸

In October 2013, activist Robert Davis filed suit against NERD in an attempt to force the nonprofit to disclose its donors.¹⁸⁹ While NERD was already in the process of shutting down, the judge extended an order to prevent the destruction of any documents.¹⁹⁰ Gov. Snyder testified under oath that he did not know who donated to NERD.¹⁹¹ NERD closed shortly afterwards: Snyder’s spokesperson explained that it had “become an unnecessary distraction.”¹⁹²

Donor disclosure and revenue: NERD did not publicly disclose its donors. Company documents revealed that CVS donated \$1,000 to NERD in March 2012.¹⁹³ In 2013, Detroit Emergency Manager Kevyn Orr awarded CVS a \$60 million pharmacy contract.¹⁹⁴

In 2011, NERD raised over \$1.3 million. In 2013, it raised \$513,000.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸² Andy Kroll, All the Governors' Dark-Money Funds, *Mother Jones*, Jan. 9, 2014, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/01/scott-walker-john-kasich-rick-snyder-dark-money-reelection>.

¹⁸³ "Snyder appoints David Nicholson to Wayne State University Board of Governors," *Office of Governor Rick Snyder*, Feb. 4, 2013 <http://www.michigan.gov/snyder/0,4668,7-277-294275--,00.html>. CREW has been unable to definitively confirm that the David Nicholson who was appointed to the Wayne State University board is the same David Nicholson associated with NERD.

¹⁸⁴ Ryan J. Stanton, "Gov. Rick Snyder appoints Ann Arbor's Brad Canale to Michigan Natural Resources Trust Fund Board," *Ann Arbor News*, Nov. 11, 2012. <http://www.annarbor.com/news/gov-rick-snyder-appoints-ann-arbor-brad-canale-to-michigan-natural-resources-trust-fund-board/>; CREW has been unable to definitively confirm that the Brad Canale who was appointed to the Wayne State University board is the same Brad Canale associated with NERD.

¹⁸⁵ Jonathan Oosting, "Gov. Rick Snyder defends 'common sense' move to keep former treasurer on payroll after resignation," *MLive*, Feb. 12, 2014. http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2014/02/gov_rick_snyder_defends_common.html; U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify" <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2012/450/888/2012-450888727-099b3c85-9O.pdf> (2012).

¹⁸⁶ Rich Robinson, "Dark money a part of Rick Snyder's legacy as governor," *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 14, 2014. <http://www.freep.com/story/opinion/contributors/2014/10/14/gov-rick-snyder-dark-money/17219099/>

¹⁸⁷ Khalil AlHajal, "Democrats cry foul over secretive NERD Fund paying Detroit EM's rent," *MLive*, Sep. 24, 2013. http://www.mlive.com/news/detroit/index.ssf/2013/09/democrats_cry_foul_over_secret.html; Jonathan Oosting, "Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder's NERD Fund to close amidst ongoing calls for transparency," *MLive*, Oct. 21, 2013. http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2013/10/snyder_nerd_fund_closing_michi.html

¹⁸⁸ Oosting, "Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder's NERD Fund to close amidst ongoing calls for transparency."

¹⁸⁹ Jonathan Oosting, "Lawsuit seeks NERD Fund names, deposition of Detroit mayoral candidate Mike Duggan," *MLive*, Oct. 31, 2013, http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2013/10/lawsuit_seeks_nerd_fund_names.html.

¹⁹⁰ Jonathan Oosting, "Judge rejects motion for Mike Duggan election eve deposition, extends order on NERD Fund records," *MLive*, Nov. 4, 2013, http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2013/11/judge_rejects_motion_for_mike.html

¹⁹¹ Michael Beckel, "CVS backs Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder's NERD Fund," *Center for Public Integrity*, Oct. 10, 2013, <https://www.publicintegrity.org/2013/10/10/13533/cvs-backs-michigan-gov-rick-snyders-nerd-fund>

¹⁹² Ashley Woods, "Rick Snyder Will Shut Down Secret Michigan NERD Fund, Still Hasn't Revealed Donors," *Huffington Post*, Oct. 21, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/21/rick-snyder-nerd-fund_n_4137639.html

¹⁹³ Beckel, "CVS backs Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder's NERD Fund."

¹⁹⁴ Kroll, "All the Governors' Dark-Money Funds."

¹⁹⁵ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund" http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/450/450888727/450888727_201312_990O.pdf (2013).

Making Government Accountable (MGA)

No public website¹⁹⁶

Type of group: Shadow governance/Dark money

Type of support: Overall agenda, elections

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: March 23, 2015 – present¹⁹⁷

Stated mission: "To promote the social welfare as defined in 501(c)4 of the Internal Revenue Code, including engaging in activities to educate the public and elected leaders in the United States of America, the states, and local governments, to advance ideas and programs that reinvent, innovate and create responsive, productive government institutions at the federal, state, and local level, to promote responsible public policy, and to promote the free markets and economic vitality of the United States of America"¹⁹⁸

Ties to the governor: Formed by Gov. Snyder's supporters to fund a national tour by the governor in advance of the 2016 presidential primaries.¹⁹⁹

Activities: MGA was initially created to raise funds for Gov. Snyder to travel around the country, potentially in advance of a possible presidential bid. However, the nonprofit was used to further obfuscate donations to another nonprofit, Moving Michigan Forward, and to purchase issue ads to help elect Republicans to the Michigan legislature.²⁰⁰

When MGA was initially formed, many reporters theorized it was to set the stage for a potential presidential bid; Gov. Snyder never confirmed or denied this, instead saying that "I've got a full plate right now, and I am focused on being governor."²⁰¹ An anonymous aide confirmed that Gov. Snyder was considering a presidential run at the time.²⁰²

MGA donated \$350,000 to Moving Michigan Forward, the nonprofit established to replace NERD, and \$250,000 to The Governor's Club, Gov. Snyder's PAC.²⁰³

In the 2016 election, MGA paid for internet and television advertising to promote six GOP Michigan House candidates.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁶ However, a project of MGA, Michigan Comeback Story, has a website available at <https://michigancomebackstory.org/>

¹⁹⁷ Search Summary State of Michigan Corporations Division "Summary for: Making Government Accountable" *Michigan, Office of the Secretary of State*.

https://cofs.lar.state.mi.us/CorpWeb/CorpSearch/CorpSummary.aspx?ID=800944064&SEARCH_TYPE=1 (Accessed February 9, 2018).

¹⁹⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Making Government Accountable" http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473461382/473461382_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

¹⁹⁹ Paul Egan, "Anonymous donors boost Snyder's Flint relief efforts," *Detroit Free Press*, Apr. 28, 2016, <http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/flint-water-crisis/2016/04/28/snyder-flint-water-crisis-relief/83559268/>

²⁰⁰ Paul Egan, "Snyder nonprofit airs ads to boost GOP House hopefuls," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 19, 2016, <http://www.freep.com/story/news/politics/2016/09/19/making-government-accountable-snyder-tv-ads/90692510/>

²⁰¹ Jack Lessenberry, "The Snyder campaign," *Michigan Radio*, Apr. 21, 2015, <http://www.michiganradio.org/post/snyder-campaign#stream/0>

²⁰² Associated Press, "Fund for Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder hints at presidential run," *MLive*, Apr. 18, 2015, http://www.mlive.com/lansing-news/index.ssf/2015/04/fund_for_michigan_gov_rick_sny.html

²⁰³ Jonathan Oosting, "Snyder shifts anonymous donations to aid Flint efforts," *Detroit News*, May 23, 2016, <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/michigan/flint-water-crisis/2016/05/23/snyder-shifts-anonymous-donations-aid-flint-efforts/84758810/>

²⁰⁴ Egan, "Snyder nonprofit airs ads to boost GOP House hopefuls."

Donor disclosure and revenue: MGA does not publicly disclose its donors. Former Michigan Republican Party Chairman Bobby Schostak has helped raise money for MGA.²⁰⁵

MGA reported revenue of \$2,248,433 in 2015.²⁰⁶

Moving Michigan Forward (MMF)

www.movingmiforward.com

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: October 11, 2013 – present²⁰⁷

Stated mission: “To operate exclusively for the promotion of civic action and social welfare by promoting the common good and general welfare of the residents of, and visitors to the State of Michigan. To support the public policies on the federal, state, and local levels, that will bring about civic betterments and social improvements to Michigan residents. To support programs aimed at improving Michigan’s business climate and employment opportunities. To encourage and advocate citizen participation in political, civic and governmental events and associated activities. To support activities and programs that improve the quality and effectiveness of government for the State of Michigan. To promote charitable causes, including lessening the burdens of government in the State of Michigan. To receive and administer funds to sponsor, conduct research, secure goods and services, or to hold events in conjunction with the promotion of these purposes.”²⁰⁸

Ties to the governor: Bill Martin, chairman of MMF through October 2015, was appointed to the State Officers Compensation Commission — responsible for determining the salaries and expense allowances of the legislature, judiciary, and members of the executive branch, including the lieutenant governor and governor — by Gov. Snyder.²⁰⁹ Wendy Wisniewski, assistant secretary/treasurer as of December 2015, is an executive assistant to both the deputy chief of staff and cabinet director in Gov. Snyder’s administration.²¹⁰ Renae Moore, assistant secretary/treasurer as of December 2015, was also the assistant secretary/treasurer for NERD.²¹¹

Activities: MMF was established as a “transparent alternative” to NERD, with the nonprofit consistently listing donors online.²¹² According to MMF’s self-disclosed reports through the third quarter of 2017,

²⁰⁵ James Hohmann and Alex Isenstadt, “Snyder holds talks on 2016,” *Politico*, Apr. 17, 2015, <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/04/michigans-snyder-holds-talks-on-2016-run-117106>.

²⁰⁶ “Form 990: Making Government Accountable” (2015).

²⁰⁷ Search Summary State of Michigan Corporations Division “Summary for: Moving Michigan Forward” *Michigan, Office of the Secretary of State*, https://cofs.lara.state.mi.us/CorpWeb/CorpSearch/CorpSummary.aspx?ID=800942634&SEARCH_TYPE=1 (Accessed February 9, 2018).

²⁰⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Moving Michigan Forward” <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171418/SNYDER-MICHIGAN-Ft-206-IRS-MMF-990-2013.pdf> (2013).

²⁰⁹ “Gov. Rick Snyder makes appointment to State Officers Compensation Commission,” *Office of Governor Rick Snyder*, Apr. 2, 2015, http://www.michigan.gov/snyder/0,4668,7-277-57577_57657_59871-351641--,00.html.

²¹⁰ Wendy Wisniewski, “Profile page,” *LinkedIn*, accessed Jan. 25, 2018, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/wendy-wisniewski-b67a5b5>; see also https://www.michigan.gov/documents/snyder/Phone_377483_7.pdf.

²¹¹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: New Energy to Reinvent and Diversify Fund” https://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/450/450888727/450888727_201412_990EO.pdf (2014); Jonathan Oosting, “Michigan Gov. Ricky Snyder, under oath, denies knowledge of NERD Fund donors: ‘I don’t know,’” *MLive*, Oct. 10, 2013, http://www.mlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2013/10/michigan_gov_ricky_snyder_under.html.

²¹² Oosting, “Snyder shifts anonymous donations to aid Flint efforts.”

however, over 45% of MMF's contributions have come from two other nonprofits tied to Gov. Snyder that do not fully disclose their donors: Celebrating the Power of Michigan and Making Government Accountable.²¹³

MMF has spent a large amount of its revenue on "recovery and outreach efforts" in Flint, which faced a massive public health crisis after lead pipes poisoned public drinking water.²¹⁴ President Obama declared a federal state of emergency in 2016.²¹⁵ MMF spent "\$179,000 on direct mail, telephone town halls, robocalls, text alerts, and billboards in Flint" in the first quarter of 2016.²¹⁶ As of the third quarter of 2017, MMF has spent over \$380,000 on Flint outreach.²¹⁷

The group attracted controversy when it was revealed that Gov. Snyder was also using MMF to contract with the public relations firm Mercury and Bill Nowling of the public relations firm Finn Partners in order to respond to the Flint crisis.²¹⁸ Both firms had previous connections to Gov. Snyder. Mercury Senior Vice President Bettina Inclán is the wife of Gov. Snyder's former chief of staff. Bill Nowling, a senior partner at Finn Partners, had served as the spokesman for Gov. Snyder's 2010 gubernatorial campaign. Indeed, Nowling had previously been an indirect beneficiary of one of the governor's other affiliated nonprofits: he "ran press" for former Detroit emergency manager Kevyn Orr, whose office rent was paid for by NERD.²¹⁹

Donor disclosure and revenue: MMF discloses its donors online in quarterly reports. From 2013–2014, the fund listed donors such as PVS Chemicals (\$25,000), insurance company Jackson National (\$75,000), and businessman William Parfet (\$25,000).²²⁰ However, many of MMF's donations came from Gov. Snyder's other nonprofits, significantly limiting transparency. Since the start of 2013 through the third quarter of 2017, MMF reported \$350,000 in donations from CPM and \$355,500 from MGA.²²¹

MMF self-reported a revenue of \$507,692 in 2016.²²²

²¹³ CREW analysis of MMF's contributions.

²¹⁴ Oosting, "Snyder shifts anonymous donations to aid Flint efforts."

²¹⁵ "Merrit Kennedy, 'Lead-Laced Water In Flint: A Step-By-Step Look At The Makings Of A Crisis,'" *NPR*, Apr. 20, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/04/20/465545378/lead-laced-water-in-flint-a-step-by-step-look-at-the-makings-of-a-crisis>.

²¹⁶ Oosting, "Snyder shifts anonymous donations to aid Flint efforts."

²¹⁷ CREW analysis of MMF's reported expenditures.

²¹⁸ Jonathan Oosting, "Snyder fund foots bill for PR firms in Flint crisis," *Detroit News*, Jan. 26, 2016, <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/michigan/flint-water-crisis/2016/01/26/snyder-pr-fund-flint-water/79363674/>.

²¹⁹ Jonathan Oosting, "Snyder fund foots bill for PR firms in Flint crisis"; Chris Gautz, "Snyder defends using nonprofit NERD fund to pay for Orr's expenses," *Crain's Detroit Business*, Sep. 24, 2013, <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20130924/NEWS/130929934/snyder-defends-using-nonprofit-nerd-fund-to-pay-for-orr-s-expenses>; For information about Bill Nowling's position at Finn Partners, see <https://www.lambert-edwards.com/team/william-nowling/>.

²²⁰ "Expenses/Donors," *Moving Michigan Forward*, <http://www.movingmiforward.com/expenses/>.

²²¹ CREW analysis of MMF's reported contributions.

²²² "Expenses/Donors," *Moving Michigan Forward*, <http://www.movingmiforward.com/expenses/>.

Missouri: Former Governor Eric Greitens

Republican

Assumed office January 9, 2017

Currently serving first term, which will end January 2021; two term limit

The Committee for a New Missouri, Inc. (CNM)

www.newmissouri.org (defunct)²²³

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Inauguration

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: November 19, 2016 - January 3, 2018²²⁴

Stated mission: To “...plan, coordinate, provide a source of funds, and stage events related to the inauguration of the newly elected Governor of Missouri and all activities incident or related thereto, including without limitation, soliciting funds to defray the expenses associated with some or all of its activities.”²²⁵

Ties to the governor: CNM was created to fund Gov. Greitens’ 2017 inauguration festivities. It was founded by Gov. Greitens’ campaign treasurer and his attorney, who is also a lawyer for the Republican Governors Association.²²⁶

Activities: Gov. Greitens used CNM to raise private funds for his inauguration. While this practice is not uncommon for Missouri, both of Gov. Greitens’ immediate predecessors disclosed donor and spending information; Gov. Greitens did not disclose how much money was raised or spent.²²⁷

Donor disclosure and revenue: Gov. Greitens did not fully disclose donor information. Instead, he shared a list of “benefactors” that did not include donation amounts.²²⁸ There were more than 85 benefactors,

²²³ “Schedule of Events.” *Greitens Inauguration 2017* (stored on Wayback Machine) <https://web.archive.org/web/20171011153048/https://newmissouri.org/> (Accessed March 29, 2018).

²²⁴ “Missouri Online Business Filing: The Committee for a New Missouri, Inc.,” *State of Missouri, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171337/GREITENS-MISSOURI-Ft-222-Missouri-Online-Business-Filing-CNM.jpg> (Accessed March 29 January 24, 2018)

²²⁵ “Articles of Incorporation of a Nonprofit Corporation: The Committee for a New Missouri, Inc.,” *State of Missouri, Office of the Secretary of State*, Nov. 19, 2016, <https://bsd.sos.mo.gov/Common/CorrespondenceItemViewHandler.ashx?IsTIFF=true&fileDocumentId=12479774&version=2> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

²²⁶ Jason Hancock, “Nonprofit linked to Missouri Governor Raises New Questions About ‘Dark Money,’ Ethics,” *The Kansas City Star*, Mar. 8, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article137209643.html>; “Missouri Gov. Greitens Fined by State Ethics Commission Over Donor List,” *Associated Press* and *St. Louis Public Radio*, Apr. 29, 2017, <http://www.news.stlpublicradio.org/post/missouri-gov-greitens-fined-state-ethics-commission-over-donor-list#stream/0>.

²²⁷ Jason Hancock, “Cost of Missouri Gov. Eric Greitens’ Inauguration Still Unknown,” *The Kansas City Star*, Feb. 27, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article135279199.html>; Jason Hancock, “Gov. Eric Greitens: Don’t Expect More Detail on Inauguration Funding from Businesses, Lobbyists,” *The Kansas City Star*, Mar. 2, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article136038388.html>.

²²⁸ “Benefactors,” The Committee for a New Missouri, Inc., *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, <https://bloximages.newyork1.vip.townnews.com/stltoday.com/content/tncms/assets/v3/editorial/2/94/29422fa8-f3a6-52cc-a3a2-d55572067935/5928859f9838a.pdf.pdf> (Accessed January 24, 2018) (defunct).

including Anheuser-Busch, Boeing, Centene, Enterprise, Express Scripts, Kansas City Power & Light, Kansas City Southern, Monsanto, Pfizer, Uber, and Walmart, and many Missouri lobbyists.²²⁹

CNM's revenue has not yet been reported to the IRS. In December 2016, the Osage Nation tribe in Oklahoma, which is hoping to build a new casino in Missouri, donated \$52,700 to Committee for A New Missouri Inc.²³⁰ The donation was disclosed by Osage Nation public records and Osage Nation leader Chief Standing Bear's comments to his tribe's gaming board.²³¹ As Chief Standing Bear explained to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "That was me trying to establish a good relationship with the governor of Missouri... We thought we should show him respect."²³²

A New Missouri, Inc. (ANM)

www.newmissouri.com

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: February 5, 2017 - present²³³

Stated mission: "[C]onducting activities allowed pursuant to the Act, including, but not limited to, the advancement of social welfare by promoting ideas, policies and/or legislation to create more jobs, higher pay, safer streets, better schools, and more, for all Missourians."²³⁴

Ties to the governor: Gov. Greitens' sister-in-law, Catherine Chestnut, is ANM's executive director as of March 8, 2017.²³⁵ ANM was founded by Gov. Greitens' campaign finance director, Meredith Gibbons; his campaign treasurer, Jeff Stuermer; and Michael Adams, an attorney who is employed by both the nonprofit and Gov. Greitens' campaign fund.²³⁶ Austin Chambers, Gov. Greitens' senior adviser, reportedly works with ANM, the governor's campaign, and his state office; he is reportedly paid by ANM and is not on the state's payroll, though he is a "regular fixture in the governor's Capitol office."²³⁷ *The Kansas City Star* reported that Meredith Gibbons, Gov. Greitens' campaign finance director, would work out of ANM's office.²³⁸

²²⁹ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Feb. 27, 2017; Tony Messenger, "Messenger: Osage Nation Hopes \$50,000 Gift to Greitens Paves Way for Cuba, Mo., Casino," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 27, 2017, http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/columns/tony-messenger/messenger-osage-nation-hopes-gift-to-greitens-paves-way-for/article_7c440094-c020-5589-ac35-c133bcdde.html

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ "Missouri Online Business Filing: A New Missouri, Inc.," *State of Missouri, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171343/GREITENS-MISSOURI-Ft-231-Missouri-Online-Business-Filing-ANM.jpg> (Accessed March 29, 2018) <https://bsd.sos.mo.gov/BusinessEntity/BusinessEntityDetail.aspx?page=beSearch&ID=3890975>

²³⁴ "Articles of Incorporation of a Nonprofit Corporation: A New Missouri, Inc.," *State of Missouri, Office of the Secretary of State*, Feb. 5, 2017, <https://bsd.sos.mo.gov/Common/CorrespondenceItemViewHandler.ashx?IsTIFF=true&fileDocumentId=12646461&version=2> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

²³⁵ Jason Hancock, "Gov. Eric Greitens' Nonprofit Plans to Run TV Ads Across Missouri," *The Kansas City Star*, July 12, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/local/news-columns-blogs/the-buzz/article160993954.html>; Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Mar. 8, 2017.

²³⁶ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, July 12, 2017;

²³⁷ Hancock, *Kansas City Star*, Mar. 8, 2017; Jo Mannies, "Greitens' Political Nonprofits Take Center Stage in Missouri; Common for Governors Around US," *St. Louis Public Radio*, Apr. 4, 2017, <http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/greitens-political-nonprofits-take-center-stage-missouri-common-governors-around-us#stream/0>; Jason Hancock, "Greitens Says he Isn't Responsible for Attack Ads Against Sen. Rob Schaaf," *The Kansas City Star*, Apr. 25, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article146593844.html>.

²³⁸ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Mar. 8, 2017.

When asked about ANM, Gov. Greitens has said that “[t]he organization that you're referring to is one that I have no day-to-day responsibilities with” but that “[i]t does represent the interests of thousands of people around the state who care about our priorities getting passed.”²³⁹

Activities: ANM was established a month after Gov. Greitens’ inauguration. Chambers, Gov. Greitens’ senior adviser, told *The Kansas City Star* that there will be coordination between ANM, the governor’s state office, and his campaign.²⁴⁰ According to Chambers, ANM’s role is “to advocate for and promote the governor’s agenda,” using various techniques to “make sure Missourians know what the governor is doing and what he’s trying to get passed.”²⁴¹

ANM has run ads attacking Republican lawmakers who were critical of Gov. Greitens or voiced opposition to legislation the governor backed.²⁴² In April 2017, newspapers reported the group was running digital ads, radio ads, and robocalls against Republican state Senator Rob Schaaf.²⁴³ At least two of the digital ads included Sen. Schaaf’s personal cell phone number.²⁴⁴ Sen. Schaaf had previously criticized Gov. Greitens for his ties to dark money and his connection to Centene, a business that received a managed care contract.²⁴⁵ Gov. Greitens’ senior adviser Chambers told *The Kansas City Star* that ANM targeted Schaaf because “important pieces of reform are being held up because Sen. Schaaf is playing personal political games.”²⁴⁶ After the ads received criticism for disclosing Sen. Schaaf’s private information, Gov. Greitens denied involvement, saying that ANM was “separate from the governor’s office.”²⁴⁷

In May 2017, the *Springfield News-Leader* reported that ANM had prepared negative ads to attack five state senators for their opposition to the Blue Alert system, a program that alerts the public with information about suspects when law enforcement officers are assaulted.²⁴⁸ The program was a priority for Gov. Greitens.²⁴⁹ The ads were taken off ANM’s website and never used.²⁵⁰ The legislation passed the state Senate and the system was ultimately installed in August 2017.²⁵¹

ANM paid for buses to transport Republican supporters to the Capitol for a special legislative session that started May 22, 2017.²⁵² Gov. Greitens called the session to push a bill allowing the state’s Public Service Commission to negotiate with local power company Ameren to offer large industrial users lower electric

²³⁹ Jason Rosenbaum, “Secretive Nonprofits Back Governors Around the Country,” NPR, May 6, 2017, <http://www.npr.org/2017/05/06/526795686/secretive-nonprofits-back-governors-around-the-country>.

²⁴⁰ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Mar. 8, 2017.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, July 12, 2017.

²⁴³ Jason Hancock, “Missouri Gov. Greitens’ Nonprofit Attacks St. Joseph Senator, A Fellow Republican,” *The Kansas City Star*, Apr. 21, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article145941109.html>; Will Schmitt, “Gov. Eric Greitens’ Nonprofit Has Prepared Attacks on Several State Senators,” *Springfield News-Leader*, May 4, 2017, <http://www.news-leader.com/story/news/politics/2017/05/04/gov-eric-greitens-nonprofit-has-prepared-attacks-several-state-senators/101264250/>; Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Apr. 25, 2017.

²⁴⁴ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Apr. 21, 2017.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, Apr. 25, 2017.

²⁴⁸ Schmitt, *Springfield News-Leader*, May 4, 2017.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.; Benjamin Peters, “Senators Sign Off on Blue Alert Bill and Amendment,” *Missouri Times*, May 11, 2017, <http://www.themissouritimes.com/40741/senators-sign-off-blue-alert-bill-amendment/>.

²⁵¹ Sara Maslar-Donar, “Missouri Senate Passes Blue Alert Bill,” *KMIZ*, May 11, 2017, <http://www.abc17news.com/news/missouri-senate-passes-blue-alert-bill/493487821>; Matt Stewart, “Missouri Becomes Latest State to Install Blue Alert System,” *Fox 4 News*, Aug 28, 2017, <http://www.fox4kc.com/2017/08/28/missouri-becomes-latest-state-to-install-blue-alert-system/>;

²⁵² Will Schmitt, “Gov. Greitens’ Nonprofit Busing Local Republicans to Jefferson City for Rally,” *Springfield News-Leader*, May 22, 2017, <http://www.news-leader.com/story/news/politics/2017/05/22/gov-greitens-nonprofit-busing-local-republicans-jefferson-city-rally/102005372/>.

rates.²⁵³ ANM also paid for signs, food, and beverages for what *The Kansas City Star* described as “a campaign-style event.”²⁵⁴ The rally sparked debate about whether ANM should register as a lobbying organization.²⁵⁵ Chambers, however, claimed ANM did not have to register because it does not employ lobbyists: “By law, a ‘lobbyist principal’ is a person or organization that employs/pays lobbyists. ANM does not remotely meet that definition.”²⁵⁶ The Ameren legislation was ultimately passed.²⁵⁷

On June 7, 2017, ANM announced a rally with Gov. Greitens and former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee.²⁵⁸ The rally took place in Springfield ahead of a special session on legislation related to abortion.²⁵⁹ Gov. Greitens held similar rallies in Joplin and St. Charles; ANM paid for Gov. Greitens’ flight to the St. Charles rally.²⁶⁰

In July 2017, ANM spent over \$500,000 on television ads focusing on the state budget and taxes.²⁶¹ According to Chambers, the ads advocated for Gov. Greitens to continue “to balance the budget without raising taxes.”²⁶²

In the summer of 2017, ANM donated \$350,000 to a PAC named Missourians for Worker Freedom. The PAC was created to combat the repeal of Missouri’s right-to-work law, which Gov. Greitens had signed earlier that year.²⁶³

In the spring of 2018, Gov. Greitens was under investigation by the Missouri legislature for a number of alleged offenses, including accusations that shell companies were used to funnel money into his 2016 campaign.²⁶⁴ After a former campaign staffer testified that the governor directed him to meet with donors who were interested in having their identities concealed, A New Missouri’s records were subpoenaed by the Missouri House committee investigating Gov. Greitens.²⁶⁵ The Missouri House committee alleged that ANM

²⁵³ Kurt Erickson, “Missouri Governor Calling Lawmakers Back for Special Session,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 18, 2017, http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/missouri-governor-calling-lawmakers-back-for-special-session/article_ad6b8aa7-f7b8-5571-8456-68f3cc85548e.html; Jo Mannies, “Special Session Begins for Missouri Legislators and Top Republicans Disagree on Key Points,” *KCUR*, May 22, 2017, <http://www.kcur.org/post/special-session-begins-missouri-legislators-and-top-republicans-disagree-key-points#stream/0>.

²⁵⁴ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, July 12.

²⁵⁵ Kurt Erickson, “Greitens Nonprofit Lobbies for Legislation, but Isn’t Registered to Lobby,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 24, 2017, http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/greitens-nonprofit-lobbies-for-legislation-but-isn-t-registered-to/article_f67a9663-7bc3-5491-87d1-3968282fc9de.html.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ Marshall Griffin, “Missouri Legislature’s Special Session Ends with Smelting Plant Bill Sent to Gov. Greitens,” *KCUR*, May 26, 2017, <http://www.kcur.org/post/missouri-legislatures-special-session-ends-smelting-plant-bill-sent-gov-greitens#stream/0>.

²⁵⁸ Will Schmitt, “Gov. Greitens to Rally with Mike Huckabee in Springfield to Talk Abortion,” *Springfield News-Leader*, June 7, 2017, <http://www.news-leader.com/story/news/politics/2017/06/07/gov-greitens-rally-mike-huckabee-springfield-talk-abortion/378968001/>.

²⁵⁹ Schmitt, *Springfield News-Leader*, June 7, 2017.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*; Crystal Thomas, “Greitens, Mike Huckabee Pump Up Joplinites for Missouri’s Second Special Session,” *Joplin Globe*, Jun. 9, 2017, http://www.joplinglobe.com/news/local_news/greitens-mike-huckabee-pump-up-joplinites-for-missouri-s-second/article_8e14926b-166a-5ce6-a557-f148257f84fd.html.

²⁶¹ Hancock, *The Kansas City Star*, July 12, 2017. 1

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ Hancock, “Gov. Greitens’ Nonprofit Gives \$250,000 in Dark Money to Right-to-Work PAC,” *The Kansas City Star*, July 19, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/local/news-columns-blogs/the-buzz/article162239823.html>; Will Schmitt, “Greitens’ Nonprofit Gives \$100K More to ‘Right-to-Work’ Group While Unions Mobilize,” *Springfield News-Leader*, Aug. 9, 2017, <http://www.news-leader.com/story/news/politics/2017/08/09/greitens-nonprofit-gives-100-k-more-right-to-work-group-while-unions-mobilize/549124001/>; Jason Hancock, “Gov. Eric Greitens Signs Missouri Right-to-Work Bill, but Unions File Referendum to Overturn It,” *The Kansas City Star*, Feb. 6, 2017, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article130983664.html>.

²⁶⁴ Will Schmitt, “Shell companies’ gave money to Gov. Eric Greitens campaign: memo released by lawmakers,” *Springfield News-Leader*, May 15, 2018. <https://www.news-leader.com/story/news/politics/2018/05/15/eric-greitens-used-shell-companies-conceal-donors-memo-released-missouri-lawmakers/610734002/>

²⁶⁵ Bryan Lowry and Steve Vockrodt, “Greitens campaign sought to conceal donors’ identities, former staffer testifies,” *Kansas City Star*, May 2, 2018. <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article210313194.html>; Jason Hancock, “Missouri lawmakers subpoena Greitens’ top political adviser,” *Kansas City Star*, May 14, 2018. <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article211103584.html>

was formed “for the express purpose of promoting the governor’s political agenda, is run by persons subject to the governor’s control, and is represented...by the same counsel who also represents the governor’s candidate committee, Greitens for Missouri.” ²⁶⁶

On May 29, a judge ordered ANM to release the records.²⁶⁷ Later that day, Gov. Greitens announced his resignation as part of a deal with the St. Louis Circuit Attorney to dismiss a felony computer tampering charge against him.²⁶⁸

Donor disclosure and revenue: ANM does not disclose its donors. Its revenue has not yet been reported to the IRS.

²⁶⁶ The Missouri House of Representatives Special Investigative Committee on Oversight v. A New Missouri, Inc and Greitens for Missouri, 18AC-CC00187, “Petition to Enforce Subpoenas Duces Tecum.” <https://themissouritimes.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/18ac-cc00187-Petition.pdf>

²⁶⁷ “Judge orders Greitens’ secretive nonprofit to turn over documents to House committee,” *Kansas City Star*, May 29, 2018. <http://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article212102994.html>

²⁶⁸ Mitch Smith and Julie Bosman, “Eric Greitens, Missouri Governor and Rising Republican Star, Resigns Amid Scandal,” *New York Times*, May 29, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/29/us/eric-greitens-resigns.html>; Brooke Crum, “Missouri Gov. Eric Greitens offered to resign in exchange for dropping criminal charge,” *U.S.A Today*, May 30, 2018. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/05/30/missouri-gov-eric-greitens-offered-resignation-if-charge-dropped/656631002/>

Montana: Governor Steve Bullock

Democrat

Assumed office January 7, 2013

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2021; two consecutive term limit

Early Edge Action (EEA)

www.earlyedgeaction.org (defunct)²⁶⁹

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Education

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: January 12, 2015 - September 14, 2017²⁷⁰

Stated mission: “Early Edge Action is a 501(c)4 coalition of private and public sector leaders, parents, and others who support Governor Steve Bullock’s vision for high-quality early education for all Montana 4-year-olds...”²⁷¹

Ties to the governor: Both Gov. Bullock and Lieutenant Gov. Angela McLean fundraised for EEA, and Gov. Bullock spoke at an EEA rally.²⁷² When asked about EEA, Gov. Bullock spokesperson Dave Parker noted that “[w]e think it’s a good organization that is trying to help out on a key priority for the governor.”²⁷³ Additionally, Gov. Bullock has well-established ties to EEA founder Niles Hushka. Hushka is a Bullock donor whom the governor had previously appointed to be co-chair of a public-private business partnership.²⁷⁴ According to the *Independent Record*, Hushka stated that a year before EEA launched, he had promised Gov. Bullock that he would support early education funding if the governor proposed a plan.²⁷⁵ Once Gov. Bullock announced his “Early Edge” plan, Hushka created EEA.²⁷⁶ While involved with EEA, Hushka was also a member of Gov. Bullock’s State Workforce Investment Board.²⁷⁷ Gov. Bullock and EEA

²⁶⁹ “About Us,” Early Edge Action (stored on Wayback Machine), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160218183728/http://earlyedgeaction.org/about/> (Accessed February 5, 2018)

²⁷⁰ Online Business Filing System, “View Business Details: Early Edge Action,” *State of Montana, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171329/BULLOCK-MONTANA-Ft-263-Online-Business-Filing-System-EEA.jpg> (Accessed February 6, 2018) (defunct)

²⁷¹ “About Us,” Early Edge Action.

²⁷² Mike Dennison, “Governor fundraising for nonprofit formed to promote his early education plan,” *Independent Record*, Jan. 27, 2015, http://www.helenair.com/news/local/governor-fundraising-for-nonprofit-formed-to-promote-his-early-education/article_6b485f58-ba8a-5980-8881-4657476c978f.html; Alexander Deedy, “Let them learn’ rally at Capitol supports early childhood education,” *Independent Record* (Helena, MT), Jan. 23, 2015, http://www.helenair.com/news/local/let-them-learn-rally-at-capitol-supports-early-childhood-education/article_8c542204-ade4-5a46-a4b8-73725b925311.html

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ “KIN co-chairs named by Bullock,” *Montana Standard*, Jul. 6, 2014, http://www.mtstandard.com/kin-co-chairs-named-by-bullock/article_90575abe-04b0-11e4-96f5-0019bb2963f4.html; Charles S. Johnson, “Gov. Steve Bullock’s Main Street Montana Project proceeding,” *Montana Standard*, Jul. 6, 2014, http://www.mtstandard.com/news/local/gov-steve-bullock-s-main-street-montana-project-proceeding/article_b8ca287e-04af-11e4-86a0-0019bb2963f4.html; CREW search of Montana campaign electronic reporting system; see Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, “Campaign Electronic Reporting System,” <https://camptrackext.mt.gov/CampaignTracker/public/search>. (Accessed February 9, 2018)

²⁷⁵ Mike Dennison, “Governor fundraising for nonprofit formed to promote his early education plan.”

²⁷⁶ Gail Schontzler, “Bozeman CEO pushes governor’s preschool plan,” *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, Jan. 22, 2016, https://www.bozemandailychronicle.com/news/education/bozeman-ceo-pushes-governor-s-preschool-plan/article_0d6a5b98-a1d0-11e4-8673-17231cf81328.html

²⁷⁷ Alexander Deedy, “Looking to the future: Business leaders champion preschool as smart investment,” *Missoulian*, Mar. 2, 2015, http://www.missoulian.com/helena/news/local/looking-to-the-future-business-leaders-champion-preschool-as-smart/article_bbe5b091-9876-55f8-89b6-2c6fc41fbef1.html

also share ties to the public relations firm Hilltop Solutions. The firm was hired by Gov. Bullock's 2012 gubernatorial campaign, and in 2015 by EEA.²⁷⁸ In 2013, both the Bullock campaign and Hilltop Solutions were named in a complaint alleging that the campaign had used the PR firm to illegally coordinate with outside groups supporting the governor.²⁷⁹ The complaint was dismissed in 2015.²⁸⁰

Activities: EEA focused on messaging, hiring public relations firm Hilltop Solutions in its efforts to promote the benefits of Early Edge, Gov. Bullock's proposal to provide early childhood education grants to Montana public schools.²⁸¹ EEA also partnered with Missoula-based parenting magazine, *Mamalode*, to organize a rally on the Montana state Capitol steps promoting Gov. Bullock's plan.²⁸² In its 2015 tax filing, EEA reported spending \$86,171 for media production and placement.²⁸³

Ultimately, the Montana legislature voted against including Early Edge in its 2016 budget.²⁸⁴ According to Montana corporate records, Early Edge Action was dissolved on September 14, 2017.²⁸⁵

Donor disclosure and revenue: EEA lists donors on its website, though Hushka has said that anonymity is an option. Contributor information does not include amount donated.²⁸⁶

KLJ Solutions donated at least \$20,000 to the organization, making it the largest reported donor; EEA founder Niles Hushka was the president of KLJ Solutions at the time.²⁸⁷ Montana Quality Education Coalition also donated \$5,000. Other listed donors include two PACs, about ten individuals associated with the healthcare industry, and at least twenty individuals associated with education.²⁸⁸ One Republican lawmaker noted that the group received multiple donations from healthcare companies that would benefit from a concurrent Medicaid expansion program in the same budget proposal.²⁸⁹

EEA reported \$169,415 in revenue for 2015.²⁹⁰

²⁷⁸ "Governor fundraising for nonprofit"; Charles S. Johnson, "Bullock campaign under investigation after political practices complaint," *The Missoulian*, Jul. 1, 2013. http://www.missoulian.com/news/local/bullock-campaign-under-investigation-after-political-practices-complaint/article_1583e89a-e1f5-11e2-b017-0019bb2963f4.html

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Pennington v. Bullock, COPP 2013-CFP-012.

<http://politicalpractices.mt.gov/Portals/144/2recentdecisions/PenningtonvBullockDecision.pdf>

²⁸¹ Ibid.; "Governor fundraising for nonprofit"

²⁸² Alexander Deedy, "Let them learn' rally at Capitol supports childhood education."

²⁸³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Early Edge Action"

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472662373/472662373_201512_990EO.pdf (2015).

²⁸⁴ Chelsea Davis, "Volunteers get hands dirty to benefit Missoula-area preschools," *The Missoulian*, Jun 18, 2016, http://www.missoulian.com/news/local/volunteers-get-hands-dirty-to-benefit-missoula-area-preschools/article_1abdee95-1e1d-52a6-9ed9-ac43592b2e1e.html

²⁸⁵ Ibid.; "View Business Details"

²⁸⁶ "Thank You to Our Donors," Early Edge Action (stored on Wayback Machine)

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160321084341/http://earlyedgeaction.org/thank-you-to-our-donors/> (Accessed February 05, 2018)

²⁸⁷ Ibid.; "Governor fundraising for nonprofit"; "Niles Hushka | LinkedIn." *LinkedIn*. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/niles-hushka-b1676b12/> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

²⁸⁸ "Thank You to Our Donors," Early Edge Action (stored on Wayback Machine)

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160321084341/http://earlyedgeaction.org/thank-you-to-our-donors/> (Accessed February 05, 2018)

²⁸⁹ Gail Schontzler, "Montana governor still fighting for public preschool," *The Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, April 13, 2015

http://www.bozemandailychronicle.com/news/politics/montana-governor-still-fighting-for-public-preschool/article_d75a98cd-ee3f-543b-92c7-103087067ac7.html

²⁹⁰ Ibid.; "Governor fundraising for nonprofit"

Nevada: Governor Brian Sandoval

Republican

Assumed office January 3, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two term limit

Nevada Can Do Better, Inc. (NCDB)

www.nevadacandobetter.com (defunct)²⁹¹

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Taxes, education

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: February 23, 2015 – February 4, 2016²⁹²

Stated mission: “To advocate reform in Nevada’s education system.”²⁹³

Ties to the governor: NCDB was founded by Gov. Sandoval’s former campaign manager, Jeremy Hughes.²⁹⁴

Activities: NCDB commissioned a poll, released in March 2015, to show support for Gov. Sandoval’s plan to increase taxes for education spending; the results were promoted on its now defunct website.²⁹⁵ According to the nonprofit’s tax filings, the group also utilized “[d]igital advertisements and social media to promote reform in Nevada tax and education system.”²⁹⁶

Other information: Hughes, the president of the group, was also registered as a state-level lobbyist in 2015, representing SB Strategic Consulting, Inc. and Uber, as well as NCDB.²⁹⁷ Hughes currently works at November Inc., a political consulting firm.²⁹⁸

²⁹¹ “Nevada Can Do Better,” *Nevada Can Do Better* (stored on Wayback Machine).

<http://web.archive.org/web/20150306164939/http://www.nevadacandobetter.com> (Accessed January 23, 2018). NCDB does not list a website on its 990.

²⁹² Entity Details - Secretary of State, Nevada “Nevada Can Do Better, Inc.”

<https://nvsos.gov/sosentitysearch/CorpDetails.aspx?lx8nvq=3lzA%252bZ21%252bRR.A3g7D%252fIJmQ%253d%253d&nf7=0> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

²⁹³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990-EZ: Nevada Can Do Better, Inc.”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473222515/473222515_201512_990EO.pdf (2015).

²⁹⁴ Karyn Bruggeman, “The Permanent Campaign: How Outside Money Is Changing the Way Governors Do Business,” *National Journal*, Mar. 13, 2015, <http://www.govexec.com/state-local/2015/03/permanent-campaign-how-outside-money-changing-way-governors-do-business/107478/>.

²⁹⁵ Laura Myers, “Poll: Nevadans Favor Sandoval Tax Increase Plan,” *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, Mar. 2, 2015,

<https://www.reviewjournal.com/news/politics-and-government/nevada/poll-nevadans-favor-sandoval-tax-increase-plan/>; “Nevada Can Do Better,” *Nevada Can Do Better* (stored on Wayback Machine).

<http://web.archive.org/web/20150506162200/http://www.nevadacandobetter.com:80/> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

²⁹⁶ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990-EZ: Nevada Can Do Better, Inc.”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473222515/473222515_201512_990EO.pdf (2015).

²⁹⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990-EZ: Nevada Can Do Better, Inc.”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473222515/473222515_201512_990EO.pdf (2015); “Nevada 78th (2015) Session – Paid Lobbyist List,” *Nevada Legislature*.

https://www.leg.state.nv.us/App/Lobbyist/2015/docs/Nevada_78th_2015_Paid_Lobbyist_List.pdf (Accessed January 23, 2018).

²⁹⁸ “Bios,” *November Inc.* <http://www.novemberinc.com/bios/> (Accessed January 23, 2018); “Daniel Stewart to Join SB Strategic Consulting Inc. and November Inc.,” *November Inc.* <http://www.novemberinc.com/2015/09/daniel-stewart-to-join-sb-strategic-consulting-inc-and-november-inc-2/> (Accessed on January 23, 2018).

Donor disclosure and revenue: NCDB does not publicly disclose its donors. However, the identically named Nevada Can Do Better PAC, which also shares an address with the group, donated \$23,900 to NCDB in May 2015.²⁹⁹ The PAC’s only recorded revenue was \$25,000 from MGM Resorts International, received in April 2015.³⁰⁰ NCDB reported revenue of \$183,900 in 2015.³⁰¹ NCDB gave \$23,103 to Engage Nevada, a nonprofit that registered 30,000 new voters in 2015, reportedly tipping some close state races.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Nevada Secretary of State, “Contributions and Expenses Report: Nevada Can Do Better,” <https://nvsos.gov/SOSCandidateServices/AnonymousAccess/ViewCCEReport.aspx?syn=quYiWJr%252beW5zXbCBUT1VIg%253d%253d> (May 29, 2015).

³⁰⁰ Nevada Secretary of State, “Contributions and Expenses Report: Nevada Can Do Better,” <https://nvsos.gov/SOSCandidateServices/AnonymousAccess/ViewCCEReport.aspx?syn=PjnLj9rx2RvRyzAHluQHbg%253d%253d> (May 12, 2015).

³⁰¹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990-EZ: Nevada Can Do Better, Inc.” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/473/473222515/473222515_201512_990EO.pdf (2015).

³⁰² Ibid.; Amber Phillips, “GOP Strategist Behind Nevada Sweep Gets National Post,” *Las Vegas Sun*, Feb. 9 2015, <https://www.lasvegassun.com/news/2015/feb/09/gop-strategist-behind-nevada-sweep-gets-national-p/>; Saif Alnuweiri, “Nevada Republicans Are Trying To Mobilize New Voters After Pursuing Voter Suppression Laws,” *National Memo*, Feb. 15, 2016, <http://www.nationalmemo.com/republians-try-to-mobilize-new-voters-while-pursuing-voter-suppression-laws/>.

New Jersey: Former Governor Chris Christie

Republican

Assumed office January 19, 2010

Second term ended January 2018; two consecutive term limit

Committee for Our Children's Future, Inc (COCF)³⁰³

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: July 12, 2011 - unknown³⁰⁴

Stated mission: “The organization’s primary exempt purpose is to further the common good and general welfare of citizens of the U.S. by educating the public about policies that will enhance the lives of taxpayers, families, and children by advocating for and raising awareness about short and long-term policies to reduce and restructure government costs, prioritize how tax dollars are spent, and ensure that today’s leaders make decisions for a brighter future for the next generation.”³⁰⁵

Ties to the governor: The group was “formed by Christie friends dating back to his undergraduate days at the University of Delaware.”³⁰⁶ Gov. Christie has denied involvement with the group.^{307 308}

Activities: An anonymous source affiliated with COCF told *The New York Times* that the group was formed to defend Gov. Christie against labor union attacks.³⁰⁹ COCF spent over \$6 million in pro-Gov. Christie advertising by July 2012, including praising Gov. Christie’s budget and a New Jersey teacher tenure bill his office worked on. COCF spent \$8 million on ads by the end of 2012.³¹⁰ The group does not appear to have been active since.

Gov. Christie said he would not tell COCF to disclose its donors: “It’s up to them, it’s their group...I have nothing to do with the group. If they are out there helping me, I say thank you very much.”³¹¹ Gov. Christie

³⁰³ Registered with the IRS as “Committee for Our Childrens Future”

³⁰⁴ See State of New Jersey Division of Revenue and Enterprise Services Business Name Search at <https://www.njportal.com/DOR/BusinessNameSearch/Search/BusinessName>

³⁰⁵ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. “Form 990: Committee for Our Childrens Future.” (2011).

³⁰⁶ Nicholas Confessore, “Wealthy, Influential, Leaning Republican and Pushing a Christie Bid for President,” *The New York Times*, Sept. 26, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/27/nyregion/some-of-the-men-pushing-a-chris-christie-run-for-president.html?mcubz=3>.

³⁰⁷ Minhaj Hassan, “Christie says it’s up to Committee for Our Children’s Future if they want to disclose funding sources,” *New York Observer*, Sept. 20, 2011. <http://observer.com/2011/09/christie-says-its-up-to-committee-for-our-childrens-future-if-they-want-to-disclose-funding-sources/>.

³⁰⁸ Bob Hennelly, “Christie’s National Prominence Aided by Anonymous Money,” *It’s a Free Country*, Aug. 6, 2012. <http://www.wnyc.org/story/227970-christies-national-prominence-aided-anonymous-money/>.

³⁰⁹ Confessore, “Wealthy, Influential, Leaning Republican and Pushing a Christie Bid for President.”

³¹⁰ Matt Friedman, “New pro-Murphy SUPER PAC — TRUMP talks opioids in N.J. without CHRISTIE — CONSUMER AFFAIRS chief leaving,” *Politico*, Aug. 9, 2017. <http://www.politico.com/tipsheets/new-jersey-playbook/2017/08/09/new-pro-murphy-super-pac-trump-talks-opioids-without-christie-consumer-affairs-chief-resigns-221771>.

³¹¹ Hassan, “Christie says it’s up to Committee for Our Children’s Future if they want to disclose funding sources.”

also said that “[t]hey are supporting me because they like my policies...People like the policies we are pursuing. It’s a happy circumstance.”³¹²

Donor disclosure and revenue: COCF does not publicly disclose its donors. It reported no revenue in its 2013-2014 fiscal year.³¹³

Reform Jersey Now, Inc. (RJN)

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: May 3, 2010 – December 31, 2011³¹⁴

Stated mission: “Further the common good and general welfare of the citizens of New Jersey by promoting public policies that foster an environment to create more jobs in New Jersey, while making the state a more affordable place to live for its citizens.”³¹⁵

Ties to the governor: Members of the RJN volunteer advisory board reportedly included Bill Palatucci, “[Gov.] Christie’s closest political confidante” and Mike DuHaime, Gov. Christie’s chief strategist for his 2009 gubernatorial campaign, though the two were not named in RJN’s tax filings.³¹⁶ Before serving as RJN’s treasurer in 2010 and 2011, Ron Gravino was on Gov. Christie’s 2009 transition team.³¹⁷ Gov. Christie also appeared at a fundraiser for the group in 2010.³¹⁸

Activities: In its 2010 tax filings, RJN noted that it engaged in “public education, grassroots lobbying, and other similar activities through the purchase of television and radio air time, advertising space in print media, and informational brochures.”³¹⁹ For example, RJN made a robocall urging listeners to contact Democratic State Senator Paul Sarlo and “tell him to stop blocking Governor Christie’s efforts to end abuse of public employee benefits.”³²⁰ State Sen. Sarlo called RJN “an extension of the governor.”³²¹ The group also sent mailers to state Senate President Stephen Sweeney’s district, telling constituents to call upon the senator to push through a “tool kit” of reforms proposed by Gov. Christie.³²²

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. “Form 990: Committee for Our Children’s Future.” (2014).

³¹⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now – Plan of Dissolution and Termination of Corporate Existence.” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/272/272435222/272435222_201112_990EO.pdf (2011).

³¹⁵ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now.” (2011).

³¹⁶ Matt Friedman, “Reform Jersey Now has raised \$624K to push Gov. Christie’s agenda,” *NJ Advance Media for NJ.com*, Dec. 29, 2010, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2010/12/reform_jersey_now_raises_624k.html; “40 Under 40: Mike DuHaime,” *Time*, http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2023831_2023829_2025190,00.html

³¹⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/272/272435222/272435222_201012_990O.pdf (2010); “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now” (2011); “Chris Christie Transition Team,” *The Star-Ledger*, Dec. 17, 2009, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2009/12/chris_christie_transition_team.html.

³¹⁸ Friedman, “Reform Jersey Now has raised \$624K to push Gov. Christie’s agenda.”

³¹⁹ “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now” (2010).

³²⁰ Matt Friedman, “Democratic N.J. senator angry about robocall accusing him of blocking Christie reform,” *NJ Advance Media for NJ.com*, Dec. 22, 2010, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2010/12/democratic_nj_senator_angry_ab.html.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² “Reform Jersey Now / ‘Reform’? Not quite,” *Press of Atlantic City*, Jan. 4, 2011, http://www.pressofatlanticcity.com/opinion/editorials/article_3c21223c-d6d6-5df7-9f08-0b3415043180.html.

Donor disclosure and revenue: RJN voluntarily disclosed its donors at the end of 2010.³²³ Top donors included state contractors such as Ferreira Construction, a company that was awarded \$174 million from the New Jersey Turnpike Authority in joint contracts; George Harms Construction, a company that received over \$130 million combined from the New Jersey Department of Transportation, NJ Transit, and the New Jersey Turnpike Authority; and Langan Engineering & Environmental, which received approximately \$2 million from a combination of state government departments.³²⁴ RJN reported revenue totaling \$586,887 in 2010, but only \$1,257 in 2011.³²⁵

³²³ Darryl Isherwood, “Reform Jersey Now releases donor list,” *New York Observer*, Dec. 29, 2010, <http://www.observer.com/2010/12/reform-jersey-now-releases-donor-list/>.

³²⁴ “Reform Jersey Now / ‘Reform’? Not quite,” Matt Friedman and Ginger Gibson, “List of biggest donors to pro-Christie group includes contractors paid millions by N.J.,” *Statehouse Bureau*, Dec. 30, 2010, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2010/12/list_of_biggest_donors_to_pro.html.

³²⁵ “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now” (2010); “Form 990: Reform Jersey Now” (2011).

New Mexico: Governor Susana Martinez

Republican

Assumed office January 1, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two consecutive term limit

New Mexico Competes, Inc. (NMC)

www.newmexicocompetes.org (defunct)³²⁶

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: April 3, 2013 – December 15, 2015³²⁷

Stated mission: “[T]o register voters in targeted areas of the state, advocate for sound fiscal policy to help diversify and grow New Mexico’s economy and to advocate for education reform in New Mexico.”³²⁸

Ties to the governor: Sara Lister, NMC’s first executive director, was a deputy cabinet secretary in the Workforce Solutions Department of Gov. Martinez’s administration.³²⁹ Lister was replaced in February 2014 by Alexis Valdez Darnell, who was previously Gov. Martinez’s operations director; Darnell is married to Scott Darnell, Gov. Martinez’s deputy chief of staff.³³⁰ Attorney Pat Rogers, who served as NMC’s secretary and treasurer, has been called Gov. Martinez’s “close political ally” by the *Santa Fe New Mexican*.³³¹

Activities: In 2013, 15 of New Mexico’s largest mental health providers were under criminal investigation to determine whether the companies had defrauded Medicaid of \$36 million.³³² NMC ran an ad campaign supporting Gov. Martinez’s handling of the scandal, saying that Gov. Martinez was “cracking down” on the fraud.³³³

When Albuquerque Public Schools Superintendent Winston Brooks opposed some of Gov. Martinez’s education policies, NMC sent fliers attacking Brooks for “putting up roadblocks to education reform.”³³⁴

³²⁶ “New Mexico Competes.” *New Mexico Competes* (stored on Wayback Machine)

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150706151036/http://www.newmexicocompetes.org/> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

³²⁷ “Nonprofit With New Mexico Name Emerges out of DC,” *Santa Fe Reporter*, May 10, 2013. <http://www.sfreporter.com/santafe/blog-4507-nonprofit-with-new-mexico-name-emerges-out-of-dc.html>

³²⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: New Mexico Competes Inc.” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/462/462402943/462402943_201312_990O.pdf (2013).

³²⁹ “Sara Lister.” *LinkedIn*. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/sara-lister-6a986b94> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

³³⁰ Steve Terrell, “Special interest group cozy but unaffiliated with gov,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jun. 21, 2014. http://www.santafenewmexican.com/opinion/local_columns/special-interest-group-cozy-but-unaffiliated-with-gov/article_2f87711d-2df4-5dfa-9542-c12e28277211.html

³³¹ Justin Horwath, “In defense of adviser, governor says nothing ‘improper,’ but experts differ,” *Santa Fe Reporter*, Mar. 18, 2017. http://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/in-defense-of-adviser-governor-says-nothing-improper-but-experts/article_8e9decad-7cf3-59ab-ab5e-3caaf3e85bde.html

³³² Dan Frosch, “Fraud Investigation Unsettles Mental Health Care in New Mexico,” *The New York Times*, Sept. 13, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/14/us/fraud-investigation-unsettles-mental-health-care-in-new-mexico.html?_r=0.

³³³ Terrell, “Special interest group cozy but unaffiliated with gov.”

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

By the end of 2013, the Democratic Party of New Mexico filed formal complaints with the IRS and FEC about NMC, alleging that the nonprofit was illegally coordinating with Gov. Martinez's campaign; the complaints do not appear to have been investigated.³³⁵

While only active in New Mexico, NMC was registered in Washington, D.C. It filed a certificate of withdrawal in New Mexico on December 15, 2015.³³⁶

Other information: Pat Rogers, NMC's secretary and treasurer, helped negotiate a gambling contract with two Louisiana developers that later came under scrutiny for the appearance of pay-to-play politics at the governor's office.³³⁷

Donor disclosure and revenue: NMC did not disclose its donors. Its reported revenue for 2013 was \$846,503.³³⁸

³³⁵ "DPNM Files IRS and FEC Complaints Against McCleskey/Martinez Non-Profit, 'New Mexico Competes,'" *New Mexico Democrats*. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171359/MARTINEZ-NEW-MEXICO-Ft-328-DPNM-Files-NMC.pdf> (defunct)

³³⁶ "Search Information: New Mexico Competes, Inc." *Corporations and Business Services, New Mexico Secretary of State*. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171403/MARTINEZ-NEW-MEXICO-Ft-329-Search-Information-NMC.jpg>. (Accessed January 23, 2018).

³³⁷ Justin Horwath, SFR, and Peter St. Cyr, "Courting Susana," *Santa Fe Reporter*, Feb. 11, 2014. <http://www.sfreporter.com/news/2014/02/12/courting-susana/>

³³⁸ "Form 990: New Mexico Competes Inc." (2013).

New York: Governor Andrew Cuomo

Democrat

Assumed office January 1, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; no term limit

New Yorkers United Together, Inc. (NYUT)

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Immigration

Tax status: 501(c)(3)

Active: March 31, 2017 - present³³⁹

Stated mission: “To raise funds for the legal defense of immigrant populations within the State of New York...To raise public awareness and promote acceptance of the rich culture and diverse populations within the State of New York...To advance New York’s efforts as the leader in the fight against discrimination.”³⁴⁰

Ties to the governor: The group’s co-founders are Gov. Cuomo’s close friends, including his former aide Steven M. Cohen; Ken Sunshine, a public relations consultant; and Christine C. Quinn, a former speaker of the New York City council.³⁴¹ Three celebrities who spoke in NYUT’s first ad, in which Gov. Cuomo also appeared, told *The New York Times* that they were asked to participate by Gov. Cuomo’s office.³⁴²

Activities: In the spring of 2017, an ad paid for by NYUT was circulated online. It advocated for Gov. Cuomo’s immigration policy and ended with a promotion for the Liberty Defense Project, a Cuomo administration initiative that offers legal defense for immigrants.³⁴³ The Liberty Defense Project was announced about a week before NYUT registered with New York.³⁴⁴

Christine Quinn, one of the co-founders of NYUT, denied Gov. Cuomo’s involvement in NYUT.³⁴⁵ Gov. Cuomo’s office released a statement noting that NYUT’s co-founders “came to the governor and the video is what came out of that group discussion.”³⁴⁶

Donor disclosure and revenue: NYUT has not disclosed its donors. Its revenue is not yet reported.

Committee to Save New York, Inc. (CSNY)

www.letsfixalbany.com (defunct)

Type of group: Shadow governance

³³⁹ “Search Charities Database: New Yorkers United Together, Inc.”, *CharitiesNYS.com*, https://www.charitiesnys.com/RegistrySearch/show_details.jsp?id={300B255B-0000-CD1F-ADC3-1E9D45AF2C84} (Accessed February 9, 2018).

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Brian M. Rosenthal, “No Links to Cuomo? Their Ad Was Labeled ‘Client: Andrew Cuomo,’” *The New York Times*, Jul. 26, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/26/nyregion/watchdogs-say-cuomo-is-skirting-campaign-finance-rules.html?mtrref=tco>

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

Type of support: Budget, pension

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: November 18, 2010 – October 3, 2013³⁴⁷

Stated mission: “To educate New Yorkers regarding the state budget process, to participate in the budget process in a nonpartisan manner, and to evaluate and support proposals to reform the budget process that will allow for the fiscal and economic recovery of the Empire State.”³⁴⁸

Ties to the governor: The organization was reportedly founded at the urging of the governor.³⁴⁹ CSNY initially retained the public relations firm DKC; its chairman, Dan Klores, is a close friend of the governor.³⁵⁰ In late 2011, CSNY dropped DKC and commissioned the lobbying firm Mercury Public Affairs and partner Michael McKeon; McKeon was the executive director of Republicans for Cuomo during Gov. Cuomo’s 2010 campaign.³⁵¹

Activities: In the first 18 months of Gov. Cuomo’s term, CSNY supported his policy agenda with television and radio advertising. These ad campaigns included support for Gov. Cuomo’s budget and proposed pension cuts.³⁵² Many of the campaigns, such as a property tax cap and millionaire’s tax repeal, were criticized as benefiting wealthy New Yorkers, specifically businesses with ties to the nonprofit.³⁵³ CSNY reportedly spent more money on state lobbying than any other organization in New York in both 2011 and 2012.³⁵⁴

Two grassroots advocacy groups filed a complaint against CSNY in 2011, alleging that the nonprofit should register as a lobbying group, file its expenditures, and list Gov. Cuomo as the person for whom the group was lobbying.³⁵⁵ The group drew further fire when gambling interests donated \$2 million to CSNY shortly before Gov. Cuomo supported legalizing Vegas-style casinos in New York, making it a “centerpiece of his State of the State address.”³⁵⁶ Shortly afterward, Gov. Cuomo signed a state ethics law which required lobbying groups to disclose the sources of their funds.³⁵⁷ After the law was passed, he distanced himself from the

³⁴⁷ Entity Information, “Selected Entity Name: Committee to Save New York, Inc.”

<https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171333/CUOMO-NEW-YORK-Ft-340-Entity-Information-CSNY.jpg> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

³⁴⁸ U.S. Department of Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Committee to Save New York”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/274/274004381/274004381_201310_990O.pdf (2013)

³⁴⁹ Nicholas Confessore and Thomas Kaplan, “\$12 Million to Help Cuomo Came From Just 20 Donors,” *The New York Times*, May 11, 2012.

http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/12/nyregion/12-million-to-help-cuomo-came-from-just-20-people.html?_r=2

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Celeste Katz, “On Air: The Committee To Save New York,” *New York Daily News*, Mar. 4, 2011.

<http://www.nydailynews.com/blogs/dailypolitics/air-committee-save-new-york-blog-entry-1.1683433>; Celeste Katz, “CSNY Goes To Pension Tier VI Bat For Cuomo,” *New York Daily News*, Mar. 8, 2012. <http://www.nydailynews.com/blogs/dailypolitics/csnypension-tier-vi-bat-cuomo-blog-entry-1.1689333>

³⁵³ “The Committee to Save 1% NY.” *Public Accountability Initiative*. <http://public-accountability.org/wp-content/uploads/csnyp2012.pdf> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

³⁵⁴ Thomas Kaplan, “Business Leaders’ Committee That Backed Cuomo Finishes Its Business and Shuts Down,” *The New York Times*, Aug. 30, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/31/nyregion/business-leaders-committee-that-backed-cuomo-finishes-its-business-and-shuts-down.html>

³⁵⁵ Celeste Katz, “Grassroots Groups Want Committee To Save New York Investigated,” *New York Daily News*, Feb. 16, 2011.

<http://www.nydailynews.com/blogs/dailypolitics/grassroots-groups-committee-save-new-york-investigated-blog-entry-1.1683166>

³⁵⁶ Nicholas Confessore, Danny Hakim and Charles V. Bagli, “Gambling Group Gave \$2 Million to a Cuomo Ally,” *The New York Times*, Jun. 4, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/05/nyregion/gambling-interests-gave-cuomo-ally-millions.html>

³⁵⁷ Mark Glaser and Joshua Oppenheimer, “Two New Major Disclosure Requirements Take Effect for New York State Lobbyists and Their Clients,” *Lexology*, Apr. 18, 2012. <https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=498fa58f-f630-4099-a152-e5b7de563359>

nonprofit, fundraising for his agenda through the state Democratic Party instead.³⁵⁸ CSNY became dormant after the law took effect, and was officially disbanded in 2013.³⁵⁹

Other information: CSNY was founded by some of New York's wealthiest citizens, including bank CEOs, real estate developers, media owners, and hedge fund managers.³⁶⁰ It was run by a three-person executive committee that included Partnership for New York City (PNYC) President and CEO Kathryn Wylde, Real Estate Board of New York President Steven Spinola, and Rob Speyer, CEO of commercial real estate company Tishman Speyer.³⁶¹

Donor disclosure and revenue: CSNY did not disclose its donors.

A *New York Times* investigation revealed that CSNY's largest donor in 2011 was PNYC, a section 501(c)(3) nonprofit comprised of nearly 300 New York business leaders, which donated over \$3 million to CSNY.³⁶² PNYC members Citigroup and JPMorgan Chase also donated individually.³⁶³ A gambling association was the second largest donor, contributing \$2 million.³⁶⁴ Additionally, real estate companies Brookfield Properties, the Durst Organization, and Newmark Knight Frank contributed to CSNY.³⁶⁵ CSNY's identified backers include some of the state's biggest recipients of bank bailouts and corporate subsidies.³⁶⁶ While identifying information was redacted, 20 donors gave \$12 million to CSNY in 2011.³⁶⁷

In all, CSNY raised over \$17 million between 2010 and 2013.³⁶⁸

³⁵⁸ Kenneth Lovett, "Gov. Cuomo using State Democratic Party to Raise Money to Promote His Agenda, a Departure from Reliance on a Secret Lobbying Committee," *New York Daily News*, Feb. 25, 2013, <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/cuomo-retreats-committee-save-new-york-article-1.1272216>

³⁵⁹ Kaplan, *The New York Times*, Aug. 30, 2013.

³⁶⁰ Kevin Connor, "Who Is the Committee to Save New York?," Professional Staff Congress, City University of New York, April 2011, <http://psc-cuny.org/clarion/april-2011/who-committee-save-new-york> (Accessed January 23, 2018).

³⁶¹ *Public Accountability Initiative*, June 2012.

³⁶² "Our Members," *Partnership for New York City*, accessed January 23, 2018, <http://pnyc.org/members/>; see also Confessore, Hakim and Bagli, *New York Times*, June 4, 2012.

"Our Members," *Partnership for New York City*, accessed January 23, 2018, <http://pnyc.org/members/>; Confessore, Hakim and Bagli, *The New York Times*, Jun. 4, 2012.

³⁶³ Confessore, Hakim and Bagli, *The New York Times*, Jun. 4, 2012.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ *Public Accountability Initiative*, June 2012.

³⁶⁷ Confessore and Kaplan, *The New York Times*, May 11, 2012.

³⁶⁸ Katz, *New York Daily News*, Aug. 30, 2013.

North Carolina: Governor Roy Cooper

Democrat

Assumed office January 1, 2017

Currently serving first term, which will end January 2021; two consecutive term limit

Moving NC Forward (MNCF)

No public website

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: Dec. 28, 2016 - present³⁶⁹

Stated mission: “The organization will promote the social welfare by advocating for policies that advance economic growth, stronger schools, tolerance, and fair and legal electoral districts.”³⁷⁰

Ties to the governor: MNCF shares an address, suite number, and phone number with Nexus Strategies, a local political campaign and government relations firm that ran Gov. Cooper’s 2016 election campaign, and both organizations also share an address and phone number with Gov. Cooper’s campaign committee, Cooper for North Carolina.³⁷¹ *The New York Times* described Nexus Strategies co-founder Morgan Jackson as Gov. Cooper’s “chief strategist.”³⁷² Scott Falmlen, Nexus Strategies’ other co-founder, was treasurer of Gov. Cooper’s campaign committee during Gov. Cooper’s gubernatorial campaign through January 2017 and is currently the “custodian of books” for the campaign committee.³⁷³ Falmlen was on Gov. Cooper’s inaugural committee.³⁷⁴ Gov. Cooper paid Nexus Strategies hundreds of thousands of dollars over the course of his gubernatorial campaign.³⁷⁵ When a *WRAL* reporter asked Gov. Cooper’s office about MNCF, a spokeswoman said she “did not know about the group and referred questions to Cooper’s campaign

³⁶⁹ “Business Registration Search: Moving NC Forward,” *State of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State*. (Accessed January 24, 2018), [see https://www.sosnc.gov/search/index/corp](https://www.sosnc.gov/search/index/corp)

³⁷⁰ “Charities Search, Solicitation License Application: Moving NC Forward,” *State of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State*, Dec. 27, 2016 (Accessed January 24, 2018), [see https://www.sosnc.gov/online_services/search/by_title/charities](https://www.sosnc.gov/online_services/search/by_title/charities)

³⁷¹ “Nexus Strategies,” *Nexus Strategies*. <http://www.nexusstrategies.com/> (Accessed January 24, 2018); “Business Registration Search: Moving NC Forward,” *State of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State*, (Accessed January 24, 2018); John Frank, “Looking Ahead to 2016, McCrory and Cooper are Tied in Campaign Cash,” *News & Observer*, Sept 2, 2014, <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article10047731.html>; “Disclosure Report Cover: Cooper for North Carolina,” *State of North Carolina, North Carolina State Board of Elections*, (Accessed February 20, 2018), <http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=213782>

³⁷² Jason Zengerle, “Is North Carolina the Future of American Politics?” *The New York Times Magazine*, Jun. 20, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/magazine/is-north-carolina-the-future-of-american-politics.html>; “About Us,” *Nexus Strategies*. Accessed January 24, 2018. <http://www.nexusstrategies.com/about-us>. (Accessed January 24, 2018.)

³⁷³ “Statement of Organization – Candidate Committee: Cooper for North Carolina,” *State of North Carolina, North Carolina State Board of Elections*. (Accessed February 20, 2018), [see http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=189943](http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=189943); “Disclosure Report Cover: Cooper for North Carolina,” *State of North Carolina, North Carolina State Board of Elections*. (Accessed February 20, 2018), [see http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=205887](http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=205887); “Certification of Treasurer: Cooper for North Carolina,” *State of North Carolina, North Carolina State Board of Elections*. (Accessed February 20, 2018), [see http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=207543](http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=207543); “Statement of Organization – Candidate Committee: Cooper for North Carolina,” *State of North Carolina, North Carolina State Board of Elections*. (Accessed February 20, 2018), [see http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=207416](http://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ViewDocumentImage?DID=207416)

³⁷⁴ “Governor’s inauguration moves indoors,” *WRAL*, Jan. 4, 2017, <http://www.wral.com/governor-s-inauguration-moves-indoors/16400731/>

³⁷⁵ Michael Gebelein, “Outside Campaign Money Raising Stakes in NC Governor’s Race,” *Carolina Public Press*, Oct. 6, 2016, <https://www.carolinapublicpress.org/25978/campaign-money-raises-stakes-governor/>.

consultants at Nexus Strategies.”³⁷⁶ When Nexus Strategies was contacted, the *WRAL* reporter was then referred to MNCF President Tom Hendrickson.³⁷⁷ Hendrickson is a former state Democratic Party chairman, and he and MNCF’s other board members are longtime Democratic Party contributors.³⁷⁸ According to the *News & Observer*, Hendrickson stated that MNCF “was not formed to support Cooper’s political ambitions.”³⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the finance director for Gov. Cooper’s 2016 campaign, Kate Connelly, is also a member of MNCF’s fundraising committee.³⁸⁰

Activities: Little is known about MNCF, but the group held a two-day event in March 2017 that included a reception with Gov. Cooper as well as “policy talks” that were “led by special guests from the Governor’s Leadership Team.”³⁸¹ Donations to attend the event ranged from \$10,000 to \$100,000.³⁸² MNCF held another two-day event in June 2017 that was also attended by Gov. Cooper and “key members of his administration,” including his health and human services secretary, transportation secretary, and state budget director.³⁸³ While the invitation to the event did not list donation amounts, it did provide an address to mail contributions to, and noted that those contributions would not be tax-deductible.³⁸⁴ *WRAL* reported that Gov. Cooper was listed as the headliner for the gathering.³⁸⁵ According to Gov. Cooper’s spokesperson, he was only speaking at a lunch and was not involved in any fundraising efforts.³⁸⁶ Hendrickson said that MNCF plans to hold three meetings each year.³⁸⁷

Donor disclosure and revenue: MNCF does not publicly disclose its donors. When asked if MNCF would be releasing donor information, Hendrickson said the prospect had not been discussed but that MNCF would “fully comply with the law.”³⁸⁸ Paperwork filed with North Carolina’s secretary of state reveals that MNCF raised \$370,000 in its fiscal year ending 6/30/2017. Kate Connelly, Gov. Cooper’s finance director for his 2016 gubernatorial campaign, reported that she had raised \$493,000 for MNCF from March - November 2017.³⁸⁹

³⁷⁶ Mark Binker, “New Dark Money Group Raising Big Dollars on Promise of Access to Cooper and His Staff,” *WRAL*, Mar. 18, 2017, <http://www.wral.com/new-dark-money-group-raising-big-dollars-on-promise-of-access-to-cooper/16590828/>.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ Craig Jarvis, “Social Welfare’ Group Raising Money Off Talks by Cooper and his Cabinet,” *News & Observer*, Jun. 9, 2017, <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article155368184.html>.

³⁸⁰ Travis Fain, “Cooper to attend dark money group’s year-end event,” *WRAL*, Nov. 14, 2017, <http://www.wral.com/cooper-to-attend-dark-money-group-s-year-end-event/17114225/>; “Charitable Solicitation Licensing: Moving North Carolina Forward,” *State of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State*. (Accessed February 20, 2018), see “Financial Information 2016” when searching for “Moving NC Forward” in the North Carolina Charities & Fundraisers database at https://www.sosnc.gov/online_services/search/Charities_Results

³⁸¹ Binker, *WRAL*, Mar. 18, 2017.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ Jarvis, *News & Observer*, Jun. 9, 2017.

³⁸⁴ Travis Fain, “Cooper, Stein Attend Annual Meeting for Dark Money Group,” *WRAL*, June 20, 2017, <http://www.wral.com/cooper-stein-attend-annual-meeting-for-dark-money-group/16795251/>.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁹ “Charities Search, Budget. Moving NC Forward,” *State of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State*. https://www.sosnc.gov/online_services/search/by_title/charities (Accessed February 9, 2017).

Ohio: Governor John Kasich

Republican

Assumed office January 10, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two consecutive term limit

Balanced Budget Forever (BBF)

www.balancedbudgetforever.com (defunct)³⁹⁰

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support of support: Budget

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: November 13, 2014 – October 21, 2016³⁹¹

Stated mission: “Promote an amendment to the Constitution to require a Balanced Federal Budget.”³⁹²

Ties to the governor: In December 2014, *Politico* reported that Gov. Kasich had “created a 501(c)(4) nonprofit, called Balanced Budget Forever.”³⁹³ A few months later, *The Washington Post* confirmed the link, describing BBF as “a non-profit advocacy group founded by Kasich associates.”³⁹⁴ Jo Ann Davidson, the president of BBF, is a friend of Gov. Kasich’s and a “member of [his] inner circle.”³⁹⁵ A previous speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives, she was appointed by Gov. Kasich to the Ohio Casino Control Commission in 2011.³⁹⁶ Davidson is also connected to Two Paths America (TPA), another nonprofit supporting Gov. Kasich’s agenda — she signed the paperwork changing its name and is reportedly serving on the board.³⁹⁷ BBF Secretary Ron Hartman, also referred to as a “longtime friend,” has been an adviser to Gov. Kasich in the past.³⁹⁸ Directors Don Thibaut and Bob Klafky are considered “key members of Kasich’s

³⁹⁰ “Balanced Budget Forever,” *Balanced Budget Forever* (stored on Wayback Machine).

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160313095107/http://balancedbudgetforever.com/> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

³⁹¹ Corporation Details: “Balanced Budget Forever” *Ohio, Office of the Secretary of State*.

https://www5.sos.state.oh.us/ords/f?p=100:7::NO:7:P7_CHARTER_NUM:2342606 (Accessed February 1, 2018).

³⁹² U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Balanced Budget Forever.”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472458495/472458495_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

³⁹³ James Hohmann, “John Kasich’s crusade,” *Politico*, Dec. 14, 2014. <https://www.politico.com/story/2014/12/john-kasichs-crusade-113559>

³⁹⁴ Robert Costa, “Ohio Gov. John Kasich heads to early primary state of South Carolina,” *The Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 2015.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/02/11/ohio-gov-john-kasich-heads-to-early-primary-state-of-south-carolina/?utm_term=.dc1abf0c9ae3

³⁹⁵ Darrel Rowland, “Capitol Insider: Jo Ann Davidson Votes Against RNC Conscience Clause,” *Columbus Dispatch*, Jul. 16, 2016,

<http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2016/07/17/capitol-insider-jo-ann-davidson-votes-against-conscience-clause.html>;

Thomas Suddes, “The RNC’s Petty, Shameful Slight to Former Ohio Speaker Jo Ann Davidson: Thomas Suddes,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*,

Jul. 25, 2016. http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2016/07/the_rncs_petty_shameful_slight.html; U.S. Department of the

Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Balanced Budget Forever.”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472458495/472458495_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

³⁹⁶ “Jo Ann Davidson,” *Ohio History Central*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Jo_Ann_Davidson (Accessed January 24, 2018); Dave

Davis, “Gov. John Kasich Taps Seven for First-Ever Ohio Casino Control Commission,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Feb. 23, 2011,

http://www.blog.cleveland.com/metro/2011/02/gov_kasich_taps_seven_for_firs.html

³⁹⁷ “Certificate of Amendment to Foreign Licensed Corporation Application: Two Paths America,” State of Ohio, Office of Secretary of State, Feb. 10, 2017, [https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171351/KASICH-OHIO-](https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171351/KASICH-OHIO-Ft-390-Certificate-of-Amendment-TPA.pdf)

[Ft-390-Certificate-of-Amendment-TPA.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/storage.citizensforethics.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/29171351/KASICH-OHIO-Ft-390-Certificate-of-Amendment-TPA.pdf). (Accessed January 24, 2018); Henry J. Gomez, “John Kasich’s Allies Launch Political

Organization to Promote His Vision (And to Counter Trump’s),” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Feb. 10, 2017,

http://www.cleveland.com/politics/index.ssf/2017/02/john_kasichs_allies_launch_pol.html.

³⁹⁸ Joe Vardon, “Kasich Lives Advice: ‘Bring Change,’” *Columbus Dispatch*, Dec. 29, 2013,

<http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2013/12/29/kasich-lives-advice-bring-change.html>; U.S. Department of the Treasury,

Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Balanced Budget Forever.”

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472458495/472458495_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

kitchen cabinet.”³⁹⁹ They both have been Columbus lobbyists.⁴⁰⁰ Finally, Jai Chabria, a former senior adviser to Gov. Kasich, who worked for him from 2010 to 2016, listed “develop[ing] and launch[ing] the Balanced Budget Forever national tour” as part of his biography on his consulting firm’s website.⁴⁰¹

Activities: In December 2014, Gov. Kasich visited Arizona as part of a tour to advocate for a balanced budget constitutional amendment. This trip was “aided” by BBF.⁴⁰² In January 2015, Gov. Kasich visited North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho on the tour.⁴⁰³ BBF published a number of videos in January and February 2015, most of which featured Gov. Kasich, that focused on the balanced budget amendment, targeting South Carolina, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Arizona.⁴⁰⁴

The high profile trips led to speculation about Gov. Kasich’s 2016 presidential aspirations.⁴⁰⁵ Gov. Kasich ultimately entered the race on July 21, 2015; he failed to secure a nomination as the Republican candidate, dropping out on May 4, 2016.⁴⁰⁶ BBF was dissolved October 21, 2016.⁴⁰⁷

Donor disclosure and revenue: BBF’s contributors were included in a public version of its 2015 tax return. This type of identifying information is usually redacted in publicly available tax filings, though it is unclear whether this additional disclosure was intentional or released by mistake. BBF reported \$370,105 in revenue in its 2015 filings, including \$100,000 from Centene Corp, \$50,000 from CBI Ventures LLC, \$40,000 from One Ohio United, Inc., \$15,000 from 55 Green Meadows LLC, and \$154,500 from individuals.⁴⁰⁸

Two Paths America (TPA)

www.twopathsamerica.com

Type of group: Dark money/Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda, elections

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: September 23, 2015 – present⁴⁰⁹

Stated mission: “Two Paths America is focused broadly on public policy that encourages a Balanced Budget Amendment to the United States Constitution, the need for a strong national defense rooted in America’s international leadership, a forward-looking national energy plan that meets current needs economically while

³⁹⁹ Ibid.; Henry J. Gomez, “Meet the Advisers and Insiders Behind Ohio Gov. John Kasich’s Campaign for President,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 9, 2015, http://www.cleveland.com/open/index.ssf/2015/07/meet_the_advisers_and_insiders.html.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ “Jai Chabria,” *Mercury*, accessed January 24, 2018, <http://www.mercuryllc.com/experts/jai-chabria/>.

⁴⁰² Henry J. Gomez, “Gov. John Kasich to Launch balanced Budget Tour in Arizona with Help from New Fundraising Organization,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Dec. 9, 2014, http://www.cleveland.com/open/index.ssf/2014/12/gov_john_kasich_to_launch_bal.html.

⁴⁰³ Nord, *Associated Press*, Jan. 21, 2015.

⁴⁰⁴ “Balanced Budget Forever Team,” *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCH7Q4SuKl0WzDnGcH7WlsNg> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁴⁰⁵ Sam Brodey, “The Governor of Ohio Has a Gloriously Terrible Plan to Amend the Constitution,” *Mother Jones*, Feb. 25, 2015, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/02/john-kasichs-quest-balanced-budget-amendment/>.

⁴⁰⁶ Sheryl Gay Stolberg, “John Kasich Enters 2016 Race, Hoping Centrist Appeal Sets Him Apart,” *The New York Times*, Jul. 21, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/22/us/politics/john-kasich-election-2016-presidential-race.html>; Daniel Strauss, “Kasich Drops Out of Presidential Race,” *Politico*, May 4, 2016, <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/05/kasich-dropping-out-of-presidential-race-222792>.

⁴⁰⁷ “Corporation Details: Balanced Budget Forever,” *State of Ohio, Office of the Secretary of State*, https://www5.sos.state.oh.us/ords/f?p=100:7::NO:7:P7_CHARTER_NUM:2342606 (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁴⁰⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Balanced Budget Forever,” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472458495/472458495_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

⁴⁰⁹ “Corporation Details: Two Paths America” Ohio, Office of the Secretary of State, https://www5.sos.state.oh.us/ords/f?p=100:7::NO:7:P7_CHARTER_NUM:2431342 (Accessed February 1, 2018).

developing renewable energy resources for the future, and a renewal of a national sense of community and exemplary citizenship.”⁴¹⁰

Ties to the governor: Brooke Bodney, Gov. Kasich’s political fundraiser, was the nonprofit’s primary fundraiser in 2015, when it was known as Public Policy Matters (PPM).⁴¹¹ Gov. Kasich’s political advisors John Weaver and Chris Schrimpf, who served respectively as chief strategist and senior communications adviser his 2016 presidential campaign, are leading TPA as of February 10, 2017.⁴¹²

Activities: TPA was originally active as PPM in the 2016 Republican presidential primary, but has since been rebranded as Two Paths America and shifted to supporting Gov. Kasich’s agenda. It first emerged in New Hampshire, mailing out voter shaming letters that tried to push voter turnout by providing recipients with information about their and their neighbors’ voting histories.⁴¹³ The letters warned the recipients that “[y]ou and your friends, your neighbors, and other people you know will all know who voted and who did not vote.”⁴¹⁴ The mail was delivered to voters ahead of the state’s 2016 presidential primary.⁴¹⁵ Ohio corporate records identified J.B. Hadden as PPM’s director.⁴¹⁶ Mr. Hadden previously served as campaign treasurer for Ohio Attorney General, and Gov. Kasich supporter, Mike DeWine.⁴¹⁷

On February 7, 2017, PPM changed its name to Two Paths America.⁴¹⁸ On February 10, 2017, it was announced as a “new” organization that, according to *CNN*, would “champion [Gov. Kasich’s] campaign themes.”⁴¹⁹ The name is also similar to Gov. Kasich’s book title, “Two Paths: America Divided or United,” which was revealed a little over a week before TPA’s launch.⁴²⁰

When asked about the organization’s voter shaming work as PPM after the group’s ties to Gov. Kasich’s political operation had been identified, Schrimpf replied, “(t)he organization (Public Policy Matters) believed that it is important to encourage citizens to vote. The practice referenced is a common one developed by political scientists. It wasn’t affiliated with the campaign. It was an independent organization.”⁴²¹

Donor disclosure and revenue: TPA does not disclose its donors. TPA reported \$313,370 in revenue in 2016.⁴²²

⁴¹⁰ “Projects,” *Two Paths America*. <http://www.twopathsameric.com/projects/> (Accessed January 24, 2018).

⁴¹¹ Matt Corley, “New Hampshire Voter Shaming Letters Were Likely Meant to Help Kasich,” *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington*, Jul. 18, 2017. <https://www.citizensforethics.org/new-hampshire-voter-shaming-letters-likely-meant-help-kasich/>

⁴¹² Gomez, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Feb. 10, 2017.

⁴¹³ Rachel Stockman, “EXCLUSIVE: NH Voters Receive Shady, Potentially Illegal ‘Voter Shaming’ Letters,” *Law & Crime*, Feb. 8, 2016. <https://www.lawnewz.com/politics/exclusive-nh-voter-receive-shady-potentially-illegal-voter-shaming-letters/>

⁴¹⁴ Chuck Ross, “Firm Behind New Hampshire ‘Voter Shaming’ Mailers Has Ties to Marco Rubio’s Campaign, Super PAC,” *The Daily Caller*, Feb. 9, 2016. <http://dailycaller.com/2016/02/09/firm-behind-new-hampshire-voter-shaming-mailers-has-ties-to-marco-rubios-campaign-super-pac/>

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Corley, *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington*, Jul. 18, 2017.

⁴¹⁷ Matt Corley, “How to Use Dark Money Nonprofits to Run Your Voter Shaming Program,” *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington*, Feb. 9, 2016. <https://www.citizensforethics.org/how-to-use-dark-money-nonprofits-to-run-your-voter-shaming-program/>

⁴¹⁸ *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington*, Jul. 18, 2017

⁴¹⁹ Dana Bash, “First on CNN: John Kasich Starts New Political Chapter,” *CNN*, Feb. 10, 2017.

<http://www.cnn.com/2017/02/10/politics/john-kasich-political-organization-donald-trump/index.html>

⁴²⁰ *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington*, Jul. 18, 2017

⁴²¹ Randy Ludlow, “Mystery Solved: Kasich Backers Behind Campaign to ‘Shame’ New Hampshire Voters,” *Columbus Dispatch*, Jul. 19, 2017. <http://www.dispatch.com/news/20170719/mystery-solved-kasich-backers-behind-campaign-to-shame-new-hampshire-voters>

⁴²² U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Public Policy Matters.” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/474/474854159/474854159_201612_990O.pdf (2016).

Tennessee: Governor Bill Haslam

Republican

Assumed office January 15, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; two consecutive term limit

Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc. (TSS)

www.tnsuccess.org

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Education

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: November 24, 2014 – present⁴²³

Stated Mission: “[T]o support and pursue a better education system and improved student achievement in Tennessee.”⁴²⁴

Ties to the governor: Jeremy Harrell, the first executive director of TSS, was Gov. Haslam’s campaign manager in his 2014 re-election effort. He has also worked for the Haslam administration overseeing government appointments to boards and commissions as well as the Tennessee Republican Party.⁴²⁵ Mark Cate, Gov. Haslam’s former chief of staff, started a consulting firm, Stones River Group (SRG), that worked with TSS in 2015.⁴²⁶ Harrell joined the firm after leaving TSS.⁴²⁷ As recently as August 2016, TSS worked out of an office on the same floor and in the same building as the office of SRG.⁴²⁸

Activities: TSS was created during a political battle over Tennessee Standards, the state’s version of Common Core.⁴²⁹ Gov. Haslam was credited with helping to usher in the standards during his first term in office.⁴³⁰ While Gov. Haslam was calling for a “full vetting” of the plan by the time of TSS’ creation, he still

⁴²³ Business Entity Detail, “000779181: Nonprofit Corporation – Domestic: Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc.” *Tennessee, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://tnbear.tn.gov/Ecommerce/FilingDetail.aspx?CN=160221079147217177133021108151160171190164177236> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁴²⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc.,” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472541950/472541950_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

⁴²⁵ Tom Humphrey, “Haslam’s former campaign managers team in consulting firm,” *Tom Humphrey’s Humphrey on the Hill* (blog), Nov. 3, 2015, <http://www.knoxblogs.com/umphreyhill/2015/11/03/haslams-former-campaign-managers-team-in-consulting-firm/>; Jason Gonzales, “New Education Group Has Close Ties To Haslam,” *Tennessean*, Jan. 21, 2015, <https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/education/2015/01/21/jeremy-harrell-bill-haslam-tennesseans-student-success/22109225/>.

⁴²⁶ Dave Boucher and Nate Rau, “Exclusive: Texts Show Ex-Haslam Aide’s Chats During Cooling Off Period,” *Tennessean*, Aug. 7, 2016, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2016/08/06/texts-show-ex-haslam-aides-legislative-chats-during-cooling-off-period/88070366/>; “Client Listings,” *Stones River Group*, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b1df12beba58ff01e30d/t/5994563a59cc688311903f42/1502893627473/SRG_ClientListings_R1+%281%29.pdf (Accessed January 22, 2017).

⁴²⁷ Dave Boucher and Nate Rau, “Ex-Haslam Aide Defends Legislative Conversations During Cooling Off Period,” *News Sentinel* (Knoxville, TN), Aug. 7, 2016, <http://archive.knoxnews.com/news/politics/ex-haslam-aide-defends-legislative-conversations-during-cooling-off-period-397f75e9-5aab-73ac-e053-0-389422281.html>; Humphrey, *Tom Humphrey’s Humphrey on the Hill* (blog), November 3, 2015.

⁴²⁸ Dave Boucher and Nate Rau, “Mark Cate Keeps Clout after Leaving Haslam’s Office,” *Tennessean*, Aug. 6, 2016, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/2016/08/06/mark-cate-keeps-clout-after-leaving-haslams-office/88070006/>.

⁴²⁹ Gonzales, *Tennessean*, Jan. 21, 2015.

⁴³⁰ Grace Tatter, “Commercial About State Educational Standards Makes Super Bowl Splash,” *Chalkbeat*, Feb. 3, 2015, <http://tn.chalkbeat.org/posts/tn/2015/02/03/commercial-about-state-educational-standards-makes-super-bowl-splash/>; Joey Garrison, “Haslam, In Tone Change, Seeks ‘Full Vetting’ of Common Core,” *Tennessean*, Sept. 25, 2014, <http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/2014/09/25/haslam-in-tone-change-seeks-full-vetting-of-common-core/16207225/>.

defended the standards as key to the state's recent educational gains.⁴³¹ A number of Tennessee state legislators opposed the standards.⁴³² TSS' reported motto was "Going Backwards is Unacceptable." Harrell, in his capacity as executive director of TSS, noted that "[t]he education gains we've made in recent years are worth celebrating, worth defending and worth continuing."⁴³³ When the *Chattanooga Times Free Press* asked the Haslam administration about its ties to TSS, a spokesman replied that "[TSS] is an independent organization that supports continued education gains in Tennessee."⁴³⁴

TSS paid for various ad campaigns in support of Tennessee Standards in 2015. The group sponsored a \$137,000 ad buy, which included a spot during the local Nashville broadcast of the Super Bowl featuring parents and teachers saying, "We have the fastest-improving schools in the nation. Yet some politicians want to drag us back to the days of lower standards, less accountability and fewer choices for parents. And that's why they need to hear from us."⁴³⁵ The group ran cable ads in all of Tennessee's major markets; the nonprofit also ran radio ads. The ad campaigns were described as "one of the most visible efforts to counter" the arguments made by Tennessee state legislators that Common Core constituted federal overreach.⁴³⁶ TSS sent direct mail flyers in support of multiple state legislators, including state Sen. Steven Dickerson and state Rep. Joe Pitts.⁴³⁷ Sen. Dickerson is on the Senate Education Committee; Rep. Pitts is on the House Education Committee.⁴³⁸ TSS also organized constituents to attend a House subcommittee hearing about Common Core State Standards.⁴³⁹

In October 2016, TSS was a sponsored of a negative ad attacking a state House Democratic candidate.⁴⁴⁰ Gloria Johnson, the subject of the ad, noted that TSS "claims to be an education focused non-profit but they have spent tremendous resources launching negative attacks that have nothing to do with education."⁴⁴¹

In November 2016, TSS announced in a press release that it had spent \$975,000 since April 2016 "to make sure Tennesseans knew about the great things happening in their classrooms."⁴⁴² Reporting on the press release, the *Tennessee Journal* blog noted that "[i]n general, [TSS] takes the same positions on education issues as does Gov. Bill Haslam."⁴⁴³

TSS had six lobbyists registered as of September 2017.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³¹ Garrison, *Tennessean*, Sept. 25, 2014.; Andy Sher, "Student Success' Group Spending Big Money to Defend Gov. Bill Haslam," *Times Free Press* (Chattanooga, TN), Feb. 19, 2015. <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/politics/state/story/2015/feb/19/groups-spending-supports-governor/289060/>

⁴³² Sher, *Tennessean*, Feb. 19, 2015.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Sher, *Tennessean*, Feb. 19, 2015.; Tatter, *Chalkbeat*, Feb. 3, 2015.

⁴³⁶ Tatter, *Chalkbeat*, Feb. 3, 2015.

⁴³⁷ Gonzales, *Tennessean*, Jan. 21, 2015.

⁴³⁸ "Senator Steven Dickerson," *Tennessee General Assembly* (stored on Wayback Machine). <http://web.archive.org/web/20141219112748/http://www.capitol.tn.gov/Senate/members/s20.html> (accessed January 22, 2018); "Rep. Joe Pitts," *Tennessee General Assembly* (stored on Wayback Machine). <http://web.archive.org/web/20141208021701/http://www.capitol.tn.gov/80/house/members/h67.html> (accessed January 22, 2018).

⁴³⁹ Grace Tatter, "Common Core Bill Delayed as Conversation Shifts in Legislature," *Chalkbeat*, Feb. 11, 2015. <https://www.chalkbeat.org/posts/tn/2015/02/11/common-core-bill-delayed-as-conversation-shifts-in-legislature/>

⁴⁴⁰ Thomas Fraser, "Ballot Bits: Gloria Johnson Condemns 'Creepy Clown' Attack Ad," *Knoxville Mercury*, Oct. 31, 2016. <http://www.knoxmercury.com/2016/10/31/ballot-bits-gloria-johnson-condemns-creepy-clown-attack-ad/>

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Tom Humphrey, "Group spent \$975K Helping 'Re-Elect pro-Education Candidates' in TN Legislature," *The Tennessee Journal's Humphrey on the Hill* (blog), November 16, 2016. <http://humphreyonthehill.tnjournal.net/group-spent-975k-helping-re-elect-pro-education-candidates-tn-legislature/>

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ "Search for Employers & Expenditure Reports," *Tennessee Ethics Commission*, <https://apps.tn.gov/ilobbysearch-app/search.htm> (accessed on September 28, 2017).

Gov. Haslam quietly signed a bill to review and replace the Common Core standards in May 2015.⁴⁴⁵ The standards were officially phased out and replaced with a different policy in April 2016.⁴⁴⁶

Then TSS board member Darrell Cobbins wrote a June 2017 op-ed supporting further education reform for the *Commercial Appeal*, noting that during the most recent legislative session, TSS “supported six pieces of legislation that would bring positive changes to all our classrooms and celebrated their ultimate passage.”⁴⁴⁷ The first bill mentioned was “a bill to highlight the need to keep our Tennessee-specific standards aligned to our Tennessee-specific assessment.”⁴⁴⁸

Donor disclosure and revenue: TSS does not disclose donors. When asked about funders in 2015, then Executive Director Harrell said they were “[p]eople who care very deeply about improving student achievement in Tennessee, and want to continue to build on the progress we’ve made.”⁴⁴⁹

TSS reported \$750,000 in contributions and grants in 2015.⁴⁵⁰

Tennessee Business Partnership (TBP)

www.tnbp.org (defunct)⁴⁵¹

Type of group: Shadow governance

Type of support: Overall agenda

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: January 7, 2014 – November 21, 2017⁴⁵²

Stated mission: “The Tennessee Business Partnership (the ‘Partnership’) is an alliance of business leaders and organizations who support policy solutions that foster economic growth and enhance Tennessee’s competitiveness[.] The partnership advances its policy initiatives through a statewide effort that combines educating the public, engaging with policymakers, and supporting other like-minded organizations including making grants[.] In 2015, the partnership engaged primarily in education reform issues[.]”⁴⁵³

Ties to the governor: TBP’s plans were first announced by Gov. Haslam’s legal counsel, Herbert Slatery.⁴⁵⁴ Stephen Susano, the executive director of TBP until August 31, 2015, is a principal and COO at the public

⁴⁴⁵ Grace Tatter, “Haslam Signs Common Core Bill into Law,” *Chalkbeat*, May 12, 2015, <https://www.chalkbeat.org/posts/tn/2015/05/12/haslam-signs-tennessee-common-core-bill-into-law/>.

⁴⁴⁶ Melanie Balakit, “Tennessee Phases Out Common Core,” *Tennessean*, Apr. 15, 2016, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/education/2016/04/15/tennessee-phases-out-common-core/83085942/>.

⁴⁴⁷ Darrell Cobbins, “Six Education Bills That Mattered in the Last Legislative Sessions,” *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, TN), Jun. 9, 2017, <http://www.commercialappeal.com/story/opinion/2017/06/09/six-education-bills-mattered-last-legislative-session/382510001/>; “Board Members,” *Tennesseans for Student Success* (stored on Wayback Machine), <http://web.archive.org/web/20170617142907/http://tnsuccess.org/>, (Accessed January 22, 2018).

⁴⁴⁸ Cobbins, *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, TN), Jun. 9, 2017; “Board Members,” *Tennesseans for Student Success* (stored on Wayback Machine).

⁴⁴⁹ Sher, *Times Free Press* (Chattanooga, TN), Feb. 19, 2015.

⁴⁵⁰ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc.,” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/472/472541950/472541950_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

⁴⁵¹ “Tennessee Business Partnership,” *Tennessee Business Partnership* (stored on Wayback Machine), <https://web.archive.org/web/20161010120700/http://tnbp.org/>, (Accessed February 7, 2018).

⁴⁵² “Business Entity Detail: Tennessee Business Partnership,” *Tennessee, Office of the Secretary of State*, <https://tnbear.tn.gov/Ecommerce/FilingDetail.aspx?CN=208189220245054132019189028169079139118076255231> (February 9, 2018).

⁴⁵³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership,” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201512_990O.pdf (2015). TBP 2015 990

⁴⁵⁴ Tom Humphrey, “Business-friendly governor blessed by business groups’ backing,” *Tom Humphrey’s Humphrey on the Hill* (blog), Mar. 3, 2014, <http://knoxblogs.com/humphreyhill/2014/03/03/business-friendly-governor-gets-blessings-business-groups/>

affairs firm Stones River Group, where a number of former Haslam staffers are currently employed;⁴⁵⁵ the firm was founded by Gov. Haslam's ex-chief of staff and 2010 campaign manager, Mark Cate.⁴⁵⁶ Gov. Haslam's 2014 re-election campaign manager, Jeremy Harrell, is another principal.⁴⁵⁷ Additionally, several other individuals with links to Gov. Haslam also work for TBP: Johnny Pitts, the secretary of TBP as of December 31, 2015, was the Memphis co-chair of one of Gov. Haslam's inauguration committees.⁴⁵⁸ Raja Jubran, who served as TBP's treasurer, was appointed by Gov. Haslam to the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees in 2012.⁴⁵⁹ Gov. Haslam's chief fundraiser, Kim Kaegi, was also the lead fundraiser for TBP when the group first launched.⁴⁶⁰ Finally, TBP provided a \$200,000 grant to another group, Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc., with ties to Gov. Haslam (see previous group above).⁴⁶¹

Activities: TBP launched in early 2014, announcing that it would focus on supporting Tennessee's K-12 educational reforms and two of Gov. Haslam's other educational projects: Tennessee Promise, which would make the state's community, applied technology, and other eligible colleges offering associate degrees free for qualifying high school students,⁴⁶² and Drive to 55, which set a benchmark of 55% of Tennesseans achieving a college degree or certificate by 2025.⁴⁶³ Additionally, the group also planned to support a constitutional amendment which would allow the governor to appoint appellate judges.⁴⁶⁴

While little is known about TBP's activity supporting Gov. Haslam's educational platforms, TBP was a main financial backer of the constitutional amendment, which was listed on the 2014 ballot as Amendment 2.⁴⁶⁵ Gov. Haslam's legal counsel, Herbert Slatery, was the first to announce TBP's plan to back the amendment at a Tennessee Business Roundtable breakfast.⁴⁶⁶ "Vote YES on 2" was included in TBP's tax filing as a related organization.⁴⁶⁷ Gov. Haslam became a co-chair of the "Vote YES on 2" campaign, appearing in a TV ad

⁴⁵⁵ Tom Humphrey, "Consulting group poaches another member of Gov. Haslam's administration," *Knoxville News Sentinel*, Aug. 14, 2016, <http://archive.knoxnews.com/news/politics/consulting-group-poaches-another-member-of-gov-haslams-administration-3a0ba7f1-5680-684f-e053-010000-390129671.html/>; "About Us." *Stones River Group*. <http://www.stonesrivergroup.com/about/> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁴⁵⁶ Humphrey, "Consulting group poaches another member of Gov. Haslam's administration."

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ "ChangeMakers: Johnny Pitts," *cityCurrent*, Dec. 9, 2016. <http://www.citycurrent.com/blogdetails/219/ChangeMakers-Johnny-Pitts>

⁴⁵⁹ "Haslam Appoints Two New members to Higher Education Boards," *Tennessee Office of the Governor* (stored on Wayback Machine). <https://web.archive.org/web/20170113022010/http://www.tn.gov/governor/news/33252> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁴⁶⁰ Tom Humphrey, "Business-friendly governor blessed by business groups' backing," *Tom Humphrey's Humphrey on the Hill* (blog), Mar. 3, 2014, <http://www.knoxblogs.com/humphreyhill/2014/03/03/business-friendly-governor-gets-blessings-business-groups/>

⁴⁶¹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership" http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201512_990O.pdf (2015); U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership" http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201412_990O.pdf (2014); Dave Boucher and Nate Rau, "Exclusive: Texts show ex-Haslam aide's chats during cooling off period," *Tennessean*, Aug. 6, 2016, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2016/08/06/texts-show-ex-haslam-aides-legislative-chats-during-cooling-off-period/88070366/>; "Current and former clients." *Stones River Group*. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b1df12beba58ff01e30d/t/5994563a59cc688311903f42/1502893627473/SRG_ClientListings_R1+%281%29.pdf (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁴⁶² "About." *Tennessee Promise*. <http://tnpromise.gov/about.shtml>.

⁴⁶³ "New nonprofit Tennessee Business Partnership to focus on job creation," *Tennessean*, Feb. 17, 2014. <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/2014/02/18/new-nonprofit-tennessee-business-partnership-to-focus-on-job-creation/5572205/>; "Home." *Drive to 55 Alliance*. <http://www.driveto55.org/>

⁴⁶⁴ "New nonprofit Tennessee Business Partnership to focus on job creation"; "Tennessee Judicial Selection, Amendment 2 (2014)," *Ballotpedia*, [https://ballotpedia.org/Tennessee_Judicial_Selection_Amendment_2_\(2014\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Tennessee_Judicial_Selection_Amendment_2_(2014)) [https://ballotpedia.org/Tennessee_Judicial_Selection_Amendment_2_\(2014\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Tennessee_Judicial_Selection_Amendment_2_(2014)) (defunct).

⁴⁶⁵ [https://ballotpedia.org/Tennessee_Judicial_Selection_Amendment_2_\(2014\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Tennessee_Judicial_Selection_Amendment_2_(2014)) (defunct) "Tennessee Judicial Selection, Amendment 2 (2014)."

⁴⁶⁶ Humphrey, "Business-friendly governor blessed by business groups' backing."

⁴⁶⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership" http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201412_990O.pdf (2014).

spot to support the amendment.⁴⁶⁸ TBP donated over \$1.2 million to the official “Vote YES on 2” committee — nearly three-quarters of the total raised by the campaign.⁴⁶⁹ Amendment 2 was approved with 60% of the vote.⁴⁷⁰

In early 2015, the leader of the opposition to the amendment filed a complaint with the Registry of Election Finance, alleging that TBP’s anonymous donors were used to obscure the source of funding to the “Vote YES on 2” campaign, pointing out that TBP had the same address and registered agent as the official “Vote Yes on 2” committee: “Due to these associations between [TBP] and the Vote Yes on 2 LLC committee, no meaningful disclosure of the source of the \$1,225,000 has ever been made. Point of fact, these two entities appear to be synonymous.”⁴⁷¹ The complaint was dismissed in May 2015.⁴⁷²

In 2015, TBP also gave a grant for \$250,000 to Tennesseans for Student Success LLC, an entity listed as a related entity by both TBP and a second nonprofit connected to both Gov. Haslam and Stones River Group, Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc.⁴⁷³ In 2014, TBP gave a grant of over \$200,000 to Tennesseans for Student Success, Inc.⁴⁷⁴

Donor disclosure and revenue: TBP does not publicly disclose its donors. It reported \$826,000 in revenue in 2015, and \$2,935,872 in 2014.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶⁸ Tom Humphrey, “First ‘Yes on 2’ TV ad features Bredesen, Haslam,” *Tom Humphrey’s Humphrey on the Hill* (blog), Oct. 9, 2014, <http://www.knoxblogs.com/humphreyhill/2014/10/09/first-yes-2-tv-ad-features-bredesen-haslam/>.

⁴⁶⁹ CREW analysis of Vote YES on 2 filings; see <https://www.tn.gov/tref/tref-referendum-committees.html>; Stacey Shrader, “Complaint Filed Against ‘Yes on 2’ Group,” *TBA Law Blog* (blog), Feb 2, 2015, <http://www.tba.org/news/complaint-filed-against-yes-on-2-group>.

⁴⁷⁰ “Tennessee Judicial Selection, Amendment 2 (2014).”

⁴⁷¹ Shrader, “Complaint Filed Against ‘Yes on 2’ Group.”

⁴⁷² “Registry of Election Finance: May 13, 2015,” *www.tennessee.gov* (stored on Wayback Machine) <https://web.archive.org/web/20170216044919/http://tennessee.gov/assets/entities/tref/attachments/2015.05.Minutes.pdf> (Accessed February 1, 2018).

⁴⁷³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

⁴⁷⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201512_990O.pdf (2015); U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201412_990O.pdf (2014); Dave Boucher and Nate Rau, “Exclusive: Texts show ex-Haslam aide’s chats during cooling off period,” *Tennessean*, Aug. 6, 2016, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2016/08/06/texts-show-ex-haslam-aides-legislative-chats-during-cooling-off-period/88070366/>; “Current and former clients.” *Stones River Group*. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b1df12bebaf58ff01e30d/t/5994563a59cc688311903f42/1502893627473/SRG_ClientListings_R1+%281%29.pdf (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁴⁷⁵ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201512_990O.pdf (2015); U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Tennessee Business Partnership” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/464/464445206/464445206_201412_990O.pdf (2014).

Wisconsin: Governor Scott Walker

Republican

Assumed office January 3, 2011

Currently serving second term, which will end January 2019; no term limit

Wisconsin Club for Growth, Inc. (WCG)

www.wicfg.com

Type of group: Dark money

Type of support: Elections

Tax status: 501(c)(4)

Active: August 24, 2004 – present⁴⁷⁶

Stated mission: “[E]ducates and rallies citizens to embrace and enact policies that lead to sustained economic growth, limited government, and minimal taxation[.]”⁴⁷⁷

Ties to the governor: In 2016, *The Guardian* released 1,500 pages of leaked documents purporting to show that Gov. Walker’s staff had directly coordinated with WCG on efforts to keep Gov. Walker and his allies in the state Senate in power during recall elections in 2011 and 2012. R.J. Johnson, a top consultant for WCG, was also a key adviser in Gov. Walker’s 2010 campaign, his recall election, and his 2014 election bid.⁴⁷⁸

Activities: The Wisconsin Democracy Campaign estimates that WCG spent over \$9 million on advertisements supporting Gov. Walker and state senators in the 2011 and 2012 recall elections.⁴⁷⁹ According to the leaked documents released by *The Guardian*, Gov. Walker’s staff had directly coordinated with WCG on these efforts. Kate Doner, Gov. Walker’s fundraiser, sent out an email stating that the campaign wanted to raise nine million in six weeks to pay for advertising in the senatorial recall races.⁴⁸⁰ She went on to explain that Gov. Walker wanted the ads streamlined — “run thru [sic] one group to ensure correct messaging” — and that group was to be WCG.⁴⁸¹ In turn, the emails detail how Gov. Walker fundraised directly for WCG. Gov. Walker and his fundraising team approached big corporate donors such as Sheldon Adelson, hedge-fund manager Stephen Cohen, and Home Depot co-founder Ken Langone. Shortly after these meetings, the billionaires donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to WCG.⁴⁸²

In 2015, the Wisconsin Supreme Court had investigated allegations of improper coordination between Gov. Walker’s staff and WCG, but ultimately dismissed the case, ruling that the citizens involved were “wholly

⁴⁷⁶ “Wisconsin Club for Growth, Inc.” *State of Wisconsin, Office of the Secretary of State*. <https://www.wdfr.org/apps/CorpSearch/Details.aspx?entityID=W046936&hash=1609223935&searchFunctionID=68518592-1e10-4b4e-9d48-9c376e3d1015&type=Simple&q=wisconsin+club+for+growth> (Accessed February 9, 2018).

⁴⁷⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Wisconsin Club for Growth Inc.,” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/113/113723921/113723921_201412_990O.pdf (2014).

⁴⁷⁸ Patrick Marley, “John Doe judge stays own order for seized documents to be returned,” *Milwaukee-Wisconsin Journal Sentinel*, Mar. 14, 2014, <http://archive.jsonline.com/news/statepolitics/john-doe-judge-stays-own-order-for-seized-documents-to-be-returned-b99225305z1-250339351.html>; Scott Bauer, “Walker assembles familiar campaign re-election team,” *Milwaukee-Wisconsin Journal Sentinel*, Oct. 31, 2017, <http://www.startribune.com/walker-assembles-familiar-campaign-re-election-team/454262793/>

⁴⁷⁹ Lisa Kaiser, “The New John Doe Investigation,” *Shepherd Express*, Nov. 6, 2013, <http://www.shepherdexpress.com/article-22099-the-new-john-doe-investigation-news-shepherd-express.html>.

⁴⁸⁰ Pilkington, “Leaked court documents from ‘John Doe investigation’ in Wisconsin lay bare pervasive influence of corporate cash on modern US elections.”

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

innocent of any wrongdoing.”⁴⁸³ The decision was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, with opponents of the state’s ruling arguing that Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice David Prosser had directly profited from WCG’s efforts.⁴⁸⁴ However, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the appeal in October 2016.⁴⁸⁵

Other information: In February 2017, the *Wisconsin Gazette* reported that Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice Michael Gableman and WCG director Eric O’Keefe would be speakers at a Republican Party fundraiser set for March.⁴⁸⁶ WCB spent over \$500,000 on Justice Gableman’s campaign in 2008.⁴⁸⁷ While Justice Gableman did not ultimately attend the event, a state Democratic party official filed a complaint against him for appearing in promotional materials; O’Keefe’s involvement in the fundraiser was also noted in the complaint.⁴⁸⁸

Donor disclosure and revenue: WCG does not disclose its donors; however, the 2016 *Guardian* exposé revealed a list that included then candidate Donald Trump, high profile Republican donor Paul Singer, and other corporate donors. WCG also received \$750,000 from the owner of NL Industries, which produced lead-based paint; Gov. Walker signed into law legislation to mitigate compensation claims against companies for lead poisoning, though this was later overruled by federal courts.⁴⁸⁹

While WCG most recently reported a revenue of \$44,624 in 2015, it has reported revenue as high as \$12.5 million in 2011.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸³ Andrew Prokop, “Wisconsin Supreme Court ends ‘John Doe’ investigation into Scott Walker,” *Vox*, Jul. 16, 2015. <https://www.vox.com/2015/7/16/8978587/scott-walker-john-doe>.

⁴⁸⁴ Pilkington, “Leaked court documents from ‘John Doe’ investigation’ in Wisconsin lay bare pervasive influence of corporate cash on modern US elections.”

⁴⁸⁵ Matthew DeFour, “US Supreme Court rejects John Doe appeal,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, Oct. 4, 2016. http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/us-supreme-court-rejects-john-doe-appeal/article_12186a27-1c78-5dfe-93e4-7e2d8a03da54.html.

⁴⁸⁶ “Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice Gableman to speak at GOP fundraiser,” *Wisconsin Gazette*, Feb. 28, 2017. http://www.wisconsin-gazette.com/news/community/wisconsin-supreme-court-justice-gableman-to-speak-at-gop-fundraiser/article_bd944105-997e-502a-8c9b-a1efa9c48334.html.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁸ Matthew DeFour, “Democrats file complaint against Supreme Court justice over GOP promotion,” *WiscNews*, Mar. 25, 2017. http://www.wiscnews.com/news/state-and-regional/article_89758b2d-7a85-58af-a178-be467d7358ff.html.

⁴⁸⁹ Jessie Opoien, “Guardian exposes John Doe documents; Lead manufacturer donated \$750,000, pushed law change,” *The Capital Times*, Sep. 14, 2016. http://host.madison.com/ct/news/local/govt-and-politics/election-matters/report-scott-walker-wisconsin-club-for-growth-received-support-from/article_b805be8e-b7f7-5b07-a7a6-682e1f4847f8.html.

⁴⁹⁰ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Wisconsin Club for Growth Inc.,” <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2011/113/723/2011-113723921-08df1066-9O.pdf> (2011); U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “Form 990: Wisconsin Club for Growth Inc.,” http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/113/113723921/113723921_201512_990O.pdf (2015).

RESEARCH TEAM

Matt Corley, Walker Davis, Damien Markham,
John Morgan, Katie Zumalt-Rogers

COMMUNICATIONS TEAM

Kylie Toscano, Caroline Zhang

RESEARCH DIRECTOR

Brandon Brockmyer

COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR

Jordan Libowitz

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Noah Bookbinder

CHIEF COUNSEL

Adam Rappaport

*This report was produced by the staff of Citizens
for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW).
CREW's staff reports are prepared independent of input
or oversight from board members, donors or any other
outside interests, unless otherwise noted.*