

The KOCHS' *Carolina* TAKEOVER



**BRIDGE
PROJECT**

THE KOCHS' CAROLINA TAKEOVER

In their attempts to turn North Carolina into a “model state,” the Koch brothers have shown us their transparent, self-interested agenda that hurts working families, public education, and the environment. Early in their mission to reshape American politics in their image, the Kochs established an outpost for their flagship astroturf group Americans for Prosperity in North Carolina, which proceeded to push policies and electoral outcomes to benefit their bottom line. Over the years, the Kochs’ dark money network of numerous front groups has only expanded at the cost of North Carolinians.

The Koch network provided a financial launchpad for North Carolina’s discriminatory HB2 law, which prevents transgender individuals from using public restrooms that correspond to their gender identity, by funneling money to the bill’s sponsors and supporters. Once HB2 was passed, Koch group Concerned Women for America launched a campaign in support of the law, including prayer vigils at the Governor’s Mansion in Raleigh. Other Koch shells used offensive language to mock the transgender experience and referred to transgender women as “men.” Experts have estimated that HB2 could cost North Carolina as much as \$5 billion annually, but that hasn’t stopped the Kochs from continuing to push their bigoted agenda against the state’s LGBTQ+ community.

Public education, a frequent target for the Kochs, was not spared in North Carolina. Raleigh schools began integrating four years after the U.S. Supreme Court’s landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. In 1976, Wake County schools established a policy that demanded every school be racially balanced which created a diverse school system that was celebrated as a national model. Within one year of implementing the diversity plan, Wake County schools significantly reduced the achievement gap, bolstered test results and became one of America’s top 20 large school districts. That was before the Kochs and Art Pope set their sights on North Carolina and began aggressively pursuing their school privatization agenda. AFP-NC founder Art Pope and a single board member at his Civitas organization contributed a full fifth of all donations during the Wake County school board election of 2009, implementing Pope’s plan to concentrate the poor into neighborhood schools and undo previous desegregation efforts, which AFP attacked as “a wasteful and ineffective policy of social engineering that undermined neighborhood schools.”

North Carolina holds more than just a political interest for the Kochs. Koch Industries and its subsidiaries have multiple facilities in the state, and make sure not to give up any ground in defending their profits. The Koch’s front groups made sure to turn out against the Clean Power Plan and the renewable portfolio standard - despite their benefits to public health and the economy of North Carolina - because they want no challenges to their fossil fuel profits.

Since the Kochs can’t advance their radical agenda in the state without the help of their puppet politicians, the brothers make every effort to keep them in office. Alarmed by tight poll numbers, AFP quickly rallied behind their puppet Senator Richard Burr, launching a state-wide campaign against his challenger Deborah Ross. AFP president Tim Phillips admitted that he had hoped it would “not be necessary” to bankroll Burr’s success this cycle. AFP has refused to disclose their total projected spending for Burr, simply noting their efforts would be “substantial.” Thus far, AFP has not disappointed their loyal legislator, with spending on voter contact efforts approaching a half a million dollars.

No 2016 gubernatorial race has attracted as much attention from the network as the re-election campaign of the Koch-created Governor Pat McCrory. After he pledged loyalty to the Koch’s anti-tax agenda in 2008, AFP allowed McCrory to star in its tea party rallies over the next two years as it spread lies about death panels and a government takeover of healthcare. During their campaign for McCrory, AFP directly advocated in support of legislation attacking reproductive freedom and marriage equality despite claiming to only work on economic issues. With his sights on the 2012 election, McCrory became a leading champion of the Koch agenda, campaigning to keep North Carolina elections open to their dark money influence and recruiting activists on AFP’s behalf to support legislation targeting voter access, reproductive health services and environmental regulations. In office, McCrory lived up to his anti-tax pledge to AFP, which attacked critics of tax cuts for the rich as envious and un-American as it inundated mailboxes and launched petitions defending his implementation of Koch policies.

From local school board races to a takeover of the state legislature and the governorship, the Kochs have made clear that they intend to completely remake North Carolina to better suit their businesses’ bottom line. While the Kochs enrich themselves, it’s North Carolina’s families that suffer the consequences of their economic and environmental harm.

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KOCH INDUSTRIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

Georgia-Pacific

Georgia-Pacific Had Facilities In Asheboro, Conway, Dudley, Lumberton, Mount Holly and Roxboro, North Carolina. According to Koch Industries' North Carolina Factsheet, Georgia-Pacific had site in Asheboro, Conway, Dudley, Lumberton, Mount Holly and Roxboro, North Carolina. [Koch Industries North Carolina Factsheet, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific's North Carolina Facilities Produced Building Products, Cellulose, Consumer Products And Packaging. According to Georgia-Pacific's North Carolina Factsheet, Georgia-Pacific's North Carolina sites were involved with manufacturing building products, cellulose, consumer products and packaging. [Georgia-Pacific North Carolina Factsheet, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

GEORGIA-PACIFIC ENTITIES REGISTERED IN NORTH CAROLINA

Georgia-Pacific Mt. Holly LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On September 28, 1999. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Mt. Holly LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on September 28, 1999. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," ccessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Tissue, LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On October 4, 1999. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Tissue, LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on October 4, 1999. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Consumer Products LP Was Registered As A Foreign LP In North Carolina On December 31, 2006. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Consumer Products LP was registered as a foreign LP in North Carolina on December 31, 2006. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," accessed [9/16/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Corrugated LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On December 14, 2006. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Corrugated LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on December 14, 2006. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," accessed [9/16/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific LLC Was Registered As A Foreign Limited Liability Company In North Carolina On February 15, 2007. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific LLC was registered as a foreign limited liability company in North Carolina on February 15, 2007. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Chemicals LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On February 15, 2007. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Chemicals LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on February 15, 2007. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," accessed [9/16/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Wood Products LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On February 15, 2007. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Wood Products LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on February 15, 2007. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, "Georgia," accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Treated Lumber LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On February 16, 2007. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Treated Lumber LLC was registered as

a foreign LLC in North Carolina on February 16, 2007. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Gypsum LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On March 2, 2007. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Gypsum LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on March 2, 2007. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/16/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific WFS LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On December 1, 2014. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific WFS LLC was registered a foreign LLC in North Carolina on December 1, 2014. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Building Products Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On June 23, 2014. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Building Products LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on June 23, 2014. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Nonwovens LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On April 10, 2015. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Nonwovens LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on April 10, 2015. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Bleached Board LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On February 17, 2016. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Bleached Board LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on February 17, 2016. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/15/16](#)]

PREVIOUSLY REGISTERED GEORGIA-PACIFIC ENTITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

Georgia-Pacific Corporation Was Registered In North Carolina On November 29, 1956 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Corporation was registered in North Carolina as a foreign corporation on November 29, 1956, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Resins, Inc. Was Registered In North Carolina On September 6, 1984 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Resins, Inc. was registered in North Carolina as a foreign corporation on September 6, 1984, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Products, Inc. Was Registered In North Carolina On June 12, 2002 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Products, Inc. was registered in North Carolina as a foreign corporation on June 12, 2002, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Corrugated II LLC Was Registered In North Carolina On February 15, 2007 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Corrugated II LLC was registered in North Carolina as a foreign LLC on February 15, 2007, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific RPC LLC Was Registered In North Carolina On February 15, 2007 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific RPC LLC was

registered in North Carolina as a foreign LLC on February 15, 2007, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/22/16](#)]

Georgia-Pacific Corrugated I LLC Was Registered In North Carolina On June 20, 2014 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Georgia-Pacific Corrugated I LLC was registered in North Carolina as a foreign LLC on June 20, 2014 but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Georgia,” accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Invista

Invista Had Sites In Both Charlotte And Wilmington, North Carolina. According to Koch Industries’ North Carolina Factsheet, Invista had operations in both Charlotte and Wilmington, North Carolina. [Koch Industries North Carolina Factsheet, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

INVISTA ENTITIES REGISTERED IN NORTH CAROLINA

Invista SARL Was Registered As A Foreign Limited Liability Company In North Carolina On December 3, 1998; The Company Was Previously Known As Arteva Specialties, LLC. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Invista SARL, LLC was registered as a foreign limited liability company in North Carolina on December 3, 1998. It was previously known as Arteva Specialties, LLC. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Invista,” accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Invista, Inc. Was A Reserved Name In North Carolina

The Name “Invista Inc.” Was Reserved In North Carolina. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, the name “Invista, Inc.” was reserved. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Invista,” accessed [9/15/16](#)]

PREVIOUSLY REGISTERED INVISTA ENTITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

INVISTA Inc. Was Registered In North Carolina As A Foreign Business Corporation On October 28, 2002 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, INVISTA Inc. was registered in North Carolina on October 28, 2002 as a foreign business corporation, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Invista,” accessed [9/15/16](#)]

INVISTA Field Marketing Company Was Registered In North Carolina As A Foreign Business Corporation On April 12, 2003 But Its Status Was “Withdrawn.” According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, INVISTA Field Marketing Company was registered in North Carolina on April 12, 2003 as a foreign business corporation, but its status was withdrawn. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Invista,” accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Flint Hills Resources

FLINT HILLS RESOURCES ENTITIES REGISTERED IN NORTH CAROLINA

Flint Hills Resources LP Was Registered As A Foreign LP In North Carolina On March 16, 1995; The Company Was Previously Known As Koch Refining Company, Limited Partnership. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Flint Hills Resources, LP was registered as foreign LP in North Carolina on March 16, 1995. It was previously known as Koch Refining Company, Limited Partnership. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Flint Hills,” accessed [9/22/16](#)]

The Names “Flint Hills Resources, Limited Partnership” And “Flint Hills Resources, L.P.” Were Reserved In North Carolina

The Name “Flint Hills Resources, Limited Partnership” Was Reserved In North Carolina. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, the name “Flint Hills Resources, Limited Partnership” was reserved in North Carolina. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Flint Hills,” accessed [9/22/16](#)]

The Name “Flint Hills Resources, L.P.” Was Reserved In North Carolina. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, the name “Flint Hills Resources, L.P.” was reserved in North Carolina. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Flint Hills,” accessed [9/30/16](#)]

Molex

Molex LLC Was Registered As A Foreign LLC In North Carolina On August 26, 2015. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, Molex, LLC was registered as a foreign LLC in North Carolina on August 26, 2015. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State Corporation Search, “Molex,” accessed [9/22/16](#)]

The Kochs’ Disregard For Worker Safety

GEORGIA-PACIFIC WAS FINED AT LEAST \$28,000 FOR OSHA VIOLATIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA

In 2013, Georgia Pacific Corporation’s Dudley, NC Facility Was Fined \$28,000 By The Occupational Safety & Health Administration For Three Serious Violations Involving The “Control Of Hazardous Energy.” According to the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, Georgia-Pacific Corporation’s facility at 139 Brewington Road, Dudley, NC 28333 was fined a total of \$28,000 for 4 serious violations by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration on August 27, 2013. Violations of the following were cited: 19100147 C04I, “Procedures shall be developed, documented and utilized for the control of potentially hazardous energy when employees are engaged in the activities covered by this section;” 19100147 C061, “The employer shall conduct a periodic inspection of the energy control procedure at least annually to ensure that the procedure and the requirements of this standard are being followed;” 19100147 C07III B, “Additional retraining shall also be conducted whenever a periodic inspection under paragraph (c)(6) of this section reveals, or whenever the employer has reason to believe that there are deviations from or inadequacies in the employee’s knowledge or use of the energy control procedures;” and 19100212 A03III, “Special handtools for placing and removing material shall be such as to permit easy handling of material without the operator placing a hand in the danger zone. Such tools shall not be in lieu of other guarding required by this section, but can only be used to supplement protection provided.” [Occupational Safety & Health Administration, [8/27/13](#)]

- **The Violations Were Ultimately Settled For \$11,900.** According to the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, the fines were eventually settled for \$5,950 each for 2 of the 4 violations by an administrative law judge on July 21, 2014. The violation of standard 19100212 A03III was deleted and the \$7,000 fine for the violation of 19100147 C07III B was reduced to 0. [Occupational Safety & Health Administration, [8/27/13](#)]

INVISTA WAS FINED AT LEAST \$11,200 FOR OSHA VIOLATIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA

In 2010, Invista S.A.R.L., LLC’s Wilmington, NC Facility Was Fined \$11,200 By The Occupational Safety & Health Administration For Three Serious Violations Involving The “Process Safety Management Of Highly Hazardous Chemicals.” According to the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, Invista S.A.R.L., LLC’s facility at 4600 Hwy 421 N, Wilmington, NC 28401 was fined a total of \$11,200 for 3 serious violations by the Occupational Safety & Health Administration on November 19, 2010. Violations of the following were cited: 19100119 L01, “The employer shall establish and implement written procedures to manage changes (except for ‘replacements in kind’) to process chemicals, technology, equipment, and procedures; and, changes to facilities that affect a covered process;” 19100119 L05, “If a change covered by

this paragraph results in a change in the operating procedures or practices required by paragraph (f) of this section, such procedures or practices shall be updated accordingly;” and “The operating procedures shall be reviewed as often as necessary to assure that they reflect current operating practice, including changes that result from changes in process chemicals, technology, and equipment, and changes to facilities. The employer shall certify annually that these operating procedures are current and accurate.” [Occupational Safety & Health Administration, [11/19/10](#)]

The Kochs’ Damage To North Carolina’s Environment

A GEORGIA-PACIFIC FACILITY IN DUDLEY, NC WAS FOUND TO BE NONCOMPLIANT WITH A SECTION OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT

Georgia-Pacific Wood Products LLC’s Facility In Dudley, NC Was Found To Be Noncompliant With The Clean Air Act’s Maximum Achievable Control Technology (MACT) Standards And Faced 1 Informal Enforcement. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, Georgia-Pacific Wood Products LLC’s facility at 139 Brewington Drive, Dudley, NC 28333 was found to be noncompliant with the Clean Air Act’s maximum achievable control technology (MACT) standards and has faced 1 informal enforcement action during the past 5 years. [Environmental Protection Agency, accessed [9/23/16](#)]

AN INVISTA FACILITY IN WILMINGTON, NC WAS FOUND TO BE IN VIOLATION OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT, CLEAN WATER ACT, AND THE SAFE DRINKING WATER ACT

In 2013, Invista SARL’s Wilmington, NC Facility Was Fined \$120,980 For Violations Of The Clean Air Act. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, Invista SARL’s facility at 4600 Hwy 421 N, Wilmington, NC 28401 was fined a total of \$120,980 by the EPA 2 formal enforcement actions for violations of the Clean Air Act. The facility also faced 3 informal enforcement actions since 2011. [Environmental Protection Agency, accessed [9/23/16](#); Good Jobs First, [9/26/16](#)]

Invista SARL’s Wilmington, NC Facility Was Found In Violation Of The Clean Water Act For Three Out Of Twelve Quarters Between July 2013 And June 2016. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, Invista SARL’s facility at 4600 Hwy 421 N, Wilmington, NC 28401 was found in violation of the Clean Water Act for three out of twelve quarters between July 2013 and June 2016. [Environmental Protection Agency, accessed [9/23/16](#)]

Invista SARL’s Wilmington, NC Facility Was Found To Be Noncompliant With The Safe Drinking Water Act. And As Of September 2016 Faced 2 Formal Enforcement Actions. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, Invista SARL’s facility at 4600 Hwy 421 N, Wilmington, NC 28401 was found to be noncompliant with the Safe Drinking Water Act and had faced 2 formal enforcement actions and 6 informal enforcement actions in the past 5 years. [Environmental Protection Agency, accessed [9/23/16](#)]

- **During A Compliance Period In February Of 2016, Invista SARL’s Wilmington, NC Was Found In Violation Of The Safe Drinking Water Act’s Groundwater Rules.** According to the Environmental Protection Agency, during a compliance covering February 1st to February 29th, 2016 Invista S.A.R.L. was found in violation of the Safe Drinking Water Act’s groundwater rules. The violation was described as a “treatment technique” violation and was resolved on February 29th, 2016. [Environmental Protection Agency, accessed [9/23/16](#)]
- **During A Compliance Period In February Of 2013, Invista SARL’s Wilmington, NC Was Found In Violation Of The Safe Drinking Water Act’s Groundwater Rules.** According to the Environmental Protection Agency, during a compliance covering February 1st to February 29th, 2013 Invista S.A.R.L. was found in violation of the Safe Drinking Water Act’s groundwater rules. The violation was described as a “treatment technique” violation and was resolved on February 29th, 2016. [Environmental Protection Agency, accessed [9/23/16](#)]

THE KOCH NETWORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

Americans For Prosperity

AFP LAUNCHED A NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER WITHIN ITS FIRST YEAR OF EXISTENCE

In 2004, AFP Added A Chapter In North Carolina. According to the News & Observer, “Americans for Prosperity, a national nonprofit group that advocates lower taxes and limited government, has added a chapter in North Carolina. Former state Rep. Carolyn Russell, a Goldsboro Republican, and Joyce Fernando of Wilmington, who has been active in the organization's parent, Citizens for a Sound Economy, are the co-chairwomen. ‘Americans for Prosperity will fight to end the out-of-control growth of big government programs,’ Russell said Tuesday in a news release announcing the chapter.” [The News & Observer, 5/19/04]

- **Americans for Prosperity Launched In Late October 2003 As A Successor To The CSE Foundation.** According to National Journal, “Citizens for a Sound Economy, a conservative group with a long record of battling taxes and regulation, has launched a new grassroots advocacy group called Americans for Prosperity, which will be led by veteran conservative activist Nancy Pfotenhauer. The new group -- which will work on both federal and state issues -- is a successor to the CSE Foundation, an affiliate spun off by a recent decision of CSE's board of directors. [...] Americans for Prosperity will be a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization and plans to hire a Washington-based headquarters staff by recruiting state-level activists, officials said.” [National Journal, 10/31/03]
- **2004: AFP-NC Was Co-Chaired By Former North Carolina State Rep. Carolyn Russell And Citizens For A Sound Economy's Joyce Fernando.** According to the News & Observer, “Americans for Prosperity, a national nonprofit group that advocates lower taxes and limited government, has added a chapter in North Carolina. Former state Rep. Carolyn Russell, a Goldsboro Republican, and Joyce Fernando of Wilmington, who has been active in the organization's parent, Citizens for a Sound Economy, are the co-chairwomen. ‘Americans for Prosperity will fight to end the out-of-control growth of big government programs,’ Russell said Tuesday in a news release announcing the chapter.” [The News & Observer, 5/19/04]

The Koch Network Viewed North Carolina As “A Great Opportunity” To Create A “Model State”

Americans For Prosperity President Tim Phillips Said That The Koch Network Viewed North Carolina As “A Great Opportunity” To Create A “Model State.” According to Politico, “The hope, say conservatives, is to replicate their successes elsewhere. ‘Getting dramatic economic change at the federal level is very difficult,’ said Tim Phillips, president of the Koch-backed Americans for Prosperity. ‘A few years ago, the idea we had was to create model states. North Carolina was a great opportunity to do that – more so than any other state in the region. If you could turn around a state like that, you could get real reform.’” [Politico, [5/11/13](#)]

Huffington Post In February 2015: “With The Rise Of The Koch Brothers As A Political Force,” What Is Happening In North Carolina “Offers A Glimpse Into What Could Happen On A National Scale.” According to the Huffington Post, “The tea party has pushed forward with its agenda regardless. And because North Carolina was the first state to be so thoroughly dominated by big money from a single donor with a deeply ideological agenda, what's happening there now could serve as a window into the future fate of other states. With the rise of the Koch brothers as a political force, it also offers a glimpse into what could happen on a national scale.” [Huffington Post, [2/11/15](#)]

Art Pope Founded AFP's North Carolina Chapter

Art Pope Founded The North Carolina Chapter Of Americans For Prosperity. According to the New Yorker, “The Pope network echoes this message. Dallas Woodhouse, the director of Americans for Prosperity North Carolina—a branch that was founded by Pope—rails against tax increases for the well-off, and explained to me that ‘in some parts of the country couples earning two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year are just middle class.’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Pope Served On The Board Of Multiple Koch-Connected Groups

Pope Served Both On The Board Of Americans For Prosperity And On The Board Of Its Predecessor, Citizens For A Sound Economy, Co-Founded By David Koch In 1984. According to the New Yorker, “Pope, in addition to being on the board of Americans for Prosperity—which David Koch founded, in 2004—served on the board of its predecessor, Citizens for a Sound Economy, which Koch co-founded, in 1984.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Washington Post Columnist Katrina Vanden Heuvel: “Pope Is, For All Intents And Purposes, North Carolina’s Third, Lesser Known, Koch Brother.” According to an opinion by Washington Post columnist Katrina vanden Heuvel for the Washington Post, “As the head of Variety Wholesalers (a family-run discount store holding company) and the \$150 million Pope Family Foundation, he has invested in an array of think tanks and advocacy groups dedicated to aggressively aligning the state’s political terrain with his business interests. Gov. Pat McCrory, whose campaign he bankrolled, recently named Pope to the powerful post of state budget director. Pope is, for all intents and purposes, North Carolina’s third, lesser known, Koch brother. In fact, he’s attended the Koch Brothers’ planning summits and considers himself their close ally.” [Katrina vanden Heuvel – Washington Post, [6/11/13](#)]

NYT: Pope Served On The Philanthropy Roundtable Board. According to the New York Times, “The Philanthropy Roundtable offers another case study. Its board until recently included James Piereson, a board member at the Center for Individual Rights and at Donors Trust, a so-called donor advised fund-provider that directed nearly \$800,000 in contributions, typically at the suggestion of unnamed donors, to the center in 2012 and 2013, according to I.R.S. filings. [...] Several conservative philanthropists, like Betsy DeVos and James Arthur Pope, serve on its board. [Bradley Foundation president] Mr. [Michael] Grebe of the Bradley Foundation was a recent chairman.” [New York Times, [1/11/16](#)]

Pope Was A Longtime, Significant Donor To The Koch Network

Pope Gave Money To At Least Twenty-Seven Groups Supported By The Kochs. According to the New Yorker, “Charles Koch recently praised the Popes, along with other donors, for providing financial support for the 2012 election effort, and tax records show that Pope has given money to at least twenty-seven groups supported by the Kochs, including organizations opposing environmental regulations, tax increases, unions, and campaign-spending limits. Pope, in fact, helped fund the legal center run by James Bopp, the lawyer who made the initial filing in the Citizens United case.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

- **Pope, CEO And Chairman Of North Carolina Retail Store Chain Variety Wholesalers Gave \$100,000 To FPAF In 2015 Through His Company’s Wholly-Owned Subsidiary, Variety Stores; Variety Stores Gave \$400,000 To FPAF In 2014.** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Art Pope, CEO and chairman of the North Carolina retail store chain Variety Wholesalers, gave \$100,000 to FPAF in 2015 through his company’s wholly-owned subsidiary, Variety Stores. Pope gave \$400,000, also through Variety Stores, to FPAF in 2014, days after stepping down as state budget director for Gov. Pat McCrory (R). A close ally of the Kochs, Pope helped found their prominent social welfare nonprofit Americans for Prosperity and his family foundation has given millions to AFP’s charitable nonprofit arm.” [Institute for Southern Studies website, [2/4/16](#)]
- **Pope Gave \$400,000 To Freedom Partners Action Fund in 2014.** According to the Huffington Post, “Charles and David Koch have finally disclosed at least a small portion of the large contributions given to their political empire. According to a report filed with the Federal Election Commission on Wednesday, each of the billionaire brothers gave \$2 million to Freedom Partners Action Fund, a super PAC founded to influence the 2014 elections. [...] Art Pope, the former North Carolina budget director, gave \$400,000 through the corporation he runs, Variety Stores.” [Huffington Post, [10/15/14](#)]
- **As Of October 2011, Pope And His Affiliated Groups “Contributed More Than Two Million Dollars To Americans For Prosperity.”** According to the New Yorker, “In the past decade, Pope and groups affiliated with him have contributed more than two million dollars to Americans for Prosperity. Pope is one of the organization’s four directors. Americans for Prosperity bills itself as an independent, nonpartisan ‘social welfare’ organization. But, that fall in North Carolina, its ads, like those of Real Jobs NC, promoted only Republicans.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Politico Reported That Pope Attended The First Koch “Seminar” In 2003. According to Politico, “Sixteen donors joined Charles Koch at the first gathering at Chicago’s Peninsula Hotel in 2003, while the most recent summit drew more than 400 — and many of the leading GOP presidential candidates — to a slickly produced August affair at the St. Regis in Dana Point, California. Donors give at least \$100,000 each year to join Freedom Partners and attend the ‘seminars,’ as the gatherings are known in the Koch orbit. They have in some ways replaced the party’s convention as the most coveted ticket among some major donors, and now draw a more ideologically diverse crowd than the mostly libertarian-minded donors like variety store mogul Art Pope who attended the first one — from religious conservatives like mutual fund pioneer Foster Friess to socially moderate neocons like Las Vegas casino magnate Sheldon Adelson.” [Politico, [12/30/15](#)]

Pope’s John Locke Foundation Benefited From Koch Funding

Pope Helped Found The John Locke Foundation, Which Received Funding From Two Koch Family Foundations. According to the New Yorker, “In 1989, three years after incorporating the family foundation, Pope directed money from it to the think tank that he called the John Locke Foundation, and whose stated purpose is to promote an agenda of limited government and free enterprise. About eighty per cent of its funding has come from the Pope family foundation, and some additional money has come from tobacco companies and two Koch family foundations. Pope, who was previously the chairman of the Locke Foundation’s board and still serves on it, set up the group with the help of John Hood, its current president and chairman.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Between 1995 And 2016, The John Locke Foundation Received At Least \$1,073,386 From Koch-Connected Groups. According to Conservative Transparency, between 1995 and 2016 the John Locke Foundation received at least \$1,073,386 from Koch connected groups. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Contribution
2014	State Policy Network	John Locke Foundation	\$50,100
2014	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$10,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$25,000
2012	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$27,500
2012	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$10,000
2012	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$10,000
2012	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$40,000
2011	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$15,000
2011	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$25,000
2011	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$17,500
2011	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$25,000
2011	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$17,500
2010	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$100,000
2009	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$37,472
2009	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$390,600
2008	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$125,000
2008	State Policy Network	John Locke Foundation	\$20,000
2007	Donors Capital Fund	John Locke Foundation	\$25,000
2007	State Policy Network	John Locke Foundation	\$5,714
2005	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$10,000
2004	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$50,000
2003	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$5,000
2002	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$5,000
2002	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$5,000

1999	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$5,000
1997	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$5,000
1995	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$7,000
1995	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	John Locke Foundation	\$5,000
Total			\$1,073,386

[Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/22/16](#)]

Pope Was A Major Player In North Carolina Politics

Pope Had Long History In North Carolina Conservative Politics. According to the Americans for Prosperity website, “Art Pope is president and vice-chairman of the board of directors for Variety Wholesalers Inc., where he has served in various capacities since 1986. During that period, he was elected to four terms (nonconsecutive) in the North Carolina House of Representatives. Mr. Pope's involvement in North Carolina policy making has also included serving as special counsel to the governor in 1985, running for the lieutenant governorship in 1992, and being chosen as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1992 and 1996. In addition, he serves on boards for numerous organizations including the John Locke Foundation, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and the North Carolina Retail Merchants Association.” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/27/12](#)]

Pope Bankrolled A “Network Of Think Tanks Seeking To Move North Carolina Toward His Vision Of A More Limited Government.” According to the News & Observer, “Pope is no newcomer to North Carolina politics, having served in the state House and run as the Republican nominee for lieutenant governor. He also has worked in numerous Republican campaigns. But Pope has taken on a broader role since 1989, using his personal fortune to bankroll a network of think tanks seeking to move North Carolina toward his vision of a more limited government. He has been the major funder of the John Locke Foundation, the J.W. Pope Civitas Institute, the John William Pope Center for Higher Education and the N.C. Institute for Constitutional Law. Pope's family foundation has provided more than [\$28 million] to finance the network over the years, according to recent study by the liberal-leaning Institute for Southern Studies. He has been such an important funder of the state Republican Party, that the state headquarters is named in honor of his parents.” [NewsObserver.com, [10/27/10](#)]

AFP-NC’S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

AFP-NC Operated Out Of At Least A Dozen Field Offices

October 2015: AFP Had Offices In Asheville, Downtown Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, Greenville, High Point, Northern Wake County and Wilmington. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity North Carolina announced it hired two Field Directors Thursday, growing its grassroots network with new regional offices in Asheville and northern Wake County. [...] Americans for Prosperity North Carolina also operates field offices in downtown Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, Greenville, High Point, and Wilmington.” [Americans for Prosperity, [10/15/15](#)]

December 2015: AFP Had A Winterville Field Office. According to a post Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina on Eventbrite, “LOCATION[:] AFP-NC Eastern North Carolina Office[,] 113 West Fire Tower Road[,] Suite B[,] Winterville , NC[.]” [Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina – Eventbrite, [12/1/15](#)]

December 2015: AFP Had A Winston Salem Field Office. According to a post Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina on Eventbrite, “LOCATION[:] Americans for Prosperity[,] 390 South Stratford Road Ste. C[,] Winston Salem, NC[.]” [Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina – Eventbrite, [12/12/15](#)]

AFP Opened A Garner Field Office In Late August 2016. According to a post Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina on Eventbrite, “Have some food and meet new friends at at [sic] the Grand Opening of our Garner, North Carolina field office on August 25 at 7:00 PM. Americans for Prosperity North Carolina is excited to invite you to this fall kickoff event hosted by regional Field Director Katelyn Garlow. Contact her at 336.279.3905 or kgarlow@afphq.org and RSVP right here!” [Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina – Eventbrite, [8/25/16](#)]

AFP-NC's Leadership

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson

AFP Promoted Donald Bryson To State Director In August 2014. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity’s North Carolina chapter today announced the promotion of Donald Bryson to be the new State Director. Bryson formerly served as Deputy State Director, Policy Analyst, and Field Director for the organization, starting in 2011. He succeeds John Dudley, who resigned last week to pursue new opportunities.” [Americans for Prosperity, [8/25/14](#)]

Bryson Was AFP-NC's Deputy Director From December 2011 To August 2014. According to a LinkedIn profile for Donald Bryson, “Deputy State Director[-] Americans for Prosperity[.] December 2011 – August 2014 (2 years 9 months) Raleigh, North Carolina[.] I implement various initiatives and programs throughout the state. I will also oversee the day-to-day operations of the North Carolina chapter while working to collaborate with the State Director on long and short-term strategies for AFPF North Carolina. I am also a lobbyist for the North Carolina chapter and work with the State Director in setting the legislative agenda for the chapter.” [Donald Bryson – LinkedIn, accessed [9/16/16](#)]

Bryson Was Previously An Education Policy Specialist At Parents For Educational Freedom In North Carolina, And A Research Intern At The Pope Center For Higher Education Policy. According to a LinkedIn profile for Donald Bryson, “Education Policy Specialist[-] Parents for Educational Freedom in North Carolina[.] February 2009 – December 2011 (2 years 11 months)[.] Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina Area[.] I am responsible for managing PEFNC’s constituency communications, particularly through e-advocacy. [...] Research Intern[-] The Pope Center for Higher Education Policy[.] August 2008 – May 2009 (10 months)[.] Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina Area[.] My duties include researching higher education policies and articles, data analysis and writing articles for the Center’s weekly column.” [Donald Bryson – LinkedIn, accessed [9/16/16](#)]

- **Parents For Educational Freedom In North Carolina Received Funding From DonorsTrust-Backed Alliance For School Choice.** According to Conservative Transparency, Parents for Educational Freedom in North Carolina received \$910,000 from The Alliance for School Choice in 2013. DonorsTrust was a contributor to The Alliance for School Choice, providing five contributions from 2006 to 2014 totaling \$13,350. [Conservative Transparency, [9/16/16](#); [9/16/16](#)]
- **The Pope Center For Higher Education Policy Received Over \$20,000 From The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation In 2009.** According to Conservative Transparency, The Pope Center For Higher Education Policy received \$21,107 from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation in 2009. [Conservative Transparency, [9/16/16](#)]

AFP-NC Deputy Director Tyler Voigt

AFP Hired Tyler Voigt As Deputy Director In August 2015. According to Americans for Prosperity, “Americans for Prosperity, North Carolina’s freedom-focused grassroots advocacy organization, announced a new hire Thursday with the addition of Deputy State Director Tyler Voigt.” [Americans for Prosperity, [8/27/15](#)]

Voigt Joined AFP In 2013 As A Field Director Based Out Of Virginia. According to Americans for Prosperity, “Voigt started with Americans for Prosperity’s Virginia chapter in the summer of 2013 as a field director, leading grassroots activities in the southwest region of that state. His team successfully opposed Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe’s misguided effort to expand Medicaid under Obamacare. Earlier this year, Voigt was promoted to Virginia Grassroots Director.” [Americans for Prosperity, [8/27/15](#)]

Voigt Previously Staffed Statewide Campaigns In Wisconsin. According to Americans for Prosperity, “Before joining Americans for Prosperity, Voigt staffed statewide campaigns in Virginia and Wisconsin. He graduated in 2011 from the University of Wisconsin Stevens Point with a Bachelor’s degree in History. He currently lives in Raleigh with his wife, Tiffany.” [Americans for Prosperity, [8/27/15](#)]

AFP Director John Dudley Resigned “To Pursue New Opportunities” In August 2014. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity’s North Carolina chapter today announced the promotion of Donald Bryson to be the new State Director. Bryson formerly served as Deputy State Director, Policy Analyst, and Field Director for the organization, starting in 2011. He succeeds John Dudley, who resigned last week to pursue new opportunities.” [Americans for Prosperity, [8/25/14](#)]

AFP Hired “Experienced Businessman” John Dudley In January 2014. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina announced today that John Dudley has been named the organization’s new State Director. ‘John Dudley is an experienced businessman who has seen the havoc that overregulation and out of control spending has on the economy,’ explained Tim Phillips, President of Americans for Prosperity. ‘While we face big challenges ahead, like passing a state constitutional amendment on private property rights, we know John and the entire North Carolina team will be a capable and effective force for economic freedom.’” [Americans for Prosperity, [1/24/14](#)]

AFP: Dudley Left Verizon In 2004 And Went On To Serve As Chief Development Officer For The Greater Carolinas American Red Cross In Charlotte, NC. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “John stepped up to the challenge after realizing that North Carolina is ground zero for the fight to protect the taxpayer from government overreach. [...] Dudley brings decades of private sector experience to AFP, having led the Merger Integration Team that brought together GTE and Bell Atlantic and formed Verizon Communications, then the largest merger in telecom history. Upon leaving Verizon in 2004, Dudley served as Chief Development Officer for the Greater Carolinas American Red Cross in Charlotte, NC, the largest chapter in the state.” [Americans for Prosperity, [1/24/14](#)]

AFP: Dudley Led “The Largest Merger In Telecom History,” Bringing Together GTE And Bell Atlantic To Form Verizon Communications. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “John stepped up to the challenge after realizing that North Carolina is ground zero for the fight to protect the taxpayer from government overreach. [...] Dudley brings decades of private sector experience to AFP, having led the Merger Integration Team that brought together GTE and Bell Atlantic and formed Verizon Communications, then the largest merger in telecom history. Upon leaving Verizon in 2004, Dudley served as Chief Development Officer for the Greater Carolinas American Red Cross in Charlotte, NC, the largest chapter in the state.” [Americans for Prosperity, [1/24/14](#)]

- **Alex Henderson Op-Ed: After The Merger, Verizon Communications’ Practices Were Often Anti-Competitive And Anti-Regulation, Forcing Consumers Into Long-Term Contracts And Holding A Monopoly In Fire Island After Hurricane Sandy.** According to an opinion by Alex Henderson in AlterNet, “When the Federal Communications Commission approved the merger of Bell Atlantic and GTE in 2000, Verizon Communications became the largest provider of phone service in the United States. Since then, its practices have often been both anti-competition and anti-regulation. One of the biggest complaints consumers have about mobile/wireless providers is being forced to sign long-term contracts. Verizon Wireless has often demonstrated its aversion to competition by chaining customers to such contracts and hitting them with stiff termination fees should they become dissatisfied and cancel. [...] After Hurricane Sandy damaged copper lines on Fire Island, NY (where Verizon had a monopoly) in 2012, Verizon wanted to discontinue copper line support, but wasn’t offering FiOS there and tried to force the area’s landline customers onto the wireless program Voice Link. Problem: Voice Link didn’t support broadband, and many Fire Island residents liked having both a cell phone and a landline. Verizon later reconsidered and announced it would be installing FiOS on Fire Island, but the debacle underscored the problems that can occur when a behemoth like Verizon becomes a monopoly in a particular area.” [Alex Henderson – AlterNet, [4/24/14](#)]

Dudley Was Senior Director Of Public Policy And External Affairs At PalmettoNet From 2009 To 2010, Providing Oversight On Public Policy Issues And Lobbying State And Federal Government Relations Strategies. According to a LinkedIn profile for John Dudley, “North Carolina Area[.] Sr. Director - Public Policy and External Affairs[.] PalmettoNet[.] 2009 – 2010 (1 year)[.] Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina Area[.] Provided oversight on public policy issues and lobbying state and federal government relations strategies for the states of NC and SC. Influenced government officials and agencies to allow company to expand services within the Carolinas resulting in potential increase of revenues over \$2M. Served as chief corporate lobbyist to local, state and federal government agencies. Duties included developing strategic alliances, influencing

public policy, developing external messaging and building and maintaining strategic relationships on behalf of company with state elected and appointed officials.” [John Dudley – LinkedIn, accessed [9/19/16](#)]

- **PalmettoNet Was A Subsidiary Of Spirit Communications, Which Owned And Operated Digital Fiber Optic Networks For Telecommunications Carriers In The Carolinas And Georgia.** According to Bloomberg, “PalmettoNet, Inc. owns and operates digital fiber optic network for telecommunications carriers in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. It offers CORE, a carrier Ethernet service platform; communication services, including access to the global information highways; and broadband connectivity through long haul transport and metro services. [...] The company was founded in 1985 and is based in Columbia, South Carolina. PalmettoNet, Inc. operates as a subsidiary of Spirit Communications, Inc.” [Bloomberg, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Dudley Donated To A Congressman AFP Campaigned Against Before Joining The Organization

Dudley Donated Over A Thousand Dollars To Rep. McIntyre In The 2010 Cycle. According to the FEC, John O. Dudley, Sr. Director at PalmettoNet Inc, contributed \$1,500.00 to Mike McIntyre for Congress on November 16, 2009. [FEC, [9/19/16](#)]

AFP Ran An Ad Against “The McIntyre-Pelosi Agenda” In The 2010 Cycle. According to a YouTube video uploaded by Americans for Prosperity, “The McIntyre-Pelosi agenda [...] Tell Mike McIntyre his policies are killing jobs.” [Americans for Prosperity – YouTube, [10/15/10](#)]

Former AFP-NC Field Director Victoria Wakefield

AFP-NC Field Director Victoria Wakefield Became Donor Relations And Stewardship Assistant At The State Policy Network. According to the State Policy Network, “Victoria Wakefield is the Donor Relations and Stewardship Assistant for SPN. Prior to joining SPN, Victoria worked for Americans for Prosperity Foundation and the John W. Pope Civitas Institute. Growing up around her family’s small business, Victoria developed her passion for free-market ideals and classical liberal studies at a young age. Victoria is a native Charlottean and graduate of North Carolina State University.” According to LinkedIn, Victoria Wakefield was an AFP-NC field director from March 2014 through February 2016. [State Policy Network, [5/9/16](#); Victoria Wakefield – LinkedIn, [5/9/16](#)]

LIBRE Initiative

THE LIBRE INITIATIVE WAS A TEXTBOOK EXAMPLE OF KOCH ASTROTURFING

Garza In September 2015: “I Don’t Make Any Apologies For Being Associated To Charles And David Koch. I Respect Them.” According to a KERA News interview of LIBRE Initiative executive director Daniel Garza with host Rick Holter, “[DANIEL GARZA:] Now, let’s do away with the pretenses here. The left, especially Latino left organizations, also receive funding from private donors and contributors and according to law, do not have to disclose who those donors are. For them to hypocritically point at us and say, ‘you guys take money from Charles and David Koch,’ I think lacks of self-awareness. I don’t make any apologies for being associated to Charles and David Koch. I respect them.” [KERA News, [9/4/15](#)]

- **Garza In November 2015: “I Truly Don’t Have Issues With The Association To Charles And David Koch, They Have My Deepest Respect And Admiration – Proud To Work Together In Defense Of Freedom!”** According to a comment by LIBRE Initiative executive director Daniel Garza on a post on his Facebook page, “I hear you, but I truly don’t have issues with the association to Charles and David Koch, they have my deepest respect and admiration – proud to work together in defense of freedom!” [Daniel Garza – Facebook, [11/25/15](#)]
- **Garza Told The San Antonio Express-News That He Had “High Regard” For The Kochs In April 2015, And Was Glad To Be Associated With Them: “I Welcome The Association And Align With Them On Principles And Issues.”** According to the San Antonio Express-News, “Garza said he had high regard for Charles

and David Koch and their achievements, which include a combined wealth of more than \$80 billion from a privately held company involved in a host of businesses employing 70,000 people around the world. In recent years, the brothers have dramatically increased their giving. In January, they told allies gathered in California that they intended to spend nearly \$900 million in 2016 election contests, which would put them on par with the financial clout of the Republican and Democratic parties. 'I welcome the association and align with them on principles and issues,' Garza said." [San Antonio Express-News, [4/4/15](#)]

Center For Media And Democracy In February 2015: The LIBRE Initiative Was "A Textbook Example Of Astroturfing Almost Entirely Funded By The Koch Brothers' Secret Bank Freedom Partners." According to the Center for Media and Democracy's PR Watch, "Described as a 'grassroots organization,' the LIBRE Initiative is, in fact, a textbook example of astroturfing almost entirely funded by the Koch brothers' secret bank Freedom Partners. The increased funding is part of a wider strategy to boost the network's front groups, which was unveiled at the biannual donors summit at the Ritz Carlton in the Palm Springs desert on January 25." [Center for Media and Democracy PR Watch, [2/10/15](#)]

Univision Host Fernando Espuelas Described The LIBRE Initiative As A "Cog Of The Koch Political Machine." According to an opinion by Univision host and Aspen Institute fellow Fernando Espuelas for The Hill, "In comes the Libre Initiative. This cog of the Koch political machine, which has received approximately \$10 million dollars in Koch funding (that we know of), is tasked with convincing Hispanics to vote against their own economic self-interest." [Fernando Espuelas – The Hill, [4/1/15](#)]

LIBRE Received A Majority Of Its Funding From Koch Groups, Primarily Freedom Partners

The LIBRE Initiative Received Almost \$16 Million From Freedom Partners Between 2012 And 2014. According to Freedom Partners tax documents, the organization granted \$3,112,000 to The LIBRE Initiative in 2012, \$6,200,000 in 2013, and \$6,500,000 in 2014. [Freedom Partners IRS Forms 990 via Freedom Partners, [9/15/13](#); [9/15/14](#); [11/13/14](#); [11/15/15](#)]

In 2014, The LIBRE Initiative Received \$6.5 Million From Freedom Partners. According to Freedom Partners tax documents, the organization granted \$6,500,000 to The LIBRE Initiative in 2014. [Freedom Partners 2014 IRS Form 990 via Freedom Partners, [11/15/15](#)]

- **In 2014, The LIBRE Initiative Received \$9.5 Million Total In Grants Between July 1, 2013 And June 30, 2014, Compared To Under \$5 Million During The Previous Year.** According to LIBRE Initiative tax documents, the organization received a total of \$9,501,176 in contributions and grants between July 1, 2013 and June 30, 2014. The LIBRE Initiative received \$4,970,000 in contributions and grants during the previous reporting year. [LIBRE Initiative 2013 IRS Form 990 via GuideStar, [5/15/15](#)]
- **USA Today Called Freedom Partners "The Virginia Conservative Group At The Center Of The Koch Brothers' Far-Reaching Political Network."** According to the USA Today, "The Virginia conservative group at the center of the Koch brothers' far-reaching political network saw its revenue and spending decline sharply last year, the organization's new tax filings show. Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce, the main policy and funding outlet for the billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch, collected nearly \$57.5 million during the 2013 fiscal year — less than a quarter of the more than \$255 million the group took in during the same period in 2012 as it spent heavily to mold the nation's political and policy debates ahead of the presidential election." [USA Today, [9/16/14](#)]

TC4 Trust Contributed Almost \$700,000 To The LIBRE Initiative In 2012. According to the TC4 Trust's 2012 990, TC4 Trust gave \$693,000 to the LIBRE Initiative in 2012. [TC4 Trust IRS Form 990, [2012](#)]

- **Huffington Post: TC4 Was A "Giant Distribution Hub" For Koch Network Money.** According to Huffington Post, "But Koch and his brother are best known for the network of nonprofits they operate and raise money for that do not disclose their donors. These include grant distribution hubs like Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce, Center to Protect Patient Rights and TC4 Trust." [Huffington Post, [10/12/15](#)]

Center To Protect Patient Rights Contributed More Than \$150,000 To The LIBRE Initiative In 2012. According to its Form 990 filed with the IRS, CPPR gave \$152,366 to the LIBRE Initiative in 2012. [CPPR IRS Form 990, [2012](#)]

- **The Center To Protect Patient Rights Was Run By Koch Operative Sean Noble, And Gave Grants To “Some Of The Same Groups” As Freedom Partners.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, “Almost half of that -- \$115 million -- went to the Center to Protect Patient Rights, a group that has no activities of its own other than giving grants to other politically active tax-exempt organizations. That's more than CPPR's budget in all years combined since it was established in 2009. It's run by Sean Noble, a political consultant and Koch operative. CPPR has given grants to some of the same groups that, according to Politico, Freedom Partners gave funds to last year, such as the conservative seniors' group 60 Plus Association, which also has Koch connections.” [Center for Responsive Politics, [9/12/13](#)]

DonorsTrust Donated \$200,000 To The LIBRE Institute In 2014. According to DonorsTrust tax documents, the organization made two separate grants of \$100,000 to the LIBRE Initiative Institute in 2014. [DonorsTrust 2014 IRS Form 990 via Foundation Center, [11/16/15](#)]

LIBRE ANNOUNCED PLANS TO ESTABLISH A PRESENCE IN NORTH CAROLINA IN JANUARY 2015

In January 2015, LIBRE Initiative Executive Director Daniel Garza Told Politico That The Organization Planned To Expand To North Carolina In 2015. According to Politico, “LIBRE, which already has a presence in eight states, plans to expand to Wisconsin and North Carolina this year and increase its staff by about 30 percent ahead of 2016, the group's president Daniel Garza told POLITICO after the Rancho Mirage conference.” [Politico, [1/28/15](#)]

- **The Koch-Affiliated Center For Shared Services Posted Job Openings For LIBRE In North Carolina In Early 2015.** According to the San Antonio Express-News, “Since February, a separate Koch-funded group has posted openings for Libre Initiative jobs in Florida, Arizona, North Carolina, Colorado and Virginia - states with heavy Latino populations or likely battlegrounds in the 2016 elections. The Center for Shared Services, a recruiting arm for Koch-backed organizations, also posted jobs for a Libre operative in San Antonio and a Houston-based field director — adding to a 17-strong staff in Texas. In San Antonio, the group employs three full-time staff and three contractors.” [San Antonio Express-News, [4/4/15](#)]

LIBRE Was Active In North Carolina Since At Least December 2014, And Had A Dedicated State-Level Team Since At Least January 2015

The Oldest Remaining Entry On The LIBRE Initiative – North Carolina Facebook Page Was Posted On December 3, 2014. [LIBRE Initiative – North Carolina, [12/3/14](#)]

The LIBRE North Carolina Team Was Scheduled To Attend The Conservative Leadership Conference In Cary, NC On January 27, 2015. According to a web post by The LIBRE Initiative, “LIBRE at The Conservative Leadership Conference[;] Tuesday, Jan 27, 2015 - 07:00 AM CST Wednesday, Jan 28, 2015 - 04:00 PM CST[;] Embassy Suites 201 Harrison Oaks Boulevard Cary, NC 27513[;] The LIBRE North Carolina team will be present in this year's Conservative Leadership Conference, hosted annually by the Civitas Institute. Come out to learn more about LIBRE and meet other conservative leaders in your community.” [LIBRE Initiative, accessed [9/19/16](#)]

The LIBRE Initiative – North Carolina Announced On December 16, 2014 That It Had 500 Supporters. According to a Facebook post by The LIBRE Initiative – North Carolina, “Thank You all for your support the NC Libre Initiative is now 500 strong! #BeLibre #NC #Latism #EconFreedom” [LIBRE Initiative – North Carolina, [12/16/14](#)]

LIBRE Held “Kickoff” Events In Charlotte And Raleigh Less Than One Year Before The 2016 Elections

The LIBRE Initiative Held A “Kickoff” Event In Charlotte, North Carolina The Weekend Of December 12, 2015 With 27 Volunteers. According to a tweet by the LIBRE Initiative, “We had 27 enthusiastic LIBRE volunteers show up to go canvass last weekend at our kickoff event in Charlotte, NC.” [LIBRE Initiative – Twitter, [12/14/15](#)]

The LIBRE Initiative Hosted A “Kickoff” Event For The Raleigh Area On March 13, 2016. According to a tweet by Pablo Carvajal of The LIBRE Initiative, “What a great turn out for our #Raleigh area @LIBREinitiative kickoff! #NCLatinos #economicfreedom #NC #opportunities” [Pablo Carvajal – Twitter, [3/13/16](#)]

LIBRE’S NORTH CAROLINA LEADERSHIP

As Of September 2016, The LIBRE Initiative Had Two Field Directors In North Carolina. According to The LIBRE Initiative’s online database of staff members, the organization’s staff in North Carolina included field director Pablo Carvajal and field director Vanessa Faura. [LIBRE Initiative, accessed [9/19/16](#)]

LIBRE North Carolina Field Director Pablo Carvajal

Pablo Carvajal Began Working As A Field Director For The LIBRE Initiative And LIBRE Institute In North Carolina In January 2016. According to the LinkedIn page of Pablo C. Carvajal, “NC Field Director[;] The LIBRE Initiative January 2016 – Present (9 months) | Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina Area[;] Field Director of the LIBRE Initiative and Institute in North Carolina, tasked to develop, implement, and manage a statewide outreach strategy to ensure an effective grassroots operation to support the organization's vision and mission.” [Pablo Carvajal – LinkedIn, accessed [9/20/16](#)]

Carvajal Previously Worked For Duke Energy Corporation

Carvajal Worked As A Specialist For Duke Energy Corporation From May 2010 To May 2016, Where He Provided “Advice On Energy Conservancy.” According to the LinkedIn page of Pablo C. Carvajal, “Dev. Business & Industry Specialist[;] Duke Energy Corporation[;] May 2010 – May 2016 (6 years 1 month)[;] Provide support to business and industry contacts, account managers, engineers, revenue services, and electrical contractors, as well as advice on energy conservancy.” [Pablo Carvajal – LinkedIn, accessed [9/20/16](#)]

Duke Energy Was A Member Of The American Legislative Exchange Council

Duke Energy Was Listed As A Vice Chair Sponsor For The American Legislative Exchange Council’s 2016 Annual Meeting. According to a document obtained by The Center for Media and Democracy, Duke Energy was a Vice Chair level sponsor of the 2016 American Legislative Exchange Council annual meeting. [Center for Media and Democracy, [7/27/16](#)]

- **Duke Energy Served On ALEC’s Energy, Environment And Agriculture Task Force.** According to Greenpeace, “ALEC's Electricity Freedom Act, the model bill reflected in Rep. Mike Hager's H298, was born from its Energy, Environment and Agriculture task force and was written by the Heartland Institute, a member of the task force. Other members of ALEC anti-environmental task force include Koch Industries, ExxonMobil, Peabody Energy and Duke Energy.” [Greenpeace, accessed [3/14/13](#)]

Carvajal Was Republican Candidate For The Charlotte City Council

Carvajal Was A Republican Candidate For Charlotte City Council In 2015. According to The Charlotte Observer, “Name: Pablo Carvajal[.] What office are you running for? Charlotte City Council at-large[.] Party: Republican” [Charlotte Observer, [10/30/15](#)]

- **Carvajal Was Defeated By Four Democrats, And Received 11.66% Of The Vote.** [North Carolina State Board of Elections, [11/3/15](#)]

LIBRE North Carolina Field Director Vanessa Faura

Vanessa Faura Began Working As A Field Director For The LIBRE Initiative On Or Before September 28, 2015. According to a tweet by LIBRE Initiative North Carolina field director Vanessa Faura, “A very successful kickoff ‘Café con LIBRE’ with #Latinas in #Charlotte #NC! @LIBREinitiative @HelenaRamirez” [Vanessa Faura – Twitter, [9/28/15](#)]

Faura Was A Republican Candidate For Charlotte City Council In 2013. According to Café Con Leche Republicans, “Vanessa Faura is running for Charlotte City Council at-Large, one of four Republicans running for the position against a crowded field of Democratic candidates.” [Café Con Leche Republicans, [10/18/13](#)]

- **Faura Was Defeated By Four Democrats, And Received 9.48% Of The Vote.** [North Carolina State Board of Elections, [11/5/13](#)]

Concerned Veterans for America

CONCERNED VETERANS FOR AMERICA WAS CREATED BY THE KOCH BROTHERS

Concerned Veterans For America CEO Pete Hegseth Told Attendees Of A Koch Organized Summit That “Concerned Veterans For America Is An Organization This Network Literally Created.” According to a speech Pete Hegseth gave at a Koch brothers’ summit obtained by The Undercurrent, “Concerned Veterans for America is an organization this network literally created.” [Pete Hegseth – The Undercurrent, [6/16/14](#)]

- **Hegseth: “I Thank Charles And David” For Making CVA Possible.** According to a speech Pete Hegseth gave at a Koch brothers’ summit obtained by The Undercurrent, “I thank Charles and David [...] The Undercurrent Brothers’ Summit via YouTube, [6/16/14](#)]

Concerned Veterans For America’s Stated Mission Was “To Advocate For Policies That Will Preserve The Freedom And Prosperity That We And Our Families So Proudly Fought And Sacrificed To Defend.” According to the Concerned Veterans for America’s website, “Simply put, CVA’s mission is to advocate for policies that will preserve the freedom and prosperity that we and our families so proudly fought and sacrificed to defend. The goal of Concerned Veterans for America is to translate the experience, concerns and hopes unique to veterans and their families into a common vision of freedom. We apply this unique perspective to speak out on issues that threaten to cripple not only our economic and national security, but the spirit of opportunity and liberty that all Americans cherish.” [Concerned Veterans for America , accessed [8/11/16](#)]

CVA Was Part Of The Kochs’ Strategy Of Preserving The Republican Majority In The Senate By Engaging Veterans

Time Reported In April 2016 That The Kochs Were Strategically Engaging Veterans To Attempt To Preserve The Republican Majority In The Senate. According to Time, “Charles Koch told an interviewer recently that likely Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton could be better than potential GOP nominee Donald Trump. A fight for Republicans’ narrow majority in the Senate, however, could prove a smarter investment. To get there, the Kochs wants to engage veterans. Its veterans’ arm hired the respected pollsters at the Tarrance Group last year to survey veterans. The results showed 78% of veterans said the national debt is a security threat, so it’s natural that Concerned Veterans for America would push that message heading into an election season. [Time, [4/28/16](#)]

CVA-NC LEADERSHIP AND PRESENCE

CVA Claimed To Have A Presence In North Carolina Since 2012

Former CVA CEO Pete Hegseth: “We Have A Strong, Robust Chapter Here In North Carolina.” According to JD News, “We have a strong, robust chapter here in North Carolina,” Hegseth said. The organization is open to military families and supporters.” [JD News, [6/21/15](#)]

CVA Eastern North Carolina Local Director John Byrnes Said CVA Became Active In North Carolina in 2012. According to JD News, “CVA Eastern North Carolina Local Director John Byrnes said that the organization was aiming to

have quality engagement over quantity of attendance this year. Byrnes said the organization has grown since it began in North Carolina three years ago.” [JD News, [6/21/15](#)]

CVA North Carolina State Director And Field Director For The Southern Region Paul Passaro

Paul Passaro Served As The Field Director For Concerned Veterans For America’s Southern Region. According to Concerned Veterans for America, “Paul Passaro is the Field Director for Concerned Veterans for America’s Southern Region, overseeing efforts in VA, NC, SC, GA, FL, and LA.” [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

- **Passaro Served As Concerned Veterans For America North Carolina State Director.** According to LinkedIn, Paul Passaro served as Concerned Veterans for America North Carolina State Director since February 2015. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

CVA-North Carolina State Director John Byrnes

John Byrnes Served As Concerned Veterans For America North Carolina State Director. According to LinkedIn, John Byrnes served as Concerned Veterans for America North Carolina State Director since August 2012. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/19/16](#)]

- **Byrnes Previously Served As Concerned Veterans For America Eastern North Carolina Local Director.** According to JD News, “CVA Eastern North Carolina Local Director John Byrnes said that the organization was aiming to have quality engagement over quantity of attendance this year.” [JD News, [6/21/15](#)]

CVA Greensboro/Winston-Salem Local Director Earle Pope

Earl Pope Served As Concerned Veterans For America Greensboro/Winston-Salem Local Director. According to LinkedIn, Earl Pope served as Concerned Veterans for America Greensboro/Winston-Salem local director since January, 2015. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/19/16](#)]

CVA ORGANIZED NORTH CAROLINA TOUR EVENTS TO PROMOTE THE KOCH AGENDA TO VETERANS

CVA Announced That It Would Tour Louisiana And North Carolina In Fall Because It Was “Critical That Veterans Across The Nation Get Out And Vote.” According to a CVA Press Release, “This summer we had an incredible Summer Tour; and we’re excited to announce that we have extended the tour into September and October, as the Defend Freedom Get Out The Veteran Tour. As we #DefendFreedom, it is critical that veterans across the nation GET OUT and VOTE! The goal of this mini-tour is to rally veterans to ensure their voices are heard. Much like the Summer Tour, we’re stacking the line-up for the FREE event with powerful speakers and inspiring music. Special guests include CVA CEO and Fox News contributor Pete Hegseth, New York Times best-selling author and Army Ranger Sean Parnell, and Gold Star Mother and founder of For Our Son, Karen Vaughn. In addition to their message of action, we’ve once again teamed up with America’s most patriotic rock band, Madison Rising, and country music star Ayla Brown. While we wish we could go everywhere, we’ve concentrated our efforts in places where we think we can motivate the most veterans-Louisiana and North Carolina.” [CVA Press Release, [8/26/14](#)]

CVA Announced Its 2015 “Defend Freedom Tour” Which Planned To Include 23 Cities In Multiple States, Including North Carolina. According to a press release from Concerned Veterans for America, “Arlington, Va. – Concerned Veterans for America (CVA), a leading national veterans’ advocacy organization, today announced the launch of the 2015 National Defend Freedom Tour including an all-star lineup of prominent speakers, performers and special guests with a mission to deliver a simple message to cities across the country – honor service, defend freedom and take action. The tour is scheduled to visit 23 cities in 12 states beginning April 17th and running through September 11th weekend: New York Ohio Pennsylvania Texas Virginia Florida South Carolina New Hampshire North Carolina” [Concerned Veterans for America Press Release, [3/5/15](#)]

- **CVA Said Guests At The Tour Would Be Encouraged To Sign Up For Grassroots Training.** According to a press release from Concerned Veterans for America, “At the events, guests are encouraged to visit the CVA action center to sign up to get involved in CVA’s proprietary grassroots trainings. Guests of the Defend Freedom Tour will have the opportunity to organize within their communities to advocate for a strong America, improve the well-being of veterans and their families and hold status-quo politicians—of all stripes—accountable.” [Concerned Veterans for America Press Release, [3/5/15](#)]
- **Concerned Veterans For America Hosted A Defend Freedom Tour Event In Raleigh, North Carolina On Friday, February 19.** According to Concerned Veterans for America, the organization planned to host a Defend Freedom Tour event in Raleigh, North Carolina on Friday, February 19 from 7:00pm to 10:00pm. [Concerned Veterans for America, accessed [1/25/16](#)]
- **Concerned Veterans For America Hosted A Defend Freedom Tour Event In Wilmington, North Carolina On Saturday, February 20.** According to Concerned Veterans for America, the organization planned to host a Defend Freedom Tour event in Wilmington, North Carolina on Saturday, February 20 from 6:00pm to 9:00pm. [Concerned Veterans for America, accessed [1/25/16](#)]

Generation Opportunity

GENERATION OPPORTUNITY WAS THE KOCH BROTHERS’ ASTROTURF YOUTH OUTREACH GROUP

The Atlantic: Generation Opportunity Was “Part Of The Billionaire Koch Brothers-Funded Empire Of Independent Groups Seeking To Influence Public Policy In A More Free-Market Direction.” According to The Atlantic, “Both Generation Opportunity and Americans for Prosperity are part of the billionaire Koch brothers-funded empire of independent groups seeking to influence public policy in a more free-market direction.” [The Atlantic, [9/19/13](#)]

- **Generation Opportunity Raised “Almost 86 Percent Of Its Funds From Just Two Koch-Linked Nonprofits.”** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, “In the three years for which tax information is available, Generation Opportunity has raised almost 86 percent of its funds from just two Koch-linked nonprofits.” [OpenSecrets.org, [5/13/14](#)]
- **GenOpp Branded Itself As A “Nonprofit Organization Committed To Helping Young People Improve Their Lives.”** According to the Wayback Machine’s archive of the Generation Opportunity website, “Generation Opportunity is a nonprofit organization committed to helping young people improve their lives.” [GenerationOpportunity.org, archived [5/28/15](#)]

GENOPP’S NORTH CAROLINA LEADERSHIP

GenOpp North Carolina State Director Anna Beavon Gravely

Anna Beavon Gravely Served As GenOpp’s North Carolina State Director. According to LinkedIn, Anna Beavon Gravely has served as North Carolina state director since October 2015. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Gravely Previously Worked For Koch Groups Americans for Prosperity And Concerned Women For America

Gravely Served As AFP’s Communication And Operations Manager/Field Coordinator From February 2012 – January 2014. According to LinkedIn, Anna Beavon Gravely served as Americans for Prosperity Foundation’s Communication and Operations Manager/Field Coordinator from February 2012 – January 2014. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Gravely Interned For Concerned Women For America In 2009. According to LinkedIn, Anna Beavon Gravely served as an intern for Concerned Women for America from June – August 2009. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Former GenOpp-North Carolina State Director Alex Johnson

Alex Johnson Served As GenOpp's North Carolina State Director From April 2014 To January 2016. According to LinkedIn, Alex Johnson served as GenOpp's North Carolina state director from April 2014 – January 2016. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

Johnson Went On To Be The Director Of Strategic Operations For Richard Burr's Senate Campaign

Alex Johnson Served As The Director Of Strategic Operations For Richard Burr For Senate. According to LinkedIn, Alex Johnson has served as the director of strategic operations for Richard Burr for Senate since January 2016. [LinkedIn, accessed [9/15/16](#)]

American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)

THE KOCH BROTHERS HAVE A DECADES-LONG CONNECTIONS WITH ALEC

Center for Public Integrity In January 2013: "The Koch Brothers Have Decades-Long Connections With ALEC," Which Gave Them An Award In 1994. According to The Center for Public Integrity, "The Koch brothers have decades-long connections with ALEC, which gave the brothers the Adam Smith Free Enterprise Award in 1994." [The Center for Public Integrity, [1/31/2013](#)]

Koch Industries Donated "An Untold Amount" To ALEC And Chaired ALEC's Corporate Board. According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "Research from CMD and GreenPeace documents that the Koch foundations have given ALEC at least \$600,000 in the past decade or so, and Koch Industries has donated an untold amount. The Kochs also bailed out ALEC with a loan of nearly half a million dollars in the late 1990s. Koch Industries has also chaired ALEC's corporate board and has had a seat on its board for over a decade. Plus, another subsidy unaccounted for by ALEC is the money corporations like Koch have spent on having the head of its lobbying arm involved in ALEC's leadership as well as whatever amount of time the company spends crafting ALEC 'model' legislation." [Center for Media and Democracy, [7/13/11](#)]

ALEC Received At Least \$1.5 Million From The Koch Network

Between 1993 And 2014, Koch-Connected Groups Gave Over \$1.5 Million To The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). According to Conservative Transparency, between 1993 and 2014, Koch-connected groups gave at least \$1,573,898 to the American Legislative Exchange Council. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Contribution
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$150,000
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$130,640
2014	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$11,000
2014	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$70,000
2014	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$18,000
2014	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$25,000
2014	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$20,000
2014	DonorsTrust	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$300
2014	DonorsTrust	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$1,000
2014	DonorsTrust	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$5,000
2013	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$2,500
2013	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$40,000

2013	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$65,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$71,100
2012	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$25,000
2012	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$17,500
2012	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$150,000
2011	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$150,000
2011	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$20,000
2010	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$100,000
2010	DonorsTrust	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$25,000
2009	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$75,858
2009	Donors Capital Fund	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$8,000
2002	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$30,000
2001	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$75,000
2000	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$85,000
1999	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$13,000
1998	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$70,000
1997	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$30,000
1997	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$30,000
1993	Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	American Legislative Exchange Council	\$60,000
Total			\$1,573,898

[Conservative Transparency, accessed [8/26/16](#)]

ALEC BROUGHT TOGETHER STATE LEGISLATORS AND CORPORATE INTERESTS

ALEC Aimed To Unite State Legislators And Business Leaders To Further Free-Market, Limited-Government Legislation On The State Level. According to the American Legislative Exchange Council’s website, “The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. It provides a constructive forum for state legislators and private sector leaders to discuss and exchange practical, state-level public policy issues. The potential solutions discussed at ALEC focus on free markets, limited government and constitutional division of powers between the federal and state governments. [...] ALEC is a think-tank for state-based public policy issues and potential solutions. It publishes research and writing on issues that are of importance to its members. It holds meetings where people from public and private sectors share their views. It also develops model bills and resolutions on economic issues.” [ALEC.org, accessed [4/13/12](#)]

ALEC Gave Corporations Power To Alter Model Legislation Introduced In State Legislatures. According to Bloomberg, “If the final language doesn’t turn out the way they like, industry representatives have the power to block it from being posted in ALEC’s online library where it can be downloaded by state lawmakers. Legislators and private-sector task force members must vote to endorse any model legislation -- and each group must deliver a majority before it is officially adopted, [ALEC spokeswoman Raegan] Weber said.” [Bloomberg, [7/21/11](#)]

Reporter John Nichols Wrote That ALEC’s Goal Was “The Advancement Of An Agenda That Seems To Be Dictated At Almost Every Turn By Multinational Corporations.” According to NPR, “All of those pieces of legislation and those resolutions [in the documents] really err toward a goal, and that goal is the advancement of an agenda that seems to be dictated at almost every turn by multinational corporations,’ Nichols tells Fresh Air’s Terry Gross. ‘It’s to clear the way for lower taxes, less regulation, a lot of protection against lawsuits, [and] ALEC is very, very active in [the] opening up of areas via privatization for corporations to make more money, particularly in places you might not usually expect like public education.” [NPR, [7/21/11](#)]

ALEC'S PRESENCE IN NORTH CAROLINA

ALEC Had At Least 10 North Carolina Members In The State Legislature

ALEC Had At Least 10 North Carolina Members, Including 9 State Representatives And 1 State Senator. According to the Citizen Times, "A reported nine representatives, including House Speaker Tim Moore, and one senator were in San Diego for the annual conference of the American Legislative Exchange Council, which pushes conservative policy positions and model legislation that reflects them for adoptions by states. None are from the mountains." [Citizen Times, [6/27/15](#)]

ALEC's Influence In North Carolina Was So Significant That When 9 House Members Left To Attend The ALEC Conference, The State Legislature Was Brought To A Standstill

The North Carolina State House Came To A Standstill When 9 Of Its Members Attended The ALEC Conference

According to the Citizen Times, "Thursday was an especially quiet day in the state House as there were no committee meetings and no bills up for consideration during a floor session that lasted five minutes — a bit surprising given that a state budget is more than three weeks overdue. A reported nine representatives, including House Speaker Tim Moore, and one senator were in San Diego for the annual conference of the American Legislative Exchange Council, which pushes conservative policy positions and model legislation that reflects them for adoptions by states. None are from the mountains." [Citizen Times, [6/27/15](#)]

ALEC Legislators Attended Their Conference While A State Budget Deal Remained Incomplete. According to the News & Observer, "Legislators' participation in ALEC while a state budget deal remains incomplete drew criticism from Democrats and liberal groups." [News & Observer, [7/27/15](#)]

Five North Carolina ALEC Members Sought State Reimbursement For Their Travel Expenses For The 2015 ALEC Conference

Five Republicans Sought State Reimbursement For Their ALEC Conference Expenses. According to the News & Observer, "Five Republican leaders plan to seek reimbursements for attending the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC, conference last week. The conservative state lawmakers' group — often a target for criticism from the left — met in San Diego through Saturday, and House Speaker Tim Moore wrapped up his chamber's work in Raleigh a day early last week as he left for the conference. According to the legislature's controller, Wesley Taylor, five legislators have filed travel authorizations: Moore; Rep. Hugh Blackwell of Burke County; Rep. John Fraley of Iredell County; Rep. Craig Horn of Union County and Sen. David Curtis of Gaston County. The authorization allows them to receive \$104 per day for travel expenses as well as reimbursement for registration fees, which cost up to \$750 for legislators at the ALEC event. It is considered professional development." [News & Observer, [7/27/15](#)]

ALEC WAS BEHIND SOME OF NORTH CAROLINA'S MOST CONTROVERSIAL LEGISLATION

Stand Your Ground

North Carolina's "Stand Your Ground" Law Found Its Start In ALEC. According to the Atlantic, "But this wasn't just about Trayvon Martin. It has proven difficult to pinpoint how, exactly, it happened, but at some point the discussion pulled back from just Martin to the 'Stand Your Ground' law that seemed to have let Zimmerman go home that night. Upon examination, it turned out that this wasn't just Florida; Stand Your Ground had passed in recent years elsewhere. 'There was a mystery that many people encountered,' said Graves. 'How did this bill become a law in so many states? How does a bill that seems to immunize a shooter from even getting before a jury end up introduced across the country?' 'As they connect the dots,' she explained, 'they see more and more dots.' As it turned out the traditional 'Castle doctrine' under U.S. law had been expanded in Ohio, in North Carolina, in Texas -- all in all, more than two dozen states. 'Our members started asking what else could be done,' said Robinson. It quickly became clear that these new guns laws had found their start in ALEC. Because of the work ColorofChange.org had done on voter ID laws, 'our members were prepared. Our members knew who ALEC was.' The angle into the issue changed, but the end result was the same: the corporations backing ALEC started rethinking their support." [Atlantic, [4/14/12](#)]

Sanctuary City Ban

North Carolina's Sanctuary City Ban Stemmed From ALEC's Model Bill Titled "No Sanctuary Cities For Illegal Immigrants." According to Facing South, "At the end of October, North Carolina joined the ranks of states with harsh immigration policies when Gov. Pat McCrory (R) signed into law HB 318. [...] But language in North Carolina's sanctuary city ban predates Steinle's death: It comes from a model bill, titled 'No Sanctuary Cities for Illegal Immigrants,' crafted in 2009 by the American Legislative Exchange Council, a nonprofit that brings together corporate representatives and conservative state policymakers to craft model state legislation that member lawmakers then introduce in their home states." [Facing South, [11/10/15](#)]

Civitas Institute

THE JOHN WILLIAM POPE CIVITAS INSTITUTE WAS INCORPORATED IN MARCH 2005, NAMED AFTER THE FATHER OF KOCH DONOR ART POPE

The 501(c)(3) Nonprofit Civitas Institute Was Incorporated On March 9, 2005, And Was Formerly Known As The John William Pope Civitas Institute, Inc. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, the non-profit corporation Civitas Institute, Inc. was formed on March 9, 2005, with the previous legal name John William Pope Civitas Institute, Inc. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, accessed [9/20/16](#)]

- **The John W Pope Civitas Group Filed Its Initial IRS 990 Tax Return On March 9, 2005.** [John W Pope Civitas Group IRS Forms 990, [10/25/05](#)]

Civitas Action, Inc. Was Incorporated On September 25, 2008. According to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, the non-profit corporation Civitas Action, Inc. was formed on September 25, 2008. [North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

- **Civitas Action Operated As A 501c(4) Non-Profit Organization.** According to Civitas Action, "Civitas Action cannot exist without your help. Please consider making a donation to us today. [...] A service of Civitas Action, a 501c(4) non-profit." [Civitas Action, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Between 2005 And 2007, The Civitas Institute Did Business As The John W Pope Civitas Group, After Which It Was Referred To As The John W Pope Civitas Institute. [John W Pope Civitas Group IRS Forms 990, [10/25/05](#); [10/23/06](#); [1/16/08](#); 2008 John W Pope Civitas Institute IRS Form 990, [1/21/09](#)]

John William Pope Was The Father Of Variety Wholesalers CEO Art Pope. According to the official website of Art Pope, "James Arthur 'Art' Pope (born May 5, 1956) is an American businessman, public servant, and philanthropist. He is Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of Variety Wholesalers, Inc., a company that operates over 350 retail stores in 15 states and employs approximately 7,000 people. Pope served four terms in the North Carolina House of Representatives, from 1989 to 1992 and 1999 to 2002. He is also chairman of the John William Pope Foundation, a philanthropic foundation named after his father." [ArtPope.com, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

The John W. Pope Foundation, Chaired By Art Pope, Provided Civitas With More Than 97 Percent Of Its Total Income Between 2005 And 2009. According to Facing South, "Civitas owes its existence almost entirely to the generosity of Art Pope. A Facing South comparison of the tax records filed by the Civitas Institute and the John W. Pope Foundation -- which Art Pope chairs, and whose philanthropy John Hood acknowledges Pope oversees -- reveals that Pope's backing has constituted more than 99 percent of all the grants, donations and gifts that Civitas has received between 2005 and 2009. Even after adding in conference fees and other sources of revenue, Pope's money still makes up more than 97 percent of Civitas' total income[.]" [Facing South, [10/14/10](#)]

- **According To Facing South, The IRS Designated Civitas As A "Private Foundation" Instead Of A Public Charity Due To The Amount Of Funding It Received From Pope As A Sole Benefactor.** According to Facing

South, “Civitas’ near-total reliance on Pope makes it a ‘private foundation’ in the eyes of the IRS, a classification reserved for nonprofits that depend on a sole benefactor. That’s different than ‘public charities,’ the most common nonprofit classification but available only to groups that show they have a more diverse base of support.” [Facing South, [10/14/10](#)]

Art Pope Served As A Board Member For The Civitas Institute And Civitas Action Until December 2012, When He Resigned To Serve As Incoming Gov. Pat McCrory’s Deputy Budget Director. According to the Civitas Institute, “James A. ‘Art’ Pope has resigned from the boards of the Civitas Institute and Civitas Action, Robert L. Luddy, chairman of both organizations, announced today. [...] Pope has been named deputy budget director by incoming North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory.” [Civitas Institute, [12/20/12](#)]

CIVITAS WAS A MEMBER OF THE KOCHS’ NETWORK OF STATE-LEVEL FRONT GROUPS, AND PROVIDED MONETARY AND STRUCTURAL SUPPORT TO KOCH INSIDERS

As Of September 2016, The Civitas Institute Was A Member Of The State Policy Network. [State Policy Network, [9/16/16](#)]

- **SPN Received \$17,916,124 From Donors Capital Fund Between 2002 And 2014.** According to Donors Capital Fund tax documents, State Policy Network has received \$17,916,124 from Donors Capital Fund between 2002 and 2014. [State Policy Network Forms 990 via Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/30/16](#)]

In 2013, The Civitas Institute Was Listed As A “Watchdog Partner” By Watchdog.org, A Project Of The Franklin Center For Government & Public Integrity. [Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity via SourceWatch, [May 2013](#)]

- **Minnesota Public Radio News: The Franklin Center, “Which Funds The Minnesota Watchdog Bureau...Received Nearly \$22 Million Between 2011 And 2013 From The Donors Trust...And The Affiliated Donors Capital Fund.”** According to Minnesota Public Radio News, “The Franklin Center, which funds the Minnesota Watchdog bureau, has political ties, too. Tax documents show that the group has received nearly \$22 million between 2011 and 2013 from the Donors Trust, a philanthropic organization that donates exclusively to groups ‘devoted to supporting organizations that promote liberty,’ and the affiliated Donors Capital Fund.” [MPR News, [7/27/15](#)]
- **Center for Public Integrity: “95 Percent Of Franklin’s Revenue In 2011 Came From A Charity Called Donors Trust.”** According to The Center for Public Integrity: “In fact, 95 percent of Franklin’s revenue in 2011 came from a charity called Donors Trust, according to Internal Revenue Service records.” [Center for Public Integrity, [2/14/13](#)]

The Chair Of The Civitas Institute Gave \$100,000 To Freedom Partners Action Fund

The Chair Of The Civitas Institute, Robert Luddy, Gave \$100,000 To Freedom Partners Action Fund. According to the Charlotte Observer, “Robert Luddy, Raleigh Total donations: \$362,000 To Republicans: \$356,000 Raleigh businessman chairs the conservative Civitas Institute. His biggest federal donation: \$100,000 to Freedom Partners Action Fund, a super PAC backed by Charles and David Koch.” [Charlotte Observer, [1/16/15](#)]

AFP President Tim Phillips Spoke At A Number Of Civitas Events

AFP President Tim Phillips Spoke At The Civitas Conservative Leadership Conference. According to AFP President Tim Phillips in speech at the Civitas Conservative Leadership Conference, “I love the supposed meltdown that the media’s talking about in the Republican party. Now, is a meltdown when you have record turnout in 13 of the 15 states voting so far? Is that a meltdown? It’s a deep, accomplished field of men and women who are actually putting forward a vision for the country.” [Tim Phillips – Civitas Conservative Leadership Conference, 3/4/16]

Phillips Spoke At A Civitas Institute Breakfast With Governor Pat McCrory On March 4th, 2016. According to the Civitas Institute, “Friday, March 4 • 8:00am - 10:30am[.] CLC 2016 Opening Breakfast with Governor Pat McCrory, Dr. Ryan Anderson, Hans von Spakovsky, and Tim Phillips[.]” [Civitas Institute, archived [3/3/16](#)]

- **Other Speakers Included Donors Trust President Lawson Bader, Center for Neighborhood Enterprise Founder Bob Woodson, Independent Women’s Forum Executive Director Sabrina Schaeffer And AFP-NC’s State And Communication Directors.** According to the Civitas Institute, “Featured Speakers[.] Tim Phillips[.] Americans For Prosperity[.] President [...] Bob Woodson[.] Center for Neighborhood Enterprise[.] Founder and President [...] Speakers[.] Lawson Bader[.] Donors Trust[.] President & CEO [...] Donald Bryson[.] Americans For Prosperity[.] North Carolina State Director [...] Joseph Kyzer[.] Americans For Prosperity North Carolina[.] Communications Director [...] Sabrina Schaeffer[.] Independent Women's Forum[.] Executive Director[.]” [Civitas Institute, archived [3/3/16](#)]

At Least One Staff Member Worked For Civitas, AFP-NC, And The State Policy Network

AFP-NC Field Director And Former Civitas Institute Staffer Victoria Wakefield Became Donor Relations And Stewardship Assistant At The State Policy Network. According to the State Policy Network, “Victoria Wakefield is the Donor Relations and Stewardship Assistant for SPN. Prior to joining SPN, Victoria worked for Americans for Prosperity Foundation and the John W. Pope Civitas Institute. Growing up around her family’s small business, Victoria developed her passion for free-market ideals and classical liberal studies at a young age. Victoria is a native Charlottean and graduate of North Carolina State University.” According to LinkedIn, Victoria Wakefield was an AFP-NC field director from March 2014 through February 2016. [State Policy Network, [5/9/16](#); Victoria Wakefield – LinkedIn, [5/9/16](#)]

CIVITAS STAFF

President Francis De Luca

Francis De Luca Was Listed As The Executive Director Of The Civitas Institute On Tax Forms For The Fiscal Years 2007 And 2008, After Which He Was Listed As President. [2007 John W Pope Civitas Group IRS Form 990, [1/16/08](#); John W Pope Civitas Institute IRS Forms 990, [1/21/09](#); [2010](#)]

- **De Luca Also Served As President Of Civitas Action.** According to the Civitas Institute, “Francis X. De Luca[.] President [...] He is currently the President of the Civitas Institute and Civitas Action.” [Civitas Institute, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

De Luca Previously Served As The North Carolina State Director At Americans For Prosperity

De Luca Previously Served As The North Carolina State Director At Americans For Prosperity. According to the News & Observer, “Longtime Republican player Francis X. De Luca has been named to the N.C. Ethics Commission. [...] De Luca has run political campaigns in the state for more than two decades and was once state director of Americans for Prosperity. He is currently president of the conservative policy group Civitas.” [News & Observer, [11/20/13](#)]

De Luca Was Appointed To The North Carolina Ethics Commission To Fill The Term Of Former State Auditor Les Merritt, Who Resigned Due To Possible Conflicts Of Interest

De Luca Was Named To The North Carolina Ethics Commission On The Recommendation Of North Carolina Senate President Pro Tem Phil Berger. According to The News & Observer, “Longtime Republican player Francis X. De Luca has been named to the N.C. Ethics Commission. [...] De Luca was appointed on the recommendation of Senate President Pro Tem Phil Berger. In his appointment letter, Berger said De Luca ‘has made notable contributions to our state in public service and will serve the state of North Carolina and the State Ethics Commission with distinction.’” [News & Observer, [11/20/13](#)]

- **According To The News & Observer, De Luca Was Appointed To Fill The Term Of Former State Auditor Les Merritt, Who Resigned “To Avoid Conflict With His Job As A Contractor With The State Health And**

Human Services Agency.” According to The News & Observer, “Longtime Republican player Francis X. De Luca has been named to the N.C. Ethics Commission. De Luca will fill the term of former state auditor Les Merritt, who resigned in September to avoid conflict with his job as a contractor with the state health and human services agency.” [News & Observer, [11/20/13](#)]

De Luca Resigned From The Commission In March 2015 Due To “Other Commitments.” According to the News & Observer, “Francis X. De Luca, who heads the conservative Raleigh-based think tank Civitas Institute, has resigned his post on the state Ethics Commission.” [News & Observer, [5/19/15](#)]

- **De Luca’s Term On The Ethics Commission Was Set To Expire At The End Of 2016.** According to The News & Observer, “Longtime Republican player Francis X. De Luca has been named to the N.C. Ethics Commission. De Luca will fill the term of former state auditor Les Merritt, who resigned in September to avoid conflict with his job as a contractor with the state health and human services agency. The term expires at the end of 2016.” [News & Observer, [11/20/13](#)]

THE KOCHS’ HIJACKING OF NORTH CAROLINA

The Koch Network Bolstered North Carolina’s Transphobic HB2 Law

NORTH CAROLINA’S HOUSE BILL 2 WAS PASSED IN MARCH 2016 TO PREVENT CITIES FROM ALLOWING TRANSGENDER INDIVIDUALS TO USE PUBLIC RESTROOMS CORRESPONDING TO THEIR GENDER IDENTITY

In March Of 2016, North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory Signed House Bill 2, Or The Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act, Which Blocked Cities From Allowing Transgender Individuals To Use Public Restrooms That Corresponded Their Gender Identity. According to CNN, “North Carolina’s governor on Wednesday signed a controversial bill blocking cities from allowing transgender individuals to use public bathrooms for the sex they identify as -- as well as restricting cities from passing nondiscrimination laws more broadly. House Bill 2, the Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act, puts in place a statewide policy that bans individuals from using public bathrooms that do not correspond to their biological sex.” [CNN, [3/23/16](#)]

- **HB2 Prevented Cities From Passing Localized Nondiscrimination Laws.** According to CNN, “House Bill 2, the Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act, puts in place a statewide policy that bans individuals from using public bathrooms that do not correspond to their biological sex. The bill also reserves the right to pass nondiscrimination legislation to the state government, saying state laws preempt any local ordinances.” [CNN, [3/23/16](#)]

HB2 Was Passed In Response To A Nondiscrimination Ordinance Law In The City Of Charlotte, Which Allowed Transgender Persons To Use The Public Restroom That Corresponded With Their Gender Identity. According to CNN, “House Bill 2, the Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act, puts in place a statewide policy that bans individuals from using public bathrooms that do not correspond to their biological sex. [...] The General Assembly went into special session earlier in the day to push through the legislation, a response to a nondiscrimination ordinance that the city of Charlotte enacted that, among other things, made it possible for transgender individuals to use the public bathroom of the sex they identify as.” [CNN, [3/23/16](#)]

- **McCrory Tweeted That The Ordinance “Defied Common Sense” And Claimed That It Would Allow “Men” To Use Women’s Bathrooms Or Locker Rooms.** According to a tweet by North Carolina governor Pat McCrory, “Ordinance defied common sense, allowing men to use women’s bathroom/locker room for instance. That’s why I signed bipartisan bill to stop it” [Pat McCrory – Twitter, [3/23/16](#)]

After Backlash Against HB2, McCrory Signed An Executive Order That Specified That The Private Sector Could Establish Its Own Policies, But Maintained The Gender-Specific Requirement For Public Facilities

After Backlash Against HB2, McCrory Signed An Executive Order That Specified That The Private Sector Could Establish Its Own Restroom And Locker Room Policies, But Maintained The Gender-Specific Requirement For Public Facilities. According to WNCN, “Twenty days after signing House Bill 2 into law, Gov. Pat McCrory announced Tuesday he has signed an executive order that amends that decision and expands the state’s employment policy to cover sexual orientation and gender identity. The governor said Executive Order 93: Maintains gender-specific restroom and locker room facilities in government buildings and schools[;] Affirms the private sector can establish its own restroom and locker room policies” [WNCN, [4/12/16](#)]

KOCH GROUPS PROVIDED A FINANCIAL LAUNCHPAD FOR HB2

AFP Helped Elect At Least 11 Republicans Who Voted For HB2, Including Four Of The Bill’s Sponsors

2010: AFP Spent Nearly \$285,000 On North Carolina Legislative Contests, Much Of Which Went To Supporting HB2 Co-Sponsor Republican Rep. Jonathan Jordan And A Number Of Other Lawmakers Who Voted For HB2.

According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP), a conservative ‘social welfare’ organization that Pope helped found with billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and to which Pope has contributed generously, spent nearly \$285,000 in 2010 on North Carolina legislative contests, with much of that going to support HB2 co-sponsor Republican Rep. Jonathan Jordan of Jefferson and a number of other lawmakers who voted for HB2. Then in 2012, AFP spent \$130,000 supporting McCrory and contributed \$83,000 to help elect 11 Republican state lawmakers who voted for HB2, including primary sponsor Bob Steinburg of Edenton and co-sponsors Michele Presnell of Burnsville and Michael Speciale of New Bern.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [5/6/16](#)]

2012: AFP Spent \$83,000 To Help Elect 11 Republican State Lawmakers Who Voted For HB2, Including Primary Sponsor Bob Steinburg Of Edenton And Co-Sponsors Michele Presnell Of Burnsville And Michael Speciale Of New Bern. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP), a conservative ‘social welfare’ organization that Pope helped found with billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and to which Pope has contributed generously, spent nearly \$285,000 in 2010 on North Carolina legislative contests, with much of that going to support HB2 co-sponsor Republican Rep. Jonathan Jordan of Jefferson and a number of other lawmakers who voted for HB2. Then in 2012, AFP spent \$130,000 supporting McCrory and contributed \$83,000 to help elect 11 Republican state lawmakers who voted for HB2, including primary sponsor Bob Steinburg of Edenton and co-sponsors Michele Presnell of Burnsville and Michael Speciale of New Bern.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [5/6/16](#)]

Koch-Donor Art Pope Used His Family Foundation To Funnel Almost \$1.5 Million To Groups That Supported HB2

According To The Institute For Southern Studies, Art Pope’s Family Foundation Contributed “Nearly \$1.5 Million” To Anti-LGBT Rights Organizations That “Actively Support HB2” Between 1997 And 2016. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “[T]he family foundation chaired by Art Pope funded groups that successfully pushed for an anti-gay marriage amendment to the North Carolina Constitution. In the 14 years leading up to the amendment's passage, the John W. Pope Foundation provided nearly \$1 million to the N.C. Family Policy Council (NCFPC) which had been advocating for the amendment since 2004, as well as additional funds to several other anti-LGBT rights groups. New Facing South research shows that the Pope Foundation's financial support of the NCFPC has continued with six-figure donations in each of the past several years. Its contributions to a related national group, the Family Research Council, continued through 2013. Both groups support HB2, and the NCFPC is a leader in the campaign to defend it. Since 1997, the Pope Foundation has contributed a total of nearly \$1.5 million to anti-LGBT rights organizations that actively support HB2.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [5/6/16](#)]

KOCH DONORS AND STAFFERS PUBLICLY DEFENDED HB2

AFP-NC Director Criticized State Rep. Becky Carney For Convincing The Charlotte City Council Not To Repeal The Anti-Discrimination Ordinance That Led To The Passage Of HB2

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Criticized State Rep. Becky Carney For Lobbying The Charlotte City Council Against Getting Involved With HB2 And Rejecting An “Olive Branch” Extended To The Charlotte City Council. According to an interview on the Chad Adams Show, “[Host Chad Adams:] But in this world, it’s fascinating the degree to which another issue has overshadowed a lot of the efforts of AFP. [AFP-NC director Donald Bryson:] That’s true. That generally seems to be the case with House Bill 2 all across the— [Adams:] Well, I wasn’t gonna say that. It’s the Bathroom Facilities Act. [Bryson:] Right. [Adams:] You know, it’s privacy and public safety of bathrooms. Because if we called it that, I think this would be a different debate. [Bryson:] That’s true. [Adams:] They continue to call it by something that people don’t understand. But do you find it difficult—Because I see you guys getting some traction, starting to get some traction on ads. It’s a very tight race but I see that all the mailers you’re doing and everything is kind of changing the dynamic a little bit. [Bryson:] I think we’re starting to get some traction and I think that there’s some burnout on those other issues because, let’s face it, we’ve been focusing on them since, what, March? And I think people are sort of tired of dealing with it. It’s really interesting to see what the interplay has been between the general assembly and the governor and the Charlotte city council where that olive branch was sort of extended and then rejected thanks to the lobbying efforts of Representative Becky Carney telling the Charlotte City Council to not get involved.” [Chad Adams Show, 9/20/16]

- **Carney Successfully Lobbied The Charlotte City Council Against Voting To Repeal The City’s Non-Discrimination Ordinance.** According to WBTV News, “North Carolina State Representative Becky Carney (D-Mecklenburg) lobbied members of the Charlotte City Council against voting to repeal the city’s non-discrimination ordinance, which would have paved the way for a repeal of the controversial House Bill 2, multiple sources tell On Your Side Investigates.” [WBTV News, [9/19/16](#)]
- **Republican Legislators Had Agreed To Repeal HB2 If Charlotte’s Anti-Discrimination Ordinance Were Repealed.** According to WBTV News, “North Carolina State Representative Becky Carney (D-Mecklenburg) lobbied members of the Charlotte City Council against voting to repeal the city’s non-discrimination ordinance, which would have paved the way for a repeal of the controversial House Bill 2, multiple sources tell On Your Side Investigates. [...] The lawmaker said Republican leaders in the legislature had agreed to repeal HB2 if the city’s ordinance were also repealed and that there were enough votes to push the bill’s repeal through.” [WBTV News, [9/19/16](#)]
- **Charlotte Mayor Jennifer Roberts Said That The State Of North Carolina Could Overturn HB2 “At Any Time Without Any Action From The City Of Charlotte.”** According to WBTV News, “‘The City of Charlotte continues its commitment to be a welcoming community that honors and respects all people,’ Roberts said in her statement. ‘We appreciate the state wanting to find a solution to the challenges we are facing and applaud the governor for recognizing the state should overturn HB2, which the state can do at any time without any action from the City of Charlotte.’” [WBTV News, [9/19/16](#)]

Bryson Claimed That A “Plurality” Of North Carolinians Supported HB2, And Lamented The Media Attention Focused On The Bill

Bryson: “A Majority Or At Least A Plurality Of North Carolinians Agree With The Republicans” On H.B. 2; “It’s The National Focus Where They’re On The Defensive.” According to a panel discussion on UNC TV, “[MARC ROTTERMAN:] Quick round robin— Are Republicans losing the messaging on this? Are they on the defensive? [...] [DONALD BRYSON:] I think, in the state, they’re actually on the offensive. If you look at the perception of how this issue is viewed within the state with North Carolinians, most North Carolinians in polls show a majority or at least a plurality of North Carolinians agree with the Republicans on this issue. It’s the national focus where they’re on the defensive.” [UNC TV, [5/13/16](#)]

Bryson Blamed The Media For “Not Keeping An Eye On Being Hawks On The Budget” And Focusing On H.B. 2 Instead Of More Important Issues Dealing With Taxation. According to a panel discussion on UNC TV, “[MARC ROTTERMAN:] Isn’t this a distraction? Does your organization think this is a distraction to the real priorities that we face in

North Carolina? [DONALD BRYSON:] You know, this is not an issue we get into. We really focus on fiscal, economic and regulatory issues. And I suppose there's an argument to be made that this is a regulatory issue but while we're arguing about, essentially, bathrooms, we've got a state house that's trying to pass a budget, which is how we're spending the taxpayers' money in North Carolina. I think that's a bigger debate. I think how we're gonna fund teacher pay raises—if we're gonna fund teacher pay raises—should be a bigger debate. I think there's a lot of pork that could still be taken out of the budget and we can talk about that. But I think that when the state passes the budget that is sort of a moral statement from the general assembly about 'these are the priorities that we're going to spend' but, instead, the media's focused elsewhere and they're not keeping an eye on being hawks on the budget like they normally would be." [UNC TV, [5/13/16](#)]

- **Bryson: "People Are Sort Of Tired Of Dealing With" Issues Surrounding House Bill 2 "Because, Let's Face It, We've Been Focusing On Them Since, What, March?"** According to an interview on the Chad Adams Show, "[Host Chad Adams:] But in this world, it's fascinating the degree to which another issue has overshadowed a lot of the efforts of AFP. [AFP-NC director Donald Bryson:] That's true. That generally seems to be the case with House Bill 2 all across the— [Adams:] Well, I wasn't gonna say that. It's the Bathroom Facilities Act. [Bryson:] Right. [Adams:] You know, it's privacy and public safety of bathrooms. Because if we called it that, I think this would be a different debate. [Bryson:] That's true. [Adams:] They continue to call it by something that people don't understand. But do you find it difficult—Because I see you guys getting some traction, starting to get some traction on ads. It's a very tight race but I see that all the mailers you're doing and everything is kind of changing the dynamic a little bit. [Bryson:] I think we're starting to get some traction and I think that there's some burnout on those other issues because, let's face it, we've been focusing on them since, what, March? And I think people are sort of tired of dealing with it. It's really interesting to see what the interplay has been between the general assembly and the governor and the Charlotte city council where that olive branch was sort of extended and then rejected thanks to the lobbying efforts of Representative Becky Carney telling the Charlotte City Council to not get involved. But, that being said, I am thankful that people are starting to pay more attention to our issues." [Chad Adams Show, 9/20/16]

Bryson And John Locke Foundation Vice President Chad Adams Said That HB2 Should Be Called Something Different To Shift The Conversation Over The Bill

Bryson Agreed With Radio Host Chad Adams That HB2 Would Be Viewed Differently If Its Name Focused On "Privacy And Public Safety Of Bathrooms" Rather Than "Something That People Don't Understand." According to an interview on the Chad Adams Show, "[Host Chad Adams:] But in this world, it's fascinating the degree to which another issue has overshadowed a lot of the efforts of AFP. [AFP-NC director Donald Bryson:] That's true. That generally seems to be the case with House Bill 2 all across the— [Adams:] Well, I wasn't gonna say that. It's the Bathroom Facilities Act. [Bryson:] Right. [Adams:] You know, it's privacy and public safety of bathrooms. Because if we called it that, I think this would be a different debate. [Bryson:] That's true. [Adams:] They continue to call it by something that people don't understand." [Chad Adams Show, 9/20/16]

- **As Of September 2016, Adams Served As The Vice President For Development At The John Locke Foundation.** According to the John Locke Foundation, "Chad Adams is the Director of the Center for Local Innovation, vice president for development for the John Locke foundation, and former Vice-Chairman of the Lee County Board of Commissioners." [John Locke Foundation, accessed [9/22/16](#)]
- **The John Locke Foundation Received More Than \$10.4 Million From The Pope Foundation Between 2010 And 2013.** According to tax documents, the John William Pope Foundation donated a total of \$10,458,032 to the John Locke Foundation between 2010 and 2013. [John William Pope Foundation IRS Forms 990 via Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/22/16](#)]
- **The John Locke Foundation Received More Than \$800,000 From Donors Capital Fund Between 2007 And 2014.** According to tax documents, Donors Capital Fund donated a total of \$838,100 to the John Locke Foundation between 2007 and 2014. [Donors Capital Fund IRS Forms 990 via Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/22/16](#)]

Koch Donor Art Pope Blamed Charlotte's Non-Discrimination Ordinance For Prompting The Passage Of HB2

Pope Blamed The Passage Of HB2 On Charlotte's Nondiscrimination Ordinance: "Before...Charlotte Passed Its Ordinance, We Didn't Have Any Laws Describing How A Bathroom's To Be Used." According to an interview with Art Pope by Ari Shapiro for NPR, "SHAPIRO: Because you have been so active in North Carolina politics, I also need to ask you about HB2, the law that restricts which bathroom transgender people can use in public buildings. You are often described as more libertarian than socially conservative, but organizations that you funded have supported this law. What do you make of the controversy surrounding it? POPE: I disagree with your comment, the organizations I, quote, 'have funded have supported the law.' The whole matter of dealing with House Bill 2 and the Charlotte ordinance is unfortunate. Before the city of Charlotte passed its ordinance, we didn't have any laws describing how a bathroom's to be used. SHAPIRO: This was the LGBT antidiscrimination ordinance that the city of Charlotte passed that HB2 is a response to. Go on. POPE: That is correct. What I have actually recommended is that we just take one big step back and study the matter in a calm, reasonable manner. So Charlotte were to send its ordinance that started this and then the general assembly would either repeal or modify or put a moratorium on its law and have a commission come up with a workable statute." [Art Pope Interview – NPR, [5/17/16](#)]

Pope Said That The Purpose Of HB2 Was To Make It "Clear That Municipalities Did Not Have The Right To Pass Local Laws." According to an interview with Art Pope by Erik Spanberg for the Charlotte Business Journal, "[POPE: The original issue was a Charlotte city ordinance which sought to govern and have local laws applied to local businesses for employment and public accommodation that were different from not only North Carolina law, but from the United States Congress-enacted protections, such as Title IX. What House Bill 2 made clear is that there was going to be a uniform law governing employment and public accommodation and it had equal protection language that protected individual citizens consistent with the federal equal protection clauses, the federal statutes. It made it clear that municipalities did not have the right to pass local laws, which probably could not have been enforced under the North Carolina constitution even without House Bill 2 being passed." [Art Pope Interview – Charlotte Business Journal, [4/10/16](#)]

In September 2016, Pope Reiterated That His May 2016 Proposal To Rescind The Charlotte Ordinance Expanding LGBT Protections And Repealing HB2 Was "A Good Solution": "By Rescinding The Charlotte Ordinance And Put The Law Back Where It Was, We Were Going To Use Common Sense And Courtesy To Decide The Issues." According to the Charlotte Business Journal, "One of the state's most influential Republicans said Monday that House Bill 2 'overreached' but blamed the Human Rights Campaign and other LGBT activists for causing the boycotts and defections carried out in the six months since the law passed. Art Pope, CEO of Variety Wholesalers and former state budget director in the McCrory administration, also pledged to work with all sides in an attempt to reduce the fallout from the state law. Even so, he's not optimistic based on recent events: 'Unfortunately, I think both sides are digging themselves a deeper and deeper hole.' In April, Pope and others proposed rescinding the Charlotte ordinance expanding LGBT protections and repealing HB2. A month later, Charlotte City Council, in a 7-4 vote, opted against considering whether to repeal the local ordinance. 'By rescinding the Charlotte ordinance and put the law back where it was, we were going to use common sense and courtesy to decide the issues and there would have been no need for a House Bill 2 to respond to it at all,' Pope told me. 'I thought that was a good solution then; I think it's a good solution now.'" [Charlotte Business Journal, [9/19/16](#)]

Pope Accused LGBT Groups Of "Distorting" HB2 And Blamed Them For The NCAA And ACC Decision To Pull Their Tournament Games From North Carolina

Koch Donor And AFP-NC Founder Art Pope Blamed The Human Rights Campaign And Other LGBT Activists For Causing Boycotts And Defections Carried Out After The Passage Of House Bill 2. According to the Charlotte Business Journal, "One of the state's most influential Republicans said Monday that House Bill 2 'overreached' but blamed the Human Rights Campaign and other LGBT activists for causing the boycotts and defections carried out in the six months since the law passed. Art Pope, CEO of Variety Wholesalers and former state budget director in the McCrory administration, also pledged to work with all sides in an attempt to reduce the fallout from the state law." [Charlotte Business Journal, [9/19/16](#)]

- **Pope: "Human Rights Campaign Is Distorting, Misrepresenting What House Bill 2 Does And Does Not Do And They Are Hiding And Not Acknowledging That There Are Problems With The Charlotte City Ordinance."** According to the Charlotte Business Journal, "Asked about the NCAA and ACC decisions to leave the state and mitigating the negative effects of the law, Pope told me, 'It's not House Bill 2 that's causing the harm. It's the

Human Rights Campaign and lobbying and calling for a boycott that's causing the harm. Am I concerned that North Carolina's being boycotted? Yes. ... I think House Bill 2 overreached and it needs to be corrected, and the governor supported, and I supported, compromise corrections to it. I do think Human Rights Campaign is distorting, misrepresenting what House Bill 2 does and does not do and they are hiding and not acknowledging that there are problems with the Charlotte city ordinance.” [Charlotte Business Journal, [9/19/16](#)]

- **Pope On The NCAA And ACC Decisions To Leave The State: “It's Not House Bill 2 That's Causing The Harm. It's The Human Rights Campaign And Lobbying And Calling For A Boycott That's Causing The Harm.”** According to the Charlotte Business Journal, “Asked about the NCAA and ACC decisions to leave the state and mitigating the negative effects of the law, Pope told me, ‘It's not House Bill 2 that's causing the harm. It's the Human Rights Campaign and lobbying and calling for a boycott that's causing the harm. Am I concerned that North Carolina's being boycotted? Yes. ... I think House Bill 2 overreached and it needs to be corrected, and the governor supported, and I supported, compromise corrections to it. I do think Human Rights Campaign is distorting, misrepresenting what House Bill 2 does and does not do and they are hiding and not acknowledging that there are problems with the Charlotte city ordinance.’” [Charlotte Business Journal, [9/19/16](#)]

American Commitment President Phil Kerpen Defended Donald Trump's Support For HB2, And Claimed That Supporters Of The Law Didn't Want “Men In The Girls Shower”

Kerpen Called Donald Trump's Support Of A Bathroom Ordinance In Charlotte “A General Election Pivot.”

According to a tweet by American Commitment president Phil Kerpen, “Trump coming out in favor of the Charlotte bathroom ordinance is a general election pivot. He's finished with the primaries.” [Phil Kerpen – Twitter, [4/21/16](#)]

Kerpen Criticized Hillary Clinton For Supporting The NCAA's Decision To Pull Tournament Games From North Carolina Due To The State's LGBT Discrimination Law, And Said That Those Who Didn't “Want Men In The Girls Shower” Were Among Those In Clinton's “Basket” Of Deplorables. According to a tweet by American Commitment president Phil Kerpen, “If you don't want men in the girls shower, you're in the basket. [HILLARY CLINTON:] The @NCAA is right to pull tournament games from North Carolina because of the anti-LGBTHB2 law. Discrimination has no place in America. –H” [Phil Kerpen – Twitter, [9/13/16](#)]

Grassroot Leadership Academy Training & Curriculum Director Dave Johnson Tweeted That Overturning HB2 Would Force Children To “Go To A Bathroom With A Dude Dressed Like A Woman”

Johnson Circulated Tweet Claiming That Overturning Recent North Carolina Legislation Would “Force Your Kids To Go To A Bathroom With A Dude Dressed Like A Woman.” According to a tweet by Grassroot Leadership Academy Director of Training & Curriculum Dave Johnson, “Bruce Springsteen wants to force your kids to go to a bathroom with a dude dressed like a http://wp.me/pqwpd-Cjx[.]” The tweet linked to an article on The Right Scoop titled “Bruce Springsteen Wants To Force Your Kids To Go To A Bathroom With A Dude Dressed Like A Woman.”



[Dave Johnson – Twitter, [4/8/16](#)]

- **The Grassroots Leadership Academy Was A Project Of The Americans For Prosperity Foundation.** According to the Grassroots Leadership Academy, “Americans for Prosperity Foundation's Grassroots Leadership Academy is a state-of-the-art training program for citizen activists who want to make a difference at the federal, state, and local level. Our education programs will build the leadership skills you need to fight for freedom and against the progressive policies and false narratives of the left.” [Grassroots Leadership Academy, accessed [9/26/16](#)]

State Policy Network Vice President Tony Woodlief Used Transphobic Language To Defend The Reaction Of North Carolinians To HB2

State Policy Network Executive Vice President Tony Woodlief Defended The North Carolinian Reaction To Its Restroom Law By Saying That “The Best Way To Unify We Feuding, Vengeful, Petty, Grudge-Holding, Backwards-Ass Rednecks Is To Tell Us The Yankees Are Displeased.” According to a post by State Policy Network executive vice president Tony Woodlief for his blog, Sand in the Gears, “Now, educated people know this is an evil law. We know this because of the outcry from people who know a thing or two about repression and homophobia, many of them having spent hours cozying with dictators in Cuba, Egypt, Venezuela, and the like. Our moral betters know evil because they have looked evil in the eye. They’ve sipped espresso with evil. They’ve played private concerts for evil. But we Southerners are a contrarian lot. It runs in our tainted blood. While straight-sighted moral people rightly cower at reproaches from New York politicians, Hollywood mavens, and pornography conglomerates, we perversely internalize them as badges of honor. In fact, the best way to unify we feuding, vengeful, petty, grudge-holding, backwards-ass rednecks is to tell us the Yankees are displeased.” [TonyWoodlief.com, [4/13/16](#)]

- **Woodlief Wrote That It Might Take “Another Generation Or So” For “The Pervasive And Homogenized Digital Mindwash” To Reach The South, At Which Point “Our Grandchildren Have No Certainty Whatsoever About God Or Virtue Or The Purpose Of A Penis.”** According to a post by State Policy Network executive vice president Tony Woodlief for his blog, Sand in the Gears, “Blood runs hot where morality is concerned, and viewed from that perspective, my state is doing a great service to our sideways neighbors. With so little evil and suffering left in the modern world, good people need a beacon of evil against which to calibrate. Some Southerners are content to play that part, for a time at least, until we can scramble the rest of the way up the moral ladder, which may take another generation or so, by which time the pervasive and homogenized digital mindwash which scour us all every waking hour will have reached its fruition even in this backwards territory, such that our grandchildren have no certainty whatsoever about God or virtue or the purpose of a penis, and better still, no curiosity on these matters, because curiosity breeds questions, and questions beget challenges[.]” [TonyWoodlief.com, [4/13/16](#)]

Woodlief Tweeted That If North Carolinians Had “Known Banning Transgender Bathrooms Would Keep New Yorkers From Visiting NC, We'd Have Done It Sooner.” According to a tweet by State Policy Network executive vice president Tony Woodlief, “Dear Gov. Cuomo: If we'd known banning transgender bathrooms would keep New Yorkers from visiting NC, we'd have done it sooner.” [Tony Woodlief – Twitter, [3/29/16](#)]

Woodlief Mocked Non-Binary Gender Monikers By Referring To Transgender People As “He (Or She, Or S(he), Or Some Entirely New And Enlightened Signifier Even Now Being Conjured In A Brown University Anthropology Classroom).” According to a post by State Policy Network executive vice president Tony Woodlief for his blog, Sand in the Gears, “Take the recent law passed here in North Carolina, for example, mandating that every user of a public restroom attend only those assigned to people bearing the equipment matching what he (or she, or s(he), or some entirely new and enlightened signifier even now being conjured in a Brown University anthropology classroom) received at birth.” [TonyWoodlief.com, [4/13/16](#)]

Woodlief Criticized “Educated People” Who Opposed North Carolina’s Restroom Law For “Having Spent Hours Cozying With Dictators In Cuba, Egypt, Venezuela, And The Like.” According to a post by State Policy Network executive vice president Tony Woodlief for his blog, Sand in the Gears, “Now, educated people know this is an evil law. We know this because of the outcry from people who know a thing or two about repression and homophobia, many of them having spent hours cozying with dictators in Cuba, Egypt, Venezuela, and the like. Our moral betters know evil because they have looked evil in the eye. They’ve sipped espresso with evil. They’ve played private concerts for evil.” [TonyWoodlief.com, [4/13/16](#)]

KOCH FRONT GROUPS JOINED A PRO-HB2 COALITION THAT PLANNED PUBLIC PRAYERS TO THANK STATE LEGISLATORS FOR NOT ALLOWING “MEN” IN “LOCKED ROOMS WITH GIRLS AND WOMEN”

Concerned Women For America, The Civitas Institute, And The Civitas Center For Law And Freedom Were Members Of The Keep NC Safe Coalition. According to a web post on KeepMyNCSafe.com, “KeepNCSafe Coalition [...] Concerned Women for America of North Carolina [...] Civitas Institute [...] Civitas Center for Law and Freedom” [KeepMyNCSafe.com, accessed [9/26/16](#)]

Keep NC Safe Wrote That Companies Who Opposed HB2 Believed That “Men Should Be Allowed Into Locked Rooms With Girls And Women.” According to a statement by The Keep NC Safe Coalition, “While business owners in other states have received criticism and have even been forced out of business for standing up for common sense, hundreds (334) of North Carolina business owners have signed on to a letter thanking Governor McCrory and the General Assembly for passing a law affirming the privacy and safety of businesses, women, and children to live and work in accordance with their deeply held beliefs. [...] Thanks to Governor McCrory and the General Assembly’s leadership and immediate action to ensure North Carolinians’ privacy and safety receives maximum protection, North Carolina will continue to flourish. It would be a shame for any companies to miss out on that simply because they believe men should be allowed into locked rooms with girls and women.” [KeepMyNCSafe.com, [4/29/16](#)]

Koch Connected Groups Gave Concerned Women For America Over \$10.5 Million

Between 2007 And 2014, Koch Connected Groups Gave Concerned Women For America Over \$10.5 Million.

According to Conservative Transparency, between 2007 and 2014 Koch connected groups gave Concerned Women for America at least \$10,516,173. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Contribution
2014	American Encore	Concerned Women for America	\$20,000
2013	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$375,000
2013	Freedom Partners	Concerned Women for America	\$260,000
2012	Center to Protect Patient Rights	Concerned Women for America	\$173,573
2012	Freedom Partners	Concerned Women for America	\$8,150,000
2011	Center to Protect Patient Rights	Concerned Women for America	\$1,453,000
2010	Center to Protect Patient Rights	Concerned Women for America	\$4,500
2010	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$25,000
2010	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$15,000
2010	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$15,000
2010	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$15,000
2010	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$10,000
2007	DonorsTrust	Concerned Women for America	\$100
Total			\$10,516,173

[Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/27/16](#)]

Keep NC Safe Organized A Series Of Candlelight “Prayer Vigils” In Support Of HB2, Including At Least One In Front Of The Governor’s Mansion In Raleigh

Keep NC Safe Planned A Series Of Candlelight Prayer Vigils In April 2016 To “Show Support For Gov McCrory And The General Assembly For Standing Up For Safety And Privacy Of Our Women And Children.” According to a web post on KeepMyNCSafe.com, “1 HR candlelight prayer vigil [...] Citizens across North Carolina will gather in rallies and pray for our leaders to show support for Gov McCrory and the General Assembly for standing up for safety and privacy of our women and children.” [KeepMyNCSafe.com, accessed [9/26/16](#)]

- **At Least One Keep NC Safe Candlelight Vigil Was Held Outside The Governor's Mansion In Raleigh.** According to The News & Observer, "Pat McCrory and the General Assembly for passing the law 'affirming the privacy and safety of businesses, women and children,' according to the KeepNCsafe.org Coalition. Supporters also held a prayer vigil Thursday night outside the governor's mansion." [News & Observer, [4/1/16](#)]

Keep NC Safe Copied Language From An Op-Ed By Evangelist Franklin Graham And Promoted His Support Of HB2

Keep NC Safe Wrote That "Interceding For Those In Authority" Was Not An "Option," But Rather A "Biblical Command." According to a web post on KeepMyNCsafe.com, "Citizens across North Carolina will gather in rallies and pray for our leaders to show support for Gov McCrory and the General Assembly for standing up for safety and privacy of our women and children. If you cannot join us at one of the gatherings below we encourage you to gather in homes, businesses or churches to prayer for our leaders. Interceding for those in authority is not an option. It is a biblical command found in 1 Timothy 2:1-2." [KeepMyNCsafe.com, accessed [9/26/16](#)]

Keep NC Safe's Statement Regarding Interceding For Those In Authority Copied Language From An Op-Ed Written By Christian Evangelist Franklin Graham. According to an opinion by Billy Graham Evangelistic Association president Franklin Graham for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association's Decision Magazine, "Interceding for those in authority is not an option. It is a biblical command that we are to obey." [Franklin Graham – Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, [October 2014](#)]

Keep NC Safe Planned To Hold A "Special Morning Event" In Raleigh In The Lead Up To An October 2016 Event Hosted By Franklin Graham At The North Carolina Capitol. According to a Facebook post by Keep NC Safe, "Save the Date! Plan now to join us in Raleigh on October 13th! We will be holding a special morning event and then at noon Franklin Graham will be holding his Decision America 2016 Tour at the Capitol." [Keep NC Safe – Facebook, [8/16/16](#)]

Keep NC Safe Praised Graham For Calling PayPal A "Hypocrite" For Their Opposition To HB2. According to a Facebook post by Keep NC Safe, "Thank you Franklin Graham and Billy Graham Evangelistic Association for standing for common sense and family values in North Carolina. [FRANKLIN GRAHAM:] PayPal gets the hypocrite of the year award! This company says they're not coming to North Carolina because the legislators and Gov. Pat McCrory have passed a law to protect women and children against sexual predators by not allowing men to use women's restrooms and locker rooms." [Keep NC Safe – Facebook, [4/6/16](#)]

Graham Implied That President Obama May Secretely Be Muslim And Called Transgender Women "Men Pretending To Be Women"

Graham Claimed That "Under Islamic Law," President Obama Was A Muslim Since His Father, Grandfather, And Great-Grandfather Were Muslims. According to MSNBC, "Rev. Franklin Graham, the son of Billy Graham and the CEO of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, would not say if President Barack Obama is a Christian during an appearance today on msnbc's Morning Joe, saying that Obama 'has said he's a Christian, so I just have to assume that he is.' [...] 'Islam sees him as a son of Islam because his father was a Muslim, his grandfather was a Muslim, great grandfather was a Muslim and so under Islamic law, the Muslim world sees Barack Obama as a Muslim,' Graham said, before explaining that he could not rule out the possibility that Obama may secretly be Muslim." [MSNBC, [2/21/12](#)]

Graham Said He Couldn't "Categorically" Say That Obama Was Not A Muslim, And Claimed That Islam Had "Gotten A Free Pass Under Obama." According to MSNBC, "I can't say categorically [that Obama is not a Muslim] *[brackets in original]* because Islam has gotten a free pass under Obama,' he said. 'All I know is under Obama, President Obama, the Muslims of the world, he seems to be more concerned about them than the Christians that are being murdered in the Muslim countries.'" [MSNBC, [2/21/12](#)]

Graham Said That "Businesses And Organizations Shouldn't Be Forced By Law To Allow Men Pretending To Be Women To Use Women's Restrooms." According to a Facebook post by Franklin Graham, "Donald J. Trump's desire to make America great again has resonated with many voters across America. However, I have to disagree with him on the statement he made about the NC bathroom law HB2 on The Today Show in an interview with Matt Lauer. He said people

should use the bathroom they feel appropriate. He said that if Caitlyn Jenner came to Trump Tower, he could use any bathroom he wanted. That's Mr. Trump's prerogative on his own property. But businesses and organizations shouldn't be forced by law to allow men pretending to be women to use women's restrooms." [Franklin Graham – Facebook, [4/22/16](#)]

Graham Quoted The Bible To Argue That It Was “Not Up To Us To Decide Our Sex—God Determines That.” According to a Facebook post by Franklin Graham, “It's not up to us to decide our sex—God determines that. The Bible says, ‘He created them male and female and blessed them.’” [Franklin Graham – Facebook, [4/22/16](#)]

Concerned Women For America Launched An Initiative Called “Stand By HB2” To Promote KeepNCsafe.org Events And Efforts

Concerned Women For America Launched An Initiative Urging Its Supporters To “Stand By HB2” In March 2016. [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

- **CWA Accused Businesses And Filmmakers Of “Expressing Venomous Hostility” To North Carolina After The Passage Of HB2.** According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “North Carolina has been inundated by businesses, large-scale corporations, and film-makers who neither live nor vote in North Carolina yet are expressing venomous hostility because of the recent passage of HB2.” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

CWA Told North Carolina Business Owners To Join A List Of Businesses In Support Of HB2. According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “If you are a North Carolina business owner, please sign up to be a part of the growing list of businesses in support of HB2 and the actions taken by Gov. McCrory and the General Assembly.” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

- **The List Was Compiled By The Keep NC Safe Coalition.** According to a web post on KeepMyNCSafe.com, “Below is a letter for Business Leaders to sign to show support for Governor McCrory, our General Assembly and HB 2. We encourage you to sign the letter and then share it with other business leaders across the state [...] KeepNCSafe Coalition [...] Concerned Women for America of North Carolina [...] Civitas Institute [...] Civitas Center for Law and Freedom” [KeepMyNCSafe.com, accessed [9/26/16](#)]

CWA Urged Supporters To Attend Events Including A “Prayer Vigil” In Support Of HB2. According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “Gov. Pat McCrory and the North Carolina businesses that have publicly supported HB2, need your support! [...] Attend scheduled events. Prayer Vigil: April 19 – Havelock at Havelock City Park – 7:00 pm. If it rains gathering will be held at Community Baptist Church, 7648 Highway 70, Newport, NC 28570. Click here for more information. Rally: April 25 – Raleigh at Halifax Mall located directly behind the Legislative Building – 12 Noon. Click here for more information under ‘Urgent Bulletin’.” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

- **The Vigil Was One Of A Series Organized By Keep NC Safe.** According to KeepMyNCSafe.com, “Citizens across North Carolina will gather in rallies and pray for our leaders to show support for Gov McCrory and the General Assembly for standing up for safety and privacy of our women and children. [...] April 19th[.] Havelock at Havelock City Park – City Contact: Pastor Jim Kohr” [KeepMyNCSafe.com, accessed [9/26/16](#)]

CWA Urged Its Supporters To Vote “No” For An Online Poll Asking Whether HB2 Was “Bad For Business.” According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “Show the court of public opinion that the vast majority of people support HB2. Vote NO to the Triangle Business Journal's question, Is N.C.'s transgender legislation bad for business?” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

CWA Praised Gov. McCrory, Lt. Gov. Dan Forest, And Members Of The GOP Leadership In North Carolina's Legislature For Their Support Of HB2

CWA Told Supporters To “Respectfully Express” Their Disappointment In Companies That Opposed HB2, And “Ask They That Support HB2 For The Sake Of Women And Children.” According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “Click here for a list of companies who have publicly issued statements or tweets against HB2. Click on each

company for their contact information. Respectfully express your disappointment over their opposition to HB2 and ask that they support HB2 for the sake of women and children.” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

CWA Told Supporters To Contact Gov. Pat McCrory, Lt. Gov. Dan Forest, Senate President Pro Tempore Phil Berger, House Speaker Tim Moore, Rep. Dan Bishop, And Other Members Of The General Assembly To Thank Them For Their “Courage To Stand For Women And Children’s Protection And Rights.” According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “Show your appreciation and support to Gov. McCrory and the General Assembly. Please let them know how much you appreciate their courage to stand for women and children’s protection and rights in the midst of great controversy. [...] Call and e-mail both your representative and senator and thank them if they voted for HB2 and respectfully express your disappointment if they did not. [...] Call Lt. Governor Dan Forest at (919) 733-7350, Senate President Pro Tempore Phil Berger (R-District 26) at (919) 733-5708, House Speaker Tim Moore (R-District 1111) at (919)733-3451, and Rep. Dan Bishop (R-District 104) who introduced HB2 at (919) 715-3009.” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

CWA Told Its Supporters To “Pray That Our State Servants Would Remain Encouraged And Continue To Stand Strong For Our Religious Liberties.” According to a web post by Concerned Women for America, “Please PRAY that our state servants would remain encouraged and continue to stand strong for our religious liberties.” [ConcernedWomen.org, [3/30/16](#)]

HB2 HAD A SWEEPING, NEGATIVE IMPACT ON NORTH CAROLINA’S ECONOMY

HB2 Was Estimated To Cost North Carolina As Much As \$5 Billion Annually In Lost Business, And Hundreds Of Jobs

The Williams Institute, A UCLA School Of Law Think Tank, Estimated That HB2 “Could Cost North Carolina \$5 Billion Annually.” According to Newsweek, “Unless North Carolina repeals the bill, the state will continue to suffer economically as a result of those protesting HB2, only some of which are listed above. In May, the UCLA School of Law think tank the Williams Institute published a report citing how the bill could cost North Carolina \$5 billion annually, a sum that no number of scathing, defensive comments from North Carolina Republicans can recover.” [Newsweek, [9/14/16](#)]

The Charlotte Regional Visitors Authority Announced “It Has Lost 13 Conventions Following The Passage Of HB2.” According to Newsweek, “The Charlotte Regional Visitors Authority announces that it has lost 13 conventions following the passage of HB2. ‘We are extremely concerned about the state legislation in place as we continue to hear negative feedback and potential event cancellations from our customers,’ the group said. ‘Our city has worked incredibly hard to build a thriving visitor economy over the last 20 years, which has welcomed major events and conventions that greatly give back to the city and the state of North Carolina’s economy and overall quality of life. This issue is in danger of setting us back from the progress we’ve made in positioning Charlotte as an attractive, inclusive destination.’” [Newsweek, [9/14/16](#)]

“Raleigh Could Lose As Much As \$40 Million In Convention Business” Following The Passage Of HB2. According to WRAL, “Raleigh could lose as much as \$40 million in convention business from the state’s controversial law on transgender rights. Statistics from the Greater Raleigh Convention and Visitors Bureau show that 16 trade associations or corporate groups have canceled gatherings in Raleigh because of House Bill 2, causing an estimated economic loss of \$5.6 million. Raleigh is no longer in the running for another 13 conventions, worth an estimated \$2 million combined.” [WRAL.com, [7/6/16](#)]

Financial Company Deutsche Bank Froze Plans “To Create 250 Jobs” In Cary, NC. According to Newsweek, “German financial company Deutsche Bank freezes plans to create 250 jobs at its technology development center in Cary, North Carolina. ‘We’re proud of our operations and employees in Cary and regret that as a result of this legislation we are unwilling to include North Carolina in our U.S. expansion plans for now,’ CEO John Cryan said in a statement. ‘We very much hope that we can revisit our plans to grow this location in the near future.’” [Newsweek, [9/14/16](#)]

PayPal “Canceled Its Plans To Open A New Global Operations Center In Charlotte” Due To HB2, Costing 400 Jobs. According to CNN Money, “PayPal has canceled its plans to open a new global operations center in Charlotte, following passage of a North Carolina law that prevents cities from creating non-discrimination policies based on gender

identity. The measure also mandates that students in state schools use the bathroom that corresponds with their gender when they were born. On March 23, North Carolina, in an emergency session, passed the controversial Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act. Critics have blasted the law for excluding gays and transgender people from legal protections. As a result, PayPal (PYPL, Tech30) says it will no longer open its facility in Charlotte, which was expected to employ 400 people. PayPal had announced its plans to open the operations center only two weeks ago.” [Money.CNN.com, [4/5/16](#)]

Google Ventures Pledged Not To Invest In North Carolina Until HB2 Is Repealed. According to ABC 11 News, “Google Ventures, now known as GV, has added its voice to the list of tech and corporate heavyweights speaking out against North Carolina's House Bill 2. GV's CEO has pledged not to invest any money in the state until the law, which opponents claim discriminates against transgender people, is repealed. Recode reported Friday that GV CEO Bill Maris sent out a note to his firm's partners asking them to ‘please flag any investments in NC that come through as I am not comfortable deploying dollars into startups there until the voters there fix this.’” [ABC11.com, [4/8/16](#)]

The NCAA, NBA, And ACC Relocated Playoff And All-Star Games Out Of The State, Resulting In An Estimated Loss Of \$112.5 Million In Revenue For 2017

The NCAA Pulled “Seven Championship Tournament Games Out Of North Carolina” Because Of HB2. According to NBC News, “The NCAA announced Monday evening it would pull seven championship tournament games out of North Carolina because of a controversial state law that critics say is discriminatory to the LGBT community. ‘Based on the NCAA's commitment to fairness and inclusion, the Association will relocate all seven previously awarded championship events from North Carolina during the 2016-17 academic year,’ the NCAA said in a statement. [...] The state, a bastion of basketball fandom, has been a frequent host of NCAA men's basketball tournament games. In all, North Carolina has hosted 251 men's tournament games since 1951 — the most of any state, according to the NCAA. The loss of the games will likely take a financial toll on the state. Artists, businesses and other groups have already boycotted North Carolina over the law, HB2, which was signed into law by Republican Gov. Pat McCrory earlier this year.” [NBC News, [9/13/16](#)]

- **North Carolina Had Hosted The Most NCAA Basketball Tournament Games Out Of Any State Since 1951.** According to NBC News, “Based on the NCAA's commitment to fairness and inclusion, the Association will relocate all seven previously awarded championship events from North Carolina during the 2016-17 academic year,’ the NCAA said in a statement. The organization said ‘current North Carolina state laws’ don't align with its commitment to ‘promote an inclusive atmosphere for all college athletes, coaches, administrators and fans.’ The state, a bastion of basketball fandom, has been a frequent host of NCAA men's basketball tournament games. In all, North Carolina has hosted 251 men's tournament games since 1951 — the most of any state, according to the NCAA.” [NBC News, [9/13/16](#)]

The NBA Pulled The 2017 All-Star Game Out Of North Carolina Due To HB2. According to the New York Times, “The National Basketball Association on Thursday dealt a blow to the economy and prestige of North Carolina by pulling next February's All-Star Game from Charlotte to protest a state law that eliminated anti-discrimination protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. The move was among the most prominent consequences since the law, which also bars transgender people from using bathrooms in public buildings that do not correspond with their birth gender, was passed in March.” [New York Times, [7/21/16](#)]

- **Forbes: Charlotte “Is Estimated To Lose \$100 Million” From The Loss Of The All-Star Game.** According to Forbes, “The NBA is using the power of economics to not only make a point, but enact social change. While the NBA would not say how much of an impact the All-Star Game has due to a policy of not disclosing financial information, looking at the entire event, accounting for hotels, restaurants, tourism transportation, and general spending, Charlotte is estimated to lose \$100 million according to the Charlotte Regional Visitors Authority.” [Forbes, [7/22/16](#)]

Duke Basketball Coach Mike Krzyzewski: The Law Is “Embarrassing” And North Carolina Has “Lost A Lot” Because Of It. According to the New York Times, “Mike Krzyzewski, the coach at Duke, which is in Durham, N.C., and has long been one of the N.C.A.A.'s most prominent basketball teams, has been sharply critical of the North Carolina law. He has been in Las Vegas this week coaching the men's national basketball team as it trains for next month's Summer Olympics, and

Thursday he said North Carolina had 'lost a lot' because of the legislation. He had previously described the law as 'embarrassing.'" [New York Times, [7/21/16](#)]

The ACC Removed "All Its Athletic Championships From North Carolina" Over HB2. According to the Associated Press, "The Atlantic Coast Conference has followed the NCAA's lead and is removing all its athletic championships from North Carolina over a state law limiting protections for LGBT people. The ACC Council of Presidents voted Wednesday to relocate the league's championships until North Carolina repeals the law. The decision includes 10 neutral site championships this academic school year, which means relocating the ACC football title game that was scheduled to be played in Charlotte in December. No announcement was made on where the championship events will be held. 'The decision to move the neutral site championships out of North Carolina while HB2 remains the law was not an easy one,' said Clemson President James P. Clements, chairman of the league's council. 'But it is consistent with the shared values of inclusion and non-discrimination at all our institutions.'" [Associated Press via US News and World Report, [9/14/16](#)]

- **The ACC Had "Planned To Hold 14 Of Its 21 Championship Events In North Carolina This Academic Year."** According to the Associated Press, "The ACC Council of Presidents voted Wednesday to relocate the league's championships until North Carolina repeals the law. The decision includes 10 neutral site championships this academic school year, which means relocating the ACC football title game that was scheduled to be played in Charlotte in December. [...] Football's not the only sport affected. The ACC planned to hold 14 of its 21 championship events in North Carolina this academic year, with 10 of those at neutral, off-campus, sites and the other four on the campuses of Wake Forest (field hockey), Duke (fencing), North Carolina (softball) and N.C. State (wrestling)." [Associated Press via US News and World Report, [9/14/16](#)]

Greater Raleigh Sports Alliance Executive Director Scott Dupree: The NCAA And ACC Moving Their Tournaments Was "Probably The Worst Ever In Terms Of Lost Business." According to the Associated Press, "The ACC and NCAA decisions have been a blow to North Carolina's tourism and business communities, which rely on servicing fans attending major sporting events. Scott Dupree, executive director of the Greater Raleigh Sports Alliance, said the recent announcements by the NCAA and ACC were 'unprecedented and historically bad' for the state's sports event industry. It was 'probably the worst ever in terms of lost business and damage to our brand,' he said." [Associated Press via US News and World Report, [9/14/16](#)]

NBC Sports: The ACC Moving Their Football Championship Is "Significant" Because The ACC Is Based In North Carolina. According to NBC Sports, "The ACC announced on Wednesday that the conference will be relocating all neutral-site championships for the 2016-17 season from the state of North Carolina due to HB2. [...] The amount of time it takes to plan for an event as big as the ACC's football title game is significant. There's a reason these things are announced so far in advance. With that game scheduled to be played in just two months, there are two points you need to understand: The stand the ACC is taking here is significant. Not only are they moving the title game, they are moving it out of the state when the conference is based. The ACC's offices are in Greensboro." [NBC Sports, [9/14/16](#)]

Sports Business Professor Patrick Rishe Estimated A Loss Of \$112.5 Million In Sports-Related Revenue In North Carolina In 2017. According to CNBC, "Sports business professor Patrick Rishe, writing at Forbes, identified four areas the state will likely lose out based on the NBA and NCAA's decisions to pull out of the state: Loss of new spending by non-North Carolina residents (coming to the state for sports events). Leakage of spending by North Carolina residents (going to other states to see sports events). Loss of new spending by non-local organizations (event-related expenditures). Loss of local spending through the multiplier effect (money injected into the NC economy gets spent at local businesses who then spend money at other local businesses). It's tough to put an exact number on any of those, but by looking at spending for previous games and tournaments, Rishe puts a conservative estimated loss for 2017 at \$112.5 million. And that estimate was made before the ACC's decision was announced. 'With the ACC events pulling out,' Rishe, the director of the sports business program at Washington University in St. Louis, told CNBC in an email, 'I'd say we're looking at lost spending between \$125 million - \$175 million in 2017 due to lost sports-tourism spending.'" [CNBC, [9/16/16](#)]

Performers Cancelled Concerts In The State, In One Case Costing A Local Stadium \$100,000 In Revenue

“A Number Of Musicians, Including Bruce Springsteen, Ringo Starr And Itzhak Perlman, Canceled Concerts In North Carolina To Protest The Law.” According to the New York Times, “In taking the action it did, the N.B.A. is following the path already taken by others. A number of musicians, including Bruce Springsteen, Ringo Starr and Itzhak Perlman, canceled concerts in North Carolina to protest the law, and there have been calls for repeal of the legislation by a number of businesses, some of which have canceled plans to create new jobs in the state.” [New York Times, [7/21/16](#)]

The Cancellation Of The Bruce Springsteen Concert Cost The Greensboro Stadium \$100,000. According to Mass Live, “Bruce Springsteen's decision to call off a concert at the Greensboro Coliseum due to passage of House Bill 2 will cost the venue \$100,000 in lost revenue. [...] Coliseum officials estimated the cancellation will result in about \$100,000 in lost revenue for them, according to WKII-TV, Channel 12, in Winston-Salem, N.C. About half the ticket buyers were from outside the region, coliseum officials said. Out-of-area visitors would have meant increased business for local bars and restaurants.” [MassLive.com, [4/8/16](#)]

Pearl Jam Cancelled A Concert In Raleigh Due To HB2. According to an archived copy of a Pearl Jam web post, “It is with deep consideration and much regret that we must cancel the Raleigh show in North Carolina on April 20th. This will be upsetting to those who have tickets and you can be assured that we are equally frustrated by the situation. The HB2 law that was recently passed is a despicable piece of legislation that encourages discrimination against an entire group of American citizens. The practical implications are expansive and its negative impact upon basic human rights is profound. We want America to be a place where no one can be turned away from a business because of who they love or fired from their job for who they are. It is for this reason that we must take a stand against prejudice, along with other artists and businesses, and join those in North Carolina who are working to oppose HB2 and repair what is currently unacceptable.” [PearlJam.com/news via Web.Archive.org, [4/18/16](#)]

Demi Lovato And Nick Jonas Canceled Shows In North Carolina Due To HB2. According to a GLAAD web post, “Multi-platinum selling recording artist Demi Lovato and Nick Jonas have canceled their North Carolina tour dates over the state's recently passed anti-LGBT law known as ‘HB2.’ In a statement released to GLAAD, the pair condemned the law and voiced their support for equality and acceptance.” [GLAAD.org/blog, [4/25/16](#)]

Maroon 5 Cancelled Two Concerts In North Carolina Following The Passage Of HB2. According to CNN Money, “Maroon 5 won't be going to North Carolina anytime soon. The pop band has canceled two upcoming shows in Charlotte and Raleigh due to the recent passage of a state law which critics say is an anti-LGBT law. ‘This was a difficult decision for us to make as a band,’ the group said in a statement on its website Friday. ‘We don't want to penalize our fans in North Carolina by not performing for them, but in the end it comes down to what we feel is morally right.’ [...] The state's law, HB2, requires individuals to use bathrooms of the gender on their birth certificate in schools and government buildings. It passed in March and has caused controversy and drawn fervent criticism.” [Money.CNN.com, [5/20/16](#)]

A Number Of Television Producers Announced They Would No Longer Film In North Carolina As A Result Of HB2

The Day After HB2 Was Signed, Lionsgate Production Studio Cancelled Filming Of A Television Pilot In Charlotte. According to Newsweek, “Only a day after Governor Pat McCrory signed HB2 into state law, production studio Lionsgate tells employees that it will no longer be filming the pilot for the Hulu series *Crushed* in Charlotte. Production had been scheduled to begin in April, with filming to commence in May. Lionsgate said HB2 is ‘deplorable and discriminatory, and it runs counter to everything we stand for,’ according to a letter obtained by The Charlotte Observer.” [Newsweek, [9/14/16](#)]

- **Lionsgate Moved Production Of The Pilot To Canada.** According to the Charlotte Observer, “Lionsgate is pulling production for a new Hulu show that was supposed to be filmed in Charlotte, the latest fallout from North Carolina’s new law limiting LGBT protections. The Santa Monica, Calif.-based studio had intended to shoot the pilot for ‘*Crushed*’ in the Charlotte area. The comedy starring Regina Hall is about an African-American family and their Napa wine business. Film industry backlash is the latest business reaction to the controversial new law, signed March 23 by Gov. Pat McCrory. [...] Pre-production work on ‘*Crushed*’ was to start in early April, and filming was set to

begin in May, Irvine said. It's now going to be filmed in Vancouver, Canada. It's unclear how many local workers the project affected." [Charlotte Observer, [4/4/16](#)]

Film Director Rob Reiner Said He Wouldn't Film In North Carolina Until HB2 Is Repealed. According to the Charlotte Observer, "Rob Reiner, who directed films like 'When Harry Met Sally' and 'The Princess Bride,' has said he won't film in North Carolina until the new LGBT bill is repealed. 'I encourage my colleagues in the entertainment industry to vow to do the same. Enough is enough,' Reiner said of the bill, which he called 'hateful,' in a statement provided by the Human Rights Campaign." [Charlotte Observer, [4/4/16](#)]

Film And Television Producers Including Lionsgate And The A+E Network Said They Will No Longer Film In North Carolina. According to the Charlotte Observer, "Lionsgate and the A+E network say they won't film TV shows and movies in North Carolina if the state doesn't repeal its new LGBT law. Along with Fox, Miramax and The Weinstein Company, the entertainment producers have voiced opposition to House Bill 2, which replaces local ordinances with a statewide nondiscrimination law that doesn't include sexual orientation and gender identity as protected categories. [...] Turner Broadcasting, which is currently filming the TNT show 'Good Behavior' in Wilmington, said it will finish the show but will 'reevaluate' future projects. 21st Century Fox also said the LGBT law also jeopardizes its future work in the state. 'On behalf of our creative partners and colleagues who made commitments to shoot in North Carolina prior to this bill being signed, we join the growing coalition of businesses that hope to see this act repealed,' the statement from Fox said. 'In addition, we will reconsider future filming commitments in North Carolina if the act is not repealed.'" [Charlotte Observer, [4/1/16](#)]

The Koch Network Worked To Re-Segregate Wake County, North Carolina

THE WAKE COUNTY SCHOOL SYSTEM'S DIVERSITY PROGRAM MADE THE COUNTY A MODEL FOR OTHER AMERICAN CITIES

Professor Emeritus At Syracuse University Gerald Grant: Post-Brown v. Board, The 1976 Decision By Raleigh And Wake County To Merge And Then Establish The Policy That Every School, Without Exception, Would Be Racially Balanced, Made Raleigh "The 'Hope' Of Other American Cities." According to Indy Week, "North Carolina's strong annexation law gave Raleigh the chance to annex its nearest suburbs. But that only meant, following the Brown decision in 1954, that Raleigh's newly integrated schools weren't at quite as much of a disadvantage compared to the surrounding, and nearly all-white, Wake County system. It was, however, the 1976 decision by Raleigh and Wake County to merge, Grant says, and then establish the policy that every school, without exception, would be racially balanced (a policy later changed to require socioeconomic balance), that made Raleigh the 'hope' of other American cities." [Indy Week, [5/20/09](#)]

- **Grant: "In Much Of The Nation Outside The South, And Particularly In The Northeast, We Built An Invisible Wall Between The City And Suburb... Raleigh Tore Down The Wall When They Merged The County And City School Systems Back In 1976."** According to Indy Week, "[Grant:] The major metaphor of the book is that, in much of the nation outside the South, and particularly in the Northeast, we built an invisible wall between the city and suburb. And the book is really about how we built that wall, and its effects on the kids who are increasingly [trapped] in cities where there are very high concentrations of poverty. [...] Essentially, the book argues that Raleigh tore down the wall when they merged the county and city school systems back in 1976. The research is very clear that having the right mix of kids socioeconomically, as Wake County does, has enormous benefits for poor kids without hurting rich kids." [Indy Week, [5/20/09](#)]

The Wake County School District Had "Some Of Its Best, Most Diverse Schools" In "The Poorest Sections" Of Raleigh And Its Suburban Schools Included Children Whose Parents Could Not Afford A House In The Neighborhood. According to the Washington Post, "The sprawling Wake County School District has long been a rarity. Some of its best, most diverse schools are in the poorest sections of this capital city. And its suburban schools, rather than being exclusive enclaves, include children whose parents cannot afford a house in the neighborhood." [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

- **Wake County's Low-Income, Minority And Middle-Class Students Generally Outperformed Peers In Other Large North Carolina District.** According to The American Prospect, "Today, more than 60 school districts are

explicitly seeking to reduce concentrations of school poverty. For example, in Wake County, North Carolina, which includes the city of Raleigh and surrounding suburbs, the district adopted a goal in 2000 that no school should have more than 40 percent of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch. The results are quite impressive, with Wake County's low-income, minority, and middle-class students generally outperforming peers in other large North Carolina districts. Districts like Wake County are emphasizing integration by economic status as opposed to race because doing so avoids the constitutional problems associated with racial integration plans and is also consistent with the social-science research that has long found that black students don't do better sitting next to white students; rather low-income students of all races do better in a middle-class school environment.” [The American Prospect, [8/16/09](#)]

Wake County’s Program Used Busing To Achieve Economic Diversity In Schools And Was Seen As One Of The Nation’s Most Celebrated Integration Efforts. According to the New Yorker, “Last year, [Art] Pope garnered national attention when North Carolina Democrats accused Pope of engineering, in 2009, the re-segregation of public schools in Wake County, which includes Raleigh. Conservative board members, elected with the support of Pope and Tea Party activists, overturned a program that used busing to achieve economic diversity in schools—a program that the Washington Post had called ‘one of the nation’s most celebrated integration efforts.’ The new school board pledged, instead, to send more students to neighborhood schools.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

One Year After Wake County's Diversity Plan Went Into Effect, The Achievement Gap Narrowed By 10 To 20 Points In Wake And The County Had Consistently Higher Test Scores Despite Spending Less Per Student Than Any Other Large School District In The State. According to the Washington Post, “One year after Wake County's plan went into effect - as the achievement gap continued to grow in Montgomery County - the gap had narrowed by 10 to 20 points in Wake. And a recent study found that even though Wake County spends less per student than any other large school district in the state, its test scores are consistently higher.” [Washington Post, [9/3/01](#)]

- **A Study Of 2007 Graduation Rates By EdWeek Magazine Ranked Wake County 17th Among The Nation's 50 Largest Districts, With A Rate Of 64 Percent, Just Below Virginia's Prince William County.** According to the Washington Post, “Over the years, both Republican and Democratic school boards supported the system. A study of 2007 graduation rates by EdWeek magazine ranked Wake County 17th among the nation's 50 largest districts, with a rate of 64 percent, just below Virginia's Prince William County. While most students posted gains in state reading and math tests last year - more than three-quarters passed - the stubborn achievement gap that separates minority students from their white peers has persisted, though it has narrowed by some measures. And many parents see benefits beyond test scores. ‘I want these kids to be culturally diverse,’ said Clarence McClain, who is African American and the guardian of a niece and nephew who are doing well in county schools. ‘If they're with kids who are all the same way, to break out of that is impossible. You've got to step outside your little world.’” [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]
- **Professor Emeritus At Syracuse University Gerald Grant: Wake County Developed A Very Rich Program Of Advanced Placement Courses, International Baccalaureate Programs And Improved SAT Results.** According to Indy Week, “[Grant:] Wake County also has a very rich program of advanced placement courses, SAT scores have gone up for the county as a whole, more kids are taking the SAT than ever before, international baccalaureate programs, all kinds of tremendous enrichment—even for the kids at Washington Elementary, for example, if they're below grade level in reading, they're required to take two of their (enrichment) courses in reading, but they can take a third elective in ballet or something else, so even for those kids, there's enrichment. And I was in many classes that were just stunning classes for kids in Raleigh. And I don't think, by any measure, that the kids who are the top performers are being handicapped.” [Indy Week, [5/20/09](#)]

THE KOCH-LED EFFORT TO “FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE WAKE COUNTY’S SCHOOL BOARD” RE-SEGREGATED WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS

AFP Board Member Art Pope Was The Architect Of The Plan To Transform The School Board

AFP And Board Member Art Pope Worked “To Fundamentally Change Wake County’s School Board” And Thereby Stop A “Very Successful” School Integration Plan. According to Think Progress, “Today in the Washington Post, reporter Stephanie McCrummen detailed how a right-wing campaign in the Wake County area of North Carolina has taken over the

school board with a pledge to end a very successful socio-economic integration plan. The integration plan, which created thriving schools in poor African-American parts of the school district along with achieving diversity in schools located in wealthy white enclaves, was a model for the nation. However, Americans for Prosperity (AFP), the Tea Party group founded and funded by billionaire brothers Charles and David Koch, worked with local right-wing financier (and AFP board member) Art Pope to fundamentally change Wake County's school board." [Think Progress, [1/12/11](#)]

Pope Advised The Republican Party On Its Election Strategy, With Its Finance Chair Acknowledging Pope Was "The 'Architect' Of The Plan To Elect Republicans To The School Board." According to Indy Week, "Money from the Wake County Republican Party helped elect the conservatives; Pope gave \$15,000 to the party, according to campaign finance reports, and advised on its election strategy. Pope, in fact, was called the 'architect' of the plan to elect Republicans to the school board by then-party financial chair Marc Scruggs." [Indy Week, [3/9/11](#)]

Following The Guidance Of AFP National Board Member Art Pope, The GOP Fielded A Bloc Of School Board Candidates Who Railed Against "Forced Busing." According to the Washington Post, "In their quest to end the diversity policy, the frustrated parents have found some influential partners, among them retail magnate and Republican operative Art Pope. Following his guidance, the GOP fielded the victorious bloc of school board candidates who railed against 'forced busing.' The nation's largest tea party organizers, Americans for Prosperity - on whose national board Pope sits - cast the old school board members as arrogant 'leftists.' Two libertarian think tanks, which Pope funds almost exclusively, have deployed experts on TV and radio. 'We are losing sight of the educational mission of schools to make them into some socially acceptable melting pot,' said Terry Stoops, a researcher at the libertarian John Locke Foundation. 'Those who support these policies are imposing their vision on everyone else.'" [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

Pope Said That "If We End Up With A With A Concentration Of Students Underperforming Academically, It May Be Easier To Reach Out Them" Which Was A Position The NAACP And Others Criticized As Separate-But-Equal Logic. According to the Washington Post, "Things have not gone smoothly as the new school board has attempted to define its vision for raising student achievement. A preliminary map of new school assignments did not please some of the new majority's own constituents. And critics expressed alarm that the plan would create a handful of high-poverty, racially isolated schools, a scenario that the new majority has begun embracing. Pope, who is a former state legislator, said he would back extra funding for such schools. 'If we end up with a concentration of students underperforming academically, it may be easier to reach out to them,' he said. 'Hypothetically, we should consider that as well.' The NAACP and others have criticized that as separate-but-equal logic." [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

- **Century Foundation Senior Fellow Richard Kahlenberg: "It's Not As If This Is A New Idea, 'Let's Experiment And See What Happens When Poor Kids Are Put Together In One School.' We Know. The Results Are Almost Always Disastrous"** According to the Washington Post, "Pope, who is a former state legislator, said he would back extra funding for such schools. 'If we end up with a concentration of students underperforming academically, it may be easier to reach out to them,' he said. 'Hypothetically, we should consider that as well.' The NAACP and others have criticized that as separate-but-equal logic. 'It's not as if this is a new idea, 'Let's experiment and see what happens when poor kids are put together in one school,' said Richard Kahlenberg, senior fellow at the Century Foundation, a think tank that advocates for economic integration. 'We know. The results are almost always disastrous.'" [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

AFP Provided Support For Anti-Busing Activists, Describing Them As "Freedom Loving" And Their Opponents As "Radical Union Organizers." According to the New Yorker, "Last year, Pope garnered national attention when North Carolina Democrats accused Pope of engineering, in 2009, the re-segregation of public schools in Wake County, which includes Raleigh. Conservative board members, elected with the support of Pope and Tea Party activists, overturned a program that used busing to achieve economic diversity in schools—a program that the Washington Post had called 'one of the nation's most celebrated integration efforts.' The new school board pledged, instead, to send more students to neighborhood schools. Pope was the second-largest individual contributor to the local Republican Party, which helped fund the school-board candidates' campaigns. The largest contributor was Bob Luddy, who is a board member at the John Locke Foundation and at the Civitas Institute. Americans for Prosperity provided additional support for anti-busing activists, describing them as 'freedom loving' and their opponents as 'radical union organizers.'" [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

AFP's Art Pope One Of His Board Members Were The Largest Contributors To The Wake School Board Takeover, Providing 20% Of All Campaign Funding To Individual Candidates & The County GOP

Art Pope And Bob Luddy, A Civitas Institute And John Locke Foundation Board Member, Were The Largest Contributors To The Wake County Republican Party. According to the New Yorker, “Conservative board members, elected with the support of Pope and Tea Party activists, overturned a program that used busing to achieve economic diversity in schools—a program that the Washington Post had called ‘one of the nation’s most celebrated integration efforts.’ The new school board pledged, instead, to send more students to neighborhood schools. Pope was the second-largest individual contributor to the local Republican Party, which helped fund the school-board candidates’ campaigns. The largest contributor was Bob Luddy, who is a board member at the John Locke Foundation and at the Civitas Institute.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

- **Pope And Luddy Provided 20% Of All Campaign Funding To Wake County School Board Individual Candidates And The Wake County Republican Party.** According to the News & Observer, “Conservative businessmen Bob Luddy and Art Pope were the largest contributors in fall’s Wake County school board elections, which ushered in a majority pledged to eliminate the district’s diversity policy. Final campaign finance reports show more than \$340,000 in hard and soft money was spent during a contentious contest for control of North Carolina’s largest school district. The majority - about \$190,000 - boosted the fortunes of the four Republican-backed candidates who won. Combined, Luddy and Pope provided \$38,000 either to individual candidates or to the Wake County Republican Party’s efforts in one of the most expensive campaigns in school district history. But Pope downplayed the influence he and Luddy had in the newcomers’ victories.” [News & Observer, [2/9/10](#)]

After Winning The Election, The Board Undid Wake County’s Diversity Policy And Implemented Pope’s Poor Concentration Plan

News & Observer: By A 5-4 Vote, The Wake County School Board Approved A Policy Calling For “Abandoning Busing For Diversity, A Policy That Has Won Wake National Recognition And Has Been An Important Factor In Student Assignments For Decades.” According to the News & Observer, “In a chaotic and conflict-filled meeting, Wake County’s school board voted Tuesday night to kill the district’s long-standing diversity policy and begin implementing neighborhood schools. By a 5-4 vote, the board gave the first of two approvals needed to pass a resolution calling for abandoning busing for diversity, a policy that has won Wake national recognition and has been an important factor in student assignments for decades. The resolution calls for assigning students to schools in their communities.” [News & Observer, [3/3/10](#)]

The Washington Post: The New School Board Embraced “The Provocative Idea That Concentrating Poor Children, Who Are Usually Minorities, In A Few Schools Could Have Merits – Logic That Critics Are Blasting As A 21st-Century Case For Segregation.” According to the Washington Post, “And as the board moves toward a system in which students attend neighborhood schools, some members are embracing the provocative idea that concentrating poor children, who are usually minorities, in a few schools could have merits - logic that critics are blasting as a 21st-century case for segregation.” [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

Pope’s Civitas Trained Local School Board Members After The Election

The Pope-Backed Civitas Institute Functioned Mainly As A Training Ground For Conservative Activists And Began Offering To Provide Training To Local School Board Members, Beginning With The Wake County School Board Following The 2009 Election. According to Indy Week, “Civitas, meanwhile, functions mainly as a training ground for conservative activists, including instruction about political uses of the information supplied by other Pope-backed groups. One of Civitas’ new offerings is to supply state-required training to local school board members. Not surprisingly, Civitas got its first such gig with the Wake County school board after a five-member conservative majority took power following the 2009 elections.” [Indy Week, [3/9/11](#)]

News & Observer Editorial: The Plan To Add Civitas As A Provider Of Training For School Board Members Was “Another Distressing Development,” As The School Of Government In Chapel Hill And The N.C. School Boards Association Provided Politically Neutral Training. According to an editorial by the News & Observer, “Another distressing development is Margiotta’s plan to add the Civitas Institute, a conservative, small-government advocacy

organization, to a group that offers training for school board members. Those members already can get their required training from the non-partisan School of Government in Chapel Hill, one of the most illustrious academic and public service training organizations in the United States, and the N.C. School Boards Association. Civitas is all about pushing limited government and conservative ideas, most of them associated with Republicans. Despite assurances from Civitas, it seems a stretch to think it can provide politically neutral training to elected officials.” [Editorial – News & Observer, 3/2/10]

North Carolina’s NAACP Chapter Criticized The Poor Concentration Plan As “A Form Of Institutional Child Abuse”

NC NAACP President Rev. William Barber: “Putting Students In High-Poverty, Segregated Schools Is ‘Nothing More Than A Form Of Institutional Child Abuse.’” According to the News & Observer, “‘Wake County is our neighborhood, not just a few wealthy houses in your neighborhood,’ Barber said, adding that putting students in high-poverty, segregated schools is ‘nothing more than a form of institutional child abuse.’” [News & Observer, [10/31/09](#)]

NAACP President Ben Jealous And North Carolina NAACP President Rev. William Barber: The “Neighborhood Schooling” Agenda “Would Drastically Reduce School Diversity And Roll Back Years Of Progress And Integration.” According to an opinion by NAACP President Ben Jealous and North Carolina NAACP President Rev. William Barber on the NAACP website, “In the last few months, extreme right-wing members of North Carolina’s Wake County have advanced an agenda of ‘neighborhood schooling’ that would drastically reduce school diversity and roll back years of progress and integration. Neighborhood schools, when implemented, usually mean some children get public schools that are racially identifiable and high-poverty, while others get schools that are selective, highly resourced and in effect function as ‘private’ schools for the white and affluent.” [Ben Jealous, Rev. William Barber – NAACP, [2/23/11](#)]

Jealous And Barber: Neighborhood Schooling Usually Meant “Some Children Get Public Schools That Are Racially Identifiable And High-Poverty, While Others Get Schools That Are Selective, Highly Resourced And In Effect Function As ‘Private’ Schools For The White And Affluent.” According to an opinion by NAACP President Ben Jealous and North Carolina NAACP President Rev. William Barber on the NAACP website, “In the last few months, extreme right-wing members of North Carolina’s Wake County have advanced an agenda of ‘neighborhood schooling’ that would drastically reduce school diversity and roll back years of progress and integration. Neighborhood schools, when implemented, usually mean some children get public schools that are racially identifiable and high-poverty, while others get schools that are selective, highly resourced and in effect function as ‘private’ schools for the white and affluent.” [Ben Jealous, Rev. William Barber – NAACP, [2/23/11](#)]

AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY DEFENDED NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLING, ARGUING IT WAS AN INSULT TO LINK IT TO SEGREGATION

The Tea Party’s Focus On Reshaping The Public School System Made Wake County The Center Of A Fierce Debate Over Diversity And The Principles Behind Brown v. Board Of Education

Washington Post: The Foray Of Tea Party Conservatives Into Reshaping The Public School System “Made Wake County The Center Of A Fierce Debate Over The Principle First Enshrined In The Supreme Court’s 1954 Decision In Brown v. Board Of Education: That Diversity And Quality Education Go Hand In Hand.” According to the Washington Post, “But over the past year, a new majority-Republican school board backed by national tea party conservatives has set the district on a strikingly different course. Pledging to ‘say no to the social engineers!’ it has abolished the policy behind one of the nation’s most celebrated integration efforts. And as the board moves toward a system in which students attend neighborhood schools, some members are embracing the provocative idea that concentrating poor children, who are usually minorities, in a few schools could have merits - logic that critics are blasting as a 21st-century case for segregation. The situation unfolding here in some ways represents a first foray of tea party conservatives into the business of shaping a public school system, and it has made Wake County the center of a fierce debate over the principle first enshrined in the Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education: that diversity and quality education go hand in hand.” [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

- **NC NAACP President Rev. William Barber III: Supporters Argued Against The Old Policy And For The New One Using Terms That Directly Echo Segregationists Of The Civil Rights Era Who Called For “Neighborhood**

Schools” While Condemning “Forced Busing” And “Social Engineering.” According to the American Independent, “The NAACP and a broad coalition of Wake County groups have objected to a student reassignment plan pushed through by a one-vote board majority led by chairman Ron Margiotta. The school board majority says the change is about promoting stability in school assignments, not race and there is nothing illegal about it. ‘I don’t know how they can institute a suit for anything we’re doing,’ Margiotta told The News & Observer this week. Barber said the policy change is clearly about race. He said supporters argued against the old policy and for the new one using terms that directly echo segregationists of the Civil Rights Era who called for ‘neighborhood schools’ while condemning ‘forced busing’ and ‘social engineering.’” [American Independent, [9/22/10](#)]

AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse Defended The School Board Vote As A Rejection Of “A Forced Busing Policy.” According to a YouTube video uploaded by RT’s The Alonya Show, “[AFP-NC director Dallas Woodhouse:] Now let me tell you what’s happening in Wake County. What we have is the voters in Wake County in North Carolina have rejected a forced busing policy. What we do in Wake County, even though the courts said in 1999, you can’t bus people on race, we continue to do that in Wake County based on what they call socioeconomic data, which in North Carolina ends up, unfortunately, often being race. We bus Hispanics, we bus blacks, we bus white kids all over Wake County. The voters have rejected it. There is no segregation.” [The Alonya Show – YouTube, [1/13/11](#)]

- **AFP-NC Called The Integration Program A “Wasteful And Ineffective Policy Of Social Engineering.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “The Washington Post reported yesterday on the successful effort by the school board of the Wake County School District to eliminate a wasteful and ineffective policy of social engineering that undermined neighborhood schools by forcing parents to send their children to distant schools with different calendars -- at significant cost to taxpayers.” [Americans for Prosperity, [1/17/11](#)]

2016 Washington Post Headline: “On The Anniversary Of Brown v. Board, New Evidence That U.S. Schools Are Resegregating.” [Washington Post, [5/17/16](#)]

AFP-NC’s Director Dismissed Modern Segregation As “A Myth”

AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse Claimed It Was “A Myth” That The Move To Neighborhood Schools Was Re-segregation: “Nobody’s Pointing A Gun At Anybody’s Face And Telling People They Can’t Go To School... Segregation Has A Very Distinct Meaning And Schools Were Segregated At The Barrel Of A Gun.” According to a YouTube video uploaded by bravenewfoundation, “[Burt Cohen:] Did Art Pope of your campaign, the AFP, not give money— not contribute money to the candidates who were in favor of re-segregation? [AFP-NC director Dallas Woodhouse:] Well, first of all, it is just absolutely offensive— [Cohen:] It is! [Woodhouse:] —for somebody to talk about re-segregation. That is just a myth, it is untrue. I know that you’ve been involved with disputes with the law and the way it works in the south, when people have— [Cohen:] I help make the laws, sir. [Woodhouse:] —schools that were segregated at the barrel of a gun. Nobody’s pointing a gun at anybody’s face and telling people they can’t go to school. The idea was we had a failed diversity policy that was having no academic results and the voters decided they wanted to let their kids go close to school. They are not segregated; they will never be segregated. It’s against several laws to segregate. It’s crazy. [Cohen:] You wanted to end ‘forced busing,’ you wanted to reinstate neighborhood schools— This is the same language that George Corley Wallace used. And I can understand being defensive about that. [Woodhouse:] You can say that but segregation has a very distinct meaning and schools were segregated at the barrel of a gun.” [bravenewfoundation – YouTube, [8/19/11](#)]

- **Woodhouse: “It’s Insulting To All The People Who Actually Lived In The Horrendous Segregated Schools To Compare That To Letting People Simply Stay In Neighborhood Schools.”** According to the News & Observer, “Supporters of the board majority said attempts to cast the resolution in the light of civil rights were wrong. ‘It’s insulting to all the people who actually lived in the horrendous segregated schools to compare that to letting people simply stay in neighborhood schools,’ said Dallas Woodhouse, state director of Americans for Prosperity, a conservative group.” [News & Observer, [3/3/10](#)]

Woodhouse: North Carolina Was Unconstitutionally Busing Based On Race By Using “What They Call Socioeconomic Data, Which In North Carolina Ends Up, Unfortunately, Often Being Race.” According to a YouTube video uploaded by RT’s The Alonya Show, “[AFP-NC director Dallas Woodhouse:] Now let me tell you what’s happening in Wake County. What we have is the voters in Wake County in North Carolina have rejected a forced busing policy. What we

do in Wake County, even though the courts said in 1999, you can't bus people on race, we continue to do that in Wake County based on what they call socioeconomic data, which in North Carolina ends up, unfortunately, often being race. We bus Hispanics, we bus blacks, we bus white kids all over Wake County. The voters have rejected it. There is no segregation." [The Alyona Show – YouTube, [1/13/11](#)]

Minority Students Were Concentrated In High-Poverty Schools With Less Opportunity Due To Historically Segregated Housing Patterns

Harvard Civil Rights Project Study: The Nation's Majority-Minority Schools, Due To Historically Segregated Housing Patterns, Were Commonly "Isolated By Race And Poverty" While Offering "Vastly Unequal Educational Opportunities" Than Had By Their Majority-White Counterparts. According to In These Times, "A recent study by Gary Orfield of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University shows that more than 70 percent of the nation's African-American students currently attend predominantly minority schools, or schools where more than half the students are minority. (Close to 76 percent of Latinos attend schools with non-white majorities.) Though this growing trend can be attributed, in part, to declining public school enrollment by whites, the study reveals that the typical white public school student is educated in an institution that is 80 percent white. [...] Not unlike the disparities that produced the Brown decision a half-century ago, the nation's majority-minority schools are commonly 'isolated by race and poverty' while offering 'vastly unequal educational opportunities' than their majority-white counterparts. This stark reality -- based largely in historically segregated housing patterns, white flight and an inequitable reliance on local property taxes for school funding -- provides an unhealthy prognosis for a large-scale return to neighborhood schools in African-American communities across the country. 'Philosophically, I support the concept of neighborhood schools,' says Griffin, who feels all students should have quality schools close to home. 'Unfortunately, all neighborhoods are not created equal.'" [In These Times, [1/20/02](#)]

Federal Data Showed That The Number Of High-Poverty Schools Serving Primarily Black And Brown Students More Than Doubled Between 2001 And 2014, With Minority Students Concentrated In High-Poverty Schools That Did Not Provide The Same Access To Opportunities As Students In Other Schools. According to the News & Observer, "Poor, black and Hispanic children are becoming increasingly isolated from their white, affluent peers in the nation's public schools, according to new federal data showing that the number of high-poverty schools serving primarily black and brown students more than doubled between 2001 and 2014. The data was released by the Government Accountability Office on Tuesday, 62 years to the day after the Supreme Court decided that segregated schools are 'inherently unequal' and therefore unconstitutional. [...] The problem is not just that students are more isolated, according to the GAO, but that minority students who are concentrated in high-poverty schools don't have the same access to opportunities as students in other schools. High-poverty, majority-black and Hispanic schools were less likely to offer a full range of math and science courses than other schools, for example, and more likely to use expulsion and suspension as disciplinary tools, according to the GAO" [News & Observer, [3/3/10](#)]

Wake Officials: The Use Of Economic Status Was Not A Thinly Disguised Substitute For Race But On Research Showing That When "Housing Patterns Dictate Your School Assignment Patterns, You Will Likely Have Failing Schools And Successful Schools That Fall Along Economic Lines." According to the Washington Post, "The use of economic status is not a thinly disguised substitute for race, Wake officials insist. Rather, it is based on a growing body of research that shows that a student's academic performance is more closely tied to socioeconomic background than it is to race. For instance, some studies of college entrance exams have found a 30-point increase for every \$ 10,000 in family income. Wake County's goal is to ensure that no school is overwhelmingly poor or overburdened by poorly performing students. 'The research is telling us that if you let housing patterns dictate your school assignment patterns, you will likely have failing schools and successful schools that fall along economic lines,' said Ann Majestic, a lawyer who helped draw up Wake County's new integration plan, the only one like it in the country." [Washington Post, [9/3/01](#)]

AFP Condemned North Carolina's Integration Program As A "Wasteful And Ineffective Policy Of Social Engineering That Undermined Neighborhood Schools"

AFP-North Carolina Called The Integration Program A "Wasteful And Ineffective Policy Of Social Engineering That Undermined Neighborhood Schools" And Said They "Were Pleased To Play Some Small Part" In Ending It. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, "The Washington Post reported yesterday on the successful effort by the school board of the Wake County School District to eliminate a wasteful and ineffective policy of social engineering that undermined neighborhood schools by forcing parents to send their children to distant schools with different

calendars -- at significant cost to taxpayers. 'The North Carolina chapter of Americans for Prosperity -- along with our Wake County members and other key allies -- were pleased to play some small part in this fight,' said AFP North Carolina State Director Dallas Woodhouse. 'But we have to credit the real leaders in this fight -- the parents and voters of Wake County that elected a school board committed to a more modern and cost-effective system of public education.'" [Americans for Prosperity, [1/17/11](#)]

- **Raleigh Rev. Earl Johnson: "People Want Schools That Mirror Their Neighborhood, But The Bigger Picture Is My Kid In The Suburbs Is Connected To Kids In Raleigh. We're Trying To Connect To The World But We're Separating Locally? There Is Something Wrong."** According to the Washington Post, "Many local leaders see another irony in the possible balkanization of the county's schools at a time when society is becoming more interconnected than ever. 'People want schools that mirror their neighborhood, but the bigger picture is my kid in the suburbs is connected to kids in Raleigh,' said the Rev. Earl Johnson, pastor of Martin Street Baptist Church in downtown Raleigh. 'We're trying to connect to the world but we're separating locally? There is something wrong.'" [Washington Post, [1/12/11](#)]

Wake County Had A Robust Magnet School Policy As Part Of Its Diversity Policy

Former Wake School Board Chairperson Roxie Cash: A Significant Ingredient Of Wake's Diversity Policy Was Magnet Schools To Reduce High Concentrations Of Poverty By Drawing Students From The Suburbs. According to a letter to the editor by former Wake school board chairperson Roxie Cash in the News & Observer, "Neighborhoods in Wake County are not socio-economically diverse. A significant ingredient of Wake's diversity policy is magnet schools, one objective of which is to reduce high concentrations of poverty by drawing students from the suburbs." [Roxie Cash – News & Observer, 10/6/09]

- **U.S. Department Of Education's Office Of Innovation And Improvement: Wake County's Magnet School Enrollment Was Almost A Quarter Of The Education Population.** According to a report by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Innovation and Improvement titled "Creating Successful Magnet Schools Programs," "Districtwide Enrollment[.] 108,970 [.] Magnet Enrollment[.] 23%." [U.S. Department of Education Office of Innovation and Improvement, [9/15/04](#)]

Cash: Re-segregation Or Neighborhood Schooling Undermined Wake County's Magnet Schools. According to a letter to the editor by former Wake school board chairperson Roxie Cash in the News & Observer, "The harsh reality of neighborhood schools is resegregation. Period. Another reality: Neighborhoods in Wake County are not socio-economically diverse. A significant ingredient of Wake's diversity policy is magnet schools, one objective of which is to reduce high concentrations of poverty by drawing students from the suburbs. A policy of resegregation or neighborhood schools indicates the magnet schools won't be needed! We'll find ourselves wondering, Where did all the magnet schools go? Thus, with neighborhood schools, the 10,000 to 26,000 children who come into the magnet schools, depending on where the neighborhood school attendance lines are drawn, will now go to their neighborhood schools. Where will these children have seats? Resegregation creates the need to build more schools and also add more resources to support the high-poverty schools and children." [Roxie Cash – News & Observer, 10/6/09]

U.S. Department Of Education's Office Of Innovation And Improvement: The Result Of Abandoning Wake's Magnet Program In Favor Of Neighborhood Schooling Would Be Re-segregation. According to a report by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Innovation and Improvement titled "Creating Successful Magnet Schools Programs," "Some members of the community served by Wake do not support the magnet school program and would like to see a return to a neighborhood school system. However, a computer model designed to model what would happen if Wake returned to such a system revealed that the schools would become resegregated. Despite the criticism some community members have, there continues to be a very high demand for the magnet program. For the 2004–05 school year, Wake received 6,883 applications for the magnet programs; 42.9 percent were accepted and 57.1 percent denied. The year-round schools received 4,299 applications; 40.6 percent were accepted and 59.4 were denied. Second round offers are made to students if space is available." [U.S. Department of Education Office of Innovation and Improvement, [9/15/04](#)]

THE KOCH NETWORK RAILED AGAINST ZIP CODES DETERMINING EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES IN OTHER LOCATIONS

AFP Regularly Condemned “Public Schools Where Bureaucrats Assign Students To Government Schools Based Solely On Their Parents’ Zip Codes”

Americans for Prosperity Condemned “Public Schools Where Bureaucrats Assign Students To Government Schools Based Solely On Their Parents’ Zip Codes. It Is Unjust, Unfair, And Shockingly Hypocritical.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “If you can afford school choice, you can have it, but middle class and poor parents are relegated to public schools where bureaucrats assign students to government schools based solely on their parents’ zip codes. It is unjust, unfair, and shockingly hypocritical.” [Americans for Prosperity, [7/14/15](#)]

- **AFP-OK: Only True Reform Would “Allow Students To Enjoy The Quality Education They Deserve Regardless Of Their Zip Code.”** According to an opinion by Americans for Prosperity Oklahoma deputy state director Robert Aery for the Tulsa World, “Only true reform, however, will allow students to enjoy the quality education they deserve regardless of their ZIP code.” [Robert Aery - Tulsa World, [9/26/15](#)]
- **AFP-VA: “The Federal Government Shouldn’t Dictate Where Kids Go To School Based On A Zip Code”** According to the Richmond Times-Dispatch, “[AFP-VA director] Tyler Foote:] The federal government shouldn’t dictate where kids go to school based on a ZIP code or parents’ inability to afford private tuition.” [Richmond Times-Dispatch, [9/26/15](#)]
- **AFP-NV: “No Child Should Be Fated To A Failing School Just Because Of Their Zip Code.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Nevada State Director Adam Jones released the following statement: ‘[...] No child should be fated to a failing school just because of their zip code.’” [Americans for Prosperity, [1/12/16](#)]
- **AFP-TX Co-Sponsored An Event “To Ensure No Child’s Future Is Limited By Their Zip Code.”** According to Florida Politics, “‘There is no better way to advance these principles than participation in National School Choice Week. By advancing freedom in education, we hope to ensure no child’s future is limited by their ZIP code.’ Over 50 young professionals are expected to attend the event, which is cosponsored by the Texas Millennial Institute, Americans for Prosperity, and the Texas Institute for Education Reform.” [Texas Millennial Institute, [1/26/16](#)]
- **AFP-TN Hosted An Event To Explain “Why Zip Code Shouldn’t Determine Destiny.”** According to a Facebook post by AFP-Tennessee, “In honor of Friedman Legacy Day, Americans for Prosperity Foundation and American Federation for Children are hosting a dinner. If you are an advocate for School Choice, or would like to understand why zip code shouldn’t determine destiny please join us. Must RSVP.” [AFP-Tennessee – Facebook, [7/13/16](#)]

The LIBRE Initiative Argued That Hispanics Especially Benefited From Escaping The Neighborhood School System

LIBRE-TX: “Texas Families — Especially Hispanics — Benefit From The Freedom To Choose Where Their Children Attend School, Not By Having That Dictated By Their Zip Code.” According to an opinion by LIBRE Initiative Texas Director Rafael Bejar for the San Antonio Express-News, “Texas families — especially Hispanics — benefit from the freedom to choose where their children attend school, not by having that dictated by their ZIP code.” [Rafael Bejar - San Antonio Express-News, [4/21/15](#)]

- **LIBRE Initiative: “Zip Code Shouldn’t Determine Access To Good Education.”** According to a tweet by The LIBRE Initiative, “Yes, let’s talk abt kids. We believe zip code shouldn’t determine access to good #education @BarackObama. #SOTU” [LIBRE Initiative – Twitter, [1/12/16](#)]

LIBRE Institute Spokesperson Rachel Campos-Duffy: “It’s Unfair For Children To Be Trapped In Dangerous Or Poor Performing Schools Simply Because They Are Poor Or Have The Wrong Zip Code.” According to a post by The LIBRE Institute for The LIBRE Institute’s blog, “Rachel Campos-Duffy, National Spokesperson for The LIBRE Institute,

released the following statement: [...] ‘It’s unfair for children to be trapped in dangerous or poor performing schools simply because they are poor or have the wrong zip code.’” [The LIBRE Institute, [1/25/16](#)]

- **LIBRE Initiative Executive Director Daniel Garza: A Student’s Future Cannot Be Relegated Randomly Based On Their Zip Code. That Is Not The Essence Of America.”** According to the American Bridge translation of an opinion by LIBRE Initiative executive director Daniel Garza for Univision, “The child’s school can determine his or her future, and that cannot be relegated randomly based on their zip code. That is not the essence of America.” [Daniel Garza – Univision, [1/28/16](#)]

The Kochs’ Ideological Assault On North Carolina’s Universities

THE KOCHS USED UNIVERSITY DONATIONS AS A PART OF A “FULLY INTEGRATED” POLITICAL STRATEGY

Charles And David Koch Have Considered “The Higher Educational Programs They Fund A ‘Fully Integrated’ Part Of A Massive Organizational Network Fighting To Enact Deregulatory Government Policies And Elect Conservative Political Candidates.” According to Aljazeera America, “This increased funding in 2014 follows a recent Center for Public Integrity investigation that revealed the Koch brothers, Charles and David, consider the higher educational programs they fund a ‘fully integrated’ part of a massive organizational network fighting to enact deregulatory government policies and elect conservative political candidates.” [Aljazeera America, [12/15/15](#)]

Time Headline: “How The Koch Brothers Are Influencing U.S. Colleges: They Gave \$23.4 Million In 2014 In A Bid To Influence Students.” [Time, [12/15/15](#)]

- **Time: “Almost All Of The Higher Education Programs The Koch Foundations [Have Funded] Cleave To The Brothers’ Philosophy Of Promoting Free Markets And Laissez-Faire Capitalism In The United States.”** According to Time, “Almost all of the higher education programs the Koch foundations fund cleave to the brothers’ philosophy of promoting free markets and laissez-faire capitalism in the United States.” [Time, [12/15/15](#)]

Center For Public Integrity: Kevin Gentry, “A Top Lieutenant” Of The Koch Network, Told Koch Confab Attendees That Political Success “Begins With Reaching Young Minds In College Lecture Halls.” According to the Center for Public Integrity, “Last year, a top lieutenant of Charles and David Koch’s vast network of philanthropic institutions, laid bare the billionaire brothers’ strategy to evangelize their gospel of economic freedom. Political success, Kevin Gentry told a crowd of elite supporters attending the annual Koch confab in Dana Point, Calif., begins with reaching young minds in college lecture halls, thereby preparing bright, libertarian-leaning students to one day occupy the halls of political power.” [Center for Public Integrity, [10/30/15](#)]

Center For Public Integrity’s Dave Levinthal: “When The Kochs Spend Money On Universities, Or Even High Schools, They Do It To Advance The Long-Term Objectives Of The Koch Political Network.” According to KCUR, “But, Dave Levinthal, at the Center for Public Integrity isn’t so sure. He’s studied Koch funding for years and says that when the Kochs spend money on universities, or even high schools, they do it to advance the long-term objectives of the Koch political network. ‘At every level that they can operate in, for all intents and purposes they are making investments that will build that next generation of Libertarian economic thinkers, and actors, business people and politicians,’ says Levinthal.” [KCUR.org, [12/17/14](#)]

THE CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION DONATED OVER \$7 MILLION TO NORTH CAROLINA’S UNIVERSITIES

Appalachian State University

Between 2008 And 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$17,500 To Appalachian State University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative

Transparency, between 2008 and 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$17,500 to Appalachian State University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Appalachian State University	Conservative Transparency	\$500
2008	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Appalachian State University	Conservative Transparency	\$17,000
Total				\$17,500

Campbell University

Between 2009 And 2013, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$70,693 To Campbell University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2009 and 2013 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$70,693 to Campbell University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Campbell University	Conservative Transparency	\$10,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Campbell University	Conservative Transparency	\$24,000
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Campbell University	Conservative Transparency	\$16,093
2010	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Campbell University	Conservative Transparency	\$13,600
2009	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Campbell University	Conservative Transparency	\$7,000
Total				\$70,693

Duke University

Between 2008 And 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, DonorsTrust, And Donors Capital Fund Contributed At Least \$304,781 To Duke University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, DonorsTrust, And Donors Capital Fund tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2008 and 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, DonorsTrust, And Donors Capital Fund contributed at least \$304,781 to Duke University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$40,000
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$37,000
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$16,281
2011	DonorsTrust	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$25,000
2011	Donors Capital Fund	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$25,000
2010	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$11,500
2010	Donors Capital Fund	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$25,000
2010	DonorsTrust	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$25,000
2009	Donors Capital Fund	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$25,000
2009	DonorsTrust	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$25,000
2008	Donors Capital Fund	Duke University	Conservative Transparency	\$50,000
Total				\$304,781

Fayetteville State University

Between 2011 And 2013, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$27,000 To Fayetteville State University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2011 and 2013 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$27,000 to Fayetteville State University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Fayetteville State University	Conservative Transparency	\$20,000
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Fayetteville State University	Conservative Transparency	\$7,000
Total				\$27,000

Methodist University

In 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$5,000 To Methodist University.

According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, in 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$5,000 to Methodist University. [Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

North Carolina State University

Between 2010 And 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$55,681 To North

Carolina State University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2010 and 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$55,681 to North Carolina State University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	North Carolina State University	Conservative Transparency	\$17,579
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	North Carolina State University	Conservative Transparency	\$16,102
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	North Carolina State University	Conservative Transparency	\$9,000
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	North Carolina State University	Conservative Transparency	\$9,000
2010	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	North Carolina State University	Conservative Transparency	\$4,000
Total				\$55,681

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Between 2010 And 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$625,900 To University

Of North Carolina At Chapel Hill. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2010 and 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$625,900 to University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	Conservative Transparency	\$139,100
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	Conservative Transparency	\$115,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	Conservative Transparency	\$116,800
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	Conservative Transparency	\$100,000
2010	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	Conservative Transparency	\$5,000
2010	Charles G. Koch Charitable	University of North Carolina at	Conservative	\$150,000

	Foundation	Chapel Hill	Transparency	
Total				\$625,900

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Between 2011 And 2013, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$14,300 To University Of North Carolina at Greensboro. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2011 and 2013 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$14,300 to University of North Carolina at Greensboro. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina at Greensboro	Conservative Transparency	\$6,800
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	University of North Carolina at Greensboro	Conservative Transparency	\$7,500
Total				\$14,300

University of North Carolina at Pembroke

In 2013, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$5,000 To University Of North Carolina At Pembroke. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, in 2013 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$5,000 to University of North Carolina at Pembroke. [Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Wake Forest University

Between 2009 And 2016, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$3,804,310 To Wake Forest University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2009 and 2016 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$3,804,310 to Wake Forest University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2016	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Wake Forest University - Eudaimonia Institute	Triad Business Journal	\$3,690,000
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Wake Forest University	Conservative Transparency	\$87,000
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Wake Forest University	Conservative Transparency	\$5,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Wake Forest University	Conservative Transparency	\$8,000
2010	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Wake Forest University	Conservative Transparency	\$6,810
2009	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Wake Forest University	Conservative Transparency	\$7,500
Total				\$3,804,310

The Charles Koch Foundation Committed \$3.69 Million To Support Wake Forest University's Eudaimonia Institute, Focused On What Constitutes "Human Flourishing." According to the Triad Business Journal, "Professors at Wake Forest University are looking at what constitutes a life well lived. Thanks to \$4.2 million in funding, professors are studying eudaimonia (yoo-dye-mo-NEE-uh) – Aristotle's term for 'flourishing.' Their aim is to study the nature of human flourishing, as well as the institutions, attitudes and cultural practices that encourage it. An interdisciplinary intellectual community of scholars will explore the concept beyond the typical scope of how happiness is understood or used in everyday conversation. Research will come from a wide range of perspectives, including economic, political, philosophical,

psychological and societal. Opportunities for student research will be included as will be programs, conferences and on-campus speakers. The Eudaimonia Institute began in June with a planning grant from the Wake Forest Office of the Provost. That was followed by the Charles Koch Foundation's committing \$3.69 million to support the institute for the next five years." [Triad Business Journal, [9/9/16](#)]

Wingate University

In 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$3,000 To Wingate University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, in 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$3,000 to Wingate University. [Conservative Transparency, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Winston-Salem State University

Between 2011 And 2014, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$33,900 To Winston-Salem State University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2011 and 2014 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$33,900 to Winston-Salem State University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Winston-Salem State University	Conservative Transparency	\$11,800
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Winston-Salem State University	Conservative Transparency	\$5,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Winston-Salem State University	Conservative Transparency	\$8,600
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Winston-Salem State University	Conservative Transparency	\$8,500
Total				\$33,900

Western Carolina University

Between 2009 And 2016, The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation Contributed At Least \$2,066,000 To Western Carolina University. According to Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation tax documents accessed via Conservative Transparency, between 2009 and 2016 Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation contributed at least \$2,066,000 to Western Carolina University. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Year	Donor	Recipient	Source	Contribution
2016	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Western Carolina University - Center For Study Of Free Enterprise	Smoky Mountain News	\$2,000,000
2014	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Western Carolina University	Conservative Transparency	\$16,000
2013	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Western Carolina University	Conservative Transparency	\$12,000
2012	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Western Carolina University	Conservative Transparency	\$14,000
2011	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Western Carolina University	Conservative Transparency	\$12,000
2009	Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	Western Carolina University	Conservative Transparency	\$12,000
Total				\$2,066,000

THE KOCHS PROPOSED A "CENTER FOR STUDY OF FREE ENTERPRISE" AT WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY

The Kochs Offered To Make Western Carolina University One Of Their Largest University Gift Recipients To Establish The Center For Study Of Free Enterprise

Progressive Pulse: "The Kochs Have Offered To Make A UNC System School — Western Carolina University In Cullowhee — One Of Their Largest University Gift Recipients" With A Proposed \$2 Million Gift "To Establish The WCU 'Center For Study Of Free Enterprise.'" According to the Progressive Pulse, "Now, comes word that the Kochs

have offered to make a UNC system school — Western Carolina University in Cullowhee — one of their largest university gift recipients. Under a proposal currently under consideration by WCU administrators, the Charles Koch Foundation would give \$2 million to the university to establish the WCU ‘Center for Study of Free Enterprise.’ The faculty member driving the process appears to be Economics Department Professor Edward Lopez, who also boasts the title of ‘BB&T Distinguished Professor of Capitalism.’ Lopez, who gave the ‘Friedman Legacy Lecture’ this summer at the John Locke Foundation, is a graduate of the Kochs’ largest university grantee, George Mason University, and an energetic proponent of ‘free market’ economic theories.” [Progressive Pulse, [11/19/15](#)]

The WCU Free Enterprise Center Budget Proposal Showed That The Kochs Would Provide \$128,000 A Year In Operational Costs, \$300,000 In Salaries And Staffing, And “\$20,000 In Bonuses To Spread Around To Professors... Who Contribute To The Free Enterprise Center Activities.” According to Smoky Mountain News, “Here’s a snapshot of the proposed budget: \$128,000 a year in operational costs funded solely with Koch money, including guest speakers, policy forums, financial support for student and faculty research and travel to conferences. \$550,000 a year in salaries and staff support, with \$250,000 coming from the university in the form of pre-existing professor positions that will count as its ‘match.’ The remaining \$300,000 in salaries and staffing from Koch money would pay for Lopez’s raise, a tenured professor position, administrative support, student interns and \$20,000 in bonuses to spread around to professors from various disciplines who contribute to the free enterprise center activities.” [Smoky Mountain News, [12/9/15](#)]

Koch-Connected Dr. Ed Lopez Requested The Gift, Promising The Koch Foundation “Deliverables” Including A “Pipeline Of Students” In Return

Dr. Ed Lopez, The WCU Economics Professor Behind The Proposed Free Enterprise Center “Came Up Through The Ranks Of The Koch-Funded Mercatus Center.” According to Smoky Mountain News, “Dr. Ed Lopez, the WCU economics professor behind the proposed free enterprise center, said it would provide sound, valuable research in the field of economics. If policymakers apply the center’s research findings, that would be a positive outcome. [...] Lopez, WCU’s Distinguished Professor of Capitalism, came up through the ranks of the Koch-funded Mercatus Center embedded within George Mason University in Virginia, which has been criticized as being a training ground for legions of free enterprise foot soldiers who go on to populate the halls of academia in American universities nationwide. Lopez said he is a strong proponent of academic freedom and would personally object to any influence from donors to control the content of research or curriculum.” [Smoky Mountain News, [12/9/15](#)]

Lopez Made Dueling Statements About The Mission Of The Free Enterprise Center, Laying Out Different Blueprints For The Koch Foundation And The WCU Administration. According to Smoky Mountain News, “Lopez has made dueling statements about the mission of the free enterprise center. In the publicly shared vision for the Center for the Study of Free Enterprise, Lopez describes its mission as this: ‘to provide sound policy analysis and thought leadership pertaining to economic development,’ a mission that squares with WCU’s own mission to advance economic development in the region. But in private communications with the Koch Foundation, Lopez has portrayed the center as a medium to advance free enterprise policies in society and recruit students to the free enterprise school of thought. In an email to the Koch Foundation in late September, Lopez laid out a blueprint for the free enterprise center that differed from the one he was simultaneously sharing with WCU administration. ‘I’m attaching a proposal outline as we’ve discussed,’ Lopez wrote in an email to Andrew Gillen, the program officer for university investments at the Koch Foundation. ‘The campus version of this proposal is now working its way through the channels here at WCU.’” [Smoky Mountain News, [2/10/16](#)]

- **Smoky Mountain News: “Missing From The On-Campus Version Were Detailed Examples Of So-Called ‘Deliverables’ Being Promised To The Koch Foundation... Including Developing A ‘Pipeline Of Students’ Exposed To Free Enterprise Teachings.”** According to Smoky Mountain News, “Missing from the on-campus version were detailed examples of so-called ‘deliverables’ being promised to the Koch Foundation in exchange for \$2 million in funding. The list of deliverables sent to the Koch Foundation highlighted the cultivation of students into the free enterprise discipline, including developing a ‘pipeline of students’ exposed to free enterprise teachings and ‘cultivating students’ long-term interest and participation in the larger community of free enterprise scholars, implementers, activists and related professions. That language was left out of an otherwise largely identical on-campus version.” [Smoky Mountain News, [2/10/16](#)]

While On-Campus Discourse Centered On “A Generic Description Of Outreach By The Center,” The Version Submitted To The Koch Foundation Stated That The Underlying Goal Was “To Establish WCU As A Hub Of Free Enterprise” That Would Work With Other Colleges In The Carolinas That Receive Koch Funding. According to Smoky Mountain News, “The on-campus version included a generic description of outreach by the center: ‘to host research seminars, workshops and other events to support the development of sound research reports.’ The version submitted to the Koch Foundation, however, went on to elaborate on an underlying goal in that outreach: ‘To establish WCU as a hub of free enterprise idea entrepreneurs.’ The deliverables cited in the Koch version also pledged to work with other colleges in North and South Carolina that receive Koch funding to ‘form a regional cluster.’” [Smoky Mountain News, [2/10/16](#)]

- **The Koch Agreement Offered “WCU As A Site To Host Conferences For The Liberty Fund And Institute For Humane Studies, Two Libertarian Think Tanks With Close Ties To The Koch Network.”** According to Smoky Mountain News, “Yet another difference in the two lists of deliverables involved the type of conferences that would be hosted. The on-campus version generically referred to hosting conferences, but specific examples were proffered in the Koch version — offering WCU as a site to host conferences for the Liberty Fund and Institute for Humane Studies, two Libertarian think tanks with close ties to the Koch network.” [Smoky Mountain News, [2/10/16](#)]

The Western Carolina Faculty Senate Voted Down The Proposed Koch Funded Center 21 – 3 Due To Widespread Concerns Over Academic Freedom

The Faculty Senate At Western Carolina University Expressed Concern About The “Negative Reactions Associated With The Koch Foundation” And “Potential Constraints On Academic Freedom.” According to the Citizen Times, “A proposal to create a new center at Western Carolina University using a \$2 million from the Charles Koch Foundation is generating concern among some faculty at Western Carolina University. [...] Some members of Western Carolina University’s faculty are concerned ‘the negative reactions associated with the Koch Foundation may well outweigh the positive reactions also associated with it,’ according to the position statement endorsed by the Faculty Senate. The group also expressed concerns about potential constraints on academic freedom and raised questions about the need for the center. The position statement says the foundation, in the past, has ‘set forth explicit expectations in line with their political views in exchange for monetary gifts to universities,’ constraining academic freedom.” [Citizen Times, [11/20/15](#)]

The Proposed Charles Koch Foundation-Funded Center Was Opposed By The Faculty Senate In A Vote Of 21-3, With 4 Not Taking A Position. According to the News & Observer, “A proposed Charles Koch Foundation-funded center on free enterprise is a step closer to reality at Western Carolina University, where the Faculty Senate has voted to oppose it. [...] On Oct. 28, the Faculty Senate at WCU took a stand against the center, citing concerns about potential costs, threats to academic freedom and reputation, the lack of peer review and whether the center was needed. The vote to oppose the center was 21-3, with 4 not taking a position.” [News & Observer, [11/20/15](#)]

Smoky Mountain News: Critics Feared WCU’s Koch-Funded Center For The Study Of Free Enterprise Would “Stray Into Political Advocacy Disguised As Academia” And Be “Used As A Propaganda Hub For Koch’s Libertarian Economic Philosophies.” According to the Smoky Mountain News, “Critics feared WCU would be used as a propaganda hub for Koch’s libertarian economic philosophies. An on-campus think tank called the Center for the Study of Free Enterprise would stray into political advocacy disguised as academia — a model employed by the Koch Foundation at dozens of universities nationwide.” [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

Professors Critiqued The Economic Bias Of The Proposed Center Which Would Deny Students Access To Other Perspectives

Smoky Mountain News: “Even If The Center Didn’t Cost WCU A Dime, Faculty Members Who Have Been Critical Of The Free Enterprise Center Questioned The Merit Of University-Backed Research Being Carried Out Under The Guise Of Promoting One Economic Agenda Or Model Above Others.” According to Smoky Mountain News, “Even if the center didn’t cost WCU a dime, faculty members who have been critical of the free enterprise center questioned the merit of university-backed research being carried out under the guise of promoting one economic agenda or model above others.” [Smoky Mountain News, [12/9/15](#)]

WCU Psychology Professor Dr. Bruce Henderson “Questioned Why WCU Wants To Pursue A Center Focusing On Just One Economic And Political System” And Said “If We Want To Give Our Students A Broad, Flexible Education That Will Serve Them A Lifetime, Indoctrination In One Perspective Is Not What They Need.”

According to Smoky Mountain News, “But Dr. Bruce Henderson, a psychology professor, questioned why WCU wants to pursue a center focusing on just one economic and political system — especially when WCU doesn’t even offer an economics major. [...] WCU already has one free enterprise economist on its payroll as a tenured professor, and that’s Lopez. The center proposed by Lopez calls for three more tenure-track professor positions under the free enterprise center structure. Two of those would be paid for by WCU. While those positions exist in the College of Business budget already, any spending on professors in one discipline detracts from spending in another. ‘If were [*sic*] starting a department of any kind, I certainly would not hire three faculty members from the same perspective. Why would we want to hire three “free market” economists rather than an internationalist, a behavioral economist and a Keynesian or a demographer?’ Henderson said. ‘If we want to give our students a broad, flexible education that will serve them a lifetime, indoctrination in one perspective is not what they need.’” [Smoky Mountain News, [12/9/15](#)]

This Proposal Came At A Time When The UNC Board of Governors Shut Down Other Privately Funded Centers For Their Alleged Political Biases

WCU’s Creation Of A Center For The Study Of Free Enterprise — Which Had Conservative Ties — Came At A Time When The UNC Board of Governors Shut Down Privately Funded Centers That Had Been Critical Of Republican Legislators. According to Smoky Mountain News, “WCU’s creation of a Center for the Study of Free Enterprise — which has conservative ties — comes amid statewide debate in the university system over liberal ties of private funders for other academic centers of study. The UNC Board of Governors shut down the privately funded Center on Poverty, Work and Opportunity at UNC-Chapel Hill, led by a professor who has been critical of Republican lawmakers. The Board of Governors also shut down the Institute for Civic Engagement and Social Change at North Carolina Central University and the Center for Biodiversity at East Carolina University — which were criticized for promoting liberal agendas. [Smoky Mountain News, [12/9/15](#)]

- **WCU Professor Dr. Bill Yang: “From My Personal Point Of View, The Reallocation Of The Significant University Funds To Establish The Center May Not Be Prudent Given The Recent UNC System-Wide Review Of University Centers.”** According to Smoky Mountain News, “Dr. Bill Yang questioned why WCU would commit resources to opening a new center on the heels of centers on university campuses elsewhere in the state being closed down. ‘From my personal point of view, the reallocation of the significant university funds to establish the center may not be prudent given the recent UNC system-wide review of university centers,’ Yang said.” [Smoky Mountain News, [12/9/15](#)]

Despite Faculty Opposition, University Leadership Moved Forward With The Center

Despite Faculty Opposition, Western Carolina University’s Board Of Trustees Unanimously Approved The Creation Of A Center On Free Enterprise Funded By The Charles Koch Foundation. According to the Courier Tribune, “Despite faculty opposition, Western Carolina University’s Board of Trustees approved the creation of a center on free enterprise funded by the conservative Charles Koch Foundation. The board voted unanimously Friday to approve the WCU Center for the Study of Free Enterprise. The center, to be led by an economics professor, was previously endorsed by the university’s provost and Chancellor David Belcher.” [Courier Tribune, [12/4/15](#)]

- **Citizen Times: Western Carolina University’s Chancellor Endorsed The Proposed Koch-Funded Center.** According to the Citizen Times, “Western Carolina University’s chancellor has endorsed a proposal for a new center funded, in part, with money from the Charles Koch Foundation. Chancellor David Belcher notified WCU faculty via email on Monday that he was supporting the recommendation of the university provost and Provost Council. The university Board of Trustees is slated to consider the recommendation this week. Board committee meetings take place Thursday and the full board meets on Friday.” [Citizen Times, [12/1/15](#)]

Western Carolina University Accepted A \$1.8 Million From The Charles Koch Foundation. According to the Citizen-Times, “Western Carolina University is accepting \$1.8 million from the Charles Koch Foundation to fund a new Center for the Study of Free Enterprise.” [Citizen-Times, [9/22/16](#)]

WCU Professors Opposed To The Koch Funding Were The Targets Of FOIA's From The Koch-Connected Pope Center

Western Carolina University Department Of English Head Dr. Laura Wright: The Koch-Connected John William Pope Center Submitted A FOIA Request For The Email Records Of WCU Professors In The Philosophy & Religion Department, The English Department And From The Faculty Senate Chair. According to a blog post by Western Carolina University Department of English Head Dr. Laura Wright, "On Thursday, January 21, 2016, along with another colleague in the English Department, the Chair of the Faculty Senate, and the Head of the Department of Philosophy and Religion, I received an email from Western Carolina University's Legal Counsel office notifying me that a public records request had been made for my email by the John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy. The request was made by Jay Schalin, a guy who holds a BS in Computer Science and an MA in Economics, and who writes for the Pope Center on such topics as 'The Decline of the English Department,' a report that 'examines a troubled discipline.' But more on Schalin and the Pope Center in a bit. First, back to the public records request for my email. [...] My email is requested by the Pope Center which is necessarily and completely affiliated with and, in many ways, controlled by the Charles Koch foundation. Charles Koch sat on the board of directors until very recently, and many of the current members of the board have Koch affiliations. Art Pope, who founded the center, was hand picked by the Kochs to serve as NC's budget director." [Laura Wright, [2/21/16](#)]

- **Wright: The Pope Center's "Request Asked For 'All Emails Concerned With Or Mentioning...The Center For Study Of Free Enterprise, Dr. Ed Lopez, The Name 'Koch,' 'BB&T,' And Ayn Rand'" Was Presumably Because I Opposed A The Charles Koch Foundation Donation For A Center For The Study Of Free Enterprise.** According to a blog post by Western Carolina University Department of English Head Dr. Laura Wright, "I was informed that Schalin's request asked for '...all emails concerned with or mentioning the following: the Center for Study of Free Enterprise, Dr. Ed Lopez, the name 'Koch,' 'BB&T,' and Ayn Rand. The time period is from July 1, 2015 to the present.' The reason for this request, as far as I can tell, is the fact that I have been somewhat outspokenly opposed to a \$2 million gift offered to WCU by the Charles Koch Foundation for the establishment of a center for the study of free enterprise. The reasons for my opposition are numerous and grounded in extensive research about the Koch Foundation's gifts to institutions of higher education as well as research into the ways that the Koch brothers have bought huge influence in my state's political machinery, which has led to the dismantling of environmental policy, higher education funding, and public school curriculum." [Laura Wright, [2/21/16](#)]
- **Wright: The Koch-Connected Pope Center "Submitted A Public Records Request For My Email So That He Might Do The Very Thing That John Hardin Criticizes: 'Cherry Pick' From My Correspondence To Tell A 'Pre-Meditated' Story About Me And My Colleagues Who Have Chosen To Speak Out Against Our Institution's Acceptance Of Koch Money."** According to a blog post by Western Carolina University Department of English Head Dr. Laura Wright, "So here's the thing: Jay Schalin has submitted a public records request for my email so that he might do the very thing that John Hardin criticizes: 'cherry pick' from my correspondence to tell a "pre-meditated" story about me and my colleagues who have chosen to speak out against our institution's acceptance of Koch money. As Hardin notes, "When this [a freedom of information request] happens on a college campus, a professor or administrator's private correspondence can be weaponized against them and the school.' In this case, my correspondence will not be weaponized against WCU, I don't think (as the Koch Foundation doesn't want to alienate the school), but it will certainly be used against me to serve whatever ends Schalin, the Pope Center, and the Charles Koch Foundation deem appropriate. Feel free to see what he says about English professors in his aforementioned article about the demise of my profession: it is, in his estimation, because we've stopped teaching the great works, are all democrats, and are engaging in cultural studies explorations that he finds utterly ridiculous." [Laura Wright, [2/21/16](#)]

News & Observer: The Pope Center "Has Long Had An Interest In Breaking Up What It Sees As A Liberal Cabal That Dominates North Carolina's Public Universities." According to the News & Observer, "The Raleigh-based Pope Center is headed by Art Pope, the funder of North Carolina conservative causes and a libertarian brother-in-arms with Charles Koch and his brother David. The center has long had an interest in breaking up what it sees as a liberal cabal that dominates North Carolina's public universities. The Pope perspective is shared by conservatives who control the General Assembly and

the UNC Board of Governors, which hired Spellings. That view fueled the Board of Governors' successful drive to eliminate three academic centers seen as serving liberal causes." [News & Observer, [2/27/16](#)]

WCU Professors Organized A Task Force To Try To Shape How The Funding Came Down

Smoky Mountain News: Chancellor David Belcher Decided To Take The Koch Money Against The Faculty's Wishes, They Were Not Lulled Into A False Sense Of Complacency, Setting Up A Taskforce To Shape How The Gift Came Down. According to the Smoky Mountain News, "So Chancellor David Belcher decided to take the money. WCU's trustees approved. Faculty lost. Lopez won. Koch added another tentacle to its vast academic network. And the flare-up died down. Or so it seemed. In reality, all is not quiet on the Western front. Faculty wasn't lulled into complacency. Lopez isn't marching toward the center's launch. And Koch hasn't sent a check yet. Instead, Western's faculty has been diligently plugging away at what some might say faculty does best: holding meetings. When Chancellor Belcher bucked the faculty senate by taking the Koch money, he did so with a caveat. A broad-based faculty task force would help shape how the gift came down, a move Belcher hoped would slake or at least temper faculty concerns. 'There are a lot of faculty concerns around this proposal,' said Dr. Bill Yang, WCU's faculty senate chair and an engineering professor. 'We wanted to address those. How can this be operated in a way to address all these concerns? If we are going to do this center, we are going to do it right.'" [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

- **WCU's Faculty Task Forces Tried "To Make The Best Of A Bad Situation" And Avoid The Real Fear That WCU Could Become A Pawn In The Koch's Political Empire.** According to the Smoky Mountain News, "To opponents of the Koch funding, the faculty task forces are simply trying to make the best of a bad situation. Their fears of WCU becoming a pawn in Koch's political empire aren't merely a conspiracy theory. That strategy has been repeatedly documented: to push libertarian policies into the marketplace of ideas via a network of academic scholars. The Koch Foundation has pledged \$170 million to universities over the next five years for various free enterprise endeavors on their campuses, from underwriting professorships to buying pizza for student free enterprise clubs. That's on top of \$130 million in university spending over the past decade." [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

Smoky Mountain News: "Not Everyone Is Convinced That The Oversight Board The Faculty Task Force Put In Motion Will Cure The Free Enterprise Center Of Koch Political Influence." According to the Smoky Mountain News, "Not everyone is convinced that the oversight board the faculty task force put in motion will cure the free enterprise center of Koch political influence. First and foremost, the advisory board is supposed to ensure 'the activities of the center are aligned with the university's mission.' But the two could be mutually exclusive, postulated Dr. David McCord, a psychology professor. 'Our mission and strategic plan is built around the idea that our students will be broadly and deeply educated and will be much better critical thinkers when they leave than when they arrived here,' McCord said. But the Koch political network is systematically using universities as a clearinghouse and recruitment ground to push libertarian economic policies out into society." [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

Koch Affiliated Professor Edward Lopez Fought Against An Effective Advisory Board

After Koch-Affiliated Professor Edward Lopez Floated The Idea Of Inviting A Single Faculty Member From Outside The College Of Business To Serve On His Advisory Board; The Faculty Board Responded, Requesting A Minimum Of Three. According to the Smoky Mountain News, "A year ago, [Koch-affiliated Dr. Edward] Lopez likely couldn't envision the co-opting of his advisory board with open faculty elections. As a goodwill gesture last fall, Lopez floated the idea of inviting a single faculty member from outside the College of Business to serve on his advisory board, according to an email from Darrell Parker, dean of the business college, to the provost. [...] At the end of the day, Lopez ended up with not just one but a minimum of three faculty members from outside the business school on his board, a separate caveat that was written into the advisory board structure." [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

- **Lopez Was "Quite Likely Alone In This Scenario - The Only One Out Of 53 Koch-Funded Centers On American University Campuses With So Little Control Over Who Ends Up On His Advisory Board."** According to the Smoky Mountain News, "Lopez is quite likely alone in this scenario — the only one out of 53 Koch-funded centers on American university campuses with so little control over who ends up on his advisory board." [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

Lopez Was Recorded At A Koch Conference Asking How Advisory Boards Could Best Cater To An Academic Center's Mission, Instead Of Limiting It, As Happened In His Case Where WCU Strategically Selected Membership And Focused On "Oversight And Enforcement Roles." According to the Smoky Mountain News, "Students with UnKoch My Campus went to the conference and secretly recorded numerous panel discussions, including one called 'Establishing a Successful Academic Center.' 'I wonder if the panel or anybody else in the room could talk about, Steve, you mentioned you set up an advisory board,' Lopez asked from the audience, according to the audio recording. 'I think that one thing about the advisory board is it could be the source of advocacy for the mission.' Or, 'it could go the way of being, the membership being, sort of, strategically selected, and the advisory and advocacy roles, you know, going towards the oversight and enforcement roles, and, you know, really having a governing structure that instead of supporting the center is limiting it,' Lopez said." [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

- **The University Of Louisville's Koch-Funded Center For Free Enterprise Director Steve Gohmann Responded To Lopez, Saying The Better Strategy Was To Select And Stack Your Own Advisory Board Before It Could Be Done For You.** According to the Smoky Mountain News, "Panelist Steve Gohmann, the director of the Koch-funded Center for Free Enterprise at the University of Louisville, took the question. He said his strategy was to select and stack his own advisory board before it could be done for him. 'I've decided I'd better have an advisory board in place before I have a new dean who says, "Hey I'm going to put together an advisory board, here's what we're going to do,"' Gohmann replied. 'You just want to have some people that are in your court, and you want to set it up. Don't let somebody tell you to set it up, because if somebody tells you to set it up then it's their choice of who's on the board, not yours. And that's, you don't want to be there.'" [Smoky Mountain News, [9/21/16](#)]

The Kochs Helped Push Out The Film Industry And Its Jobs Out Of North Carolina

AFP PUSHED THE SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION OF NORTH CAROLINA'S INCENTIVE PROGRAM FOR THE FILM INDUSTRY

Wall Street Journal: AFP's "Playbook Was On Full Display In North Carolina, Where The Film Industry In 2013 Awarded \$61 Million In Incentives And Was Having Its Biggest Year When The Group Took Aim" And "The Film Tax Credit Was Drastically Reduced To A \$10 Million Grant Program." According to the Wall Street Journal, "Americans for Prosperity's playbook was on full display in North Carolina, where the film industry in 2013 awarded \$61 million in incentives and was having its biggest year when the group took aim. The state's generous tax-credit program, built over the past decade with general political support, offered a 25% refundable tax credit, as much as \$20 million per production. Refundable credits reimburse a company for its investments, even if it doesn't owe state taxes. The subsidies had attracted major films like 'The Hunger Games' and 'Iron Man 3.' But then mailers produced by Americans for Prosperity started arriving in mailboxes, splashed with photos of Tom Cruise and asking if voters really wanted their tax dollars going to millionaire celebrities. 'We needed about three sentences to explain our position,' said Aaron Syrett, then North Carolina's film commissioner. 'They needed two words: Tom Cruise.' Soon after, the 2014 elections went overwhelmingly to Republicans and an Americans for Prosperity board member, Art Pope, became state budget director. Proponents brought industry vendors to the state capitol to meet with lawmakers in an effort to gin up support. But the film tax credit was drastically reduced to a \$10 million grant program that was only recently raised to \$30 million." [Wall Street Journal, [3/25/16](#)]

Five Movies Shot In North Carolina Were In Theaters In 2015, But Since AFP Lobbied To End The State's Film Tax Credit, No New Movies Were In Production Or Currently Planned Anywhere In North Carolina. According to WRAL.com, "Five movies shot in North Carolina will hit theaters this year, but the head of the state film office said Tuesday that no new movies are in production or currently planned anywhere in the state. Guy Gaster, executive director of the North Carolina Film Office, said productions are taking a 'wait-and-see approach' after the General Assembly decided not to renew a state tax credit for film, television and commercial productions. [...] Donald Bryson, state director of Americans for Prosperity, a conservative group that lobbied for the end of the film tax credit, called the program 'a corrupt government policy.'" [WRAL.com, [1/21/15](#)]

- **Lawmakers Let The Tax Credit, Which Allowed Productions To Claim A 25 Percent Refund, Expire At The End Of 2014 And Replaced It With A \$10 Million Grant Program Available The First Six Months Of 2015.**

According to WRAL.com, “Since 2010, productions have been able to claim a 25 percent refund on qualified spending on a production, up to \$20 million. Producers applied for \$62.2 million in credits in 2013, the most recent information available. [...] Lawmakers let the tax credit expire at the end of 2014, replacing it with a grant program that has \$10 million available for the first six months of 2015.” [WRAL.com, [1/21/15](#)]

- **The CBS Series “Under The Dome” Was “Expected To Take Close To Half Of The \$10 Million In The Program” And Three Reality TV Shows Were The “Only Other Productions” Filming In The State.** According to WRAL.com, “‘Under the Dome,’ a CBS series that is will begin production of its third season in March near the North Carolina coast, is expected to take close to half of the \$10 million in the program. Three reality TV shows are the only other productions now filming in the state, [North Carolina Film Office Executive Director Guy] Gaster said.” [WRAL.com, [1/21/15](#)]

AFP Also Fought Against Attempts To Revive The Film Production Incentives

AFP-North Carolina Announced Statewide Radio Buys “Opposing A \$120 Million Revival Of Film Production Tax Credits In The NC House Budget.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina’s leading advocate for economic freedom – announced statewide radio buys Tuesday opposing a \$120 million revival of film production tax credits in the NC House budget.” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/19/15](#)]

- **AFP-North Carolina State Director Donald Bryson: “Americans For Prosperity North Carolina Will Take Its Opposition To The Airwaves This Week With Significant Statewide Radio Buys Promoting Nohollywoodhandouts.com.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “State Director Donald Bryson issued the following statement: ‘[...] Americans for Prosperity North Carolina will take its opposition to the airwaves this week with significant statewide radio buys promoting NoHollywoodHandouts.com.’” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/19/15](#)]

AFP-North Carolina Ran Ads, Created A Website And Lobbied “Against Any Film Grant Money, Calling The Program ‘Hollywood Handouts.’” According to the Raleigh News & Observer, “The program has been out of money since April, and its next round of funding is dependent on the legislature’s budget negotiations. Gov. Pat McCrory and the state Senate have proposed \$10 million in film grants this fiscal year, but the House budget calls for \$60 million. The conservative group Americans For Prosperity has been lobbying against any film grant money, calling the program ‘Hollywood handouts.’ It is running radio ads and has a website. No money will be added until a final state budget is approved, and legislators aren’t sure when that will happen.” [News & Observer, [7/30/15](#)]

- **Before “Tax Credits Ended, Wilmington Was A Film Hotspot, With Five Or Six Productions At Any Given Time.”** According to the Raleigh News & Observer, “Before the tax credits ended, Wilmington was a film hotspot, with five or six productions at any given time. ‘Prior to this money becoming available, we just didn’t have folks that were interested in coming,’ said Johnny Griffin, director of the Wilmington Regional Film Commission. ‘It takes these incentives in being able to attract them.’ Griffin says he’s fielded plenty of calls from small and large producers, but many have been turned off by the uncertainty of the film grant program.” [News & Observer, [7/30/15](#)]
- **Wilmington Regional Film Commission Director Johnny Griffin: “Prior To This Money Becoming Available, We Just Didn’t Have Folks That Were Interested In Coming.”** According to the Raleigh News & Observer, “‘Prior to this money becoming available, we just didn’t have folks that were interested in coming,’ said Johnny Griffin, director of the Wilmington Regional Film Commission..” [News & Observer, [7/30/15](#)]
- **Wilmington Regional Film Commission Director Johnny Griffin: “The Uncertainty Of The Film Grant Program” Was Discouraging Producers From Coming To Wilmington.** According to the Raleigh News & Observer, “‘Prior to this money becoming available, we just didn’t have folks that were interested in coming,’ said Johnny Griffin, director of the Wilmington Regional Film Commission. ‘It takes these incentives in being able to attract them.’ Griffin says he’s fielded plenty of calls from small and large producers, but many have been turned off by the uncertainty of the film grant program.” [News & Observer, [7/30/15](#)]

AFP Announced A New Radio Ad Opposing The Inclusion Of Film Grants In The N.C. House Budget Proposal.

According to a petition on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity North Carolina announced Wednesday it was back on the airwaves opposing Hollywood Handouts because the N.C. House budget proposal continues to spend taxpayer money on film grants. ‘Taxpayer handouts for film studios represent the worst of wasteful spending and misguided priorities in state government, especially at an excessive funding level like \$30 million per year,’ said State Director Donald Bryson. That’s more than the state spends on the office of the State Treasurer, State Auditor, Lt. Governor and Governor – combined.” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/18/16](#)]

Late In 2015, The Legislature Was Able To Push Through A Much Smaller Incentive Program

2015: North Carolina Passed A New Grant Program “To Provide Up To \$30 Million In Tax Incentives,” Which Was “About Half Of What Incentive Claims Have Been In The Past.” According to WNCN.com, “Late in the year law makers realized North Carolina had to get back in the game. The passed a new grant program that, starting in 2016, secures funding to provide up to \$30 million in tax incentives. The program is set to expire in 2020 but is only funded through 2017. It’s a cap that’s about half of what incentive claims have been in the past three years, but it’s the news the industry was hoping for. ‘It got things cooking down here again,’ said Vassar. Griffin said it’s not enough to grow the industry, since the \$30 million still limits the number of productions they can support, but it has put the state back on the map.” [WNCN.com, [1/10/16](#)]

FILM PROJECTS HAD BEEN A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTOR TO NORTH CAROLINA’S ECONOMY BEFORE AFP DROVE THEM AWAY

After The Film Tax Credit Expired, “Business Owners Say With Only A Few Productions Remaining, The Economic Effects Are Significant.” According to WUNC, “For more than 30 years, the Wilmington area has been a hub for the filming of movies, TV shows and commercials. Dawson’s Creek and Iron Man 3 are among the hundreds of productions cast in the region. But earlier this year, a tax credit designed to incentivize the industry expired. Now business owners say with only a few productions remaining, the economic effects are significant. Port City Signs is a small shop situated along a busy road in this coastal community. It has been around since the 1940s, printing signs, vehicle wraps or decals, and other art. ‘This year we’re running 20 percent behind last year on just pure volume of work and I attribute most of that to the loss of film and TV,’ said owner Sabrina Davis.” [WUNC, [4/15/15](#)]

- **North Carolina Had “More Than \$240 Million In Direct Spending From The Film Industry” In 2014.** According to the Charlotte Business Journal, “North Carolina saw more than \$240 million in direct spending from the film industry in 2014, according to new figures released Thursday by the N.C. Department of Revenue. That includes more than \$134.3 million in wage expenses to support the employment of nearly 8,400 individuals, plus roughly \$71 million on qualifying goods and services and \$35.2 million more in employee fringe contributions and other spending. In exchange, the state paid out \$60.3 million for tax credits to the production companies behind the more than 30 projects listed on the report. That total is down from the \$63.5 million productions received in 2013.” [Charlotte Business Journal, [5/1/15](#)]
- **WRAL: Film Projects Brought More Than \$316 Million To North Carolina In 2014, With Films In More Than Three Dozen Counties Statewide.** According to WRAL.com, “Film projects brought more than \$316 million to North Carolina last year, filming in more than three dozen counties statewide, including Wake, Durham, Orange, Chatham, Franklin and Cumberland counties.” [WRAL.com, [1/21/15](#)]
- **Wilmington Regional Film Commission Director Johnny Griffin Estimated That The Film Industry Would Spend \$50 Million In 2015, Down From \$170 Million The Previous Year.** According to WUNC, “From lumber yards to restaurants, an array of business owners say with fewer cameras rolling revenue is down in 2015. According to the Wilmington Regional Film Commission, the industry spent \$170 million in the region last year. Director Johnny Griffin estimates that figure will drop to \$50 million this year. ‘With a reduction in money, means fewer people working; from last year to this year you’re looking at \$120 million that we will miss out of our local economy just from the lack of film companies not being here,’ He said.” [WUNC.org, [4/15/15](#)]

The Wilmington Regional Film Commission “Received Only 20 Project Inquiries From January Through August” Of 2015, “During Which Previous Years Had Seen About 140.” According to the Greater Wilmington Business Journal, “After having received only 20 project inquiries from January through August – during which previous years had seen about 140 – [Wilmington Regional Film Commission director Johnny] Griffin reported a turnaround. Between September and November, he’d had another 20 calls.” [Greater Wilmington Business Journal, [12/18/15](#)]

- **Cinemax Show “Banshee” Moved Production From Charlotte To New Orleans, “A Move That Show Executives Say Will Cost The Local Economy An Estimated \$40 Million.”** According to the Charlotte Business Journal, “Weeks after a newly signed state budget cut back North Carolina’s tax-incentive program for the film and television industry, one of the Charlotte region’s high-profile productions is leaving the state. WCNC-TV reports the Cinemax series Banshee is shifting production to New Orleans due to the change- a move that show executives say will cost the local economy an estimated \$40 million.” [Charlotte Business Journal, [8/28/14](#)]
- **“Homeland” Producer Alex Gansa: “I Don’t Think We Would Have Been Here If There Hadn’t Been Tax Breaks.”** According to the Charlotte Observer, “This past April, ‘Homeland’ announced it would move production to South Africa after spending its first three seasons here in North Carolina, where Claire Danes has become as popular as Cam Newton. [...] Although ‘Homeland’ clearly bolted for creative reasons, producer Alex Gansa told the Observer in 2013: ‘I don’t think we would have been here if there hadn’t been tax breaks, and I believe if the tax breaks end, we’ll have to pick up and find another place to shoot.’” [Charlotte Observer, [8/10/14](#)]
- **Fox Series “Sleepy Hollow” Announced The Production Was Moving From North Carolina To Georgia.** According to WRAL.com, “Guy Gaster, executive director of the North Carolina Film Office, said productions are taking a ‘wait-and-see approach’ after the General Assembly decided not to renew a state tax credit for film, television and commercial productions. [...] Producers of the Fox series ‘Sleepy Hollow’ recently said they would shift production of a third season from North Carolina to Georgia.” [WRAL.com, [1/21/15](#)]
- **Wall Street Journal: “Georgia Wooed Away The ‘Hunger Games’ Sequels As Well As Some Television Productions” From North Carolina; Business Agent Jason Rosin Noted That, Following The Legislative Change, The Proportion Of His Members Living In North Carolina Plummeted.** According to the Wall Street Journal, “Soon after, the 2014 elections went overwhelmingly to Republicans and an Americans for Prosperity board member, Art Pope, became state budget director. Proponents brought industry vendors to the state capitol to meet with lawmakers in an effort to gin up support. But the film tax credit was drastically reduced to a \$10 million grant program that was only recently raised to \$30 million. Union officials say productions have headed elsewhere. Georgia wooed away the ‘Hunger Games’ sequels as well as some television productions. ‘We were outspent and outgunned the whole time,’ said Jason Rosin, business agent for a film workers’ union that spans North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Following the legislative change, the proportion of his members living in North Carolina plummeted, he said.” [Wall Street Journal, [3/25/16](#)]
- **ABC’s “Secrets And Lies” Moved Out Of North Carolina To Los Angeles After The Tax Credit Program Ended.** According to the Greensboro News & Record, “Following its second season, ‘Hollow’ moved production to Georgia in response to the N.C. General Assembly’s decision to kill the incentive program in favor of a \$10 million grant program. The state has since increased grant funding to \$30 million. The locally shot first season of ABC’s ‘Secrets and Lies’ received \$6.2 million from the state after spending \$24 million. Filming on the Charlotte-set show, completed around Thanksgiving 2014, was moved to Los Angeles for season two after the grant program was introduced. ‘Secrets’ pilot episode, shot in March 2014, earned back \$1.1 million in the 2014 report.” [Greensboro News & Record, [4/30/16](#)]

Film Projects Brought Jobs To North Carolina

Courier-Tribune: North Carolina “Stands To Lose More Than 4,000 Full-Time Workers And Another 16,000 Part-Time Workers” From The Film Industry Relocating To Other States. According to the Courier-Tribune, “Despite its success and the headlines touting film in North Carolina, lawmakers failed to extend the credit past its sunset date during this year’s short legislative session replacing it with a \$10 million grant program that will be awarded by the North Carolina secretary of commerce. [...] Yet in stark contrast to South Carolina and Georgia, North Carolina, the state that pioneered the

industry on the east coast, stands to lose more than 4,000 full-time workers and another 16,000 part-time workers who will end up relocating to Georgia and South Carolina. So as North Carolina exits the stage, others in the southeast take the stage and taking with them the benefits of this prominent source of in-state economic impact.” [Courier-Tribune, [11/4/14](#)]

North Carolina Film Office Executive Director Guy Gaster: A Single Movie Could Bring Hundreds Of Jobs To The State And Pump Millions Of Dollars Into Local Economies. According to WRAL.com, “[North Carolina Film Office Executive Director Guy] Gaster said a single movie can bring hundreds of jobs to the state and pump millions of dollars into local economies, from restaurants and hotels to lumberyards and shops, such as an antique store in Concord where the ‘Hunger Games’ producers shopped a few years ago.” [WRAL, [1/21/15](#)]

North Carolina-Based Film Crew Members “Were Lighting Out For Jobs In Other States.” According to the Greater Wilmington Business Journal, “Experienced crew members were lighting out for jobs in other states, in some cases putting their houses up for sale or working away from their home and union bases, according to Wilmington Regional Film Commission director Johnny Griffin. Local small businesses that had benefited from a local film industry reported distinct downturns in their sales, he said.” [Greater Wilmington Business Journal, [12/18/15](#)]

- **“Local Small Businesses That Had Benefited From A Local Film Industry Reported Distinct Downturns In Their Sales.”** According to the Greater Wilmington Business Journal, “Experienced crew members were lighting out for jobs in other states, in some cases putting their houses up for sale or working away from their home and union bases, according to Wilmington Regional Film Commission director Johnny Griffin. Local small businesses that had benefited from a local film industry reported distinct downturns in their sales, he said.” [Greater Wilmington Business Journal, [12/18/15](#)]

The Kochs Fought Against Environmental Protections And Clean Energy In North Carolina

AFP-NC FOUGHT AGAINST NORTH CAROLINA’S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CLEAN POWER PLAN

AFP-NC’s Director Donald Bryson Was The Only Person Who Spoke In Favor Of Legislation To Prevent Implementation Of The Clean Power Plan

AFP-North Carolina Director Donald Bryson Was The Only Person Who Spoke In Favor Of A Bill To Stop The State From Implementing Federal Clean Power Plan Regulations. According to WRAL, “A key Senate committee voted Wednesday to stop the state from preparing a plan to meet new federal environmental rules, despite a warning from the head of the state Department of Environment and Natural Resources. The version of House Bill 571 passed by the House in April directed DENR to assemble a stakeholder advisory panel and begin work on a state implementation plan for the EPA’s new Clean Power Plan, a set of regulations limiting pollution from stationary sources such as power plants. Those rules aren’t yet finalized but are expected to be finished in August. [...] The only speaker in favor of Wade’s bill was Donald Bryson with Americans for Prosperity, a conservative group that’s strongly opposed to any energy regulation requiring renewable energy or limiting carbon emissions.” [WRAL, [7/22/15](#)]

- **The Bill Forbade Any Agency, Board Or Commission From Taking Action To Develop An Implementation Plan For The State Until Either Legal Challenges To The Clean Power Plan Regulations Were Completed Or July 2016.** According to WRAL, “The version rolled out in the Senate Agriculture and Environment Committee on Wednesday by Sen. Trudy Wade, R-Guilford, does precisely the opposite. It forbids any state agency, board or commission from adopting any rules, spending any money or taking any other action to develop a state implementation plan until all legal challenges to the CPP are completed or July 1, 2016, ‘whichever is later.’ ‘Basically, it’s a wait and see what’s going to happen with the EPA Clean Power Plan,’ Wade told the committee. ‘We know there’s going to be litigation over this, and before we spend a lot of time and money implementing it, let’s see what’s going to happen.’” [WRAL, [7/22/15](#)]

- **Bryson Argued That The Clean Power Plan Regulations Would Cause A “14 Percent Spike In Electric Rates” For North Carolina Taxpayers.** According to WRAL, “Bryson derided the call for stakeholder involvement in a state plan. ‘The most important stakeholders in North Carolina’s energy grid are the taxpayers,’ he told the committee. ‘Forget everyone else. You need to talk about the people who end up paying the bills at the end of the day.’ Bryson testified that the CPP will cause ‘a 14 percent spike in electric rates’ in North Carolina.” [WRAL, [7/22/15](#)]
- **Southern Environmental Law Center Attorney Brooks Rainey Pearson Said That The 14% Increase Claim Was “False Information.”** According to WRAL, “Southern Environmental Law Center attorney Brooks Rainey Pearson called that claim ‘false information,’ saying CPP will not increase power costs in the state. ‘North Carolina can already achieve beyond its clean power plan for 2030’ through reductions already planned by utilities, Pearson said. ‘No new commitments are even needed to comply.’” [WRAL, [7/22/15](#)]

AFP-NC Did Voter Outreach To Oppose The Clean Power Plan

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: For AFP’s Monthly National Day Of Action, AFP-NC Made “About 26,000 Calls...Talking About The Attorney General’s Stance On The Clean Power Plan.” According to an interview with AFP-NC director Donald Bryson posted on Freedom Action Network, “[BRYSON:] We just had our monthly national day of action on Saturday. [...] We had a string of statewide phonebanks on Saturday and we turned out about 26,000 calls, calling North Carolinians all across the state talking about the Attorney General’s stance on the Clean Power Plan, the new carbon regulations coming out of the EPA and how Roy Cooper has supported them.” [Freedom Action Network, [3/22/16](#)]

AFP Prioritized Getting People Informed About The Clean Power Plan, Which AFP-NC Communications Director Joseph Kyzer Said May Increase Power Bills By About \$400 A Year. According to Freedom Action Network, “Joseph said that one of AFP’s current priorities is getting people informed about the Clean Power Plan, which he says may increase power bills by about \$400 a year. Joseph tells Mark about the Defending the American Dream conference being held in Florida Labor Day Weekend. Joseph said that Gov. Scott Walker, Carly Fiorina, Sen. Marco Rubio and others will be at the conference.” [Freedom Action Network, [8/3/16](#)]

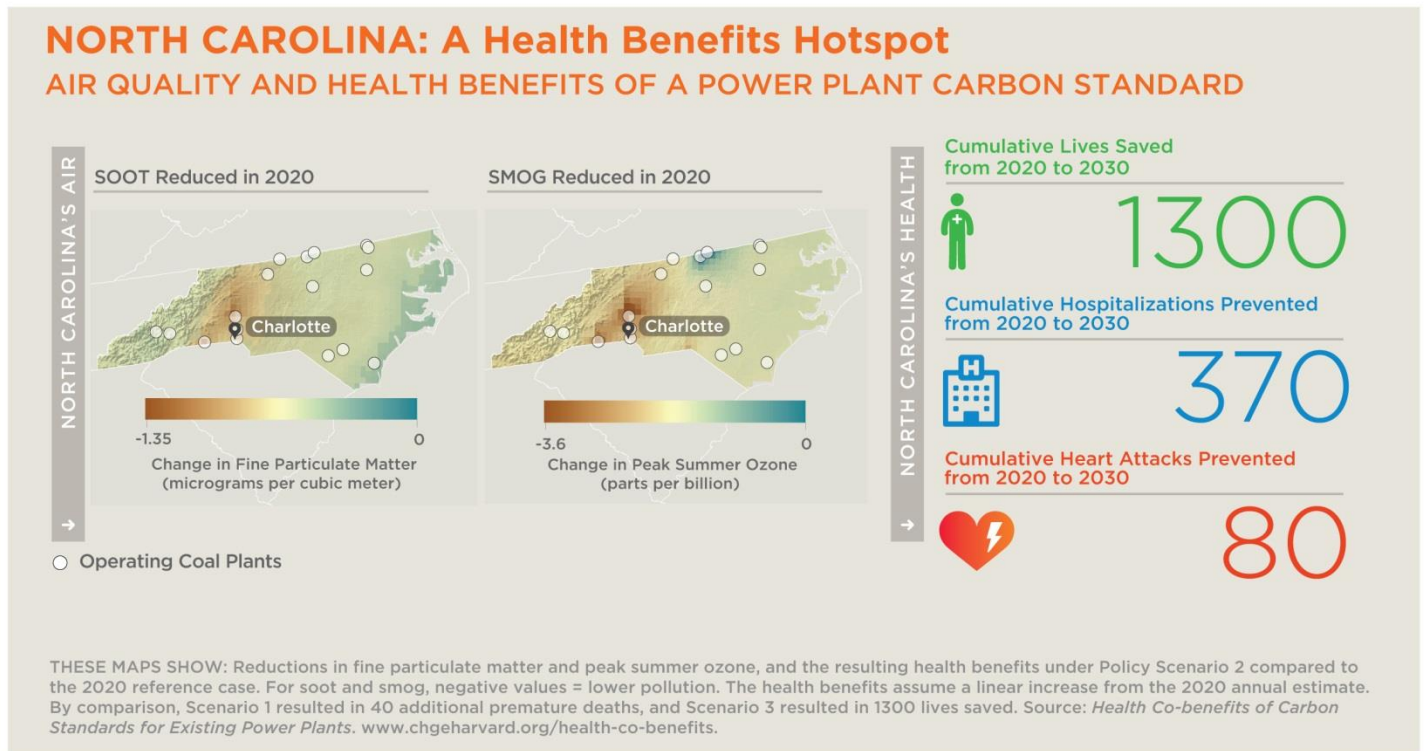
The Clean Power Plan Would Save North Carolina Consumers Millions, Benefit Public Health And Reduce The Impact Of Climate Change

North Carolina Consumers Would Save \$201-348 Million Dollars Per Year In 2030 If The State Complied With The Clean Power Plan

A Study Commissioned By The Southern Environmental Law Center Found That North Carolina Consumers Would Save \$201-348 Million Dollars Per Year In 2030 If The State Complied With The Clean Power Plan. According to Southeast Energy News, “Other studies left unmentioned by NCDEQ officials have predicted economic benefits from the plan, including one paid for by the Southern Environmental Law Center. That study, by Synapse Energy Economics, found that ‘North Carolina consumers will save \$201-348 million dollars per year in 2030 and beyond if the state complies with the Clean Power Plan through increases in energy efficiency and renewables.’” [Southeast Energy News, [9/20/16](#)]

The Clean Power Plan Would Save 1,300 Lives And Prevent 370 Hospitalizations In North Carolina Between 2020 And 2030

A Harvard Study On The “Health Co-Benefits Of Carbon Pollution Standards For Existing Power Plants” Produced The Following Infographic On The Health Benefits For North Carolina Under The Clean Power Plan:



[Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, accessed [9/22/16](#)]

The Clean Power Plan Presented An Opportunity To Reduce The Worst Impacts Of Climate Change On North Carolina's Economy And Coast Line

Natural Resources Defense Council: The Clean Power Plan Presented An Opportunity To Reduce The Worst Impacts Of Climate Change In North Carolina. According to the Natural Resources Defense Council, “North Carolina has an opportunity to tap a new well of economic growth to provide new jobs, expand the economy, and help protect future generations from the worst impacts of a changing climate. That opportunity is clean energy, and a key way for North Carolina to realize more clean energy growth in the coming years is through the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency’s Clean Power Plan. North Carolina can significantly reduce its contribution to carbon pollution by improving energy efficiency in homes and buildings and continuing to increase the amount of power it gets from renewable resources, like wind and solar.” [Natural Resources Defense Council, [3/15](#)]

- **NRDC: Climate Change Threatened North Carolina’s Coastal Cities And Agricultural Economies.** According to the Natural Resources Defense Council, “Climate change is a clear and present danger to North Carolinians’ health and communities, bringing stronger storms, harsher droughts, and rising temperatures—most recently highlighted by findings that 2014 was, globally, the hottest year on record.⁴ The National Climate Assessment, a recent report from 13 federal agencies, warned that human induced climate change impacts are being felt today, and worsening in every region of the United States. Climate change is a threat to the state’s economy and public safety. Sea level rise threatens North Carolina’s coastal cities and tourism industry. In addition, increased temperatures put the state’s agricultural industry at risk: models predict that North Carolina agricultural profits will decline by 23 percent and livestock yields will decline 10 percent due to rising temperatures.⁵” [Natural Resources Defense Council, [3/15](#)]

AFP-NC Cast Doubt On The Scientific Consensus Of Climate Change Despite Its Possible Impacts On North Carolina

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: "There's Still A Large, Raging Debate About What The Nature Of Climate Change Is."

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: "There's Still A Large, Raging Debate About What The Nature Of Climate Change Is." According to the Asheville Citizen-Times, "Some of the opposition to the Clean Power Plan and state efforts to participate comes from global warming skeptics or deniers. 'There's still a large, raging debate about what the nature of climate change is,' said Donald Bryson, executive director of conservative group Americans for Prosperity and a critic of the plan." [Asheville Citizen-Times, [8/8/15](#)]

AFP-NC Flew A Hot Air Balloon Over John Edwards' NC House As Part Of Its Campaign To Highlight The "Hot Air" Coming From "Global Warming Alarmists." According to a press release from Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina, "The taxpayer watchdog group Americans for Prosperity (AFP) will call attention to the 'hot air' and hypocrisy in the global warming debate by flying a six-story-tall hot air balloon over former N.C. Senator John Edwards' massive Chapel Hill estate. AFP-North Carolina Director Dallas Woodhouse noted that Edwards is among a group of global warming alarmists that expect average Americans to sacrifice and shoulder higher energy costs, but fail to live up to their own rhetoric. The fly-over is scheduled for Wednesday evening. 'We are traveling the nation to highlight the 'hot air' that comes out of so many politicians' mouths when it comes to global warming,' said Woodhouse." [Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina Press Release, via Archive.org, [7/1/08](#)]

North Carolina's Coast Was Particularly Vulnerable To Sea-Level Rise

The North Carolina Coast Was Particularly Vulnerable To Sea-Level Rise Because It Had Very Little Slope And Tectonic Forces – The Sea-Level Rise In The Area Was About Twice The Global Average. According to the Bipartisan Policy Center, "The North Carolina coast is particularly vulnerable to sea-level rise for several reasons: the land has very little slope, meaning that even small increases in sea level result in a wide expanse of coastal land being inundated and lost. In addition, while sea level is rising globally due to warming, the coastal land in this area is slowly sinking due to tectonic forces, so the relative sealevel rise is larger here than in places where the coastline is stable or rising. Thus the current rate of sea-level rise in this area is about twice the global average." [Bipartisan Policy Center, accessed [9/22/16](#)]

- **The Property Value Lost Due To The Projected Sea Rise Over The Next 75 Years Was \$6.9 Billion In Just Four North Carolina Counties.** According to the Bipartisan Policy Center, "1. The value of property at risk to sea-level rise in just four counties over the next 75 years is \$6.9 billion. 2. Projected losses in residential property values vary by county, with the northern counties comparatively more vulnerable than the southern. The property at risk in Dare County ranges from 2% to 12% of the total property value." [Bipartisan Policy Center, accessed [9/22/16](#)]
- **The Reduced Opportunities For Beach And Fishing Trips Could Lead To A Loss Of \$3.9 Billion For Southern North Carolina Over The Next 75 Years.** According to the Bipartisan Policy Center, "Reduced opportunities for beach trips and fishing trips are projected to result in lost recreational benefits totaling \$3.9 billion for the southern North Carolina beaches over the next 75 years." [Bipartisan Policy Center, accessed [9/22/16](#)]

AFP CAMPAIGNED AGAINST NORTH CAROLINA'S RENEWABLE PORTFOLIO STANDARD (RPS)

Even After Defeats In 2014, AFP Pledged To Keep Fighting To Repeal The Renewable Portfolio Standards In States Including North Carolina

National Journal: AFP Wasn't "Throwing In The Towel" - The Koch Empire Pledged Another Run At The Renewable Energy Standards In States Like North Carolina And Kansas. According to the National Journal, "Americans For Prosperity isn't throwing in the towel. The Koch empire, fresh from spending \$100 million on the 2014 congressional midterm elections to help deliver the Senate into the hands of Republicans eager to unwind climate rules, is now pledging another run at the states' renewable-energy standards. Special attention will be paid to Kansas and North Carolina,

according to AFP's national issues campaign manager, Christine Harbin Hanson. She says the group also plans to ramp up its repeal efforts across the United States next year. And this time, when state legislators weigh whether to buck the empire, they'll have seen how the Koch network goes after Republicans who cross them.” [National Journal, [11/22/14](#)]

- **National Journal: “AFP And ALEC Are Now Working In Tandem” To Repeal Renewable Energy Standards.** According to the National Journal, “AFP and ALEC are now working in tandem to move repeal forward. In 2013, AFP's North Carolina chapter unveiled a legislative wish list; on it was a request that lawmakers roll back the state's renewable-energy standard. AFP describes the mandate as government meddling in the free market at its worst. ‘What you have here is a bunch of goody-goody liberals who want your money to put up solar panels because they want to tell you how to live,’ says Dallas Woodhouse, who was AFP's North Carolina state director at the time of the repeal push. For AFP, the renewable-energy standards smack of crony capitalism as well. ‘This is the crack cocaine of subsidies. It's like when people get hooked on drugs and they can't get off,’ Woodhouse says. The organization also views the standards as a de facto tax that hits poor families the hardest. As Woodhouse tells it: ‘You have people who are struggling to get by, and now because of this, their electricity rates are going to go through the roof.’” [National Journal, [11/22/14](#)]

Despite AFP's North Carolina's Efforts, State Legislators Killed The Proposed Repeal Of Renewable Energy Standards. According to the National Journal, “AFP found a legislative champion for the North Carolina repeal push in Mike Hager, the Republican majority whip in the state House. Just over a month after the group called for a rollback of the mandate, Hager introduced a repeal measure. Then the coalition dialed up its lobbying. AFP put pressure on lawmakers to commit to backing the legislation, in part by launching a website urging North Carolina residents to contact their representatives in support of the bill. But the measure did not gain much traction inside the Statehouse. After realizing he did not have the votes for an outright repeal, Hager put forward a watered-down draft intended to freeze the mandate and then phase it out over time. On the day Hager brought his bill to a vote in a committee he chaired, Woodhouse was in the North Carolina Capitol to remind Republicans what AFP wanted. ‘They needed to know they would be held accountable for that vote,’ Woodhouse recalls. But something happened in Raleigh that doesn't happen in Washington. Despite the Koch money and ground game, Republicans joined Democrats to kill the bill.” [National Journal, [11/22/14](#)]

AFP-NC: Eliminating The RPS Was A Long Term Priority

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Said Eliminating The Renewable Energy Portfolio Mandate Was A Long-Range Issue For AFP: “We Plan To Continue To Drive It Until We Get Some Satisfaction.” According to the News & Observer, “[AFP-NC Director Donald] Bryson said it's a long-range issue for AFP, and that if it isn't successful next year it will be back at the legislature the following year for the long session. “We plan to continue to drive it until we get some satisfaction on energy policy for the state focused on the least cost and not picking winners and losers,” he said.” [News & Observer, [11/28/15](#)]

AFP-NC's Priorities Included “Repealing The Renewable Energy Portfolio Standards.” According to the News & Observer, “Here are a few highlights from the AFP priorities: [...] Repealing the Renewable Energy Portfolio Standards law, which requires all North Carolina utilities to use renewable energy sources for a set percentage of their sales.” [News & Observer, [1/15/15](#)]

AFP-NC Ran Numerous Events Aimed At Eliminating RPS

AFP-NC Planned Town Halls In Raleigh, Winston-Salem And Asheville In Hopes Of Eliminating The Renewable Energy Portfolio Mandate. According to the News & Observer, “The libertarian Americans for Prosperity thinks the same way, and in hopes of building support for another run at eliminating the renewable mandate the organization is sponsoring a series of ‘Free the Grid’ town halls around the state. Earlier this month it held the first meeting in Wilmington, where Hager and Rep. Chris Millis, a civil engineer and Republican representing Onslow and Pender counties, spoke to a full house. U.S. Rep. David Rouzer also spoke on Environmental Protection Agency regulations. Town halls are planned in Raleigh, Winston-Salem and Asheville. The group has also launched a campaign of door-to-door, phone and mail efforts. ‘We think it hurts innovation in the energy industry,’ Bryson said of the mandate. ‘We're not opposed to solar. We're not opposed to wind. We're not opposed to health insurance – but when Obamacare required people to buy it, it hurt the economy. It's the same way with REPs (renewable energy portfolios).’” [News & Observer, [11/28/15](#)]

AFP-North Carolina Launched A “Grassroots, Digital Ad, And Social Media Initiative Urging State House Members To Pass Legislation, HB 681, Ending The State’s Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS).” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina’s leading advocate for economic freedom – has launched a grassroots, digital ad, and social media initiative urging state House members to pass legislation, HB 681, ending the state’s Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS).” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/20/15](#)]

- **AFP-NC State Director Donald Bryson: “At Our Six Field Offices Across The State... Activists Are Holding Phone Banks Daily And Making Thousands Of Calls Into Their Lawmakers’ Offices” About RPS.** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “At our six field offices across the state, Americans for Prosperity activists are holding phone banks daily and making thousands of calls into their lawmakers’ offices,” said Donald Bryson, North Carolina State Director.” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/20/15](#)]
- **AFP-North Carolina Asked “Concerned Citizens To Visit RepealRPS.Com To Sign A Petition.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “AFP is directing concerned citizens to visit RepealRPS.com to sign a petition.” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/20/15](#)]

AFP-NC Launched A “Free The Grid” Tour

AFP-NC Announced Its “Free the Grid’ Tour” Would Feature Senator Andrew Brock, Representative Chris Millis, AFP Deputy Director Of Federal Affairs Chrissy Harbin, AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson And Freedom Action Network Radio’s Chad Adams. According to a post by Americans for Prosperity - North Carolina on Eventbrite, “AFP NC: ‘Free the Grid’ Tour Triad [...] Featuring Senator Andrew Brock & Representative Chris Millis [and] Deputy Director of Federal Affairs Chrissy Harbin + NC State Director Donald Bryson and Chad Adams from ‘Freedom Action Network’ Radio[.] Doors open for dinner at 6:30 pm[.]” [AFP-NC – Eventbrite, accessed [2/10/16](#)]

AFP-NC’s “Free The Grid” Energy Proposal Sought For Lawmakers To Legalize Third-Party Sales And Create A Free-Market Approach To Renewable Energy. According to WNCN, “Americans for Prosperity, a political advocacy group, is speaking out against the state’s energy mandates. The North Carolina chapter presented its ‘Free the Grid’ energy proposal. The group wants lawmakers to legalize third-party sales and create a free-market approach to renewable energy.” [WNCN, [4/4/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: “I Don’t Have A Problem With Renewable Energy Or Solar Energy Or Wind Power Or Anything Like That. What I Have A Problem With Is When The Government Mandates That We All Buy A Particular Product.”** According to WNCN, “I don’t have a problem with renewable energy or solar energy or wind power or anything like that,” said Donald Bryson, the North Carolina State director for the Americans for Prosperity Foundation. “What I have a problem with is when the government mandates that we all buy a particular product because that usually means we all end up paying more money in the end.” [WNCN, [4/4/16](#)]

AFP-NC Tried To Make A Self Serving Moral Argument Against The RPS

AFP-NC Called Lawmakers Who Supported The RPS “Morally Repugnant”

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: Lawmakers Attempts To Maintain The Renewable Energy Tax Credit And Renewable Portfolio Standard Were “Morally Repugnant.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity, North Carolina’s leading grassroots advocate for economic freedom, issued a statement today on the future of the state’s taxpayer handouts to renewable energy companies, in the context of ongoing state budget negotiations. Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina State Director Donald Bryson provided the following statement: ‘It’s time for lawmakers to make responsible decisions about the future of North Carolina’s electrical grid. The subsidies and mandates for expensive, so-called green energy are no longer a sustainable path or an acceptable burden for taxpayers. Americans for Prosperity has advocated separately for the end of North Carolina’s renewable energy tax credit and the Renewable Portfolio Standard. It is morally repugnant that some lawmakers are now trying to maintain both costly laws.’” [Americans for Prosperity, [8/26/15](#)]

AFP Also Claimed They Weren't Advocating For Fossil Fuel Interests...

Bryson Denied Advocating For The Fossil Fuel Industry: “We’re Not Anti-Solar Or Anti-Wind. We’re Just Trying To Be Pro-Consumer.” According to the Washington Times, “Environmental groups have blamed the anti-mandate campaign on groups advocating on behalf of the fossil fuel industry, but Mr. Bryson says that’s not the case. ‘We’re not anti-solar or anti-wind,’ he said. ‘We’re just trying to be pro-consumer.’” [Washington Times, [7/16/15](#)]

...But Openly Advocated For More Fossil Fuel Usage As “Moral”

AFP Foundation-NC Tweeted: “China & India Have Seen Great Increases In Their Standards Of Living All While Using More Fossil Fuels.” According to a tweet from Americans For Prosperity Foundation-North Carolina, “China & India have seen great increases in their standards of living all while using more fossil fuels.” [AFP Foundation-North Carolina – Twitter.com, [7/15/15](#)]

- **AFP Foundation-NC Tweet Included A Link To A Video Titled, “The Moral Case For Fossil Fuels With Alex Epstein.”** According to a tweet from Americans For Prosperity Foundation-North Carolina, AFP included a link to a video titled, “The Moral Case for Fossil Fuels with Alex Epstein.” [AFP Foundation-North Carolina – Twitter.com, [7/15/15](#)]

This All Made Sense For AFP Since The Kochs’ Profits Were Directly Tied To Protecting Fossil Fuels

Most Of Charles And David Koch’s Wealth Comes “From Fossil Fuel-Related Industries.” According to NPR, “Conservative billionaires Charles G. and David H. Koch, much of whose wealth comes from fossil fuel-related industries, unveiled their plan earlier this year to spend \$889 million in the 2016 elections through their group Americans for Prosperity. This amount would dwarf what either of the presidential candidates raised in the 2012 general election, according to data from the Center for Responsive Politics.” [NPR, [8/11/15](#)]

Koch Industries Remained Dependent On Business Interests In Oil Despite Global Pressures On The Industry. According to U.S. News & World Report, “These days, most CEO’s understand the lessons of ‘Marketing Myopia.’ But not all. What’s up with Koch Industries? Koch remains highly dependent on oil in its many forms: Oil for energy, oil for chemicals, oil pipelines, oil trading, oil production, oil exploration and more. It’s a huge company: With annual revenue of \$115 billion it’s roughly half the size of ExxonMobil and BP. Businesses that depend on oil, or any fossil fuel, are increasingly vulnerable. Rapid and deep fluctuations in the price of oil and natural gas have put quite a few oil businesses into or close to bankruptcy. Climate change raises the question of whether current reserves can ever be fully developed. Even Saudi Arabia – whose economy depends almost entirely on oil – has announced bold steps to wean itself.” [U.S. News & World Report, [5/10/16](#)]

North Carolina’s RPS Created Thousands Of Good Paying Jobs, Saved Consumers From High Electric Bills And Prevented Unnecessary Deaths From Pollution

N.C. Sustainable Energy Association Executive Director Ivan Urlaub: North Carolina’s Renewable Portfolio Standard Was A “Driving Force Behind North Carolina’s \$7 Billion Clean Energy Industry, Its 26,000-Plus Jobs, And Savings For Electricity Customers.” According to an op-ed by the executive director of the N.C. Sustainable Energy Association Ivan Urlaub for the Charlotte Observer, “Despite attempts by opponents like Civitas to misinform, repeal or freeze the REPS law, a bipartisan group of legislators have voted to maintain the REPS because it has been a driving force behind North Carolina’s \$7 billion clean energy industry, its 26,000-plus jobs, and savings for electricity customers.” [Ivan Urlaub – Charlotte Observer, [8/13/16](#)]

- **Urlaub: A 2015 Analysis Of North Carolina’s Renewable Portfolio Standard By RTI International And ScottMadden Found That By 2029 The Standards Were Expected To Save Ratepayers \$651 Million And Generate Substantial Economic Development Opportunities.** According to an op-ed by the executive director of the N.C. Sustainable Energy Association Ivan Urlaub for the Charlotte Observer, “In contrast, a 2015 analysis of North Carolina’s REPS law by RTI International and ScottMadden closely examined only North Carolina-specific data. The study found that by 2029, the REPS law in North Carolina is expected to save ratepayers \$651 million, and

generate substantial new economic development opportunities in clean energy.” [Ivan Urlaub – Charlotte Observer, [8/13/16](#)]

- **According To A North Carolina Sustainable Energy Association Report, The Renewable Energy Industry Brought Billions Of Dollars And Created Thousands Of Jobs In 2015.** According to the Fay Observer, “The renewable energy industry brought billions of dollars into North Carolina and created thousands of jobs in the state last year, according to the North Carolina Sustainable Energy Association. The association is releasing its 2015 North Carolina Clean Energy Industry Census today. The association revealed some information about the survey to media representatives in a webinar Monday. North Carolina has been one of the fastest growing markets for renewable energy over the last several years, according to the association. The state continues to exceed expectations in revenue growth and job creation, it said. [...]The clean energy industry brought in about \$6.96 billion to the state in 2015, according to the census. That's a 45 percent increase over 2014, it found. [...]The installation, design or development of renewable energy systems brought in \$1.81 billion, an increase of about 15 percent over the previous year, the survey found. The design or construction of new buildings brought in \$1.55 billion, according to the census. Last year, companies dealing in renewable energy had the equivalent of more than 26,000 full-time jobs, Aldina said. More than 3,150 of those jobs were created last year, he said.” [Fay Observer, [6/26/16](#)]

Natural Resources Defense Council: State Renewable Portfolio Standards Cut Electric And Natural Gas Costs For Consumers – “Americans Saved As Much As \$1.2 Billion On Their Electric Bills, From New, RPS-Compliant Wind And Solar Farms That Came Online In 2013.” According to the National Resources Defense Council, “State RPSs cut electric and natural gas costs for consumers--Pollution-free wind and solar power is increasingly cost-competitive. As a result, Americans saved as much as \$1.2 billion on their electric bills, from new, RPS-compliant wind and solar farms that came online in 2013. That's not chump change. In fact, it's about 1.2 cents a kilowatt hour. Add to that the significant cost savings on natural gas that results from reduced demand in fossil-fuel-fired power plants. The total there: between \$1.3 and \$3.7 billion in additional savings for residential, business and industrial customers. Not too tough on the wallet at all.” [NRDC, [1/7/16](#)]

NRDC: “Nationwide, State RPSs Staved Off Between 320 And 1,100 Premature Deaths In 2013, By Preventing Dangerous Power-Plant Pollutants From Fouling Our Air.” According to the National Resources Defense Council, “State RPSs save lives, prevent illnesses--Nationwide, state RPSs staved off between 320 and 1,100 premature deaths in 2013, by preventing dangerous power-plant pollutants from fouling our air. All told, RPSs prevented 77,4000 metric tons of sulfur dioxide, 43,900 metric tons of nitrogen oxides, and 4,800 metric tons of fine particulate matter. (These pollutants are linked to asthma and other respiratory problems, heart disease and cancers, among other illnesses.) Those numbers don't even count reductions in mercury, which would bring the lifesaving/illness prevention totals even higher. RPSs didn't just save lives, by the way. They also improved our well-being in 2013, preventing between 160-290 emergency room visits, 195-310 hospital admissions, 40-560 non-fatal heart attacks, and 38,000-64,000 lost days of work and school.”

THE KOCH NETWORK HELPED BRING FRACKING TO NORTH CAROLINA

Koch-Funded State Senator Buck Newton Worked Alongside Lobbyists To Lift North Carolina's Limits On Fracking

A Lobbying Firm That Represented Koch Industries And Other Fossil Fuel Interests Along With State Senator Buck Newton Pushed For North Carolina Legislation Making It A Felony To Disclose The Ingredients Of Fracking Fluids. According to the Huffington Post, “A new bill proposed in North Carolina would make it a felony offense for first responders, doctors, or public safety officials to disclose the ingredients of fracking fluid. [...] The three republican state senators that proposed the bill have close ties to the oil and gas industry and industry lobbyists McGuireWoods. McGuireWoods, a lobbying firm that represents Halliburton, Koch Industries, and other oil and gas interests, donated to all three senators. Bob Rucho: Top contributors to Rucho's campaign include Piedmont Natural Gas, and McGuireWoods. Andrew Brock: Brock received money from Duke Energy, a North Carolina based utility with interests in natural gas, and McGuireWoods. Buck Newton: Newton also recieved money from Duke energy and McGuireWoods.” [Huffington Post, [5/19/14](#)]

- **In 2010, Americans For Prosperity Contributed Over \$16,000 To North Carolina State Senator Buck Newton.** According to the North Carolina State Board of Elections, Americans for Prosperity contributed \$11,351.33 to Buck Newton on October 4, 2010 and \$5,001 on September 15, 2010. [North Carolina State Board of Elections, [10/4/2010](#); [9/15/2010](#)]
- **Koch Companies Public Sector LLC Paid \$60,000 In 2014 For The Lobbying Services Of Harrison J. Kaplan And Bowen Heath Of McGuireWoods Consulting.** According to the North Carolina 2014 Principal Expense Form, Koch Companies Public Sector LLC spent a total of \$60,000 for the services of its McGuireWoods Consulting lobbyists Harrison J. Kaplan and Bowen Heath. [North Carolina 2014 Principal Expense Form, [1/20/15](#)]

A Lobbyist Who Represented Koch Industries And Other Fossil Fuel Interests And ALEC Member Bowen Heath Used His Influence To Advocate For An ALEC Model Bill That Would Allow Generous Transparency Exemptions For Chemicals That Companies Deemed “Trade Secrets.” According to the Huffington Post, “Although [vice chairman of the North Carolina Mining and Energy Commission] George Howard met with and solicited information from multiple shale industry groups, one lobbyist was particularly influential. Bowen Heath, who represents Halliburton, Koch Industries, and various other oil and gas interests for the lobbying firm McGuireWoods, had unparalleled access to the Commission. Emails reveal a chummy relationship between George Howard and Heath, who spent evenings together and went for beers in the afternoons. Heath used that access to advocate for a fracking chemical disclosure system that allows generous exemptions for chemicals that companies deem ‘trade secrets.’ Heath provided a fracking chemical disclosure bill to Howard that the shale industry and its political allies previously passed in Colorado. The Colorado bill was based on a model bill from the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a corporate-funded group dedicated to passing legislation approved by ALEC’s corporate funders, including fracking companies like Chesapeake Energy. Bo Heath has longstanding ties to ALEC, and has attended ALEC annual meetings.” [Huffington Post, [5/19/14](#)]

Gov. McCrory Signed Senate Bill 786, The “Energy Modernization Act” Into Law In June, 2014. According to the North Carolina General Assembly, “Senate Bill 786 / S.L. 2014-4[.] Energy Modernization Act. 2013-2014 Session[.] Sponsors: Rucho; Newton; Brock; (Primary)[...] 06/04/2014: Signed by Gov. 6/4/2014[.]” [North Carolina General Assembly, accessed [9/27/16](#)]

The Energy Modernization Act Lifted The State’s Moratorium On Fracking Permits And Established A Misdemeanor Offense For The “Unlawful Disclosure” Of Fracking Chemicals. According to ThinkProgress, “North Carolina is open to frack. On Wednesday, North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory signed a law that lifts the state’s moratorium on fracking permits, a ban that’s been in place since 2012. The new law, called the Energy Modernization Act, allows fracking permits to be issued in the state as soon as next spring. Those permits would allow for the first fracking ever in the state, whose midsection houses Triassic Basin shale deposits. [...] The law signed by McCrory makes the ‘unlawful disclosure’ of the chemical brew that’s injected into the ground to unlock stores of natural gas a misdemeanor. That’s a downgrade in severity from a previous version of the bill, which would have made it a felony to disclose the chemical mix, which is regarded by several states as a trade secret.” [ThinkProgress, [6/5/14](#)]

Americans For Prosperity Applauded The Passage Of Pro-Fracking Legislation

Americans For Prosperity Came Out In Favor Of Fracking In North Carolina. According to ABC 11, “Other groups like Americans for Prosperity have come out in favor of fracking.” [ABC 11, [5/28/14](#)]

Americans For Prosperity Urged The Legislature To Pass The Energy Modernization Act To “End The State Moratorium On And Implement The Rule-Making Process For Hydraulic Fracturing.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina is urging the legislature to pass Senate Bill 786, the Energy Modernization Act, which the state House is debating tonight. The bill would end the state moratorium on and implement the rule-making process for hydraulic fracturing, the process by which natural gas is extracted. AFP-NC touted a recent NC State study highlighting the hundreds of jobs that natural gas drilling could create.” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/28/14](#)]

Americans For Prosperity Applauded Governor McCrory For Signing Senate Bill 786, The Energy Modernization Act, Into Law. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina today applauded Governor McCrory for signing Senate Bill 786, the Energy Modernization Act, into law. This legislation ends the state moratorium on hydraulic fracturing. ‘The bill will move North Carolina into the 21st century of energy development by finally opening our state to natural gas extraction,’ explained John Dudley, the NC State Director of Americans for Prosperity. ‘Ending the moratorium on fracking will allow entrepreneurs to tap into the natural gas resources currently sitting dormant and use it to create jobs and low-cost, efficient energy. We urge the Oil and Gas Commission to quickly write reasonable rules for safe, environmentally friendly natural gas drilling and extraction.’” [Americans for Prosperity, [6/4/14](#)]

Koch Industries Had A Significant Stake In Fracking

Capital Times In 2013: Koch Industries Was “Heavily Invested” In Hydraulic Fracturing; Their Wisconsin Operations Capitalized On The States Inexpensive Frac Sand. According to The Capital Times, “Wisconsin, along with neighboring Minnesota, has some of the best frac sand in the continent, and Koch Industries is heavily invested in natural gas extraction using a technique known as hydraulic fracturing. [...] Koch’s Wisconsin operations include Flint Hills Resources, which produces gasoline and asphalt; the C. Reiss Coal Co., which supplies coal throughout the Great Lakes region; and Georgia-Pacific, the packaging and paper firm. Georgia-Pacific’s chemical division is also now stepping up production of proppant resin, a coating for small particles used in hydraulic fracturing. Of course, Wisconsin doesn’t have any oil or gas deposits of its own. Most fracking is going on in Pennsylvania and western states, along with Texas and Louisiana. But from Koch Industries’ perspective, the more frac sand that comes on the market, the cheaper it becomes. That’s why the company has an interest in Wisconsin sand.” [The Capital Times, [5/28/13](#)]

- **PRWatch: “Koch Industries Has Reaped Undisclosed Profits From Ventures Benefiting From Expanded Fracking.”** According to PRWatch, “Koch Industries has reaped undisclosed profits from ventures benefiting from expanded fracking, such as from the lower cost of the natural gas used as a feeder to make its fertilizer by Koch Nitrogen, one of the Koch companies.” [PRWatch, [12/28/12](#)]

Georgia Pacific Produced Proppants Used for Fracking

2011: Georgia Pacific Increased Production Of Proppants Used For Oil Extraction Due To The Rapid Growth Of Hydraulic Fracturing. According to a Georgia-Pacific Chemicals Press Release, “Georgia-Pacific Chemicals will expand capabilities at its Lufkin, Texas, facility to increase production of resins used to coat proppants for oil and gas extraction. [...] The need for resin for proppants is driven by the rapid growth of hydraulic fracturing in the last few years. The use of proppants in hydraulic fracturing results in much higher recovery rates of oil and gas than previously possible. The process has enabled oil and gas extraction from deposits that were impractical to tap, increasing the United States’ natural gas and oil production capacity.” [Georgia-Pacific Chemicals Press Release, [5/19/11](#)]

Koch Affiliate John Zink Hamworthy Produced Flares Used By Fracking Operations

2011: Koch Chemical Technology Group Affiliates John Zink Co. And Coen Co. Acquired Hamworthy Combustion From Subsidiaries Of Citi Holdings. According to Hydrocarbon Processing, “Affiliates of John Zink Co. and Coen Co. have reached an agreement to acquire UK-based Hamworthy Combustion Engineering Ltd. and U.S.-based Hamworthy Combustion from subsidiaries of Citi Holdings. [...] John Zink and Coen are part of the Koch Chemical Technology Group, whose affiliates design, manufacture, sell, install and service process and pollution control services for industries and municipalities worldwide.” [Hydrocarbon Processing, [4/13/11](#)]

John Zink Hamworthy Sold Flare Systems For Onshore And Offshore Facilities. According to the John Zink Hamworthy Combustion products page on flare systems, “SOLVING COMPLEX PROBLEMS for global industries is nothing new for John Zink Hamworthy Combustion. Over the years, we’ve led the advancement of flare design and clean flare technologies for upstream, downstream, and biogas flare industries, transforming yesterday’s fired equipment into sophisticated, low-emissions systems. Today, John Zink Hamworthy Combustion’s clean flare systems are put to work in onshore facilities and offshore platforms around the world, enabling these operations to work safer, cleaner, and more cost efficiently.” [John Zink Hamworthy Combustion, “Flare Systems,” Accessed [7/31/15](#)]

Flares Are Used By Hydraulic Fracturing Facilities That Have Wells To Burn Off Natural Gas That Can't Be Processed Or Sold. According to CNBC, "Hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, forces natural gas and crude oil out of shale buried deep below the earth by using highly pressurized and treated water. Drillers seek out valuable crude oil, but natural gas comes out of the ground, too. Flaring is the burning of natural gas that can't be processed or sold. [...] Many oil drillers are unable to direct the flow of natural gas coming off wells into existing pipelines, which already are at full capacity. They have no choice but to add a flare at each site with a well. The result is nearly a third of the natural gas produced in the region is being burned to secure crude oil, and subsequently creating thousands of flares." [CNBC, [8/22/14](#)]

- **2012: The EPA Implemented Rules Requiring Flaring At Facilities.** According to Marten Law, "Prior to EPA's new rules, there was no national requirement for producers to flare or immediately capture the gas, and it has not been uncommon for operators to simply let the gas escape while managing the flowback waters. The increasingly widespread use of hydraulic fracturing therefore has increased completion stage air emissions, and EPA's rules require both flaring and separation/capture ('green completions') going forward." [Marten Law, [5/29/12](#)]

The Kochs Fought To Put An End Social Security In North Carolina

GENERATION OPPORTUNITY CAMPAIGNED TO END SOCIAL SECURITY

GenOpp Circulated A Petition Against Social Security

Generation Opportunity Began A Petition Campaign To "Fix Social Security." According to a Generation Opportunity petition, "Fix Social Security! Our generation deserves a brighter future. We want a path forward. Sign This Petition[.]" [GenOpp Petition, accessed [8/16/16](#)]

- **Generation Opportunity Referred To Social Security As A "Bankrupt" Program That "Doesn't Work For The 21st Century" And "Has Outlived Its Original Design."** According to Generation Opportunity, "Social Security is going bankrupt and will bankrupt the country along with it. [...] Created in 1935, Social Security is outdated and doesn't work for the 21st Century. It has outlived its original design. People are living and working longer today than 80 years ago, and have greater access to retirement savings tools." [GenOpp Petition, accessed [8/16/16](#)]
- **GenOpp: "Social Security Is Failing. The Government Takes 1/8th Of Our Wages For A Program We Don't Need And Benefits We Don't Expect."** According to Generation Opportunity, "Social Security is failing. The government takes 1/8th of our wages for a program we don't need and benefits we don't expect." [GenOpp, accessed [8/24/16](#)]
- **GenOpp's Petition Called On The "President And Those Elected To Congress To Acknowledge That Social Security Is Outdated And Unsustainable," To "Advance Meaningful Structural Reform" Or At Least Give Young People "The Choice To Opt-Out."** According to Generation Opportunity, "I hereby call on the President and those elected to Congress to acknowledge that Social Security is outdated and unsustainable, and to advance meaningful structural reform that gives my generation control over our own future. Without serious change, young people must be given the choice to opt-out." [GenOpp Petition, accessed [8/16/16](#)]

GenOpp North Carolina Pushed The Petition On Twitter

GenOpp North Carolina Circulated Their Social Security Petition Saying, "Don't Tell The Kids But Social Security Is Outdated & In Need Of A Major Fix." According to a tweet from GenOppNC, "#DontTellTheKidsBut Social Security is outdated & in need of a major fix -> <http://p2a.co/bankrupt>." [GenOppNC - Twitter, [8/5/16](#)]

GenOpp North Carolina Circulated Their Social Security Petition Saying, "A Secure Future For Millennials Requires Government To Stop Mortgaging Our Futures." According to a tweet from GenOppNC, "A secure future for #Millennials requires government to stop mortgaging our futures -> <http://p2a.co/bankrupt>." [GenOppNC - Twitter, [8/4/16](#)]

GenOpp North Carolina Circulated Their Social Security Petition Saying, “Social Security Is Outdated & Doesn’t Work For 21st Century. Join Us In Calling For Reform!” According to a tweet from GenOppNC, “#SocialSecurity is outdated & doesnt work for 21st Century. Join us in calling for reform! <http://p2a.co/isfliXV>.” [GenOppNC - Twitter, [8/1/16](#)]

GenOpp North Carolina Circulated Their Social Security Petition Saying, “Millennials Pay Into A System That Shortchanges Us. Lets Find A Better Way.” According to a tweet from GenOppNC, “Millennials pay into a system that shortchanges us. Lets find a better way <http://bit.ly/FixSocialSecurity> ... #mondaymotivation.” [GenOppNC - Twitter, [7/11/16](#)]

GenOpp’s Anti-Social Security Campaign Has Included Extreme Rhetoric And Solutions

Pictorially Equated Social Security To Being Held Up At Gun Point

GenOpp Tweeted A Picture Of A Person With A Gun To Their Head In Reference To Social Security. The following screenshot is of a GenOpp tweet featuring a person with a gun to their head as a visual for their messaging on Social Security:



[GenOpp – Twitter, [6/23/16](#)]

Suggested Crowdfunding As A Replacement To Social Security

GenOpp: Since It’s Highly Unlikely Social Security Will Pan Out, Congress Should Pass The “Fix Crowding Act” To Eliminate Barriers To Investment And Open More Crowdfunding Opportunities As A Way To Save For Our Futures. According to Generation Opportunity, “Since it is highly unlikely that today’s young Americans will ever see even penny’s worth of Social Security benefits, it is especially important for Millennials to have a financial plan in place that will provide alternative options for our retirement. Fortunately for young Americans, the Fix Crowding Act, which passed the House last week, seeks to eliminate barriers to investment opportunities by allowing more people to participate in crowdfunding opportunities. If the bill passes in the Senate, Millennials will get the opportunity to become investors without first having to meet the federal qualifications. By eliminating needless regulation that keeps Millennials out of the investment game, my generation will have more access to opportunities that will allow us to save for our futures.” [GenOpp, [7/14/16](#)]

Called Social Security An Outdated Scam

GenOpp: “Millennials Are Better At Saving Than Prior Gens. We Can Set Up Bank Accounts On A Phone. Social Security Is Outdated.” According to a tweet from GenOpp, “#Millennials are better at saving than prior gens. We can set up bank accnts on a phone. #SocialSecurity is outdated p2a.co/isfliXV.” [GenOpp, [7/28/16](#)]

GenOpp Referred To Social Security As A Scam That We Will “Never Benefit From.” According to a tweet from GenOpp, “#ItMayBeAScamIf you pay 1/8 of your wages into a fund that you’ll never benefit from. #SocialSecurity pic.twitter.com/xNuuXk0JNq.” [GenOpp – Twitter, [7/14/16](#)]

GenOpp: “The LAST Thing Millennials Need Is Washington Doing Their Retirement Planning.” According to a tweet from GenOpp, “The LAST thing #Millennials need is Washington doing their retirement planning. usat.ly/29RoW8t pic.twitter.com/qKvzawBzVs.” [GenOpp – Twitter, [7/14/16](#)]

GenOpp North Carolina Initiated A Statewide Campaign Against Social Security

GenOpp Announced A North Carolina Road Tour Urging “Action On Social Security.” According to GenOpp, “Generation Opportunity North Carolina Road Tour Urges Action on Social Security[.] Group will host events in Charlotte, Greensboro, Wilmington & Raleigh on reforming Social Security for the 21st Century[.]” [GenOpp, [9/16/16](#)]

- **GenOpp Hoped To Use The Tour To Urge “Young Tar Heels To Learn More About How Social Security Is Going Bankrupt And Failing Young People” And Persuade Them To Take Action To Undermine The Program With Their Anti-Social Security Petition.** According to GenOpp, “Next week, Generation Opportunity North Carolina will begin a Claim our Future road tour with events across North Carolina urging young Tar Heels to learn more about how Social Security is going bankrupt and failing young people. The tour begins following a recently updated Congressional Budget Office long-term budget outlook, which projects that, without reform, the Social Security Trust Fund will run out of assets and cease to support itself in 2029, just 13 years from now. Generation Opportunity’s Claim our Future petition campaign aims to raise awareness among young people who are calling on policymakers to fix Social Security. The Claim our Future tour will feature an honest discussion about fixing Social Security with solutions that prevent the bankrupting of America, protect those currently on the program, while empowering young Americans to save more and achieve financial freedom.” [GenOpp, [9/16/16](#)]

Generation Opportunity Announced A Charlotte, North Carolina “Claim Our Future” Event Focused On Social Security. According to Eventbrite, “Claim Our Future Charlotte[.] Generation Opportunity[.]Monday, September 19, 2016 from 7:00 PM to 9:00 PM (EDT) Charlotte, NC [.] Join Generation Opportunity to learn more about how we’re banding together to Claim Our Future. Young Americans know we are not going to benefit from Social Security. Our generation is paying the government to address a problem we’ve already solved. Millennials are saving for retirement 13 years earlier than previous generations, saving more, and have specific savings goals. We, not government, should be in control of our money, our savings, our retirement, and our financial futures. Social Security is outdated, going bankrupt, and doesn’t work for the 21st century. Food will be provided!” [Eventbrite, [9/19/16](#)]

Generation Opportunity Announced A Greensborough, North Carolina “Claim Our Future” Event Focused On Social Security. According to Eventbrite, “Claim Our Future Greensborough[.] Generation Opportunity[.]Tuesday, September 20, 2016 from 6:00 PM to 10:00 PM (EDT) Greensboro, NC [.] Join Generation Opportunity to learn more about how we’re banding together to Claim Our Future. Young Americans know we are not going to benefit from Social Security. Our generation is paying the government to address a problem we’ve already solved. Millennials are saving for retirement 13 years earlier than previous generations, saving more, and have specific savings goals. We, not government, should be in control of our money, our savings, our retirement, and our financial futures. Social Security is outdated, going bankrupt, and doesn’t work for the 21st century. Lunch will be provided!” [Eventbrite, [9/20/16](#)]

Generation Opportunity Announced A Wilmington, North Carolina “Claim Our Future” Event Focused On Social Security. According to Eventbrite, “Claim Our Future Wilmington[.] Generation Opportunity Institute[.] Wednesday, September 21, 2016 from 6:00 PM to 8:00 PM (EDT)[.] Wilmington, NC[...] Join our Wilmington to learn more about how we’re banding together to Claim Our Future. Young Americans know we are not going to benefit from Social Security. Our generation is paying the government to address a problem we’ve already solved. Millennials are saving for retirement 13 years earlier than previous generations, saving more, and have specific savings goals. We, not government, should be in control of our money, our savings, our retirement, and our financial futures. Social Security is outdated, going bankrupt, and doesn’t work for the 21st century. Food will be provided!” [Eventbrite, [9/21/16](#)]

Generation Opportunity Announced A Raleigh, North Carolina “Claim Our Future” Event Focused On Social Security. According to Eventbrite, “Claim Our Future Raleigh[.] Generation Opportunity Institute[.] Thursday, September 22,

2016 from 7:00 PM to 9:00 PM (EDT)[.] Raleigh, NC[...] Join our Raleigh Team to learn more about how we're banding together to Claim Our Future. Young Americans know we are not going to benefit from Social Security. Our generation is paying the government to address a problem we've already solved. Millennials are saving for retirement 13 years earlier than previous generations, saving more, and have specific savings goals. We, not government, should be in control of our money, our savings, our retirement, and our financial futures. Social Security is outdated, going bankrupt, and doesn't work for the 21st century. Food will be provided!" [Eventbrite, [9/22/16](#)]

- **GenOpp's Raleigh "Claim Our Future" Event Was Headlined By Fox News' Caleb Bonham.** According to a tweet from GenOpp Institute, "[PICTURE] Claim Our Future invites you to hear Caleb Bonham (Fox News Commentator & President of D/Co Consulting)[.] Social Security is a raw deal for #Millennials. We discuss w/ @CalebBonham in Raleigh @dailytarheel @DukeChronicle pic.twitter.com/5nXbKy8bj." [GenOpp Institute – Twitter, [9/19/16](#)]

GenOpp Announced A Social Security Ice Cream Social Event In Winston-Salem, North Carolina. According to Eventbrite, "Social Security: Ice Cream Social[.] Generation Opportunity[.] Tuesday, August 23, 2016 at 12:30 AM - Wednesday, August 24, 2016 at 12:30 AM (EDT)[.] Winston-Salem, NC[.]" [Eventbrite, accessed [8/23/16](#)]

GenOpp NC State Campus Director Emmaline Smith Held A Tabling Event To Spread The Word About GenOpp And "Social Security Reform." According to a tweet from GenOpp NC State Campus Director Emmaline Smith, "I'm back in Talley spreading the word about @GenOpp & Social Security reform! #NCState come find me." [Emmaline Smith – Twitter, [8/7/16](#)]

GenOpp NC Tabled At NC State For Social Security Reform With Turning Point USA. According to a retweet from GenOpp NC, "[EMMALINE SMITH] I'm w @GenOppNC in Talley promoting social security reform! Stop by the @TPUSA_NCSU table for American flag koozies! pic.twitter.com/WgTrfna1lw." [GenOpp NC – Twitter, [8/24/16](#)]

- **GenOpp Tabled For "Social Security Reform" At NC State.** According to a tweet from GenOpp NC State campus director Emmaline Smith, "I'm back in Talley! Come talk to me about reforming social security and get some awesome koozies. US pic.twitter.com/bqn1RbEGHU." [Emmaline Smith – Twitter, [8/26/16](#)]
- **GenOpp Tabled For "Social Security Reform" At NC State.** According to a tweet from GenOpp NC State campus director Emmaline Smith, "I'm back in Talley spreading the word about @GenOpp & Social Security reform! #NCState come find me." [Emmaline Smith – Twitter, [9/7/16](#)]



GenOpp NC Brought Their Social Security Campaign To The Cabarrus County Fair. According to a tweet from GenOpp NC, "Who is excited for the #CabarrusCountyFair?! pic.twitter.com/GcNmtD5aJU." The following is a screenshot of the tweet:

[GenOpp NC - Twitter, [9/9/16](#)]

NORTH CAROLINIANS BENEFIT GREATLY FROM THE SOCIAL SAFETY NET AND ECONOMIC STIMULUS SOCIAL SECURITY PROVIDED

Social Security Lifted Around A Half Million North Carolina Retirees From Poverty, More Than Half Of The State's Seniors

AARP: Social Security Lifted Around A Half Million North Carolina Retirees From Poverty, More Than Half Of The State's Seniors. According to AARP, "Social Security lifts 498,000 North Carolina Retirees from poverty. Nearly 51% of the state's 65+ population would have incomes below the poverty line if they did not receive social security." [AARP, [2014](#)]

Nearly 1 In 5 North Carolina Residents Received Social Security

Office Of Retirement And Disability Policy: Nearly 1 In 5 North Carolina Residents Received Social Security. According to the Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, "Table 1. Beneficiaries as a percentage of the total resident population and of the population aged 65 or older, by state, December 2015. [...] North Carolina[.] Total population[.] Number (thousands)[:] 10,043[.] Percentage receiving benefits[:] 19.8[.]" [Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, [2015](#)]

- **Office Of Retirement And Disability Policy: 91.3% Of North Carolina Seniors Receive Social Security.** According to the Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, "Table 1. Beneficiaries as a percentage of the total resident population and of the population aged 65 or older, by state, December 2015. [...] North Carolina[.] Population aged 65 or older[.] Number (thousands)[:] 1,517[.] Percentage receiving benefits[:] 91.3." [Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, [2015](#)]
- **Office Of Retirement And Disability Policy: Social Security Provided Disability Benefits To Nearly 400,000 North Carolinians In 2015, Including 330,353 Disabled Workers, 4,275 Spouses, And 61,320 Children.** According to the Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, "Table 2. Number of beneficiaries in current-payment status, by state or other area, type of benefit, and sex of beneficiaries aged 65 or older, December 2015[...] Disability[.] Disabled workers[:] 330,353[.] Spouses[:] 4,275[.] Children[:] 61,320[.]" [Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, [2015](#)]

Social Security Generated \$45.2 Billion In Economic Output For North Carolina

AARP: Social Security Generated "\$45.2 Billion In Economic Output For North Carolina." According to AARP, "Taken together, spending by Social Security beneficiaries coupled with the added spending by businesses and workers on goods and services generates \$45.2 billion in economic output for North Carolina." [AARP, [October 2013](#)]

- **AARP: Every \$1 In Social Security In North Carolina Generated \$1.89 In Economic Output.** According to AARP, "The report details the powerful multiplier effect of Social Security: Every dollar of Social Security received in North Carolina generates \$1.89 of total output for the state economy – this means that the economy, businesses, and workers benefit from every Social Security dollar that is paid out." [AARP, [October 2013](#)]

Social Security Generated \$2.5 Billion In Local And State Revenue For North Carolina

AARP: Social Security Provided North Carolinians \$11.8 Billion In Salary, Wages And Has Generated \$2.5 Billion In Local And State Tax Revenue. According to AARP, "And North Carolina's workers receive \$11.8 billion in salary, wages and other compensation thanks to the ripple effects of Social Security in state economies. These additional earnings and business income, in turn, generate \$2.5 billion in local and state tax revenue for North Carolina." [AARP, [October 2013](#)]

Social Security Helped North Carolina Workers Find Or Keep 309,000 Jobs

AARP: Social Security "Helped North Carolina Workers Find Or Keep 309,000 Jobs." According to AARP, "According to AARP, "The report also reveals Social Security's role in supporting North Carolina's workforce. The \$25.2 billion paid in benefits helped North Carolina workers find or keep 309,000 jobs." [AARP, [October 2013](#)]

The Kochs Pushed A VA Privatization Plan That Would Hurt North Carolina's Veterans

CONCERNED VETERANS FOR AMERICA PROMOTED PRIVATIZING THE VA

CNN: CVA Promoted Privatizing The VA. According to CNN, “Discussing the need for reforms improving access to care at the Department of Veterans Affairs, Sanders said that a group funded by the Koch brothers is promoting the privatization of the agency. An organization called Concerned Veterans for America is sanctioned by the influential conservative siblings, Sanders said. [...] Sanders is correct in describing the group's Koch lineage and its intent. Our verdict is true.” [CNN, [2/5/16](#)]

CVA's Veterans Independence Act Proposed Subsidizing Private Care For Veterans And Converting The VA Into A Nonprofit

Concerned Veterans For America Released Its Final VA Report, Recommending Reforms Collectively Titled “The Veterans Independence Act.” According to a press release from Concerned Veterans for America, “Today, Concerned Veterans for America's (CVA) Fixing Veterans Health Care Taskforce released its final policy report focusing on reforms to the delivery of veterans' health care. The reforms, which are collectively entitled the Veterans Independence Act, will be unveiled and discussed at CVA's Fixing Veterans Health Care summit today in Washington, D.C. The full report can be viewed here.” [Concerned Veterans For America Press Release, [2/26/15](#)]

CVA Recommended Converting The Current “VHA Integrated Health Care System” Into A Government-Chartered Non-Profit Corporation. According to a press release from Concerned Veterans for America, “The Veterans Independence Act would make four key reforms to the delivery of veterans health care: 1. Separate the VHA's payor and provider functions and convert the current VHA integrated health care system into a government-chartered [sic] nonprofit corporation.” [Concerned Veterans For America Press Release, [2/26/15](#)]

Stars And Stripes: Concerned Veterans For America “Is Testing Its Clout With A Radical Plan Unveiled Thursday To Largely Privatize VA Health Care.” According to Stars and Stripes, “A conservative veterans group is testing its clout with a radical plan unveiled Thursday to largely privatize VA health care. Concerned Veterans for America is calling for the Veterans Health Administration — the wing of the VA that oversees health care — to be turned into an ‘independent, government-chartered nonprofit corporation.’” [Stars and Stripes, [2/26/15](#)]

- **WBNS-10 Ohio: CVA's VA Idea Was “Similar To School Vouchers.”** According to WBNS-10, “The idea is similar to school vouchers. Parents get public money to pay for either public or private school. The idea would be the same for the VA: allowing patients to see either public or private doctors.” [WBNS-10, [3/30/15](#)]

CVA's Privatization Recommendations Were Included In Cathy McMorris Rodgers' 2016 Draft Legislation: Caring For Our Heroes In The 21st Century Act

CVA's Privatization Recommendations Were Included In Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers' Draft Legislation Which Prompted Condemnation By Veterans Of Foreign Wars. According to Military.com, “Though the Legion does not identify the ‘mouthpieces,’ it appears to be taking aim at Concerned Veterans for America, a Koch brothers-linked group that would have the VA overseen by a non-profit government organization while moving more veterans' health care to the private sector. Those recommendations, pitched by CVA last year, are included in draft legislation that prompted the Veterans of Foreign Wars to issue an action alert last week warning members that ‘Politicians, pundits and politically-motivated organizations are using the national crisis in access to care at the Department of Veterans Affairs as justification to dismantle and privatize the VA health care system, with some even proposing that veterans be charged for their service-connected care. The VFW says no!’ The alert drew more than 6,000 responses over the weekend, according to the VFW, which on Monday joined with four other veterans groups to request a meeting with Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers, R-Washington, the sponsor of the draft bill, the Caring for Our Heroes in the 21st Century Act.” [Military.com, [6/20/16](#)]

Veterans Service Organizations Condemned CVA's Push For Privatization

American Legion, The VFW, Paralyzed Veterans Of America And Disabled American Veterans Rallied Against The CVA Push For Privatization. According to the Washington Monthly, “As the lobbying for more outsourcing heated up, the major VSOs, including the American Legion, the VFW, Paralyzed Veterans of America, and Disabled American Veterans, finally got off the sidelines and began to reach out to Hill offices. They said they and their members did not want the VA to be dismantled and that they were worried that the ‘plastic card’ envisioned in the legislation would be the first step in total VA privatization. They reminded anyone who would listen that the wounds of combat, seen and unseen, required doctors and nurses experienced in treating such injuries and sensitive to the unique life experiences of those who serve in the military.” [Washington Monthly, [March/April/May 2016](#)]

- **The American Legion Took Aim At Concerned Veterans For America And Wrote A Letter Urging Congress “Not To Listen To Veterans’ Groups That Are Merely ‘Mouthpieces’ For Organizations Intent On Privatizing Department Of Veterans Affairs.”** According to Military.com, “In a letter to Congress on Monday morning, The American Legion urged lawmakers not to listen to veterans’ groups that are merely ‘mouthpieces’ for organizations intent on privatizing Department of Veterans Affairs health care, a move that it says will spawn ‘a host of billion-dollar federal contractors, private medical enterprises and cottage-industry opportunists.’ Though the Legion does not identify the ‘mouthpieces,’ it appears to be taking aim at Concerned Veterans for America, a Koch brothers-linked group that would have the VA overseen by a non-profit government organization while moving more veterans’ health care to the private sector.” [Military.com, [6/20/16](#)]
- **The American Legion Was “Alarmed” At “Politically Motivated Groups” Masquerading As Veteran-Centric Organizations While Exploiting The Public’s Generosity And Patriotism By Broadcasting Fallacies And Spouting Half-Truths... In Favor Of Self-Serving Agendas To Defund Government Programs, Starting With The VA.”** According to the American Legion, “As leaders in providing adequate services and resources to our nation’s military veterans, the American Legion is alarmed when politically motivated groups masquerade as veteran-centric organizations, exploiting the public’s generosity and patriotism by broadcasting fallacies and spouting half-truths. The only mission of these groups is to influence policy decisions in favor of self-serving agendas to defund government programs, starting with the VA.” [American Legion, [6/17/16](#)]
- **The CVA-Backed McMorris Rodgers Bill Prompted Veterans Of Foreign Wars To Warn Its Members That “Politically Motivated Organizations” Were Using The VA Crises To Justify Dismantling The Health Care System, Privatizing Care And “Even Proposing That Veterans Be Charged For Their Service-Connected Care.”** According to the Daily Republic, “CVA says the McMorris Rodgers bill is the ‘real reform’ VA needs. It would curb costs for taxpayers, in part, because veterans who choose to use outside care would get only ‘premium support to help cover’ their insurance. The draft bill prompted Veterans of Foreign Wars to warn its members that “Politicians, pundits and politically motivated organizations are using the national crisis in access to care” at VA to justify dismantling the health care system, privatizing care and “even proposing that veterans be charged for their service-connected care.” [Daily Republic, [6/26/16](#)]

CVA-NC FOLLOWED THE GROUP’S NATIONAL PUSH FOR PRIVATIZATION

CVA-NC Called For Fundamentally Changing The VA Through Privatization

CVA-NC Director Paul Passaro: “In Light Of The Way It’s Been Careening From One Crisis To Another, The VA Needs A Fundamental Change In The Way It Operates.” According to an opinion by Concerned Veterans for America-North Carolina director Paul Passaro in the Charlotte Observer, In light of the way it’s been careening from one crisis to another, the VA needs a fundamental change in the way it operates.” [Paul Passaro – Charlotte Observer, [3/17/15](#)]

Concerned Veterans For America North Carolina Promoted The “Caring For Our Heroes In The 21st Century Act.” According to a Facebook post from Concerned Veterans for America NC, “The ‘Caring for our Heroes in the 21st Century Act’ will give our #veterans chice [*sic*] and ultimately better care.” [Concerned Veterans for America NC – Facebook, [8/19/16](#)]

CVA-NC Backed Their Privatization Campaign By Promoting Negative VA Stories

Concerned Vets NC Encouraged Vets To Share Their Stories Of “VA Fail With CVA” For Their MyVAStory Campaign. According to a tweet from Concerned Vets NC, “Veterans! Has Healthcare @DeptVetAffairs let you down? Share your story of #VAFail with CVA @ConcernedVets myvastory.org RETWEET! pic.twitter.com/fcPTwxv4se.” [Concerned Vets NC – Twitter, [9/19/16](#)]

Concerned Veterans For America Promoted Negative VA Stories From North Carolina For Their MyVAStory Campaign. According to Concerned Veterans for America, “Hundreds of veterans are sharing their experiences with the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) on MyVAStory.org, a new Concerned Veterans for America (CVA) platform which launched last week. The organization has been encouraging veterans from around the country to submit their stories to the website or on social media using #MyVAStory. Here are a few of the stories we’re seeing in North Carolina: Robert, Army Veteran: ‘The Veteran’s Advocate Didn’t Offer Much Help.’ ‘After years of enduring neck pain & simply learning to deal w/ it, I filed a claim for it & the knee issue that plagued me since my Active Duty time. I submitted a stack of paperwork probably about 2-3 inches high, which apparently was submitted in vain. The Veteran’s Advocate didn’t offer much help beyond submitting the claim.’” [Concerned Veterans for America, [9/18/16](#)]

CVA’s MyVAStory Campaign Was Nothing More Than A Biased “Fishing Expedition”

CEO Of PathFinder.Vet Elana Duffy: CVA’s MyVAStory Website Offered “Mostly Anecdotal Commentary On Different Aspects Of Why The VA Should No Longer Be Funded” And Failed “To Adequately Provide Enough Information To Make A Decision Proving Or Disproving Any Of The Cases Presented.” According to an op-ed by the CEO of www.pathfinder.vet Elana Duffy for Task & Purpose, “The case studies on CVA’s [MyVAStory] website follow the same pattern: mostly anecdotal commentary on different aspects of why the VA should no longer be funded. While a case study by definition only examines a very narrow perspective, the data they give are significantly lacking. In fact, much of the information consists of little more than opinions and some official talking points already in agreement with the CVA position. The anecdotal research fails to adequately provide enough information to make a decision proving or disproving any of the cases presented.” [Elana Duffy - Task & Purpose, [9/21/16](#)]

- **Duffy: CVA’s MyVAStory Is Nothing More Than “Biased, Subjective Information Masquerading As Data.”** According to an op-ed by the CEO of www.pathfinder.vet Elana Duffy for Task & Purpose, “Since none of this sounds super transparent nor very impartial to me, and I got a weird feeling about contributing my information to their project. Fishy data is one thing; no data is another. Biased, subjective information masquerading as data is definitely not something of which I want any part.” [Elana Duffy - Task & Purpose, [9/21/16](#)]
- **Duffy: CVA Is Right That Veterans’ Stories Need To Be Shared, But Not In A Biased “Fishing Expedition.”** According to an op-ed by the CEO of www.pathfinder.vet Elana Duffy for Task & Purpose, “CVA is right that veterans’ stories need to be shared and things need to change, that we need transparency from the VA. But let’s do it right. We need to stop supporting organizations that aren’t everything they claim with our money, our energy, and our precious information. Please share your stories, but share them in a way that we can influence each other and our communities. It’s your information and your experience. Don’t waste it on a fishing expedition.” [Elana Duffy - Task & Purpose, [9/21/16](#)]

CVA’S PUSH FOR PRIVATIZATION WOULD HURT NORTH CAROLINA’S VETERANS

Veterans Constituted Nearly 10% Of North Carolina’s Population

Veterans Constituted 9.8% Of North Carolina’s Total Population In 2013. According to UNC Chapel Hill, “Nationwide, there are nearly 21.5 million veterans. More than 736,000 veterans live in North Carolina, representing 9.8% of the state’s total population. Below is a snapshot of the most recent statistics on North Carolina veterans.” [UNC Chapel Hill, [11/11/13](#)]

- **North Carolina Was Home To 775,020 Veterans As Of 2014.** According to the Governor's Working Group on Veterans, Service Members, and Their Families, "As of 2014: North Carolina is eighth in the number of Veterans living in the State: 775,020." [NC Veterans Working Group, accessed [9/23/16](#)]

North Carolina Ranked 4th In The Nation For VA Compensation

North Carolina Ranked Fourth In State VA Compensation In 2014. According to the Governor's Working Group on Veterans, Service Members, and Their Families, "As of 2014: North Carolina ranks fourth in VA compensation and pension: \$3.32 Billion." [NC Veterans Working Group, accessed [9/23/16](#)]

CVA's Privatization Plans Would Force North Carolina's Veterans To Pay Out-Of-Pocket Costs And Restrict Future Veterans' Access To Health Care

USA Today: CVA's Proposed Reforms, "If Enacted Into Law, Would Affect America's Roughly 22 Million Veterans Dramatically... Repercussions Would Be Even More Profound For Future Veterans." According to USA Today, "The reform measures, if enacted into law, would affect America's roughly 22 million veterans dramatically, especially the 8.5 million enrolled for care through the Department of Veterans Affairs. Repercussions would be even more profound for future veterans. Concerned Veterans for America, a conservative non-profit, sponsored the study called 'Fixing Veterans Health Care' amid a crisis in VA health-care services." [USA Today, [2/26/15](#)]

CVA's "Proposed Premium Support Plan Bases Its Level Of Premium Support Based On Level Of Disability, Whether Or Not A Veteran Served In A Combat Zone, And Financial Need" Rather Than Giving "All Veterans The Same Level Of Premium Support." According to a FAQ on Fixing Veterans Health Care from Concerned Veterans for America, "Q: Why is the level of premium support different for each priority group of veterans? Why not just give all veterans the same level of premium support? A: The VA health care system was originally created to serve service-connected disabled veterans. Additionally, the priority group system was created by Congress to ensure that those veterans with higher disability ratings received a higher priority for care within the VA health care system in addition to the higher levels of benefits associated with a higher disability rating. Therefore, in keeping with the Taskforce's principle of reform to reorient the VA health care system back towards its original mission of caring the veterans with service-connected disabilities, the proposed premium support plan bases its level of premium support based on level of disability, whether or not a veteran served in a combat zone, and financial need." [FAQ – cv4a.org, accessed [2/26/15](#)]

CVA's "Proposed Premium Support System" Would Force "Most Veterans To Pay Out-Of-Pocket Costs For Private Health Care." According to a FAQ on Fixing Veterans Health Care from Concerned Veterans for America, "Q: Why does the proposed premium support system force most veterans to pay out-of-pocket costs for private health care? Didn't veterans earn free health care through their military service? A: Many veterans are already forced to pay co-pays through the current VA health care system for certain medical services. Cost-sharing is already in effect in the current system. In fact, under the Veteran Independence Act, veterans who use the independent VACO will not have to pay any copays or deductibles." [FAQ – cv4a.org, accessed [2/26/15](#)]

CVA: "All Current Enrollees Will Be Grandfathered Into The New System...However, The Veterans Independence Act Proposes Tightening Eligibility Requirements For New Enrollees." According to a FAQ on Fixing Veterans Health Care from Concerned Veterans for America, "Q: Why is CVA advocating kicking certain veterans out of the VA health care system? A: All current enrollees will be grandfathered into new system with the same level of benefits. No veterans who are currently enrolled in the VA system will be kicked out of the system. However, the Veterans Independence Act proposes tightening eligibility requirements for new enrollees at a certain date in order to reorient the VA back towards its mission of providing care for service-connected disabled veterans." [FAQ – cv4a.org, accessed [2/26/15](#)]

CVA: The Plan Would Save Money "Through The Introduction Of Cost-Sharing And Tightening Enrollment Eligibility Requirements." According to a FAQ on Fixing Veterans Health Care from Concerned Veterans for America, "Q: Your fiscal modeling says this plan will save money for the VA. How? A: Through the introduction of cost-sharing and tightening enrollment eligibility requirements." [FAQ – cv4a.org, accessed [2/26/15](#)]

One-Fifth Of Future Veterans Would Not Be Eligible For VA Care Under The CVA Plan. According to USA Today, “Nearly one-fifth of future veterans — those in the lowest VA benefit levels, Priorities 7 and 8 — would not be eligible under the new system.” [USA Today, [2/26/15](#)]

Paralyzed Veterans Of America: The Private Sector Is Not Equipped To Provide Full Support Or Specialized Services To America's Veterans

Paralyzed Veterans Of America Deputy Executive Director Sherman Gillums Jr.: “The Protections Veterans Now Have In The VA System, Particularly When Health Care Goes Awry, Do Not Exist In The Private Sector.” According to Stars and Stripes, “‘The protections veterans now have in the VA system, particularly when health care goes awry, do not exist in the private sector,’ Paralyzed Veterans of America deputy executive director Sherman Gillums Jr. said in a statement. ‘Privatizing health care for veterans will create a cottage industry for ambulance chasers who will be the only available option for veterans with medical malpractices cases.’” [Stars and Stripes, [2/26/15](#)]

Paralyzed Veterans Of America: “Some Providers Have Openly Admitted The Private Sector Is Not Prepared To Provide Specialized Services For A Deluge Of Patients With Complex Conditions.” According to a press release from Paralyzed Veterans of America, “Paralyzed Veterans of America also joins experts in the private sector who point to the limited experience in treatment of veterans with unique needs related to post-traumatic stress disorder, prosthetics, conditions related to toxic exposure in war zones, or traumatic brain injury. Some providers have openly admitted the private sector is not prepared to provide specialized services for a deluge of patients with complex conditions, such as spinal cord injury and disease.” [Paralyzed Veterans of America Press Release, [2/27/15](#)]

The Kochs' Subversion Of Voting Rights In North Carolina

THE KOCH-AFFILIATED GROUP “TRUE THE VOTE” WORKED TO PURGE VOTER ROLLS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND WAS ACCUSED OF VOTER INTIMIDATION

MSNBC: The Koch-Affiliated True The Vote Is Helped “Election Officials In North Carolina To Remove Thousands Of Duplicate Registrations From The Voter Rolls Ahead Of Next Year's Elections.” According to MSNBC, “A group with ties to the tea party and a Koch brothers-founded organization is helping election officials in North Carolina to remove thousands of duplicate registrations from the voter rolls ahead of next year's elections. And it says it wants to do the same thing nationally. The effort, announced early Monday by Houston-based True the Vote, is aimed at removing duplicates—when a voter's name mistakenly appears twice.” [MSNBC, [9/28/15](#)]

- **True The Vote Was Launched In 2009 “As An Offshoot Of A Houston Tea Party Group, King Street Patriots.”** According to MSNBC, “True the Vote, which was launched in 2009 as an offshoot of a Houston tea party group, King Street Patriots, has a record that arguably inspires even less confidence.” [MSNBC, [9/28/15](#)]
- **True The Vote “Has Been Accused By Critics In The Past Of Using Intimidating Tactics And Stoking Unwarranted Fear About Voter Fraud.”** According to MSNBC, “The effort, announced early Monday by Houston-based True the Vote, is aimed at removing duplicates—when a voter's name mistakenly appears twice. True the Vote has been accused by critics in the past of using intimidating tactics and stoking unwarranted fear about voter fraud.” [MSNBC, [9/28/15](#)]

Rolling Stone: “Some Of The Biggest Possible Purges” Of Voting Rolls Are In North Carolina. According to Rolling Stone, “Election officials in more than two dozen states have compiled lists of citizens whom they allege could be registered in more than one state – thus potentially able to cast multiple ballots – and eligible to be purged from the voter rolls. The data is processed through a system called the Interstate Voter Registration Crosscheck Program, which is being promoted by a powerful Republican operative, and its lists of potential duplicate voters are kept confidential. But Rolling Stone obtained a portion of the list and the names of 1 million targeted voters. According to our analysis, the Crosscheck list disproportionately

threatens solid Democratic constituencies: young, black, Hispanic and Asian-American voters – with some of the biggest possible purges underway in Ohio and North Carolina, two crucial swing states with tight Senate races.” [Rolling Stone, [8/24/16](#)]

- **True The Vote Sent North Carolina’s 10 Largest Counties Lists Of “Potential Duplicate Registrations,” And Was “Compiling Similar Data” For Ohio And Colorado.** According to MSNBC, “True the Vote said it sent each of North Carolina’s 10 largest counties lists of potential duplicate registrations, based on similarities in the names, ages or addresses listed. It said five of the counties have told them they’re processing the data, and one, Guilford, has already removed 655 names from its rolls. True the Vote said it’s currently compiling similar data for the 10 largest counties in two other 2016 swing states, Ohio and Colorado.” [MSNBC, [9/28/15](#)]

Americans For Prosperity Sponsored Meetings Featuring True The Vote

2012: Americans For Prosperity Sponsored Meetings Featuring True The Vote Leader Catherine Engelbrecht And Other True The Vote Speakers. According to the New York Times, “In the past year, Americans for Prosperity, an organization founded by the billionaire Koch brothers, and other Republican-leaning independent groups have sponsored meetings featuring Ms. Engelbrecht and other True the Vote speakers. A spokesman for Americans for Prosperity said that the group had hosted events including True the Vote speakers but that election integrity was not a focus of his group.” [New York Times, [9/17/12](#)]

- **Investigative Fund Fellow Lee Fang: The Koch Network Partnered With True The Vote To Train “Tea Partiers...To Harass And Intimidate Voters.”** According to an opinion by Investigative Fund fellow Lee Fang for The Nation, “The Koch network, which is training Tea Partiers via a partnership with True the Vote to harass and intimidate voters, may play a bigger role in this election.” [Lee Fang – The Nation, [9/26/12](#)]

True The Vote Was Accused Of Voter Intimidation

Institute For Southern Studies: True The Vote “Has Been Accused Of Voter Intimidation.” According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “True the Vote is appealing the decision. It may still participate in the case by submitting an amicus brief in support of Texas maintaining its voter ID law. The organization, which has been accused of voter intimidation, also attempted to intervene last year in a Florida voting rights case that was brought by the Justice Department against the state's program to purge voter rolls. [Institute for Southern Studies, [12/18/13](#)]

KOCH GROUPS BACKED A VOTER ID REQUIREMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

True The Vote Spokesperson Logan Churchwell Argued That Opposition To North Carolina’s Voter ID Requirement Was “Soft Bigotry.”

True The Vote Spokesperson Logan Churchwell Argued That Opposition To North Carolina’s Voter ID Requirement Was “Soft Bigotry.” According to the Washington Times, “Logan Churchwell, spokesman for True the Vote, which fights voter fraud, said charges of discrimination are misplaced. He said minority voters should be offended by the Obama administration’s argument in North Carolina, where it successfully sued to stop an ID law. Mr. Churchwell said the crux of the Justice Department’s argument was that black voters were less able to follow election rules, including obtaining ID, than white voters. ‘These rulings really do come from a place of bigotry — that soft bigotry of low expectations,’ he said.” [Washington Times, [8/10/16](#)]

AFP Supported Several North Carolina Lawmakers Who Sponsored Voter ID Laws

AFP Supported State Sen. Buck Newton, Who Sponsored A Bill Which “Had A Strict Voter ID Provision,” “Disallowed The Use Of Student IDs For Voting,” “Dramatically Shortened Early Voting And Eliminated Same-Day Registration.” According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “State Sen. E.S. ‘Buck’ Newton III is a Wilson County Republican who formerly served as an aide to deceased U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms, an outspoken foe of the Voting Rights Act whose 1990 campaign against Harvey Gantt, the African-American former mayor of Charlotte, got in trouble for illegally trying to suppress the black vote. Newton was the primary sponsor of an omnibus elections bill introduced in April that had a

strict voter ID provision and disallowed the use of student IDs for voting. It also dramatically shortened early voting and eliminated same-day registration -- all provisions that were added to the House bill and became law. Newton was first elected to the state Senate in 2010, defeating the Democratic incumbent with the help of \$4,000 in contributions from Pope and his family and more than \$17,000 in independent expenditures from Americans for Prosperity.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [8/29/13](#)]

AFP Supported State Sen. Bill Cook, Who Backed Bills “Slashing Early Voting Days, Eliminating Same-Day Registration, And Placing New Restrictions On Student Voting.” According to The Institute for Southern Studies, “Over the last week, Republicans in the North Carolina Senate have pushed a series of bills with wide-ranging implications for how people vote, including slashing early voting days, eliminating same-day registration, and placing new restrictions on student voting. The four proposed bills share one common backer: Sen. Bill Cook [...] State campaign finance records show that in 2010, Cook received \$16,000 in direct contributions from Pope and his family, the maximum allowed by law. In addition, Cook benefited from more than \$79,000 in election year spending from three outside groups backed by Pope: Americans for Prosperity (\$22,992), Civitas Action (\$11,836.44), and Real Jobs NC (\$44,268.75). In his 2012 state senate run, Cook benefited from another \$9,739.28 in expenditures from Americans for Prosperity, bringing his total support from Pope's family and groups to at least \$104,836.47.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [4/3/13](#)]

AFP Supported Rep. Tom Murry Who Went On To Sponsor A Voter ID Law In North Carolina. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “House Bill 589, the elections bill that the North Carolina legislature passed this year, was originally introduced in April by four primary sponsors, all Republicans. Two of them -- Reps. Harry Warren of Rowan County and Tom Murry of Wake County -- got generous support in launching their political careers from Pope, his family, and his network of political spending groups. Running for the legislature for the first time in 2010, Warren narrowly defeated his Democratic opponent, a five-term incumbent, by fewer than 200 votes. Warren's campaign benefited from over \$109,000 in spending from Real Jobs NC, a 527 political group co-founded by Pope and whose major funders include Variety Wholesalers. Also in 2010, Murry's campaign to unseat a Democratic incumbent benefited from \$12,000 in campaign contributions from Pope and his family, and over \$92,000 in independent spending from outside groups affiliated with Pope. That total included more than \$45,000 from Real Jobs NC; \$25,000 from Civitas Action, the Pope-founded 501(c)(4) sister group of the Civitas Institute; and \$21,000 from Americans for Prosperity, on whose national board Pope sat until becoming state budget director.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [8/29/13](#)]

North Carolina's Voter-ID Law Was ALEC Inspired

North Carolina Passed An ALEC Inspired Voter-ID Law That Disenfranchised 318,000 Registered Voters. According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “Senate leaders have taken what was already an awful voter ID bill and created a nightmarish set of anti-voting measures that is sure to keep thousands of people from voting in the state,” declared Democracy North Carolina, a nonpartisan good government organization, in an email to supporters. With the U.S. Supreme Court having gutted the federal pre-clearance requirements of the Voting Rights Act, the North Carolina legislature is now largely free to enact voter restrictions without receiving the federal government's approval. The Republican-led legislature was already expected to pass a restrictive American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)-inspired voter ID law that threatened to disenfranchise 318,000 registered voters who don't have state-issued identification, but the new provisions were added as an amendment to that already-strict bill. The House passed the voter ID bill requirement in April, but Senate leaders waited to add the amendments until the final week of the legislative session, and rolled-out the changes with almost no notice. The bill passed through the Senate rules committee on Tuesday, with just 10 members of the public allowed to testify.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [7/24/13](#)]

The U.S. Court Of Appeals For The 4th Circuit Ruled That North Carolina's Voter-ID Law Intentionally Sought To Suppress The State's Black And Latino Vote

The U.S. Court Of Appeals For The 4th Circuit Unanimously Ruled That North Carolina's Republican-Led Legislature Enacted 2013 Voting Restrictions Attempted To “Intentionally Blunt The Growing Clout Of African American Voters.” According to the Washington Post, “Voting rights activists scored legal victories in key presidential election states Friday, the most important being a federal appeals court ruling that North Carolina's Republican-led legislature enacted new voting restrictions in 2013 to intentionally blunt the growing clout of African American voters. The unanimous decision by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit was an overwhelming victory for the Justice

Department and civil rights groups. Election law experts consider North Carolina's voter law one of the nation's most far-reaching." [Washington Post, [7/29/16](#)]

- **Washington Post: The 4th Circuit Found That "North Carolina's Omnibus Bill Selectively Chose Voter-ID Requirements, Reduced The Number Of Early-Voting Days And Changed Registration Procedures In Ways Meant To Harm Blacks, Who Overwhelmingly Vote For The Democratic Party."** According to the Washington Post, "In the North Carolina case, the 4th Circuit panel agreed with allegations that North Carolina's omnibus bill selectively chose voter-ID requirements, reduced the number of early-voting days and changed registration procedures in ways meant to harm blacks, who overwhelmingly vote for the Democratic Party." [Washington Post, [7/29/16](#)]

PBS: "The Opinion Of The 4th Circuit Court Of Appeals Was A Victory For Civil Rights Groups Who Argued That The Voter ID Law Ushered In From Republican Lawmakers Sought To Suppress State's Black And Latino Vote."

According to PBS, "The opinion of the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals was a victory for civil rights groups who argued that the voter ID law ushered in from Republican lawmakers sought to suppress state's black and Latino vote. North Carolina's law had required voters to show identification at the polls, a measure that was "passed with racially discriminatory intent," the panel's opinion read." [PBS, [7/29/16](#)]

Judge Diana Gribbon Motz: North Carolina's Voter-ID Legislation Targeted "African Americans With Almost Surgical Precision," Imposing "Cures For Problems That Did Not Exist." According to the Washington Post, "The new provisions target African Americans with almost surgical precision' and 'impose cures for problems that did not exist,' Judge Diana Gribbon Motz wrote for the panel. 'Thus the asserted justifications cannot and do not conceal the State's true motivation.'" [Washington Post, [7/29/16](#)]

The Civitas Institute Claimed That The Voter ID Law Did Not Disenfranchise Voters

Civitas Institute Elections Policy Analyst Susan Myrick: The Voter ID Law Did Not Disenfranchise Voters Because "An Overwhelming Majority Of People Already Have A Form Of Identification That Is Required." According to The Daily Tarheel, "North Carolina's controversial voter identification law is wrapping up its latest challenge from civil rights groups in the state — this time in a federal court. The law, which requires voters to show photo identification when casting a ballot and was passed by the N.C. General Assembly in 2013, began trial on Jan. 25 in Winston-Salem. It is being challenged by the U.S. Department of Justice and the N.C. NAACP, which argue it disenfranchises minority voters. [...] But Susan Myrick, elections policy analyst for N.C. Civitas Institute, a conservative think-tank, said the law does not disenfranchise voters. 'An overwhelming majority of people already have a form of identification that is required,' Myrick said." [Daily Tarheel, [2/1/16](#)]

- **The Federal Court Ruled That "Data Showed That African Americans Disproportionately Lacked The Most Common Kind Of Photo ID" And That "The Legislature Amended The Bill To Exclude Many Of The Alternative Photo IDs Used By African Americans."** According to the Washington Post, "The federal court in Richmond found that the primary purpose of North Carolina's wasn't to stop voter fraud, but rather to disenfranchise minority voters. The judges found that the provisions 'target African Americans with almost surgical precision.' In particular, the court found that North Carolina lawmakers requested data on racial differences in voting behaviors in the state. 'This data showed that African Americans disproportionately lacked the most common kind of photo ID, those issued by the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV),' the judges wrote. So the legislators made it so that the only acceptable forms of voter identification were the ones disproportionately used by white people. 'With race data in hand, the legislature amended the bill to exclude many of the alternative photo IDs used by African Americans,' the judges wrote. 'The bill retained only the kinds of IDs that white North Carolinians were more likely to possess.'" [Washington Post, [7/29/16](#)]

The Civitas Institute Worked To Limit Early Voting

NBC News: The Civitas Institute "Encouraged Counties To Draw Up Plans That Limit Access To Early Voting."

According to NBC News, "[Francis] De Luca, the president of the conservative Civitas Institute, last week encouraged counties to draw up plans that limit access to early voting. In comments to a friendly reporter, De Luca suggested that

Mecklenburg County, the state's largest, could comply with the law by opening just one early voting site for 17 days.” [NBC News, [8/8/16](#)]

Civitas Institute President Francis DeLuca: Making Voting Harder Is “Partisan Politics.” According to NBC News, “Last month's federal court ruling against North Carolina's sweeping and restrictive voting law was hailed as a major victory for voting rights. But now the battle over voting in the Tarheel State is shifting to the local level — amid concerns that the court's decision could let county election officials impose new schemes to limit access to the polls. Indeed, Francis De Luca, the head of a leading conservative think tank in the state, is publicly urging counties to do just that, saying making voting harder is just ‘partisan politics’ — and that's fair game.” [NBC News, [8/8/16](#)]

- **DeLuca: “The 100 Republican-Controlled County Boards Of Elections Can Be Just As Political With It...These Are About Winning Elections.”** According to the NC Capitol Connection, “De Luca said that local boards can potentially save money over their current plans while still serving their communities. ‘It’s costing them a lot of money,’ he said. ‘There’s a lot of the counties that actually don’t need as much as they have, but because the law required them not to reduce hours, then they really are kind of between a rock and a hard place. This again gives them complete freedom. In fact I would recommend that every county board of elections look at their one-stop voting sites and revisit that immediately and make sure that what they do fits their counties,’ De Luca said. ‘They can save money, they can better serve their public, and the court has given them carte blanche to do what they want with one-stop voting.’ [...] ‘So all now the 100 Republican-controlled county boards of elections can be just as political with it. Remember it’s partisan politics, its [*sic*] not racial or anything. These are about winning elections, and since in 2008 Democrat-controlled boards used it to help them win elections, there is nothing preventing county boards from doing the same thing, unless the Fourth District wants to come in and run every county board of elections themselves.’” [NC Capitol Connection, [8/2/16](#)]

Civitas Institute Elections Policy Analyst Susan Myrick: Changes To North Carolina’s Early And Provisional Voting System “Is Going To Cause Confusion” Because “You’re Looking At A Closing Window.” According to the Washington Post, “Voting rights groups are most concerned about North Carolina. There, a district court judge ruled in favor of the state’s 2013 voting law, which made changes to early and provisional voting procedures, among other alterations. This week, the 4th Circuit reversed that order, though the district judge has not officially reversed himself. The judge canceled a planned hearing Friday morning after North Carolina appealed to the Supreme Court, and voting rights groups filed an emergency petition seeking action from the 4th Circuit. The burden of last-minute procedural changes falls on the shoulders of election administrators, most of whom are collecting absentee ballots. ‘We have over 2,500 precincts in North Carolina. We have hundreds of early voting center sites. All of their precinct workers or poll workers or one-stop voting site workers have been trained,’ said Susan Myrick, an elections policy analyst at the Civitas Institute, which supports the changes to North Carolina’s election law. ‘You have at least 10,000 people that have been trained in a certain way, and now you’re looking at a closing window. It is going to cause confusion. There’s no doubt.’” [Washington Post, [10/3/14](#)]

AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY SENT INCORRECT VOTING INFORMATION TO HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NORTH CAROLINIANS

Voters Were “Outraged” After AFP Sent “Hundreds Of Thousands Of Official Looking Mailers Went Out To Voters And Non-Voters” In North Carolina. According to ABC 11, “Hundreds of complaints are flooding into the state Board of Elections after hundreds of thousands of official looking mailers went out to voters and non-voters around the state. The ABC11 I-Team dug into what happened and why and talked to voters who are outraged over the mistake. [...] The group behind the mailing is the sharply conservative, Koch brothers-backed Americans for Prosperity Foundation. AFP Deputy Director Donald Bryson quickly apologized for the error.” [ABC 11, [9/26/14](#)]

- **News & Observer: “A Spokesman For Americans For Prosperity...Declined To Say How Many People Were Sent The Forms, How The Group Obtained The Voter Lists Or How The Mistakes Occurred.”** According to the News & Observer, “Adam C. Nicholson, a spokesman for Americans for Prosperity, declined to say how many people were sent the forms, how the group obtained the voter lists or how the mistakes occurred. The form includes incorrect or conflicting information, as outlined below, according to the State Board of Elections.” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]

AFP-NC Sent Out Official Looking Mailers Riddled With False Information

AFP Gave Voters The Wrong Deadline And State Agency For Registration

ABC 11: The Mailers From AFP Gave Voters “The Wrong Deadline For Registration And Directs Them To The Wrong State Agency To Sign Up.” According to ABC 11, “There are other problems beside who received the mailer. It has factual mistakes as well. It gives voters the wrong deadline for registration and directs them to the wrong state agency to sign up.” [ABC 11, [9/26/14](#)]

- **The Form From AFP Stated “Voter Registrations Are Due 30 Days Before An Election,” But Below, In Smaller Type, It Stated “The Deadline Is 25 Days Before The Election.”** According to the News & Observer, “At the top, the form states voter registrations are due 30 days before an election to the State Board of Elections’ office. Below, in smaller type, it states the deadline is 25 days before the election.” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]
- **The Form From AFP Stated “People Should Return The Registration To The N.C. Secretary Of State’s Office, Though The Envelope Is Addressed To The State Board Of Elections.”** According to the News & Observer, “The first page also states people should return the registration to the N.C. Secretary of State’s office, though the envelope is addressed to the State Board of Elections.” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]

AFP’s Mailers Included The Wrong ZIP Code For The State Board Of Elections

The Form From AFP Included The Wrong ZIP Code For The State Board Of Elections. According to the News & Observer, “The registration form also includes the wrong ZIP code for the State Board of Elections. The ZIP code associated with the board’s post office box is 27611, and the board’s office ZIP code is 27603.” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]

AFP Directed Questions To The Secretary Of State’s Non-Existent Elections Division

The Form From AFP Stated “The Secretary Of State’s Office Has An Elections Division And Can Answer Questions About Registration” Even Though The Secretary Of State’s Office Does Not Handle Elections. According to the News & Observer, “It states the Secretary of State’s office has an elections division and can answer questions about registration. The Secretary of State’s office does not handle elections, Lawson said, though other states do house their elections division within their secretary of state’s office. The form also gives the wrong phone number for the Secretary of State’s office – the number is actually for the State Board of Elections.” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]

AFP Falsely Claimed Voters Would Be Notified Of Their Precinct By Their Local County Clerk

The Form From AFP Stated “That After Voters Mail In Their Information, They Will Be Notified Of Their Precinct By Their Local County Clerk” Even Though There’s No County Clerk That Would Do That. According to the News & Observer, “The form states that after voters mail in their information, they will be notified of their precinct by their local county clerk. ‘There’s no county clerk that would do these things,’ said Lawson. ‘It would come from the county board of elections or the elections director, under their signature.’” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]

North Carolina’s Local Boards Of Elections Were “Swamped With Complaints And Calls From Voters Confused” By AFP’s Mailers

ABC 11: North Carolina’s Local Boards Of Elections Were “Swamped With Complaints And Calls From Voters Confused By The Mailers.” According to ABC 11, “Meantime, local boards of elections told ABC11 that they are swamped with complaints and calls from voters confused by the mailers. The state Board of Elections said they’ve taken hundreds of calls in the last week-and-a-half.” [ABC 11, [9/26/14](#)]

- **NC Board Of Elections Officer: “The Phone Calls Have Consistently Been All Day, Every Day.”** According to the News & Observer, “‘The phone calls have consistently been all day, every day,’ [public information officer for the North Carolina Board of Elections Joshua] Lawson said.” [News & Observer, [9/25/14](#)]

AFP Faced A State Investigation Into Voter Suppression

Americans For Prosperity Faced Investigation In North Carolina After Sending Incorrect Voting Materials To Voters. According to MSNBC, “Last week, the public learned that the Koch brothers’ Americans for Prosperity created quite a mess sending out incorrect voting materials to many North Carolina voters. This week, the group finds itself under investigation.” [MSNBC, [9/30/14](#)]

News & Observer: The Elections Board Requested The Information From AFP After The N.C. Democratic Party Filed A Complaint About The Mailers With The Board “Alleging Voter Suppression.” According to the News & Observer, “The elections board requested the information after the N.C. Democratic Party filed a complaint about the mailers with the board on Monday alleging voter suppression.” [News & Observer, [10/3/14](#)]

- **North Carolina Democratic Party Executive Director Casey Mann Filed A Complaint With The State Board Of Elections About Americans For Prosperity’s Incorrect Mailers.** According to the Associated Press, “A North Carolina Democratic Party leader has formally asked the State Board of Elections to investigate inaccuracies in voter registration application mailers sent by a conservative-leaning advocacy group. Party Executive Director Casey Mann filed a complaint Monday with the board, alleging the Americans for Prosperity Foundation must have known several details on the mailer were false or conflicting and would discourage voting this fall. Mann's complaint suggests the mailers could be subject to a low-grade felony.” [Associated Press via The Times-News, [9/29/14](#)]
- **North Carolina Democratic Party Executive Director: AFP Made An “Attempt To Utilize Misleading, Incorrect, And Confusing Voter Registration Mailers As a Means Of Discouraging Or Intimidating Voters.”** According to MSNBC, “In the complaint, Casey Mann, the state Democratic Party’s executive director, accused AFP of an ‘attempt to utilize misleading, incorrect, and confusing voter registration mailers as a means of discouraging or intimidating voters in the 2014 general election.’ Deliberately misleading people about how to vote is a felony.” [MSNBC.com, [9/29/14](#)]

The State Board Of Elections Questioned How AFP “Got So Much Wrong In The Voter Mailer”

The State Board Of Elections Requested Details On How AFP “Got So Much Wrong In The Voter Mailer That Triggered Thousands Of Complaints.” According to the News & Observer, “The State Board of Elections wants details on how Americans for Prosperity got so much wrong in the voter mailer that triggered thousands of complaints. AFP, a conservative group founded by the Koch brothers, mailed thousands of voter applications that included incorrect information on where to send them, an incorrect voter registration deadline, and inaccurate information about getting answers to questions.” [News & Observer, [10/3/14](#)]

- **News & Observer: AFP Was Asked “When It First Found Out” About The Mailer Error, Where AFP Has Distributed Similar Material In The Last Six Months, And Any Steps The Group Has Taken To Address Complaint Issues.** According to the News & Observer, “AFP was also asked when it first found out that the mailer had an incorrect registration deadline, where AFP has distributed similar material in the last six months, and any remedial steps the group has taken to address issues raised in the complaint.” [News & Observer, [10/3/14](#)]
- **News & Observer: Elections Board Asked AFP “How The Content Was Crafted And Who Did It, How Many Pieces Were Sent, The ‘Demographic Selection Criteria’ For Recipients, And Names Of Individuals Or Vendors Used To Produce The Mailing List.”** According to the News & Observer, “As part of its investigation, the elections board executive director asked AFP’s general counsel for information on how the content was crafted and who did it, how many pieces were sent, the ‘demographic selection criteria’ for recipients, and names of individuals or vendors used to produce the mailing list.” [News & Observer, [10/3/14](#)]

AFP Ascribed The Misleading Mailers To “Minor Administrative Errors” They Would Address

AFP Conceded It Made “A Few Minor Administrative Errors” In Sending Out Voting Materials Which Misinformed North Carolina Voters To Refer Questions To The Secretary Of State’s Elections Division. According to MSNBC.com, “Last week, the public learned that the Koch brothers’ Americans for Prosperity created quite a mess

sending out incorrect voting materials to many North Carolina voters. This week, the group finds itself under investigation. To briefly recap, the far-right organization provided voters with contradictory information about the registration schedule, mislabeled envelopes, incorrect contact information for the state Board of Elections, and incorrect information about county-clerk notifications. The AFP's materials encouraged North Carolinians to refer questions to the Secretary of State's elections division. In North Carolina, the Secretary of State's office doesn't have an elections division. [...]AFP concedes it made 'a few minor administrative errors,' and it will have to hope that investigators believe the Koch-financed group was simply incompetent – the alternative explanation is that AFP tried to mislead voters on purpose, which would be a felony.” [MSNBC.com, [9/30/14](#)]

- **AFP Deputy Director: Incorrect Information In The Mailers Was Probably A "Cutting And Pasting" Mistake.** According to ABC 11, “There are other problems beside who received the mailer. It has factual mistakes as well. It gives voters the wrong deadline for registration and directs them to the wrong state agency to sign up. [AFP deputy director Donald]Bryson chalks that up to a possible ‘cutting and pasting’ mistake. He also says the problems are superficial inasmuch as they don't give bad information that would suppress votes and says that because of the mailers, 5,000 more people have already signed up to vote this year. Still, Bryson apologized about the mistakes.” [ABC 11, [9/26/14](#)]

AFP Said They Would “Mail Out Corrections To Everyone Who Got The Inaccurate Mailers.” According to ABC 11, “Bryson told ABC11 that they are taking Odom's daughter off their list, and they plan to mail out corrections to everyone who got the inaccurate mailers.” [ABC 11, [9/26/14](#)]

AFP VP And General Counsel: AFP Has “Now Updated And Strengthened Our Approach To Protect Against Future Mistakes.” According to The Institute for Southern Studies, “[AFP Vice President and General Counsel Victor] Bernson said his group has ‘now updated and strengthened our approach to protect against future mistakes.’ He also apologized for the mailers being sent to deceased persons, ‘which unintentionally caused emotional pain to their families.’ (The mailer also went to at least one cat.) He said that was due to ‘bad data,’ and he asked for any information the board or public could provide to identify the mailers sent in error in order to prevent that from happening again.” [SouthernStudies.org, [10/16/14](#)]

AFP Placed Ads In The Newspaper With Correct Information And Their Lawyer Apologized For Sending The Information To Deceased Persons

AFP Placed Ads In 18 Newspapers Across North Carolina With Correct Registration Information. According to The Institute for Southern Studies, “To correct the record, AFP placed ads in 18 newspapers across North Carolina sharing the correct registration information. AFP had the elections board approve them before they ran.” [SouthernStudies.org, [10/16/14](#)]

AFP General Counsel: “I Would Be Remiss If I Neglected To Acknowledge That Our Mail In Some Cases Inadvertently Was Sent To Certain Deceased Persons...And For This I Sincerely Apologize.” According to the News & Observer, “AFP Foundation, an organization founded by the Koch brothers, mailed thousands of voter registration forms with conflicting information about the registration deadline and inaccurate information on how to get questions answered. That erroneous information was picked up from an Arkansas mailer, AFP General Counsel Victor E. Bernson Jr. said in a Sept. 29 letter. ‘Of course, I would be remiss if I neglected to acknowledge that our mail in some cases inadvertently was sent to certain deceased persons which unintentionally caused emotional pain to their families, and for this I sincerely apologize,’ Bernson wrote.” [News & Observer, [10/29/14](#)]

This Wasn't The First Time AFP Or Other Conservative Groups Had Distributed Misleading Voting Information

East Carolina University Communications Professor Cindy Elmore: AFP Said “It Did Not Intentionally Send Thousands Of Mailers With False Information About Voter Registration To North Carolina Voters... Yet, This Type Of Action Has A Long History Among Some Conservative Political Strategists.” According to an op-ed by East Carolina University communications professor Cindy Elmore for the News & Observer, “Americans for Prosperity has said that it did not intentionally send thousands of mailers with false information about voter registration to North Carolina voters

last month. ‘A few minor administrative errors,’ organization spokesman Donald Bryson told MSNBC. Yet, this type of action has a long history among some conservative political strategists.” [Cindy Elmore - News & Observer, [10/18/14](#)]

- **This Was Not AFP’s First Time Sending Out Inaccurate Voting Information.** According to MSNBC, “AFP has said the mailers were an honest mistake, not an effort to mislead voters. But this isn’t the first time that the group, which came to prominence as part of the tea party movement, has sent out inaccurate voting information. And it’s also been involved in organized efforts to make voting harder.” [MSNBC.com, [9/29/14](#)]

The Kochs Fought Against Expanding Healthcare In North Carolina

AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY OPPOSED EXPANDING MEDICAID IN NORTH CAROLINA

Americans For Prosperity Opposed House Bill 1073 Implementing A Medicaid Expansion. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina website, “Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina opposes House Bill 1073, Expand Medicaid Eligibility, which would implement Medicaid expansion, a key but optional component of the Obamacare law. AFP encouraged state lawmakers to oppose the measure and instead pass free-market healthcare solutions that improve healthcare access for all citizens. ‘Expanding Medicaid means massive cost over-runs and higher taxes with lower access to care and longer wait times for Medicaid patients,’ explained Donald Bryson, North Carolina state director of Americans for Prosperity. ‘The health of our neediest citizens – particularly our sick and our seniors – is too important to rely on a broken, over-burdened government program. We continue to urge the General Assembly and Gov. Pat McCrory to forego Medicaid expansion and instead support patient-centered healthcare reform that increases choice, competition and reduced costs.’” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/11/16](#)]

Americans For Prosperity Praised The North Carolina Legislature For “Holding The Line In Opposition Of...The Federal Government’s Healthcare Takeover.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “North Carolina has come a long way from its days as the state with the highest income tax in the southeast. Americans for Prosperity and its local activists have been hard at work in North Carolina, holding legislators accountable and advocating for issues like lower taxes, labor reforms and school choice. Finally, we see our efforts are paying off in a big way! [...] Medicaid expansion- Despite pressure from the Obama administration’s federal health officials, North Carolina is holding the line in opposition of Medicaid expansion. The rejection of Obamacare’s Medicaid expansion has helped protect North Carolina from this key aspect of the federal government’s healthcare takeover.” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/20/16](#)]

- **Americans For Prosperity Used “The American Legislative Exchange Council’s (ALEC) Annual Report” In Determining The Success Of “AFP’s Free Market Approach In North Carolina.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “The strength of AFP’s free market approach in North Carolina shines through in the American Legislative Exchange Council’s (ALEC) annual report Rich States, Poor States. The report ranks all 50 states on 15 policies that effect [sic] the ability of the state to create jobs and provide economic opportunity for their residents. As recently as 2013, North Carolina ranked a respectable but hardly noteworthy 22nd in ALEC’s rankings. In this year’s report, North Carolina ranked 2nd for best economic outlook in 2016 out of all 50 states.” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/20/16](#)]

AFP-NC Praised Gov. Pat McCrory For Ignoring “The Siren Call Of ‘Free’ Federal Money” In His Decision Not To Expand Medicaid. According to the Carolina Public Press, “On March 6, Gov. Pat McCrory signed Senate Bill 4. The bill rejects a state-based insurance exchange and blocks Medicaid expansion in North Carolina. Hendersonville Republican Sen. Tom Apodaca was one of the bill’s primary sponsors. [...] Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina praised McCrory for his decision. ‘Unlike some other state executives, McCrory ignored the siren call of “free” federal money and recognized the problems with expanding Medicaid and creating a state health care exchange in North Carolina,’ AFP-NC State Director Dallas Woodhouse said in a prepared statement.” [Carolina Public Press, [3/13/16](#)]

- **AFP: “Refusing Medicaid Expansion Is The Most Important Decision Gov. Pat McCrory Can Make To Secure A Bright Financial Future For North Carolina.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Refusing Medicaid expansion is the most important decision Gov. Pat McCrory can make to secure a bright

financial future for North Carolina. A major provision of Obamacare, Medicaid expansion would cost North Carolina families another \$3.1 billion over the next decade. Tell Gov. McCrory to stay the course and reject Medicaid expansion! Medicaid in North Carolina already covers 1.8 million people and receives a taxpayer contribution of \$10.2 billion. After running \$100 million deficits in the recent past, the state finally has Medicaid spending under control and under budget thanks to Gov. McCrory's refusal to expand the program." [Americans for Prosperity, [12/4/14](#)]

2015: AFP-NC Listed “Defeating Any Efforts To Expand Medicaid” As Part Of Its Agenda For The General Assembly. According to the News & Observer, “One day after the state legislature returned, the conservative group Americans For Prosperity released its agenda for this year’s General Assembly. AFP’s North Carolina leaders on Thursday released 11 bullet points outlining their priorities, most of which involve cutting taxes and reducing regulations on business. ‘Our aggressive state and federal legislative agendas reflect our tireless commitment to standing up for the taxpayers, workers, parents and job creators against the special interests that want more of their money,’ AFP state director Donald Bryson said in a news release. ‘There are dozens of opportunities for lawmakers to improve the lives of their constituents by getting government out of the way – our agenda is only a starting point.’ Here are a few highlights from the AFP priorities: Defeating any efforts to expand Medicaid in North Carolina (Senate leader Phil Berger and House Speaker Tim Moore are already on board).” [News & Observer, [1/15/15](#)]

2014: AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson And AFP Policy Analyst Akash Chougule Wrote An Op-Ed Opposing Medicaid Expansion In North Carolina. According to an op-ed by AFP-NC director Donald Bryson and AFP policy analyst Akash Chougule for the Times-News, “North Carolina has been a leader in enacting free-market reforms at the state level that are improving people’s lives. Last year’s tax reform reduced the burden of government and simplified the filing process for millions of Tar Heel families. The expansion of school choice has created new opportunity for thousands of students in our state. And the rejection of Obamacare’s Medicaid expansion has helped protect North Carolina from a key aspect of the federal government’s healthcare takeover. Unfortunately, special interest groups are now pressuring Gov. Pat McCrory and the General Assembly, to such an extent that the governor has indicated he is considering Medicaid expansion in North Carolina. [...] Governor McCrory and General Assembly leaders should now ignore renewed calls for Medicaid expansion.” [Donald Bryson and Akash Chougule – Times-News, [12/8/14](#)]

- **Bryson And Chougule: “What Would We Be Paying For” By Expanding Medicaid? “Nothing That Should Comfort Taxpayers.”** According to an op-ed by AFP-NC director Donald Bryson and AFP policy analyst Akash Chougule for the Times-News, “North Carolina taxpayers would be on the hook for these cost overruns from a program that is already the single largest item in state budgets, nationally (Medicaid currently consumes roughly a quarter of state spending nationwide). The difference would be made up through funding cuts to things like roads and schools, or through tax increases — or both. And what would we be paying for? Nothing that should comfort taxpayers. Potentially crowding out funding for roads and schools for the return on investment we would receive from Medicaid expansion would be ludicrous.” [Donald Bryson and Akash Chougule – Times-News, [12/8/14](#)]

2013: AFP-North Carolina And AFP President Tim Phillips Praised North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory For Rejecting “The Unwise Expansion Of Medicaid And A State Based Exchange.” According to a press release from Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina, “Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina praised Governor Pat McCrory for his decision not to set up a state health care exchange and for choosing not to expand the state Medicaid program. Americans for Prosperity President Tim Phillips offered the following statement: ‘On behalf of the one hundred and fifty thousand members of Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina, and all federal taxpayers, we congratulate Governor Pat McCrory for signing Senate Bill 4, which will reject the unwise expansion of Medicaid and a state based exchange. The Governor and General Assembly leaders are trying to save American taxpayers from the federal government and the federal government from itself. They know the federal government is effectively bankrupt and someone must put us on a more responsible course.’” [Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina Press Release, [3/6/13](#)]

THE KOCH CONNECTED CIVITAS INSTITUTE ALSO OPPOSED ANY MEDICAID EXPANSION

Civitas Institute: Medicaid Expansion “Would Make Half A Million More North Carolinians Substantially More Dependent On Government – And Therefore Far Easier To Control.” According to a Civitas Institute web post, “Politics is about control. The more areas of society that are politicized, the more control the political class lords over its

citizens. Everything from education, to healthcare, to energy, to transportation, to commerce to aid for the needy have become highly politicized. Citizens have become excessively dependent upon the government to provide for these services. The best way to exercise control over people is to make them dependent upon you. Which brings us to this week's Bad Bill of the Week: House Bill 1073, Expand Medicaid Eligibility. Sponsored by Reps. John Ager (D-Buncombe), Verla Insko (D-Orange), Pricey Harrison (D-Guilford) and Susan C. Fisher (D-Buncombe), this bill would expand Medicaid in North Carolina as laid out in Obamacare. These bill sponsors would likely claim publicly that Medicaid expansion would be a compassionate measure to provide health insurance coverage to low-income citizens – roughly 500,000 of them, according to the bill. But the raw truth is that this would make half a million more North Carolinians substantially more dependent on the government – and therefore far easier to control.” [NCCivitas.org, [5/18/16](#)]

Civitas Institute Policy Director Brian Balfour Co-Authored An Op-Ed Arguing That Medicaid Expansion Was A “Wedge Political Issue” And That North Carolina Should Be “Wary Of ‘Free’ Federal Money.” According to an op-ed by Civitas Institute policy director Brian Balfour and Economics International Corp. president Eric Fruits for the News & Observer, “With the 2016 election right around the corner, the candidates are searching for wedge issues to appeal to large swaths of the electorate. Medicaid expansion, particularly in North Carolina and other states that have opted against expanding the federal health insurance program, is shaping up to be one of those talking points. The Affordable Care Act contains a provision that expands Medicaid coverage to almost all individuals with incomes below 138 percent of the poverty line. But in its 2012 decision to uphold the ACA's constitutionality, the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could not compel states to expand their Medicaid programs. At this point, 19 have sided with North Carolina and chosen not to. [...] Our most recent research sheds new light on the potential consequences of accepting federal money. While Medicaid expansion might make sense as a wedge political issue, North Carolinians should be wary of ‘free’ federal money. It could cost them billions of dollars.” [Brian Balfour and Eric Fruits – News & Observer, [12/15/16](#)]

Civitas: “Medicaid Expansion Is A Horrible Idea.” According to a Civitas Institute web post, “North Carolina liberals argue that Medicaid expansion is a free lunch from the federal government. They say that expanded eligibility means that more low-income families will have health insurance, at no additional cost to the state through 2016. But there is an overwhelming body of evidence that suggests that Medicaid expansion is a horrible idea.” [NCCivitas.org, [1/16/14](#)]

Civitas: Expanding Medicaid Would “Make The State Complicit In The Country’s Fiscal Suicide.” According to a Civitas Institute web post, “North Carolina showed considerable restraint and prudence in rejecting Medicaid expansion. Medicaid expansion would fail to achieve its intended effect of helping the poor. Instead, it would massively increase costs, crowd out services for the neediest recipients, and make the state complicit in the country’s fiscal suicide.” [NCCivitas.org, [1/16/14](#)]

The Civitas Institute Ran A Campaign Against Medicaid Expansion, Saying Their Success Would “Be Determined By A Reduction In Medicaid Funding.” According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “At a critical moment for the future of North Carolina's Medicaid program, a conservative think tank that was founded and is bankrolled by state budget director Art Pope sought funding for a campaign to portray the public health insurance program for the poor and disabled as ‘failed.’ The John W. Pope Civitas Institute of Raleigh, N.C. said the success of its campaign would ‘be determined by a reduction in Medicaid funding.’” [Institute for Southern Studies, [12/17/13](#)]

- **Institute For Southern Studies: Civitas “Planned To Share Its ‘Messaging Strategies’ With Fellow Members Of The State Policy Network.”** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “The John W. Pope Civitas Institute of Raleigh, N.C. said the success of its campaign would ‘be determined by a reduction in Medicaid funding.’ It also said it planned to share its ‘messaging strategies’ with fellow members of the State Policy Network, a national alliance of conservative think tanks that get substantial funding from corporate interests. SPN has come under scrutiny recently for its role in driving the conservative agenda in statehouses nationwide while reporting little to no lobbying activity.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [12/17/13](#)]

The Guardian: The State Policy Network Planned “A Co-Ordinated Assault Against” Services Such As Medicaid Expansion In North Carolina. According to The Guardian, “Conservative groups across the US are planning a co-ordinated assault against public sector rights and services in the key areas of education, healthcare, income tax, workers' compensation and the environment, documents obtained by the Guardian reveal. The strategy for the state-level organisations, which describe themselves as ‘free-market thinktanks’, includes proposals from six different states for cuts in public sector pensions, campaigns to reduce the wages of government workers and eliminate income taxes, school voucher schemes to counter public

education, opposition to Medicaid, and a campaign against regional efforts to combat greenhouse gas emissions that cause climate change. The policy goals are contained in a set of funding proposals obtained by the Guardian. The proposals were coordinated by the State Policy Network, an alliance of groups that act as incubators of conservative strategy at state level. [...] The proposals in the grant bids contained in the Guardian documents go beyond a commitment to free enterprise, however. They include: [...] opposition to Medicaid in Georgia, North Carolina and Utah.” [The Guardian, [12/5/13](#)]

THE AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL SOUGHT TO PREVENT MEDICAID’S EXPANSION AND PRIVATIZE IT

ALEC Published A Resolution That “Commended” North Carolina For “Rejecting PPACA’s Medicaid Expansion.”

According to the ALEC Resolution on the Tax and Fiscal Effects of Medicaid Expansion, “WHEREAS, Twenty-one states—Alabama, Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming—have rejected PPACA’s Medicaid expansion [...] THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT The states of Alabama, Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming shall be commended for protecting taxpayers, jobs, and the economy by rejecting PPACA’s Medicaid expansion.” [ALEC.org/model-policy, [9/4/15](#)]

ALEC Supported “Landmark Reform Legislation For The North Carolina Medicaid Program.” According to an ALEC web post, “On September 23, 2015, Governor Pat McCrory signed into law landmark reform legislation for the North Carolina Medicaid program. The legislation will transition the state from a fee-for-service to a fee-per-individual model for more than 1.9 million Medicaid beneficiaries. Because North Carolina is one of the 20 states that have not expanded Medicaid under the provisions of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), North Carolina will join the three other states that have introduced competition and choice into the fifty-year-old program. The reforms were spurred after Medicaid spending exceeded NC budget estimates for five of the past six years, amounting to two billion in overages. The new law will not only provide more budget predictability, it will incentivize positive health outcomes and introduce the first ever quality and data metrics component to the program.” [ALEC.org/article, [11/2/15](#)]

- **News & Observer: The Reform Legislation Was “To Privatize North Carolina’s...Medicaid Program.”** According to the News & Observer, “Legislators have agreed to privatize North Carolina’s \$15 billion Medicaid program, a change that doctors and hospitals have been fighting for months, but which some Republican legislators have championed as a remedy for unpredictable spending. Under House bill 372, three insurers would be given contracts to offer statewide Medicaid managed care plans. The state would have up to 10 contracts with ‘provider-led entities,’ or groups of doctors and hospitals, that would enroll patients in regional managed care networks. Rather than pay for each hospital visit or medical procedure as it does now, Medicaid would give the companies a fee for each patient when they enroll. The government would not be liable for cost overruns.” [News & Observer, [9/17/15](#)]

Business North Carolina: Blocking Medicaid Expansion Was One Of The “Goals Of Various Groups Including The American Legislative Exchange Council.” According to Business North Carolina, “When McCrory promoted Medicaid reform in the 2012 election, he mirrored a national Republican theme of privatizing various governmental functions. Transferring risk for Medicaid to private insurers and blocking the program’s expansion are goals of various groups including the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC, which hosts conferences for lawmakers. North Carolina and 18 other states have not budged on Medicaid despite pressure from hospitals, leaving as uninsured 2.9 million who otherwise would be covered, according to the Kaiser Health Foundation. ALEC is among the public policy groups backed by the libertarian Koch brothers, who sponsored a California gathering of conservative donors attended by McCrory and six other governors in August.” [Business North Carolina, [3/6/16](#)]

THE EXPANSION OF MEDICAID IN NORTH CAROLINA WOULD PROVIDE HEALTHCARE FOR THOUSANDS

Capitol Broadcasting Company Editorial: “There Is No Logical Reason To Block Medicaid Expansion And There Are Many Reasons To Move Ahead. This Is, At Its Core, A Moral Issue. Our Elected Officials Have Forgotten Who They Work For.” According to a Capitol Broadcasting Company editorial in WRAL, “The cost of North Carolina’s knee-jerk opposition has been more than dollars, jobs or GDP. Access to adequate health care in rural communities has suffered. The decision to forego the Medicaid expansion has been a contributing factor in the closing of several rural hospitals in our state. There is no logical reason to block Medicaid expansion and there are many reasons to move ahead. This is, at its core, a moral issue. Our elected officials have forgotten who they work for.” [Capitol Broadcasting Company Editorial - WRAL, [8/3/16](#)]

Medicaid Expansion Could Bring Healthcare Coverage To As Many As 500,000 People In North Carolina. According to North Carolina Health News, “If every state had expanded Medicaid to cover adults with incomes below 138 of the federal poverty level (\$16,242 for an individual), 14 million adults would have qualified. In the states that have expanded Medicaid, about 8 million are potentially eligible. In the remaining states, 6 million stand to gain coverage, including up to 500,000 in North Carolina.” [North Carolina Health News, [2/5/16](#)]

- **Lawyer With Legal Services Of Southern Piedmont Madison Hardee: Hundreds Of Thousands Of People Fell Into North Carolina’s Medicare Gap.** According to The Charlotte Observer, “Last fall, Lue Raven, 55, got laid off from her job as a social worker at a long-term care center in Charlotte. For the first time in her adult life, she found herself without health insurance. And when she tried to buy a private policy through the online marketplace, she was surprised to learn she didn’t qualify for a federal premium subsidy that would have made insurance affordable. She falls into what’s called ‘the Medicaid gap.’ Her income is too low to qualify for a subsidy, and because she’s not disabled and doesn’t have small children, she doesn’t qualify for coverage under the state’s Medicaid program for low-income and disabled residents. ‘She’s really just the face of a much larger crisis in North Carolina,’ said Madison Hardee, a lawyer with Legal Services of Southern Piedmont. ‘We have hundreds of thousands of people in her same situation.’” [The Charlotte Observer, [3/8/16](#)]

A Department Of Health And Human Services Report Estimated That 42,000 Additional Individuals Would Be In Good Or Excellent Health With The Expansion Of Medicaid Expansion. According to ABC 11, “The Obama Administration is calling out the McCrory Administration as well as other states that haven’t expanded Medicaid under the Affordable Care Act. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services says our state’s failure to expand the health care option for low income individuals has denied thousands of people a chance to receive treatment. [...] ‘Today’s report highlights that, along with its other benefits, Medicaid expansion would dramatically improve access to treatment for people with mental and substance use disorders, thereby improving health outcomes,’ officials said. ‘Research shows that low-income adults with serious mental illness are significantly more likely to receive treatment if they have access to Medicaid coverage, with benefits for their health. The report estimates that if North Carolina expanded Medicaid, 29,000 fewer individuals would experience symptoms of depression and 42,000 additional individuals would report being in good or excellent health.’” [ABC 11, [3/31/16](#)]

THE KOCHS’ CAMPAIGN AGENDA IN NORTH CAROLINA

Richard Burr

KOCH PUPPET RICHARD BURR CONSISTENTLY ALIGNED HIMSELF WITH THE KOCH NETWORK

AFP Awarded Burr An “A” Rating For His Legislative Record

As Of September 2016, Sen. Richard Burr Had A Lifetime Score Of 91% From Americans For Prosperity. [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Burr Voted With The Kochs On Energy And The Environment

Richard Burr Signed Americans For Prosperity's "No Climate Tax Pledge." According to Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina, "The North Carolina chapter of the grassroots free market group Americans for Prosperity (AFP-NC) today applauded U.S. Senator Richard Burr for signing the group's No Climate Tax pledge. Burr joins more than 415 lawmakers and candidates on the federal, state and local levels pledging to 'oppose legislation relating to climate change that includes a net increase in government revenue.'" [AFP-NC, [3/15/10](#)]

2015: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To Try To Nullify The President's Clean Power Plan. According to AFP's 2015-2016 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position to "disapprove of the President's Clean Power Plan" by voting no on Senate Vote #306, S.J. Res. 24. [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

- **2015: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To Support An Amendment Proposed By Sen. Mitch McConnell That Would Enable States To Avoid Accountability To EPA Regulations On Power Plant Emissions.** According to AFP's 2015-2016 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position to prevent "the federal government from withholding highway funds from States that refuse to submit State Implementation Plans required under the EPA's proposed rule on power plant emissions" by voting yes on Senate Vote #116, the McConnell amendment. [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

2015: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To Reject A Five-Year Extension Of The Production Tax Credit To Promote Renewable Fuels Like Wind Energy. According to AFP's 2015-2016 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position to "reject efforts to extend the production tax credit (PTC), the main handout for the wind energy industry" by voting no on Senate Vote #40, the Heitkamp Amendment. [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

2015: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To "Approve Construction Of The Keystone Pipeline." According to AFP's 2015-2016 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position to "approve construction of the Keystone Pipeline" by voting yes on Senate Vote #49, H.R. 3. [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

2013: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To Support An Amendment Proposed By Sen. Jim Inhofe To Prevent The EPA From Enforcing The Clean Air Act According to AFP's 2013-2014 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position by voting yes on Senate Vote # 76, the Inhofe amendment to which sought to "reduce spending and decrease the risk of drastic energy price increases by prohibiting further greenhouse gas regulations." [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

Burr Took The Koch Line On Affordable Healthcare

2013: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To Support An Amendment Proposed By Sen. Ted Cruz To Repeal The Affordable Care Act. According to AFP's 2013-2014 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position by voting yes on Senate Vote # 51, the Cruz Amendment, "Repealing [sic] Obamacare". [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

2013: Sen. Burr Voted With The AFP Position To Support The Cruz-Lee Amendment To Defund President Obama's Health Care Law. According to AFP's 2013-2014 Scorecard, Senator Richard Burr supported the AFP position by voting yes on Senate Vote #34, the "Cruz-Lee amendment defunding President Obama's health care law." [AFP Scorecard, accessed [9/21/16](#)]

THE KOCH NETWORK PRAISED AND AWARDED THEIR LOYAL LEGISLATOR RICHARD BURR

Burr Headlined Concerned Veterans For America Events And Was Personally Thanked By The Organization In An Ad

Concerned Veterans For America Sponsored A Weekly Standard Event Featuring Sen. Richard Burr (NC) And Rep. Jeff Miller (FL-1) To Address The Transformation Of The Bureaucratic VA Culture. According to a web post from the Weekly Standard, "On June 20, Concerned Veterans for America will sponsor a Weekly Standard hosted event to address what

can be done to transform the bureaucratic VA culture. The event will kick off a five-part Defend & Reform [sic] Breakfast Series that [sic] will highlight ways veterans-and all Americans-can contribute to 'defending freedom by advancing reform.' Former VA Secretary Anthony Principi, Ranking Member of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee Sen. Richard Burr (NC) and Chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee Rep. Jeff Miller (FL-1) will keynote the June 20th event, which is entitled 'Reforming Veterans Affairs: Preserving Promises to Those Who Serve.'" [Weekly Standard, [6/19/13](#)]

Concerned Veterans For America Hosted An Event On Reforming Veterans Affairs In North Carolina With A Keynote Address By Ranking Member Of The Senate Veterans Affairs Committee Richard Burr (R-NC). According to PR Newswire, "On Wednesday, April 23, The Weekly Standard will partner with Concerned Veterans for America (CVA) to host 'Reforming Veterans Affairs: Preserving Promises to North Carolina's Veterans,' with keynote address by U.S. Senator Richard Burr (R-NC), ranking member of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, and moderated by Weekly Standard Senior Writer Stephen F. Hayes [sic]." [PR Newswire, [4/22/14](#)]

Concerned Veterans For America Ran An Ad Thanking Senator Richard Burr. According to Concerned Veterans for America, "CVA has a history of publicly thanking lawmakers for their support of reform at the Department of Veterans Affairs. Just a few months ago, CVA ran similar ads thanking the following members: Sens. Bill Nelson (D-FL), Marco Rubio (R-FL), and Richard Burr (R-NC), as well as Congressmen David Scott (D-GA) and Jeff Miller (R-FL)." [Concerned Veterans for America, [7/21/14](#)]

Former Concerned Veterans For America CEO Pete Hegseth Joined North Carolina Senator Richard Burr's "Veterans For Burr" Leadership Team. According to the News and Observer, "North Carolina Sen. Richard Burr is making a concerted bid for the votes of the state's tens of thousands of active duty forces and military veterans in his push to win a third Senate term. Last week, the Republican senator's campaign announced a 'Veterans for Burr' leadership team, comprising 10 retired military officers. The campaign said they support his reelection because he 'led the charge' in holding the Veterans Administration accountable for mismanagement, including addressing a national controversy over sick vets' long wait times for medical care. On a campaign conference call with news reporters on Friday, Pete Hegseth, an infantry officer in the Army National Guard and former head of the Concerned Veterans of America, gushed over Burr's support for veterans while he served as the ranking Republican on the Veterans Affairs Committee." [News and Observer, [9/16/16](#)]

- **Former Concerned Veterans For America CEO Pete Hegseth "Saluted Burr For Backing Legislation Making It Easier For VA Managers To Fire 'Underperforming' Civil Servants" And For "Supporting Legislation Allowing Veterans To Go Outside The VA System."** According to the News and Observer, "Hegseth, however, saluted Burr for backing legislation making it easier for VA managers to fire 'underperforming' civil servants, noting that the agency has hired tens of thousands more employees but still is mired in bureaucratic problems. He also praised Burr for supporting legislation allowing veterans to go outside the VA system if they live far from an agency health care facility or face long wait times." [News and Observer, [9/16/16](#)]
- **Former Concerned Veterans For America CEO Pete Hegseth Responding To Criticism From Burr's Democratic Challenger Deborah Ross: "Opponents Will Say That Anyone Who Wants To Reform It Wants To Privatize It... That's A Classic Straw Man Argument. Senator Burr Doesn't Want To Privatize The VA, Nor Do I."** According to the News and Observer, "'Opponents will say that anyone who wants to reform it wants to privatize it,' Hegseth said, responding to criticism from Burr's Democratic challenger, former state representative Deborah Ross. 'That's a classic straw man argument. Senator Burr doesn't want to privatize the VA, nor do I.' When VA red tape made the choice option 'difficult,' Hegseth said, Burr pushed legislation to get around the bureaucratic hurdles." [News and Observer, [9/16/16](#)]

After Leaving CVA, Pete Hegseth Continued To Argue Against VA Healthcare, Claiming That The VA Failed To Provide Coverage Because It's Provided "Socialized Medicine At Its Worst." According to an op-ed by Fox News contributor Pete Hegseth for the National Review, "The answer will not surprise you: Entrenched ideologies, self-interested politicians, and special interests block the path to VA reform. Until politicians are forced to admit that the VA's health-care model has failed, and until special interests are forcefully confronted, very little is going to change. So, as a veterans advocate who has been involved in the fight to fix the VA for years, allow me to speak bluntly. The reason the VA health-care model doesn't work is the VA bureaucracy itself. VA health care is top-down, single-payer, government-run health care. Imagine getting your health care at the post office or the DMV — welcome to health care for veterans. Every day, veterans attempt to

navigate a massive government network of hospitals and clinics that are run like a Washington bureaucracy. It's socialized medicine at its worst." [Pete Hegseth – National Review, [4/7/16](#)]

60 Plus Designated Burr A “Guardian Of Seniors’ Rights”

Richard Burr Press Release: “60 Plus Association Honors Senator Burr With Guardian Of Seniors’ Rights Award.”
[Burr.Senate.Gov, [9/8/16](#)]

Koch Industries Gave At Least \$50,000 To Support Burr

Between 2005 And 2016, Koch Industries PAC Gave Richard Burr At Least \$50,000. According to the FEC, between 2005 and 2016 Koch Industries PAC gave Richard Burr at least \$50,000. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Contributor	Contributor Organization	Date	Target	Amount
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	04/26/2016	The Richard Burr Committee	\$3,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	02/29/2016	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	06/09/2015	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	03/18/2015	The Richard Burr Committee	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	06/27/2011	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$2,500
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	06/20/2011	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$1,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	07/02/2010	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	06/30/2010	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,500
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	03/10/2010	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	12/28/2009	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	09/30/2009	The Richard Burr Committee	\$500
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	09/30/2009	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,500
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	08/05/2009	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	05/30/2009	The Richard Burr Committee	\$1,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	05/28/2009	The Richard Burr Committee	\$2,500
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	05/19/2008	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	06/01/2007	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	03/29/2006	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	Koch Industries	12/05/2005	Next Century Fund (Burr Affiliated PAC)	\$2,500
Total				\$50,000

[FEC.gov, accessed 9/22/16]

AFP AND THE KOCH NETWORK RALLIED BEHIND BURR’S 2016 CAMPAIGN AFTER HIS SEAT BECAME AT RISK

AFP President Tim Phillips Claimed AFP Was Rallying Behind Sen. Burr Out Of An “Abundance Of Caution” But Admitted “In January, If You Said To Us: ‘Would You Be In North Carolina?’ You'd Rather Hope That Would Not Be Necessary.” According to CNN, “And now they are bulking up their field program in two states in particular: Pennsylvania and Indiana, where Koch officials said they remained hopeful despite weak polling for Senate hopeful Todd Young. And they are adding two new targets to their *[sic]* list of states: North Carolina and Missouri, where Democratic challengers are waging surprisingly successful bids. ‘In January, if you said to us: ‘Would you be in North Carolina?’ You'd rather hope that would not be necessary,’ said Tim Phillips, the president of Americans for Prosperity, who said to interpret the North Carolina buy for Sen. Richard Burr as out of an ‘abundance of caution.’” [CNN, [9/14/16](#)]

- **Americans For Prosperity Shifted Its Resources In North Carolina “To Help Burr And Go After His Democratic Challenger, Deborah Ross.”** According to the Washington Post, “Meanwhile, Americans for Prosperity, a conservative nonprofit group backed by the billionaire Koch brothers, recently decided to shift its resources in the state to help Burr and go after his Democratic challenger, Deborah Ross. The group had previously been focused on helping McCrory and on unseating GOP Rep. Renee L. Ellmers, who lost her primary.” [Washington Post, [9/12/16](#)]

CNN Reported That The Koch Network Added North Carolina And Missouri To Their Targeted States. According to CNN, “The heavy advertising earlier this year was a new posture for the Kochs, who oversee the most influential conservative donor network in the country: They made their mark in the 2012 cycle by knocking on doors and sending direct mail in swing-states, not with flashy television ads financed by their new super PAC, Freedom Partners Action Fund. And now they are bulking up their field program in two states in particular: Pennsylvania and Indiana, where Koch officials said they remained hopeful despite weak polling for Senate hopeful Todd Young. And they are adding two new targets to their *[sic]* list of states: North Carolina and Missouri, where Democratic challengers are waging surprisingly successful bids.” [CNN, [9/14/16](#)]

AFP Launched A State-Wide Campaign Against Burr’s Opponent Deborah Ross

AFP-NC Announced Its “Fall Kickoff In Raleigh,” Which Would Feature Discussion Of Its “Gameplan To Defeat Deborah Ross.” According to a Facebook post by Americans for Prosperity- North Carolina, “Join us for food and fun at Americans for Prosperity North Carolina's Fall Kickoff in Raleigh on Tuesday, September 20 at 7:00 pm. We're huddling with activists about our gameplan to defeat Deborah Ross in the U.S. Senate race this fall. Don't miss your chance to get involved with our effort to protect taxpayers from her abysmal record of raising costs on North Carolina families. Come meet our staff, fellow activists and concerned neighbors in your community as we prepare for a tough schedule this Fall. We will see you there!” [AFP-NC – Facebook, [9/13/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Discussed Their Anti-Ross Efforts On Freedom Action Network.** According to Freedom Action Network, “Today Mark talks about getting involved in your government with former U.S. Attorney General under President George W. Bush, Judge Alberto Gonzales. Mark also speaks with Brent Keilen, assistant director of FRC Action, and Donald Bryson, head of Americans for Prosperity in North Carolina.” AFP-NC linked to the interview in a Facebook post which read “PODCAST: North Carolina can't afford Deborah Ross.” [Freedom Action Network, [9/14/16](#); AFP-NC – Facebook, [9/15/16](#)]
- **AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Discussed AFP’s Effort To Defeat Deborah Ross On The Chad Adams Show.** According to a tweet by AFP-North Carolina, “NOW: @DonaldBryson talks defeating @DeborahRossNC on @Chad_Adams at 10 am. <http://thechadamsshow.com/> #NCPOL #NCGA[.]” [AFP-North Carolina – Twitter, [9/6/16](#)]
- **AFP-NC Deputy Director Tyler Voigt Discussed AFP-NC’s Efforts To Elect Conservative Leaders On Freedom Action Network.** According to Freedom Action Network, “Mark also speaks with Tyler Voigt, deputy state director of the NC Chapter of Americans for Prosperity, about AFP’s efforts in the state to get conservative leaders elected.” [Freedom Action Network, [9/6/16](#)]

AFP Announced An Express Advocacy Effort Against Deborah Ross Featuring Over 500,000 Mailers And More Than A Dozen Full Time Staffers And Volunteers Knocking Doors And Making Phone Calls

AFP Announced It Would Launch An Express Advocacy Effort Against Senate Candidate Deborah Ross, Sending More Than 500,000 Mailers Statewide And Starting Opposition Field Operations. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity North Carolina (AFP-NC) announced Tuesday a grassroots effort to defeat Deborah Ross’ bid for U.S. Senate. AFP-NC is opposing Ross in order to protect taxpayers from her consistent policies of reckless spending and billions of dollars in tax hikes. State Director Donald Bryson said his organization would send more than 500,000 mailers statewide and begin directing field operations against former North Carolina House Rep. Deborah Ross in September: ‘Deborah Ross raised sales taxes every chance she got on North Carolinians, and the last thing our state needs is to return to her tax-and-spend approach. Ross raked billions out of people’s paychecks by raising the

price of almost every purchase at the cash register statewide in each of her first four terms.” [Americans for Prosperity, [9/5/16](#)]

AFP Announced It Would Have “More Than A Dozen Full-Time Staff Plus Part Time Staff And Volunteers Knocking Doors And Making Phone Calls” Against Ross. According to Buzzfeed, “A spokesman for the group declined to give specifics on spending but called the effort ‘substantial.’ Other than the mailers, AFP will have more than a dozen full-time staff plus part time staff and volunteers knocking doors and making phone calls in the state. The group does not have plans to air ads yet. However, an outside group linked to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell is taking the lead on that front.” [Buzzfeed, [9/6/16](#)]

AFP Refused To Disclose Its Total Anti-Ross Spending, Which Totaled At Least \$438,000

AFP Refused To Disclose Spending On Its Anti-Ross Effort, Simply Stating It Would Be “Substantial.” According to Buzzfeed, “A spokesman for the group declined to give specifics on spending but called the effort ‘substantial.’ Other than the mailers, AFP will have more than a dozen full-time staff plus part time staff and volunteers knocking doors and making phone calls in the state. The group does not have plans to air ads yet. However, an outside group linked to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell is taking the lead on that front.” [Buzzfeed, [9/6/16](#)]

Americans For Prosperity Has Spent At Least \$438,468 Against Deborah Ross. According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC Calendar Year-To-Date Per Election for Office Sought total, Americans for Prosperity has spent \$438,468.68 in opposition to Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/23/16](#)]

- **AFP Reported Paying Innovative Advertising Over \$35,000 For A “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ad In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Innovative Advertising \$36,105.51 on 9/22/2016 for a “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ad in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/23/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Spending Over \$60,000 On Postage For A “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ad In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying the U.S. Postal Service \$62,825.15 on 9/22/2016 for postage for a “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ad in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/23/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Innovative Advertising Over \$7,500 For Door Hangers In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Innovative Advertising \$7,537 on 9/16/2016 for Door Hangers in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/22/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Spending Over \$25,000 On Staff Salaries In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported spending \$26,005.76 on 9/19/2016 on staff salaries in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/21/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Spending Nearly \$2,500 On Canvassing Expenses In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported spending \$2,484.00 on 9/19/2016 on canvassing expenses in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/21/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Innovative Advertising Nearly \$40,000 For “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ads In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Innovative Advertising \$38,718.42 on 9/15/2016 for “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail

ads in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/16/16](#)]

- **AFP Reported Paying Over \$60,000 For Postage On “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ads In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying the U.S. Postal Service \$62,848.83 on 9/15/2016 for postage on “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ads in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/16/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Ajilon Professional Staffing Over \$1,000 For Phone Banking In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Ajilon Professional Staffing \$1,126.40 on 9/15/2016 for phone banking in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/16/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Cornerstone Staffing Over \$1,000 For Phone Banking In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Cornerstone Staffing \$1,126.40 on 9/15/2016 for phone banking in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/16/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Innovative Advertising Over \$34,000 For “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ads In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Innovative Advertising \$34,050.00 on 9/09/2016 for “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ads in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/09/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Over \$55,000 For Postage On “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ads In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying the U.S. Postal Service \$55,649.59 on 9/09/2016 for postage on “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ads in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/09/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Spending Nearly \$20,000 On Staff Salaries In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported spending \$18,204.03 on 9/08/2016 on staff salaries in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/09/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Spending Over \$2,000 On Canvassing Expenses In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported spending \$2,088.00 on 9/08/2016 on canvassing expenses in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/09/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Innovative Advertising Over \$34,000 For “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ads In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying Innovative Advertising \$34,050.00 on 8/31/2016 for “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ads in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/02/16](#)]
- **AFP Reported Paying Over \$55,000 For Postage On “Ross Keeping NC Down” Mail Ads In Opposition To Deborah Ross.** According to a 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying the U.S. Postal Service \$55,649.59 on 8/31/2016 for postage on “Ross Keeping NC Down” mail ads in opposition to North Carolina senate candidate Deborah Ross. [Americans for Prosperity 48 Hour Independent Expenditure Report – FEC, [9/02/16](#)]

KOCH PUPPET PAT MCCRORY ADMITTED SUPPORTING THE KOCH AGENDA AND EMPOWERED KEY KOCH FIGURES IN HIS ADMINISTRATION AND CAMPAIGNS

McCrory And AFP Acknowledged Their Policy Alignment

Pat McCrory On AFP: “There Are Areas Where We Just Agree To Disagree, But That Doesn't Mean I Won't Support Most Of What They're About.” According to an opinion by columnist John Grooms in Creative Loafing, “McCrory says that if he has linked up with Americans For Prosperity, ‘it's because I agree with them, particularly on three issues: taxes, education and energy exploration. There are areas where we just agree to disagree, but that doesn't mean I won't support most of what they're about. You know, about this notion that I'm positioning myself a certain way, I don't calculate based on opponents' - or potential opponents' - positions. I just don't do things that way; I don't worry about the other candidates. I only can control what I do, and I'm out there supporting the positions I believe in, not to please one group or another.” [John Grooms – Creative Loafing, [8/24/11](#)]

AFP President Tim Phillips Praised Pat McCrory As “A Great Governor” At The 2016 NC Civitas Conservative Leadership Conference. According to a recording of AFP President Tim Phillips at the NC Civitas Conservative Leadership Conference, “Every election is important but it's the long-term building and the battles that we have to win to genuinely move our country to prosperity and freedom for every American. And so this year, in 2016 as a movement, roll up our sleeve and let's go out and fight. But let's all make a solemn pledge to each other. That no matter what happens this year, that come January 2017, when the North Carolina legislative session convenes and when a new governor—excuse me, when the governor— Excuse me, want to be clear on that. This governor's been a good governor, a great governor.” [Tim Phillips – NC Civitas Conservative Leadership Conference, 3/4/16]

McCrory's Campaigns And Administration Were Managed By Koch Leadership

Art Pope Became McCrory's Budget Director After At Least \$40 Million Linked To His Stores Went To Political Donations And Groups Like AFP And Civitas. According to Democracy North Carolina, “Art Pope Is head of Roses and Maxway and now Gov. Pat McCrory's Budget Director[:] \$40 million linked to Pope's stores has gone to political donations and rightwing groups like Americans for Prosperity and Civitas. Pope's money put conservatives in charge of the legislature and elected Gov. Pat McCrory. Pope is now McCrory's Budget Director. Budget Director Pope helped pass laws that: • Cut aid to the jobless; fired teachers. • Cut early voting, make voting harder. • Cut taxes for rich, make the poor pay more. • Cut health services for women and kids. • Gut environmental & safety regulations. • End the Racial Justice Act for fair trials. • Raise interest rates on small loans. • Kill public campaign financing, so big private donors like Pope call the shots.” [Democracy North Carolina, [12/2/13](#)]

Jack Hawke Transitioned From Civitas Institute President, To Campaign Manager For Pat McCrory, To Civitas Senior Fellow, To Signing Up To Be Treasurer Of McCrory's Political-Action Committee. According to an article by Jane Mayer in The New Yorker, “Some officials at Civitas appear to shuttle frequently between ‘nonpartisan’ and partisan roles. In early February, 2008, Jack Hawke, a Republican political operative in the state, stepped down as president of the Civitas Institute; by the end of the month, he had signed on with the campaign of Pat McCrory, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, eventually becoming its manager. After McCrory lost, to Beverly Perdue, Hawke returned to Civitas, as a senior fellow. In January, 2010, Hawke signed a form indicating that he will become treasurer of McCrory's new political-action committee, which is widely seen as the first step toward a rematch of the 2008 governor's race. Hawke is currently an unpaid senior fellow at Civitas. ‘Jack Hawke's serial involvement in Civitas and the McCrory campaign is no accident,’ Marc Farinella, the Democratic campaign consultant, said. ‘Pope has used the federal tax code to create a massive campaign apparatus that is only thinly disguised as a collection of benign, civic-minded nonprofit groups.’ Hawke did not respond to interview requests.” [Jane Mayer – New Yorker, 10/10/11]

LIBRE's North Carolina Field Director Was Previously A Member Of Pat McCrory's Advisory Council of Hispanic/Latino Affairs. According to the LIBRE Initiative website, “Vanessa Faura[-] North Carolina Field Director

[...]She spent seven years working for Wells Fargo Bank in wholesale finance. In July 2013, Faura was appointed to North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory's Advisory Council of Hispanic/Latino Affairs." [LIBRE Initiative, [9/26/16](#)]

AFP VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED MCCRORY'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KOCH AGENDA

AFP Sent Mail Ads And Launched Petitions In Support Of McCrory's Tax Cuts, Pushing The Message That Opponents Were Engaging In "Class Warfare" And Running Down The American Dream

AFP Promoted McCrory's Repeal Of The Estate Tax

AFP Sought Petition Signatures Thanking Gov. McCrory For Cutting Individual Income Taxes Two Years In A Row, Repealing The "Death Tax," And Increasing The Zero Tax Bracket. According to a page on the Americans for Prosperity website, "Individual Income Taxes Cut! Individual income taxes cut for two years in a row[.] Death Tax Repealed! 'Death tax' repealed, which protects family-farms[.] Increased Zero Tax Bracket! Increased 'zero tax bracket' to help low-income singles and married couples[.] Join us in saying Thank You by signing our petition below!" [Americans for Prosperity, [7/21/16](#)]

- **AFP Defined The "Death Tax" As A Measure "Which Protects Family-Farms."** According to a page on the Americans for Prosperity website, "Individual Income Taxes Cut! Individual income taxes cut for two years in a row[.] Death Tax Repealed! 'Death tax' repealed, which protects family-farms[.] Increased Zero Tax Bracket! Increased 'zero tax bracket' to help low-income singles and married couples[.] Join us in saying Thank You by signing our petition below!" [Americans for Prosperity, [7/21/16](#)]

AFP Promoted McCrory's Tax Cuts In Mail Campaigns And With Petition Drives

AFP Sent Mailers Lauding Gov. McCrory For Cutting The Income Tax. According to a tweet by NC Political Mail, "New mail piece from Americans for Prosperity. Found in North Mecklenburg County #ncpol[.]" The tweet included pictures of literature which directed recipients to "Call Gov. McCrory at 919-814-2000[.] tell him thanks for cutting my income taxes!" [NC Political Mail, [7/18/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC Launched A Direct Mail Campaign To "Hundreds Of Thousands Of Households" Thanking Gov. Pat Mccrory For Cutting Taxes, Noting That The Announcement Came Just Two Days After The Unveiling Of Similar Door Hangers.** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, "Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina launched a direct mail effort to hundreds of thousands of households thanking Gov. Pat McCrory cutting more than \$4.4 billion in taxes since 2013. The announcement comes two days after the grassroots advocacy group unveiled similar door hangers that it is hand delivering to tens of thousands of households in personal conversations every week." [Americans for Prosperity, [8/25/16](#)]

AFP Launched A Petition To Thank Gov. McCrory For Cutting Income Taxes Three Times Since 2013: "Since Gov. McCrory Took Office In 2013, North Carolina Has Led The Southeast With 300,000 New Jobs Created And The Largest Per-Capita Income Growth In The United States." According to a page on the Americans for Prosperity website, "North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory has cut income taxes three times since 2013, reducing the statewide rate to 5.49% and increasing the standard deduction to \$17,500 by 2017. How has that worked out for working people? Since Gov. McCrory took office in 2013, North Carolina has led the Southeast with 300,000 new jobs created and the largest per-capita income growth in the United States. Rapid GDP growth, a \$425 million budget surpluses and lower unemployment in all 100 counties have solidified the state as the emerging economic powerhouse of the East coast. Take time to thank Gov. Pat McCrory for three tax cuts today." [Americans for Prosperity, [7/27/16](#)]

- **AFP Also Launched Separate "Say Thanks For Three Tax Cuts" Petitions Thanking North Carolina Senator Chad Barefoot And North Carolina Representatives Jonathan Jordan And Susan Martin.** [Americans for Prosperity, [7/27/16](#); [7/27/16](#); [7/27/16](#)]

AFP-NC Recirculated Its Petition To Thank Gov. McCrory For Cutting Taxes. According to a tweet by AFP-NC, “Since 2013, NC led southeast with 300k new jobs & \$425 million budget surplus. <http://buff.ly/2barXI9> #NCGA #NCPOL[.]” The tweet linked to AFP’s petition to thank Gov. McCrory for cutting taxes. [AFP-NC - Twitter, [8/15/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC Responded To An Op-Ed Rejecting “A Central Narrative In The Re-Election Campaign Of Gov. Pat McCrory,” That NC Was “Undergoing A Robust Economic Recovery Brought About By Hard Policy Choices,” Responding That It Was “Completely False” That NC Had “Subpar Job Growth And Elevated Joblessness.”** According to a tweet by AFP-NC, “Big lie in @NewsObserver today: NC has ‘subpar job growth and elevated joblessness.’ Completely false.” The tweet linked to an opinion by South by North Strategies Ltd principal John Quintero in the News & Observer which stated “The claim that North Carolina is undergoing a robust economic recovery brought about by hard policy choices has become a central narrative in the re-election campaign of Gov. Pat McCrory. Yet if North Carolina’s recovery is so robust, why is public enthusiasm for the ‘Carolina Comeback’ so hard to find? Ultimately, the lack of popular acclaim for the ‘Carolina Comeback’ is due to its failure to raise the incomes and living standards of most North Carolinians. [...] Because most households derive almost all of their incomes through paid work, falling incomes are intertwined with a statewide labor market defined by subpar job growth and elevated joblessness, which are factors that drive down wages.” [AFP-NC - Twitter, [8/15/16](#)]

AFP’s National President And North Carolina Communications Director Wrote Off Opposition To Tax Cuts Favoring The Wealthy As “Class Warfare” Motivated By Envy, Suggested Those Who Disagreed Were Un-American

AFP President Tim Phillips Claimed That The Democratic Presidential Candidates’ Were Engaging In “Class Warfare” And Accused Them Of “Running Down The American Dream.” According to AFP President Tim Phillips in an interview on TWCN, “I hear Bernie Sanders and even Hillary Clinton doing this class warfare argument and trying to pick villains—‘Oh, it’s the banks or Wall Street’ and all these different villains they want to pick. What they’re really doing, though, Loretta, is running down the American dream. They’re trying to say it’s rigged and doesn’t work and they’re wrong. Economic opportunity and freedom and individual liberty, that’s the American dream. It’s not a government program and so that’s certainly our message in North Carolina.” [Tim Phillips – TWCN, [3/4/16](#)]

AFP-NC Communications Director Joseph Kyzer Dismissed Concerns About Tax Cuts For The One Percent As “Lazy Politics” And Endorsed The Argument That Criticism Emanated From “A Class Envy Type Of Bullet Point That The Left Uses” Designed To “Create An Emotional Response But It’s Just Not True.” According to an interview on Freedom Action Network, “[Host:] I just think the point that needs to be made—and I’m glad that you guys are out there knockin’ on doors and meeting people all over the state, letting them know that these tax reforms are for everybody in North Carolina. They’re not just for ‘the wealthy 1%’ and I love— that’s just such a class envy type of bullet point that the left uses. ‘Class envy. Tax reform for the wealthy.’ You know, it just kind of makes people get mad. ‘Well, you know, I’m not wealthy; they’re not helping me.’ And that’s all that’s designed to do is create an emotional response but it’s just not true. [Joseph Kyzer:] And it’s lazy politics. And it’s unfortunate that that’s the approach because obviously there’s no solution embedded in there if your solution is just ‘Well, just take more from those folks.’” [Freedom Action Network, [8/9/16](#)]

- **Kyzer Condemned “Class Divisive Politics,” “Whether It’s Men And Women Or By Race Or By Income,” As A Distraction From “Real Solutions” And “Not What America’s About.”** According to an interview on Freedom Action Network, “[Joseph Kyzer:] And it’s lazy politics. And it’s unfortunate that that’s the approach because obviously there’s no solution embedded in there if your solution is just ‘Well, just take more from those folks.’ I would ask you this: That if you consider people and where they grew up on a spectrum— You know, I grew up, my parents were teachers. My mom got into real estate a little but mostly they were teachers, middle class. Went to a good public school but didn’t have the opportunities to go to great private schools but wasn’t stuck in a really bad inner city school. My parents really cared a lot about my education. So I could have looked at ‘Some people have a lot of things I don’t. You know, some people really—their parents had a lot more and offered a lot more resources; they got to take a lot more summers and more camps and—’ but, you know, a lot of people had a lot less than me. And I was taught to work as hard as I could for what I wanted and not look and see ‘Well, they have less and they have more.’ And that’s what I really dislike about that class divisive politics where, whether it’s men and women or by race or by income is we don’t talk about the real solutions and I think anyone could look at the spectrum and say they were disadvantaged compared to others or they were advantaged compared to someone else. That’s not what America’s

about. It's about making the best of what you have for you, the people you love and for the country." [Freedom Action Network, [8/9/16](#)]

AFP Defended McCrory Cutting The Amount Of Time Laid Off Workers Could Receive Assistance

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Defended Gov. Pat McCrory's 2013 Unemployment Benefit Cuts: "Unemployment Insurance Is A Safety Net But It's Not The End; It's Not Where We Want People To Be."

According to the Associated Press, "Unemployment insurance is a safety net but it's not the end; it's not where we want people to be. What we want is for people to go back to work," said Donald Bryson, North Carolina director of the Americans for Prosperity, a free-market activist group backed by conservative billionaires Charles and David Koch. The unemployment benefit cuts freed companies to shift from paying off the debt to hiring additional employees, Bryson said." [Associated Press, [4/7/16](#)]

- **Only About One In Nine Laid-Off NC Workers Got Assistance After McCrory And The General Assembly Cut Unemployment Benefits.** According to the Associated Press, "Three-year-old unemployment benefit cuts mean only about one out of nine laid-off workers in North Carolina get help paying their bills until they can get back on their feet, according to federal data highlighted Thursday by advocates for better benefits. North Carolina has added jobs steadily since the Great Recession and the statewide unemployment rate is down to 5.5 percent, compared with the national 4.9 percent rate. But workers who become jobless now face a more difficult time than they did before the General Assembly and Gov. Pat McCrory cut the amount of unemployment benefits, weeks of aid and who qualifies, said Bill Rowe of the North Carolina Justice Center, a left-leaning Raleigh think tank." [Associated Press, [4/7/16](#)]

AFP'S TEA PARTY CAMPAIGNING LAUNCHED MCCRORY'S GUBERNATORIAL CAREER

McCrory Signed An AFP Tea Party Pledge During His First Run For Governor

AFP Praised Pat McCrory For Signing A Spending Limits Pledge During His 2008 Run For Governor As He Set To Participate In Its "Take Back Our State Coalition Rally" And AFP Encouraged "A Second Tax Revolt" Across The Country. According to an Americans for Prosperity press release via Targeted News Service, "Americans for Prosperity issued the following news release: Charlotte Mayor and Gubernatorial Candidate Pat McCrory, who has signed a pledge to support spending restraint, will address the Americans for Prosperity sponsored Take Back Our State Coalition Rally, on Wednesday June 25th at Halifax Mall in downtown Raleigh. The rally is free and will begin at 4:30 PM, with Mr. McCrory expected to speak after 6:00 PM. Mayor McCrory will join hundreds of free market grassroots activists, former Senator Bob Dole, former Maryland Lt. Gov. Michael Steele and members of the Take Back Our State Coalition. TABOR is just one of the issues supported by the Take Back Our State Coalition. (For a full list visit www.takebackourstate.org) 'Americans for Prosperity is committed to placing common sense limits on the growth of government that reflect the budget limits American families must live by everyday,' said AFP-NC State Director Dallas Woodhouse. 'A second tax revolt is sweeping the country and we are encouraged to see that gubernatorial candidate Pat McCrory is joining the fight by pledging to support spending limits.'" [Americans for Prosperity, 6/20/08]

- **AFP Was The Main Sponsor Of The "Take Back Our State" Rally.** According to the Charlotte Observer, "The event is scheduled to feature Charlotte Mayor and Republican gubernatorial candidate Pat McCrory, former U.S. Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas and a two-ton fake pig named 'Ten Pence.' Americans for Prosperity, an anti-tax group, is the main sponsor of the 'Take Back Our State Rally.'" [Charlotte Observer, 6/21/08]

2009: McCrory Starred In AFP's Misleading "Hands Off My Health Care" Tour

AFP Promoted Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory As The Best Person "To Help Generate A Dialogue About Free Market Health Care Solutions" And Oppose A "Complete Government Takeover Of Our Health Care." According to the Enquirer-Journal, "Patients First will have a reception and dinner with Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory on July 22 at the Jesse Helms Center, 3910 Highway 74 East. Patients First opposes any government takeover of American health care and supports expanding health insurance options focused on patients. 'With his extensive experience in both the public and private sectors, we can't think of a better person to help generate a dialogue about free market health care solutions than Charlotte

Mayor Pat McCrory,' Americans for Prosperity State Director Dallas Woodhouse said in a press release. 'Mayor Pat McCrory knows America needs real health care reform focused on delivering affordable, quality choices to all Americans. He also knows that a complete government takeover of our health care will hurt American patients by delaying - and denying - critical treatments.'" [Enquirer-Journal, 7/15/09]

Mayor Pat McCrory Was "The Star" Of AFP's Anti-Healthcare Reform Event Promoting Death Panel Conspiracies.

According to the Myrtle Beach Sun-News, "The 350 people who packed into the club room were given fans that bore a drawing of a hand and the slogan: 'Hands Off My Health Care.' They heard speeches and watched videos comparing proposals by Obama and the Democrats to national health care plans in England and Canada. They were told to expect long waits to see doctors or undergo surgery, or even having 'government bureaucrats' tell you whether you can have access to life-saving medicine. One video featured a news report from an Oregon TV station: A patient with advanced cancer was denied an experimental \$4,000-per-month cancer drug but was told about the state's assisted suicide option law. 'Politicians want to control who lives and who dies,' said Dallas Woodhouse, the head of the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity, a Raleigh-based conservative advocacy group that plans a bus tour across the state in August to generate opposition to Obama's proposal. Participants were asked to focus their lobbying on Hagan and Democratic Reps. Larry Kissell and Bob Etheridge, who are seen as on the fence. The star of the event was Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory, who was the GOP nominee for governor last year and who might run again in 2012." [Myrtle Beach Sun-News, 7/25/09]

N.C. Policy Watch Director Chris Fitzsimon: McCrory's DMV-Fixed Attack On Government Competency And AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse's Claim That "Politicians Want To Control Who Lives And Dies" Misled People Into Thinking That The Proposed Public Health-Care Option Meant "A Government Takeover Of Health Care." According to an opinion by N.C. Policy Watch executive director Chris Fitzsimon in The Pilot, "The most-often quoted soundbite from McCrory's remarks was his question, 'Have you ever gone to a DMV office lately?' -- the newest twist on misleading people into thinking that the proposed public health-care option means a government takeover of health care. Putting aside that most people with Medicare, a government health-care program, are happy with it, wonder how McCrory would compare the DMV with a private insurance company whose objective is to make a profit. It is in the company's best interest to deny care to people with a chronic illness or other pre-existing condition. You may have to wait a while at DMV, but you will get your driver's license eventually, even if you have had a speeding ticket or two. McCrory's too-clever rhetoric was topped by Dallas Woodhouse, the head of the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity, who proclaimed that 'politicians want to control who lives and dies.' Woodhouse moved the debate from misleading to offensive, questioning not only the reform proposal, but the motivation of the people behind it. Having a public option for people to choose instead of a private plan doesn't mean politicians will be in charge of anything if the reform proposal passes Congress." [Chris Fitzsimon – The Pilot, 8/2/09]

- **Fitzsimon: "Woodhouse Apparently Would Rather Have An Insurance Company Whose First Allegiance Is To Profit And Shareholders Making Decisions About What Drug Or Procedure To Cover."** According to an opinion by N.C. Policy Watch executive director Chris Fitzsimon in The Pilot, "McCrory's too-clever rhetoric was topped by Dallas Woodhouse, the head of the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity, who proclaimed that 'politicians want to control who lives and dies.' Woodhouse moved the debate from misleading to offensive, questioning not only the reform proposal, but the motivation of the people behind it. Having a public option for people to choose instead of a private plan doesn't mean politicians will be in charge of anything if the reform proposal passes Congress. Woodhouse apparently would rather have an insurance company whose first allegiance is to profit and shareholders making decisions about what drug or procedure to cover." [Chris Fitzsimon – The Pilot, 8/2/09]

The AFP-Hosted Event McCrory Joined Opposed "Any Government Intrusion Into American Health Care."

According to the Charlotte Observer, "Tonight Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory is scheduled to speak at an event sponsored by opponents, according to organizers. The Patients First Tour, which according to a press release 'opposes any government intrusion into American health care and supports expanding health insurance options focused on patients,' is hosted by Americans for Prosperity, the organization behind this year's taxpayer tea parties." [Charlotte Observer, 7/22/09]

2009 Headline: "PolitiFact's Lie Of The Year: 'Death Panels.'" [PolitiFact, [12/18/09](#)]

- **PolitiFact: The Charge Was Raised Repeatedly During August Town Hall Meetings, Highlighting Partisan Divisions And Exciting The Republican Base To Mobilize A Vocal Opposition With Independent Polling Showing Nearly A Third Of The Public Believed Death Panels Were Part Of Health Care Reform.** According to PolitiFact, "The charge was raised repeatedly during August town hall meetings. The claim particularly caught the attention of seniors, said John Rother, a health policy expert with the AARP. 'That's who's most sensitive to any suggestion of denial of necessary care or being told you can't get the care you need from your doctor,' he said. The town hall meetings highlighted the partisan divisions when it came to death panels. The claim, along with the Tea Party movement, excited the Republican base to mobilize a vocal opposition, Rother said. 'If your start-out stance is being distrustful of government, then this fit right into your worldview.' Though nonpartisan, AARP has generally supported Democratic efforts to pass health care legislation. Two independent polls showed that about 30 percent of the public believed death panels were part of health care reform, both the week after Palin made the comment and a month later." [PolitiFact, [12/8/09](#)]

2010 Headline: "PolitiFact's Lie Of The Year: 'A Government Takeover Of Health Care.'" [PolitiFact, [12/16/10](#)]

- **PolitiFact: The Lie "Played An Important Role In Shaping Public Opinion About The Health Care Plan."** According to PolitiFact, "PolitiFact editors and reporters have chosen 'government takeover of health care' as the 2010 Lie of the Year. Uttered by dozens of politicians and pundits, it played an important role in shaping public opinion about the health care plan and was a significant factor in the Democrats' shellacking in the November elections." [PolitiFact, [12/16/10](#)]
- **PolitiFact: "It Is Inaccurate To Call The Plan A Government Takeover Because It Relies Largely On The Existing System Of Health Coverage Provided By Employers" And Was "At Its Heart, A System That Relies On Private Companies And The Free Market."** According to PolitiFact, "PolitiFact reporters have studied the 906-page bill and interviewed independent health care experts. We have concluded it is inaccurate to call the plan a government takeover because it relies largely on the existing system of health coverage provided by employers. It's true that the law does significantly increase government regulation of health insurers. But it is, at its heart, a system that relies on private companies and the free market." [PolitiFact, [12/16/10](#)]
- **UNC-Chapel Hill Professor Of Health Policy Jonathan Oberlander: "The Label 'Government Takeover' Has No Basis In Reality, But Instead Reflects A Political Dynamic Where Conservatives Label Any Increase In Government Authority In Health Care As A 'Takeover.'"** According to PolitiFact, "The phrase is simply not true. Said Jonathan Oberlander, a professor of health policy at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill: 'The label "government takeover" has no basis in reality, but instead reflects a political dynamic where conservatives label any increase in government authority in health care as a "takeover."' [PolitiFact, [12/16/10](#)]

McCrory Spoke At AFP's "Take Back Our State" Rally, Which Advocated "Family Friendly Legislation" Against Marriage Equality And Reproductive Freedom

The Koch Network Claimed To Focus On Economic Issues And Not Social Issues

AFP President Tim Phillips: The Kochs "Practice What They Preach;" "The Mission Is Clear, Which Is Promote Economic Freedom... Don't Do Social Issues." According to a PBS transcript obtained via a Google cache, "TP: Well, I serve at the behest of the board, uh, you know we're anon-profit [*sic*], a C3, and then there's a C4 component, Art Pope is our C4 who Rachel also mentioned in the interviews, David Koch is our C3 chairman. So I serve at behest of the board, so in the end I would be, um, accountable, to the board, to them, but they don't, they're business folks. They practice what they preach, which is to decentralization, delegation, and giving people the opportunity to go out and create and grow, as long as it's on mission. The mission is clear, which is promote economic freedom, to us that means taxes, regulations, spending, school choice, you know core economic issues, don't do social issues, don't do foreign policy, don't do, um, other things, extraneous

items, and as long as I'm within that mission, and having outcomes that are good, then, we kind of run the show.”
[Independent Lens – PBS, [4/19/12](#)]

Aegis Strategic President And Former AFP-CO Director Jeff Crank: “You’ve Never Seen AFP Talk About Guns Or Any Of The Social Issues Or Immigration.” According to Al Jazeera, “‘The Second Amendment is an issue we don’t talk about,’ [AFP regional director Dustin] Zvonek said. [Aegis Strategic president and former AFP-CO director Jeff] Crank said such issues don’t fit in with the economic freedom mantra of AFP and the Koch brothers. ‘You’ve never seen AFP talk about guns or any of the social issues or immigration,’ he said. ‘There’ve been a lot of attempts to get them involved in other things, and they’ve always resisted it.’” [Al Jazeera, [8/2/14](#)]

AFP Led A Coalition Pushing For Legislation Opposing Reproductive Freedom And Marriage Equality Under The Guise Of Protecting Families, Seeking To “Take Back Our State” With Candidates Like McCrory

McCrory Spoke At AFP’s “Take Back Our State” Rally. According to an Americans for Prosperity press release via Targeted News Service, “Americans for Prosperity issued the following news release: Hundreds of grassroots activists from across North Carolina converged on the General Assembly to highlight issues that North Carolina State Legislative Leaders have refused to address. ‘As the Legislative session comes to a close, our elected government officials have let us down,’ said Dallas Woodhouse, State Director of Americans for Prosperity. ‘[...] We in the Take Back Our State Coalition strive to Take Back the State for those who are not being heard at the General Assembly.’ Speakers for the event included: Charlotte Mayor and candidate for Governor Pat McCrory, Former U.S. Senator Bob Dole, Former Maryland Lt. Gov. Michael Steele, grassroots members of Americans for Prosperity, and members of the Take Back Our State Coalition.” [Americans for Prosperity, 6/25/08]

AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse Bemoaned “Family Friendly Legislation” Opposing Abortion Rights And Same Sex Marriage Being “Sent To Die By Legislative Leaders.” According to an Americans for Prosperity press release via Targeted News Service, “‘For years those of us calling for conservative solutions to North Carolina’s challenges have been shut out of the process,’ said Woodhouse. ‘Parents that are desperate for more charter schools can’t get a vote. Family friendly legislation is sent to die by legislative leaders. Taxes have been raised almost every year this decade. The budget is growing by nearly 10% each year and the size of our government is getting larger not smaller. We contend this is not the North Carolina most citizens want.’ Speakers at the event asserted that citizens in North Carolina now have less individual freedom than at any time in our state’s history, and that conservative and libertarian solutions to problems are not getting a fair hearing at the General Assembly. The group pointed out that issues that are very popular with the public have not been given a fair and final up or down vote including: state spending limits, more charter schools and school choice, annexation and eminent domain reform, the unborn victims of violence act and traditional marriage amendment.” [Americans for Prosperity, 6/25/08]

- **AFP’s “Take Back Our State Coalition” Recommended Passing Anti-Abortion Legislation And A Vote On The “Traditional Marriage Constitutional Amendment” In Order To “Protect Our Families.”** According to an Americans for Prosperity press release via Targeted News Service, “Recommendations of the Take Back Our State Coalition[.] [...] Protect our Families * Defend the sanctity of life by passing the ‘Unborn Victims of Violence Act’; and * Allow citizens to vote on the ‘Traditional Marriage Constitutional Amendment.’” [Americans for Prosperity, 6/25/08]

McCrory Helped The Kochs Campaign To Keep North Carolina Open To Dark Money Influence

AFP’s “Take Back Our State Coalition” Recommended The End Of Publicly Financed Elections. According to an Americans for Prosperity press release via Targeted News Service, “Recommendations of the Take Back Our State Coalition[.] [...] Election and Transparency * Improve third party ballot access, including more fair and simple ways for the Libertarian/Green parties to compete for votes; * End forced taxpayer support of elected officials (publicly financed elections); and * Open government from the courthouse to the statehouse.” [Americans for Prosperity, 6/25/08]

AFP “Had Former Charlotte Mayor And Republican Candidate For Governor Pat McCrory Record A Robocall Against” A Provision Which Included A Broad Expansion Of Publicly Funded Campaigns For Statewide Elected Officials. According to the News & Observer, “‘They’re going to have to defend that,’ said Dallas Woodhouse, state director of Americans for Prosperity, a libertarian advocacy group. ‘It makes it harder to pass things like taxpayer-funded elections.’

Woodhouse was referring to a proposal that was originally attached to the Senate's ethics reforms. The provision would have included a broad expansion of publicly funded campaigns for statewide elected officials. The provision died almost immediately after Woodhouse's group had former Charlotte mayor and Republican candidate for governor Pat McCrory record a robocall against it." [News & Observer, 7/11/10]

News & Observer: AFP "Successfully Torpedoed" The Proposal, Which Was Stripped From The Bill After McCrory's Recording "Portrayed It As An Effort By Democrats To Impose A Tax Increase On Small Businesses In The Midst Of A Recession." According to the News & Observer, "The calls come a week after a similar effort by the group successfully torpedoed a public campaign financing provision in an ethics bill under consideration in the state Senate. The proposal was stripped from the bill after a recording by Pat McCrory, the former Charlotte mayor and 2008 Republican candidate for governor, portrayed it as an effort by Democrats to impose a tax increase on small businesses in the midst of a recession." [News & Observer, 6/29/10]

2010: McCrory Was The Featured Speaker At AFP's "November Is Coming" Bus Tour In Fayetteville, Appearing At Other Stops And Making Robocalls To Promote The Tour

McCrory's Regular Appearances At AFP Rallies Positioned Him To Win The Governorship

Pat McCrory Began The 2012 Election Cycle In A Strong Position After Regular Appearances At AFP Rallies And Calling For An Arizona-Style Immigration Law At The State GOP Convention. According to the News & Observer, "Former Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory begins the new election cycle in a strong position to capture the Republican nomination again. No Republican comes close to garnering his level of support, according to a recent survey by Public Policy Polling, a Raleigh firm with Democratic leanings. And more important, McCrory is doing particularly well among party conservatives - a group that at one time viewed him warily because of his Charlotte background and support for a transit tax. But McCrory has worked hard to win over the GOP conservative base during the past year. He has appeared regularly at rallies by Americans for Prosperity, a group with close ties to Raleigh businessman Art Pope. McCrory was also a featured speaker at the state GOP convention during the summer, where he called for the passage of an Arizona-style law regarding illegal immigrants." [News & Observer, 12/8/10]

- **Observer Editorial Page Editor Tim White: Pat McCrory "Started Shilling For Americans For Prosperity."** According to an opinion by Observer editorial page editor Tim White in the Fayetteville Observer, "Which leads me to ask: Have you stopped answering your phone at home? I sure have. I don't pick it up until I've looked at the caller ID and know if it's safe. My calls are running about 5-to-1 politicians and telemarketers lately and I am sick to death of Pat McCrory's recorded voice, even though I actually liked the guy before he started shilling for Americans for Prosperity, the wholly owned subsidiary of Koch Industries and Triangle conservative [businessman] Art Pope." [Tim White – Fayetteville Observer, 10/10/10]
- **Columnist John Grooms: Pat McCrory Attached Himself To Americans For Prosperity "Like A Barnacle."** According to an opinion by columnist John Grooms in Creative Loafing, "Three groups with strong links to Pope - Civitas Action, Americans for Prosperity (to which, by the way, Pat McCrory has attached himself like a barnacle), and Real Jobs NC - led the aggressive effort. AFP spent more than \$600,000 on nine state races; Civitas Action, a spin-off of Pope's Civitas Institute, threw just under \$200,000 at 11 races; and Real Jobs NC, which received \$200,000 from Pope's Variety Stores, poured \$1.5 million into the targeted state races." [John Grooms – Creative Loafing, [11/30/10](#)]

AFP's "November Is Coming" Launched With A McCrory Speech In Rockingham. According to the Richmond County Daily Journal, "The Americans for Prosperity's 'November is Coming' Bus Tour will Kick-off Labor Day by equipping citizens to educate others about area politicians and their big government spending positions. The purpose of the tour across the second, seventh and eighth congressional districts is to expose the voting records of Congressman Bob Etheridge, Mike McIntyre, Larry Kissell and other politicians. The tour's first stop is Monday in Rockingham at 12 p.m., but the location has yet to be announced. Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory will be speaking at the event." [Richmond County Daily Journal, 9/1/10]

- **Amidst Speculation That He Would Run For Governor In 2012, McCrory Was The Featured Speaker At AFP's "November Is Coming" Bus Tour In Fayetteville.** According to the Fayetteville Observer, "Americans for Prosperity is bringing its 'November is Coming' bus tour to Fayetteville on Labor Day. The national advocacy group

based in Washington promotes free-market enterprises. It has been critical of President Obama's agenda. 'Left-wing policies continue to drive Obama's agenda for even bigger government,' the group says in a petition to Congress that can be signed online. 'We want you to oppose big government programs or any other freedom-killing policies, or we will remember in November.' The tour and town hall-style meeting is Sept. 6 at 7 p.m. at the Crown Expo Center. Pat McCrory, the former mayor of Charlotte who may run for governor again in 2012, will be the featured speaker." [Fayetteville Observer, 8/30/10]

- **McCrory Joined AFP In Laurinburg, Attacking AFP's Targeted Candidate.** According to the Laurinburg Exchange, "Conservative group Americans for Prosperity had a stark message for embattled Democrats – 'November is coming.' Close to 30 people attended the 'November is Coming' bus rally sponsored by Americans of Prosperity, or AFP, at the National Guard Armory in Laurinburg on Monday. 'We're here to educate people on the record of (US Rep Larry) Kissell's support for the stimulus bill (and) his support of Nancy Pelosi for speaker,' said AFP North Carolina State Director Dallas Woodhouse. [...] The event, in which several conservative speakers criticized Kissell, also featured an appearance by his Republican foe, retired sports newscaster Harold Johnson. Johnson did not speak at the event, but former Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory made sure to point out the challenger when he was at the podium." [Laurinburg Exchange, 9/7/10]
- **McCrory Spoke At AFP's "Spending Revolt National Bus Tour" In Charlotte And Made Automated Calls To Promote The Tour.** According to the News & Observer, "The Spending Revolt National Bus Tour is making its way across North Carolina this week. Sponsored by Americans for Prosperity and other conservative groups, the tour has been traveling the country this election season calling for a reduction in spending - and hoping to fire up conservatives. [...] Speakers include Dallas Woodhouse, state director of Americans for Prosperity, and Francis De Luca, president of the Civitas Institute. Former Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory, the 2008 GOP Republican nominee for governor, is making automated calls inviting people to the event. McCrory, who is expected to make another gubernatorial bid in 2012, spoke at the Charlotte stop." [News & Observer, 9/28/10]

2011-12: McCrory Led AFP's Legislative Push Against The ACA, Regulations, Abortion Access And Voting Rights With Koch Groups Supporting His Campaign Against Efforts To Reduce Racial Disparities In Criminal Justice

McCrory Laid The Groundwork For His Campaign Starring In AFP Robocalls Supporting Legislation To Dismantle The ACA

AFP Sponsored A McCrory Robocall And Digital Ad Rousing Up Support For An Override Of Gov. Perdue's Veto Of A General Assembly Bill To Dismantle The ACA. According to The Hotline, "In a 'prelude' to the '12 GOV race, '08 nominee/ex-Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory(R) 'is trying to drum up support for a legislative override to' Gov. Bev Perdue's (D) 'veto of the health care bill.' McCrory 'has recorded an audio message asking voters to contact to their lawmakers and ask them to override the veto.' The message is paid for by Americans for Prosperity, and McCrory has 'toured the state with the group,' speaking out against the bill. 'The message is being sent to home telephones, and is also is being distributed over the Internet through the social media such as Facebook.' McCrory, in the message: 'A majority of states have challenged the worst parts of ObamaCare, and two federal judges have agreed that the bill is unconstitutional. The N.C. General Assembly overwhelmingly passed a bill to protect North Carolinians from a federal government to buy health insurance and other unconstitutional parts of Obamacare. However, after a trip to Washington and meetings with big government liberals including President Obama, Governor Perdue vetoed this common sense legislation.'" [The Hotline, 3/8/11]

- **News & Observer: The Message Was Viewed As A Likely Prelude To The Next Year's Governor's Race, In Which McCrory Was "Widely Expected" To Challenge Perdue.** According to the News & Observer, "In what is likely a prelude to next year's governor's race, former Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory tried to drum up support for an override with an audio message to voters. The message is being paid for by Americans for Prosperity, a conservative group that fought passage of the health care. McCrory had toured the state with the group, fighting the measure's passage. The message is being sent to home telephones, and is also is being distributed over the Internet through social media such as Facebook, Dallas Woodhouse, state director of Americans for Prosperity, said. McCrory, who lost to Perdue in 2008, is widely expected to challenge her next year." [News & Observer, 3/9/11]

McCrory Recorded Robocalls For AFP Urging Activists To Attend A General Assembly Session Where Republicans Would Attempt To Override Vetoes Of Bills Mandating Voter ID, Restricting Abortion And On Environmental Regulation. According to the Associated Press, “The reconvened session at the General Assembly begins Wednesday with the Senate voting on at least three bills that the Democratic governor vetoed in recent weeks. They include changes to medical malpractice litigation, how to regulate the environment and potential underground energy exploration and who resolves conflicts between state agencies and citizens and business. [...] House Speaker Thom Tillis, R-Mecklenburg, already has said his chamber plans to take an override vote on legislation that would mandate potential voters to show photo identification before they can cast an in-person ballot. But based on earlier votes, several House Democrats would need to switch sides to cancel the veto. Another House bill that would place time and medical restrictions on women before they could obtain an abortion would need one or two additional votes of support or Perdue's veto would be upheld. [...] Interest groups on both sides of vetoed bills plan to make their feelings known at separate Legislative Building rallies in advance of Wednesday's session. A coalition of campaign finance reform, civil rights and other groups will oppose the voter identification bill and other election changes it argues would discourage voting. The state chapter of Americans for Prosperity will urge on senators to override vetoes. Former Charlotte Mayor Pat McCrory, a potential 2012 gubernatorial opponent to Perdue after losing to her four years ago, is recording phone messages to urge activists to attend, state president Dallas Woodhouse said.” [Associated Press, 7/11/11]

Columnist John Grooms: In What “Some Saw As An Example Of Race-Baiting, McCrory Used White Conservatives’ Top Racial Boogeyman, The Voter Rights’ Group ACORN, To Scare Conservatives Into Action: ‘Hundreds Of ACORN-Type Organizers Are Descending On Our State In An Attempt To Influence The Election.’” According to an opinion by columnist John Grooms in Creative Loafing, “He linked up with the Pope nexus during his 2008 gubernatorial run, and then, after losing to Perdue, expanded the relationship. During the long, bitter health care reform fight in 2009, McCrory was a featured speaker during AFP sponsored ‘Hands Off My Health Care’ events. Since then, he has participated in various AFP efforts, including sending out e-mails and recording robo-calls - first, in favor of AFP’s unsuccessful attempt to override Perdue’s veto of a challenge to the federal health care reform law, and, most recently, pumping up support for an override of Perdue’s veto of the Voter ID bill. In one such message, which some saw as an example of race-baiting, McCrory used white conservatives’ top racial boogeyman, the voter rights’ group ACORN, to scare conservatives into action: ‘Hundreds of ACORN-type organizers are descending on our state in an attempt to influence the election.’” [John Grooms – Creative Loafing, 8/24/11]

Backed By Several Koch Groups, McCrory Campaigned On Upholding The Death Penalty, Asserting It Was Undermined By Allowing Inmates To Appeal A Death Sentence If Racial Bias In Jury Selection Was Proven

McCrory Campaigned Against The Racial Justice Act, Labelling The Bill Allowing Death-Row Inmates To Appeal Their Sentences Based On Statistical Evidence That There Was Racial Bias In The Jury Selection A “Joke” And A Thinly Disguised Effort To Undermine The Death Penalty. According to the News & Observer, “The Racial Justice Act, which allows death-row inmates to appeal their sentences based on statistical evidence that there was racial bias in the jury selection. The law was passed by the Democratic-controlled legislature in 2009, but was greatly modified – supporters say gutted – by the Republican legislature earlier this year. Dalton said McCrory’s opposition was another example of his racial insensitivity. But McCrory said nearly all the district attorneys in the state opposed the Racial Justice Act, and that it was a thinly disguised effort to undermine the death penalty. When McCrory referred to the measure as a ‘joke,’ Dalton said such language was exactly the reason African-Americans viewed him as insensitive.” [News & Observer, 10/16/12]

- **The Civitas Institute And The John Locke Foundation Were Consistently Critical Of The North Carolina Racial Justice Act, Allowing Inmates On Death Row To Convert A Death Sentence To Life In Prison Without Possibility Of Parole If Racial Bias Could Be Proven.** According to the American Independent, “Republicans in the General Assembly have never been supporters of the North Carolina Racial Justice Act, which allows inmates on death row to challenge their sentences if they can prove racial bias. The law allows that, if a judge determines through statistical evidence that race played a role in sentencing, an inmate’s death sentence can be changed to life in prison without possibility of parole. Republicans were unanimous in their opposition to the legislation, prior to the bill becoming law on August 11, 2009. GOP members argued that the measure would create a burden on the courts and serve as a backdoor effort to abolish the death penalty. Paul ‘Skip’ Stam, a key member of

the GOP leadership in the House, said the bill made it 'impossible to do the death penalty, because it requires county-by-county and district-by-district quotas.' Other conservative non-profit groups that work with Republicans, such as the Civitas Institute and the John Locke Foundation, have consistently been critical of the law." [American Independent, [12/14/10](#)]

- **AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse Disputed The Merits Of The Racial Justice Act At A Locke Foundation Luncheon.** According to the American Independent, "Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by the Locke Foundation on December 6, Woodhouse discussed Republican strategy leading up to the election and legislative priorities for the GOP, mentioning the Racial Justice Act specifically as something Republicans failed to convincingly argue against. 'Republicans were making the argument that ... because they passed this Racial Justice Act, people can challenge their death penalty sentences and they can get out of prison,' he told the group. 'And the Democrats said that is just a blatant lie, that is just not what the legislation says: 'The legislation says if they get off death row they have to be commuted to life in prison without parole.'" Woodhouse told the group that between 33 and 39 inmates on death row were sent there before the 1994 Truth in Sentencing Act, when the penalty for capital crimes was 20 years to life with the possibility of parole. 'If any of those 35 [inmates] change or challenge their stuff under Racial Justice Act and are taken off death row, they are eligible for parole,' he said. 'That is the law as it was at the time. So the Republicans did a horrible job having their facts right and explaining themselves.'" [American Independent, [12/14/10](#)]

AFP Claimed It Would Not Take A Position On The Death Penalty Before Fearmongering Against The Racial Justice Act With Falsehoods

AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse Claimed The Death Penalty Was "Not Really" An AFP Issue And They Would Not Be Advocating Either Way. According to the American Independent, "Speaking to the NC Independent, Woodhouse said, 'The death penalty, whether they have it or not, is not really an [Americans for Prosperity] issue. It's not something we'll be advocating for either way.' But when asked if the Racial Justice Act could be amended, Woodhouse replied, 'It is my anticipation that there will be full examination of crime and punishment, including the death penalty, in the next legislative session.' Woodhouse reiterated that he believed death row inmates could be paroled through the Racial Justice Act. 'I can promise you that their lawyers are going to be arguing for parole based on the old [pre-1994] sentencing guidelines,' he said." [American Independent, [12/14/10](#)]

- **AFP Advocated The Death Penalty For Inmate Tilman Golphin.** According to a tweet by AFP-NC, "Trooper Ed Lowry and Cumberland Deputy David Hathcock, were killed by Tilman Golphin, now that RJA is repealed maybe he will be excuted [*sic*] #ncga[.]" [AFP-NC – Twitter, [6/16/11](#)]

News & Observer: "State Senate President Pro Tem Phil Berger And The State Chapter Of Americans For Prosperity Want Everyone To Know That A Convicted Killer In Wayne County Was Taken Off Death Row Last Week And Could Be Eligible For Parole." According to the News & Observer, "State Senate President Pro Tem Phil Berger and the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity want everyone to know that a convicted killer in Wayne County was taken off death row last week and could be eligible for parole. 'Exactly why we said RJA is dangerous,' Berger's office tweeted Friday afternoon, referring to the Racial Justice Act. 'Killer taken off death row and made parole eligible,' tweeted ASP [*sic*]. Not only was this not a Racial Justice Act claim - Marvin Williams' death sentence was vacated because he is mentally disabled - but parole is not an option for inmates who succeed in getting off death row under the 2-year-old law, according to the way the law is written." [News & Observer, 10/16/12]

News & Observer: AFP-NC Actively Pushed "The Falsehood That The Racial Justice Act Would Parole Death Penalty Inmates." According to the News & Observer, "Republicans in the North Carolina General Assembly have never been supporters of the bill, and were unanimous in their opposition. Conservative activist groups came out to support Republican opposition, with some groups -- like Americans for Prosperity North Carolina -- actively pushing the falsehood that the Racial Justice Act would parole death penalty inmates." [News & Observer, 10/16/12]

AFP Criticized A Judge For Taking An Inmate Off Of Death Row, Blaming The Racial Justice Act And Claiming That The Judge Did So Saying He Was Eligible For Parole Because He Was Sentenced Before 1994. According to a tweet by AFP-NC, “Rep. were right on RJA. Judge takes killer off death row and says he eligible for parole b/c he was sentenced pre 1994[.]” [AFP-NC – Twitter, [2/2/12](#)]

- **The Inmate Was Spared Execution Because A 2001 Law Prohibited Execution Of Mentally Retarded Prisoners, With Multiple Tests Determining The Inmate Had An IQ Below 70.** AFP-NC’s tweet linked to an article by WRAL which read “A Goldsboro man on Thursday became the 17th prisoner to avoid the death penalty under a 2001 state law that prohibits the execution of mentally retarded prisoners. Superior Court Judge Arnold Jones vacated the death sentence of Marvin Williams, 50, who was convicted of murdering Theron Price in 1989 during a robbery at the company where both men worked. The law defines mental retardation as having an IQ below 70 and shows poor basic life skills. Williams has repeatedly scored below that on multiple tests. ‘This is not something that I took lightly, nor do I take it lightly now,’ Jones said of his ruling. ‘This is what the law requires.’” [AFP-NC – Twitter, [2/2/12](#); WRAL, [2/2/12](#)]
- **Gov. Mike Easley’s Statement On The Day He Signed The Law: “I Support The Death Penalty And I Believe That A Defendant Who Knows Right From Wrong, And Is Capable Of Assisting His Counsel In His Defense In Court, Should Be Subject To The Same Punishment As Anyone Else.”** According to the Lawrence Journal-World, “Gov. Mike Easley on Saturday signed legislation that bans executions of the mentally retarded. ‘The prosecutors and legislators feel this is a fair bill,’ Easley said in a statement Saturday. ‘I have sincere reservations because I support the death penalty and I believe that a defendant who knows right from wrong, and is capable of assisting his counsel in his defense in court, should be subject to the same punishment as anyone else.’” [Lawrence Journal-World, [2/5/01](#)]
- **Center for Death Penalty Litigation: “North Carolina Is Joining What Is A National Viewpoint That It Is Wrong To Execute The Mentally Retarded, That We Should Not Be Killing People With The Minds Of Children.”** According to the Lawrence Journal-World, “North Carolina is joining what is a national viewpoint that it is wrong to execute the mentally retarded, that we should not be killing people with the minds of children,’ said Jonathan Broun, a lawyer with the Center for Death Penalty Litigation.” [Lawrence Journal-World, [2/5/01](#)]
- **The Inmate Had Been Imprisoned For Over Two Decades, Was Only Able To Petition For Parole Because He Was Sentenced Under Old Structured Sentencing Guidelines And Could Not Do So For Several Years.** According to WRAL, “A Goldsboro man on Thursday became the 17th prisoner to avoid the death penalty under a 2001 state law that prohibits the execution of mentally retarded prisoners. Superior Court Judge Arnold Jones vacated the death sentence of Marvin Williams, 50, who was convicted of murdering Theron Price in 1989 during a robbery at the company where both men worked. The law defines mental retardation as having an IQ below 70 and shows poor basic life skills. Williams has repeatedly scored below that on multiple tests. ‘This is not something that I took lightly, nor do I take it lightly now,’ Jones said of his ruling. ‘This is what the law requires.’ Williams was resentenced to life in prison on the murder charge and a 30-year consecutive sentence for a related burglary conviction. ecause he was sentenced under old structured sentencing guidelines, he can petition for parole in February 2016.” [WRAL, [2/2/12](#)]

Institute For Southern Studies: The Racial Justice Act Required Statistical Evidence That Race Was “A Significant Factor In The Imposition” Of A Death Sentence. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “The Racial Justice Act, enacted in 2009, allowed death row inmates to seek a reduction in their sentence to life without parole upon a showing -- through statistical evidence and otherwise -- that race was a significant factor in the imposition of their sentences.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [7/5/13](#)]

- **The First Instance In Which A Judge Reduced A Sentence Under The Racial Justice Act, He Found “Powerful Evidence Of Race Consciousness And Race-Based Decision Making” And “Unmistakable Evidence Of The Prominent Role Race Played In The State's Jury Selection Strategy.”** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Marcus Robinson became the first to have his sentence reduced in April 2012, when Cumberland County Senior Resident Superior Court Judge Gregory Weeks, in a 167-page order, found that race was a significant factor in the imposition of the death penalty statewide and in Robinson's case. [...] In his 210-page order, Weeks wrote: ‘This conclusion is based primarily on the words and deeds of the prosecutors involved in Defendants’

cases. In the writings of prosecutors long buried in case files and brought to light for the first time in this hearing, the Court finds powerful evidence of race consciousness and race-based decision making. A Cumberland County prosecutor met with law enforcement officers and took notes about the jury pool in Augustine's case. These notes described the relative merits of North Carolina citizens and prospective jurors in racially-charged terms, and constitute unmistakable evidence of the prominent role race played in the State's jury selection strategy." [Institute for Southern Studies, [7/5/13](#)]

As Governor, McCrory Signed A Bill Repealing The Racial Justice Act. According to the Associated Press, "Gov Pat McCrory's signature Wednesday repealed a landmark law that had allowed convicted murderers to have their sentences reduced to life in prison if they could prove racial bias influenced the outcome of their cases. McCrory signed a repeal of the 2009 Racial Justice Act, which both proponents and critics say will restart the death penalty in a state that hasn't executed an inmate since 2006." [Associated Press, 6/20/13]

AFP LAUNCHED A LATE 2016 EFFORT IN SUPPORT OF MCCRORY AFTER REPUBLICANS BEGAN FRET'TING ABOUT NORTH CAROLINA

AFP Claimed Its Late September Launch Of A Six-Figure Campaign Against Roy Cooper Was Not In Support Of Pat McCrory, As They Were "Not In The Business Of Endorsing Candidates"

September 2016: Republicans Scrambled To Pour New Resources Into North Carolina, Increasingly Nervous About The Prospects For Both Presidential Nominee Donald Trump And Sen. Richard Burr, With Gov. McCrory Also In Danger Of Losing His Reelection Bid. According to the Washington Post, "After years of successfully holding off Democratic gains in this rapidly changing state, Republicans are scrambling to pour new resources into North Carolina in the face of unexpectedly close contests in the presidential and Senate races. Republicans here are increasingly nervous about the prospects in November for both presidential nominee Donald Trump, who held a rally in Asheville on Monday evening, and Sen. Richard Burr, who is in a tight race with a relatively unknown Democratic opponent. The state's Republican governor, Pat McCrory, also is in danger of losing his reelection bid." [Washington Post, [9/12/16](#)]

- **Washington Post: AFP's Directed Resources To The North Carolina's Senate Race, Reflecting The National Importance Of The Contest And Nervousness Among GOP Leaders About Burr's Campaign.** According to the Washington Post, "Meanwhile, Americans for Prosperity, a conservative nonprofit group backed by the billionaire Koch brothers, recently decided to shift its resources in the state to help Burr and go after his Democratic challenger, Deborah Ross. The group had previously been focused on helping McCrory and on unseating GOP Rep. Renee L. Ellmers, who lost her primary. [...] The decision by Americans for Prosperity direct resources to the Senate race reflects the national importance of the contest and nervousness among GOP leaders about Burr's campaign. The Koch-backed group is known for using TV ads, mailers and field staff to attempt to influence the outcome of targeted races. 'We do not to take anything for granted, so we are now making sure voters understand the differences between Senator Burr and his opponent,' said Tim Phillips, president of Americans for Prosperity." [Washington Post, [9/12/16](#)]

AFP Announced An Express Advocacy Campaign Against Gubernatorial Candidate Roy Cooper. According to the North State Journal, "'This morning we are announcing that we are launching an effort to expressly advocate for the defeat of Roy Cooper as a candidate for Governor of North Carolina,' said state director for AFP in North Carolina, Donald Bryson. 'We disagree with his policy positions and where he would like to take North Carolina in a variety of ways.' Bryson highlighted Democrat nominee for governor, Attorney General Roy Cooper's policies on energy, healthcare, and corporate welfare as the core reasons why they oppose his election." [North State Journal, [9/26/16](#)]

- **AFP Vice President Of State Operations Teresa Oelke: "This Will Be A Six-Figure Buy Across The State And An Investment In Our Efforts Asking People To Vote Against Roy Cooper."** According to the North State Journal, "AFP vice president of state operations, Teresa Oelke, joined Bryson to introduce the new ad campaign. 'This will be a six-figure buy across the state, and an investment in our efforts asking people to vote against Roy Cooper,' said Oelke. 'It's really focused on policy. If you look at our efforts across the country, at the state legislative level and the federal level, we are focused on pushing both parties to have a better environment for the citizens and create more opportunity and prosperity.'" [North State Journal, [9/26/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: “This Is Not An Endorsement Of Pat McCrory. We're Not In The Business Of Endorsing Candidates.”** According to the North State Journal, “‘This is not an endorsement of Pat McCrory,’ stated Bryson. ‘We're not in the business of endorsing candidates; we are in the business of trying to do what's right and push the policy that is right and we think a Roy Cooper North Carolina is a worse North Carolina.’” [North State Journal, [9/26/16](#)]

AFP Dismissed The Impact Of Its 2012 Promotion Of McCrory, Asserting They Were Focused On “Issues” And Not Campaigns While Noting That There Was “Infinitely More Enthusiasm About A McCrory Campaign” Than Before Their Efforts

AFP Denied That All It Did During The 2012 Cycle To Raise McCrory’s Profile Had Anything To Do With Electoral Politics Because McCrory Was Not Yet An Official Candidate And “Once He Becomes One, He Wouldn't Have Much To Do With Us. We Don't Endorse Or Oppose Candidates Or Express Advocacy.” According to an article by Jane Mayer in The New Yorker, “McCrory, meanwhile, has been getting a boost from the technically nonpartisan Americans for Prosperity North Carolina. It has been raising McCrory's profile by using his voice in statewide ‘robo-calls,’ on issues such as opposition to Obama's health-care plan. ‘Pat McCrory isn't a candidate,’ Woodhouse, the group's director, said. ‘Once he becomes one, he wouldn't have much to do with us. We don't endorse or oppose candidates or express advocacy. We talk about issues.’ Yet the nonprofit's Web site features a head shot of Governor Perdue under the headline ‘VETO BEV PERDUE’ and text that reads, ‘It's time we take back our government from ARROGANT Bev Perdue!’” [Jane Mayer – New Yorker, 10/10/11]

- **After Working With Groups Like AFP On Such Issues As Lobbying For A Voter Identification Requirement, AFP-NC Director Dallas Woodhouse Said There Was “Infinitely More Enthusiasm About A McCrory Campaign Than There Was Before.”** According to the News & Record, “Four years ago, McCrory was a late entrant into the contest, facing a field of fellow Republicans who suggested that McCrory was too liberal to represent the party. Voters in rural parts of the state were suspicious of his big-city ties, and fiscal conservatives looked askance at a sales tax he helped pass that pays for mass transit projects in Charlotte. ‘There is infinitely more enthusiasm about a McCrory campaign than there was before,’ said Dallas Woodhouse, state director for Americans for Prosperity, a well-funded conservative organization. By helping legislative candidates in 2010, working with groups like Americans for Prosperity on such issues as lobbying for a voter identification requirement and effectively riding ‘the chicken dinner circuit’ for the past two years, McCrory has established his conservative bona fides.” [News & Record, 2/1/12]
- **Woodhouse: McCrory “Obviously Did What Was Necessary From A Political Standpoint To Avoid A Primary. One Reason (Conservatives) Felt Comfortable Was Because They Got To Know Him Better.”** According to the Charlotte Observer, “He spoke out against President Barack Obama’s health care plan at rallies sponsored by Americans for Prosperity, a group founded by the conservative Koch brothers and tied to the tea party movement. At the group’s request, McCrory recorded calls in 2010 against a Democratic bill in Raleigh that would have expanded public funding for statewide campaigns. The robo calls sparked what one Senate Democrat called a firestorm of complaints that forced his party to withdraw the bill. McCrory made other calls attacking Perdue vetoes. It all paid off. Unlike 2008, McCrory faced no serious primary challenge this year. ‘He obviously did what was necessary from a political standpoint to avoid a primary,’ says Dallas Woodhouse, state director for Americans for Prosperity. ‘One reason (conservatives) felt comfortable was because they got to know him better.’” [Charlotte Observer, 10/13/12]

In Early August, AFP’s NC Communications Director Stated That The Organization Was Not Built For Pushing National Campaigns But For Providing A Final Push To Move The Football Across The Goal Line As The Election Comes To A Close

In October 2012, Just Days Before The Election AFP Sent Out A Half-Million Mail Ads Touting McCrory’s Positions On Medical Malpractice And Public Financing Of Campaigns. According to the News & Observer, “Americans for Prosperity is spending \$130,000 to send a half-million mailers touting McCrory just days before the election. The two fliers hit two issues that aren’t being discussed much on the campaign trail: medical malpractice and public financing of campaigns.” [News & Observer, 10/16/12]

AFP-NC Communications Director Joseph Kyzer: AFP Was Not Built For Pushing National Campaigns But For Providing A Final Push To Move The Football Across The Goal Line As The Election Comes To A Close. According to Freedom Action Network, “Mark sits down with Americans for Prosperity of North Carolina Communications Director Joseph Kyzer to talk about AFP’s elections efforts in the state now that the session has ended and election season is in full swing. AFP’s ground teams are going door to door during the week and three Saturdays a month to get the word out before Election Day. [...] Joseph said that AFP’s focus is on the issues and not getting swept up in every presidential election cycle. Joseph said that AFP is not built for pushing national campaigns but for providing a final push to move the football across the goal line as the election comes to a close.” [Freedom Action Network, [8/3/16](#)]

Renee Ellmers

AFP LAUNCHED A PRIMARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST REP. RENEE ELLMERS TO WARN OTHER REPUBLICANS NOT TO STRAY FROM THE KOCH AGENDA

AFP Warned Of “Primarying” Republicans A Year Before Striking Against Ellmers

May 2015: AFP-North Carolina State Director Donald Bryson Announced That AFP Ruled Out Singling Out Republicans In 2016 Who Keep Voting Counter To What They Consider Conservative And Free-Market Principles.” According to the Associated Press, “Neither De Luca nor Americans for Prosperity state director Donald Bryson have ruled out singling out Republicans in 2016 who keep voting counter to what they consider conservative and free-market principles. Bryson's group educated voters about Democratic U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan on what it considered her bad policies during her unsuccessful 2014 re-election bid. A final state budget vote will come this summer. ‘We’re willing to do the same thing with lawmakers who want to overspend the taxpayers’ money, whether Republican or Democrat,’ Bryson said. [...] Americans for Prosperity also was involved in the 2004 GOP primaries. AFP and Civitas Action are linked to Raleigh businessman Art Pope, a former legislator and recent state budget director.” [Associated Press, [5/31/15](#)]

- **AFP Was Actively Attacking State Republicans As Sellouts As Bryson Warned That AFP Was “Willing To Do The Same Thing” To Republicans Who “Overspend” On Taxes.** According to the Associated Press, “‘Nelson Dollar Sold Out Taxpayers,’ read an online ad released by the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity the week that the House’s spending plan that Dollar helped produce was approved. A similar message targeted finance chairman Rep. Jason Saine, R-Lincoln. [...] Neither De Luca nor Americans for Prosperity state director Donald Bryson have ruled out singling out Republicans in 2016 who keep voting counter to what they consider conservative and free-market principles. Bryson's group educated voters about Democratic U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan on what it considered her bad policies during her unsuccessful 2014 re-election bid. A final state budget vote will come this summer. ‘We’re willing to do the same thing with lawmakers who want to overspend the taxpayers’ money, whether Republican or Democrat,’ Bryson said. [...] Americans for Prosperity also was involved in the 2004 GOP primaries. AFP and Civitas Action are linked to Raleigh businessman Art Pope, a former legislator and recent state budget director.” [Associated Press, [5/31/15](#)]

AFP Specifically Threatened Ellmers With Their Opposition Months Before They Acted

February 2016: AFP-NC Circulated A Petition Attacking Rep. Ellmers. According to a petition by Americans for Prosperity on the Phone 2 Action website, “Every other House majority member from North Carolina opposed this vote and refused to sign Rep. Ellmers' petition. E-mail Rep. Ellmers today - tell her to stop siding with special interests over the citizens and small businesses who are burdened by Washington's high tax burden.” [AFP-NC – Twitter, [2/11/16](#); Americans for Prosperity – Phone 2 Action, archived [2/11/16](#)]

March 2016: AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Indicated AFP Was Considering Activity In NC’s 2nd Congressional District Primary Opposing Rep. Renee Ellmers. According to an interview with AFP-NC director Donald Bryson posted on Freedom Action Network, “[BRYSON:] I think there’s an interesting opportunity for AFP to be involved in in the new second congressional district. And the 13th; we’ll talk about the 13th in a minute. But in the second, you have an incumbent in Rep. Renee Elmers who—Well, you have two incumbents but specifically Renee Elmers came out and supported the reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank.” [Freedom Action Network, [3/22/16](#)]

- **Bryson: “We’re Kicking Around The Idea Of Maybe Putting Together A Candidate’s Forum Over There.”** According to an interview with AFP-NC director Donald Bryson posted on Freedom Action Network, “[BRYSON:] I think it’s an interesting opportunity for Americans for Prosperity to help sort of shape the debate in that district and the politics of that district and we’re kicking around the idea of maybe putting together a candidate’s forum over there specifically on issues surrounding energy.” [Freedom Action Network, [3/22/16](#)]

May 2016: AFP Announced It Was Targeting Rep. Renee Ellmers With Six-Figures Worth Of Advertising, Including Five To Eight Separate Mailers, As Well As Digital Ads. According to Politico, “Americans for Prosperity is planning a major expenditure to defeat North Carolina Republican Rep. Renee Ellmers in her June primary, an unprecedented move for the powerful Koch brothers-backed conservative nonprofit, which has never targeted a GOP member of Congress for primary defeat. [...] AFP plans to target voters in Ellmers’ district with six-figures worth of advertising, including five to eight separate mailers, as well as digital ads on streaming platforms, like YouTube, Facebook and Hulu, in the four weeks leading up to the June 7 primary.” [Politico, [5/12/16](#)]

- **AFP: The Anti-Ellmers Campaign Would Also Feature “An Aggressive Canvassing Effort.”** According to a petition on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity North Carolina (AFP-NC) launched a new digital ad and a first wave of mailers encouraging voters in the new second Congressional district to defeat Rep. Renee Ellmers in an upcoming special election on June 7. The grassroots organization will send several more mail pieces opposing her reelection to supplement the six-figure spending on digital ads and an aggressive canvassing effort by volunteers and staff across the district.” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/18/16](#)]

AFP Spent Hundreds Of Thousands Of Dollars Opposing Ellmers And Brought GenOpp Into The Field Effort

AFP Reported Over \$200,000 In Spending In Opposition To North Carolina House Candidate Renee Ellmers. According to Americans for Prosperity’s July quarterly report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying \$2,229.16 to Generation Opportunity on 6/3/2016 for canvassing expenses in opposition to North Carolina house district 2 candidate Renee Ellmers, with a reported year-to-date total of \$204,556.33. [July Quarterly Report – FEC, [7/15/16](#)]

- **AFP’s Campaign Would Include 180,000 Phone Calls, 16,000 Canvass Attempts And Half A Dozen Direct-Mail Pieces.** According to The Hill, “Americans for Prosperity concentrated its activities in the state on Ellmers’ race, making 180,000 phone calls, knocking on 16,000 doors and sending out half a dozen direct-mail pieces.” [The Hill, [6/8/16](#)]
- **Generation Opportunity Canvasses Targeted Rep. Ellmers, With AFP Reporting Paying Them Over \$2,200 In Canvassing Expenses In Opposition To North Carolina House Candidate Renee Ellmers.** According to Americans for Prosperity’s July quarterly report to the FEC, Americans for Prosperity reported paying \$2,229.16 to Generation Opportunity on 6/3/2016 for canvassing expenses in opposition to North Carolina house district 2 candidate Renee Ellmers. [July Quarterly Report – FEC, [7/15/16](#)]

AFP Cited “Three Key Votes” As Prompting Its Campaign Against Ellmers: The 2013 Ryan-Murray Budget Deal, The 2014 Farm Bill, And The Latest Reauthorization Of The Export-Import Bank. According to a petition on the Americans for Prosperity website, “AFP North Carolina State Director Donald Bryson had the following to say: ‘Rep. Ellmers’ record doesn’t support her claims of limited-government credentials, and we’re letting voters know the cost of her support for higher deficits and increased spending limits in Washington D.C.’ said State Director Donald Bryson. ‘North Carolinians need members of Congress willing to fix the broken budget system in Washington, but on three key votes Rep. Ellmers sided with the status-quo instead of protecting the taxpayers who are forced to foot the bill.’ Americans for Prosperity has been critical of Ellmers’ votes on the 2013 Ryan-Murray budget deal, the 2014 farm bill, and the latest reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank, according to a spokesman for the organization.” [Americans for Prosperity, [5/18/16](#)]

Primarying Ellmers Was An Example Of AFP's Unwillingness To Compromise

North Carolina State University Political Science Professor Steven Greene: An Ellmers Loss Could Lead To Even More Polarization In Congress— “When You Take Compromise Off The Table, That’s Not Good For American Democracy.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “‘She’s someone who got to Washington and realized she wanted to get things done, and that’s not a popular thing in the GOP,’ said Steven Greene, a political science professor at North Carolina State University. Conservative interest groups — such as the Koch-backed Americans for Prosperity — admit they’re targeting Ellmers to make an example of her to other Republicans who go to Washington and cooperate with other lawmakers to pass bills. ‘This is also a warning shot for Washington,’ said Donald Bryson, AFP’s state director in North Carolina. ‘Hey, we take corporate welfare very seriously. Conservatives get a knock very often that we’re too easy on corporations.’ But Greene, the political scientist, said Ellmers should be seen as the underdog — and he said a loss by her could lead to even more polarization in Congress if Republicans become even more unwilling to anger conservative voters by compromising to pass legislation. ‘When you take compromise off the table, that’s not good for American democracy,’ Greene said.” [Raw Story, [6/6/16](#)]

Amanda Marcotte: AFP And Club For Growth’s “Specific Charges Against Ellmers Of Insufficient Right-Wing Purity Are Incredibly Minor” But Enough To Make Ellmers “A Classic Example Of A Republican Who Supposedly Sins By Cooperating With The Dread President Obama.” According to an opinion by Amanda Marcotte for Salon, “The specific charges against Ellmers of insufficient right-wing purity are incredibly minor. Club for Growth and Americans for Prosperity ran ads condemning Ellmers for voting with Republican leadership on the spending bill, the Export-Import Bank, and things like the wind energy subsidy. On their own, these are issues far too esoteric or wonky to really move voters against someone. But symbolically, these votes were framed as Ellmers being a classic example of a Republican who supposedly sins by cooperating with the dread President Obama.” [Amanda Marcotte – Salon, [6/8/16](#)]

Raw Story Headline: “Wrathful Conservatives Target Tea Party Lawmaker For Doing Her Job And Passing Bills.” [Raw Story, [6/6/16](#)]

Republican North Carolina House Majority Leader Mike Hager Told AFP That “Differing Views Help Make The House GOP Caucus Stronger.” According to the Associated Press, “House Majority Leader Mike Hager, R-Rutherford, spoke at an Americans for Prosperity news conference last week. In an interview, Hager said he would steer any conservative group away from seeking to unseat a faithful House Republican in a primary. Differing views help make the House GOP caucus stronger, he said.” [Associated Press, [5/31/15](#)]

- **Hager: “What I’ve Told AFP: Individually You Might Not Like The Way We Vote, But Look At ... The End Result.”** According to the Associated Press, “House Majority Leader Mike Hager, R-Rutherford, spoke at an Americans for Prosperity news conference last week. In an interview, Hager said he would steer any conservative group away from seeking to unseat a faithful House Republican in a primary. Differing views help make the House GOP caucus stronger, he said. ‘That’s what I’ve told AFP: Individually you might not like the way we vote, but look at ... the end result,’ Hager said.” [Associated Press, [5/31/15](#)]

Ellmers: “They Are Making An Example Of Me And They Want The Other Members Of Congress To See That So The Fear They Impose Is Great”

Rep. Ellmers On The Motivation Of Special Interests Who Campaigned Against Her: “They Are Making An Example Of Me And They Want The Other Members Of Congress To See That So The Fear They Impose Is Great And They Get What They Want Rather Than Those Representatives Representing Their Districts.” According to Time Warner Cable News, “She says she is concerned about the role special interest groups played in this primary race. Club for growth, Americans for Prosperity and NC Values Coalition all campaigned against Ellmer’s re-election. ‘They have said themselves, they are making an example of me and they want the other members of Congress to see that so the fear they impose is great and they get what they want rather than those representatives representing their districts,’ Rep. Ellmers said.” [Time Warner Cable News, [6/13/16](#)]

AFP's CEO Joined The AFP-NC State Director To Warn That AFP Would "Likely" Target More Congressional Representatives

AFP CEO Luke Hilgemann & AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: "While The Outgoing Congresswoman's Loss Is The First Time Americans For Prosperity Has Expressly Advocated For The Primary Defeat Of A Sitting U.S. Member Of Congress, It Likely Won't Be Our Last." According to an opinion by AFP CEO Luke Hilgemann and AFP-NC director Donald Bryson in The Hill, "While the outgoing Congresswoman's loss is the first time Americans for Prosperity has expressly advocated for the primary defeat of a sitting U.S. member of Congress, it likely won't be our last. Politicians like Renee Ellmers who clearly haven't learned anything from their constituents over the course of the last two, four, six and eight years—but we have. Americans for Prosperity is a constant presence on the ground from Alaska to New Hampshire and listening to citizens has given our staff and volunteers a clear picture of what they want from Washington. Ending the bankrupting of America and defeating cronyism—two areas where Ellmers was a dismal failure—are at the top of that list." [Luke Hilgemann, Donald Bryson – The Hill, [6/14/16](#)]

AFP Denied That They Were Endorsing Any Candidate But Ran An Ad Praising Ellmer's Opponent And Urging Voters To Vote Against Her

AFP Said It Was Not Endorsing Any Of Ellmers' Opponents, Despite Its Ad Directly Contrasting Ellmers And Her Opponent, George Holding, Who They Praised As Having "Kept His Word" By "Opposing Wasteful Spending, Protecting Taxpayers, Standing Up To Special Interests." According to Politico, 'AFP is not endorsing any of Ellmers' opponents, the group says. But it does directly contrast Ellmers and Holding in one of the ads. 'Americans balance their budgets, work hard. Renee Ellmers promised to do the same, but she became a part of the Washington problem,' the ad's narrator says. 'She promised spending limits, then voted against them. She ran against special interest deals, then voted for them. But George Holding kept his word. Opposing wasteful spending, protecting taxpayers, standing up to special interests.' 'Vote 'no' on Renee Ellmers,' the narrator finishes." [Politico, [5/12/16](#)]

- **AFP's Ad Did Not Mention The Third Candidate In The Race.** According to the Washington Post, "In one YouTube ad posted Thursday, a narrator says Ellmers 'became part of the Washington problem,' and encourages North Carolinians to vote against her. The same ad praises one of Ellmers's challengers, Rep. George Holding (R-N.C.). Ellmers, Holding and Greg Brannon — who ran twice for the North Carolina Senate seat — are facing off on June 7 in the state's newly redrawn 2nd Congressional district." [Washington Post, [5/16/16](#)]

Washington Post: AFP Was Hoping Holding Would Win The Primary. According to the Washington Post, "Americans for Prosperity is hoping Rep. George Holding wins Tuesday's North Carolina GOP primary against Rep. Renee Ellmers." [Washington Post, [5/16/16](#)]

After The Election, AFP President Tim Phillips Declared Voters "Decided They Were Better Off With Rep. Holding. We Agree." According to The Hill, "'Tonight sends a clear message to lawmakers that we're going to hold them accountable for overspending and corporate welfare,' said Americans For Prosperity President Tim Phillips. 'Voters saw through Rep. Ellmers' support for the Ex-Im Bank and other subsidies and decided they were better off with Rep. Holding. We agree,' Phillips added, in a statement to The Hill Tuesday night, shortly after the Associated Press declared Ellmers had lost her seat in a primary election to Rep. George Holding (R-N.C.). Powerful conservatives, including the Koch-backed Americans For Prosperity, believe Ellmers betrayed the conservative principles she claimed to represent after getting elected in the 2010 Tea Party wave. They condemned her for voting with Republican leadership on major spending bills, for wind energy subsidies and for 'corporate welfare' such as the Export-Import Bank." [The Hill, [6/7/16](#)]

Holding's Campaign Manager Acknowledged AFP's Ad As Helpful And Declared He Was Pleased

Holding Campaign Adviser Carter Wrenn On AFP's Ad: "I Am Pleased And I Think It'll Be Helpful." According to the Washington Post, "Even though AFP is not formally endorsing Holding, the ad does frame him as a favorable alternative to Ellmers. 'I am pleased and I think it'll be helpful,' said Carter Wrenn, an adviser for the Holding campaign." [Washington Post, [5/16/16](#)]

AFP SINGLED OUT ELLMERS FOR SIGNING THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK DISCHARGE PETITION

AFP Repeatedly Cited The Export-Import Bank As A Motivator For Its Anti-Ellmers Campaign

February 2016: AFP-NC Circulated A Petition Attacking Rep. Ellmers As The Only NC House Majority Member Who Signed The Export-Import Bank Discharge Petition. According to a petition by Americans for Prosperity on the Phone 2 Action website, “Every other House majority member from North Carolina opposed this vote and refused to sign Rep. Ellmers' petition. E-mail Rep. Ellmers today - tell her to stop siding with special interests over the citizens and small businesses who are burdened by Washington's high tax burden.” [AFP-NC – Twitter, [2/11/16](#); Americans for Prosperity – Phone 2 Action, archived [2/11/16](#)]

AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson Indicated AFP Was Considering Activity In NC's 2nd Congressional District Primary Opposing Rep. Renee Ellmers Because Of Her Support For Reauthorization Of The Export-Import Bank. According to an interview with AFP-NC director Donald Bryson posted on Freedom Action Network, “[BRYSON:] I think there's an interesting opportunity for AFP to be involved in in the new second congressional district. And the 13th; we'll talk about the 13th in a minute. But in the second, you have an incumbent in Rep. Renee Ellmers who—Well, you have two incumbents but specifically Renee Ellmers came out and supported the reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank.” [Freedom Action Network, [3/22/16](#)]

AFP Spokesperson Christopher Neefus Said The Defeat Of Rep. Ellmers Sent A Message On The Export-Import Bank: “It's Clear That If Politicians Are Looking To Side With The Public, That Means Opposing A Template That Keeps Giving Out Huge Loans To Well-Connected Companies Or Foreign Entities.” According to The Hill, “Christopher Neefus, a spokesman for Americans for Prosperity, said the group is broadly supportive of efforts to stop the bank from financing larger deals. ‘An obscure institution like Export-Import ends up being pretty unpopular when the public figures out it's a corporate welfare vehicle,’ he said. ‘In light of [Tuesday's primary], it's clear that if politicians are looking to side with the public, that means opposing a template that keeps giving out huge loans to well-connected companies or foreign entities.’” [The Hill, [6/8/16](#)]

AFP CEO Luke Hilgemann & AFP-NC Director Donald Bryson: “Americans Told Their Representatives In Washington That A Vote For The Export-Import Bank Was A Vote Against American Workers And Economic Interests.” According to an opinion by AFP CEO Luke Hilgemann and AFP-NC director Donald Bryson in The Hill, “The message is a simple one: the American people were serious during the last two election cycles when they used the ballot box to tell their representatives and senators that Washington is broken. Cronyism, handouts to special interests and runaway spending are no way to change the trajectory of our country and get America back on track. Americans told their representatives in Washington that a vote for the Export-Import Bank was a vote against American workers and economic interests, and they took notice when they were ignored by those they had entrusted with their support” [Luke Hilgemann, Donald Bryson – The Hill, [6/14/16](#)]

The Export-Import Bank Supported Over 200 Businesses, Over 100 Small Businesses And Thousands Of Jobs In North Carolina

GE Energy Management CEO Bob Gilligan: “GE, Our Suppliers And More Than 200 North Carolina Companies Depend On The EXIM Bank To Help Sell Our Goods That We Make Here To Customers Overseas.” According to the Times-News, “General Electric showed off the \$6 million renovation of its manufacturing facility on Industrial Drive and a futuristic showroom for industrial customers Tuesday. ‘We can address customer issues in real time, we can get their global feedback into our product in real time, and we can turn things around very quickly to solve customers' problems,’ said Stuart Thompson, general manager of GE power equipment. Thompson said the plant is an important part of the company's investment in advanced manufacturing and in North Carolina, particularly Mebane. GE also completed a facility in Cary in 2013. [...] About 20 percent of what the Mebane plant produces is for export, Thompson said. Bob Gilligan, CEO of GE Energy Management, said GE and other North Carolina manufacturers rely heavily on exports, and asked for support in the congressional debate over the future of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, a federal agency offering American exporters services like loan guarantees and insurance. It is also targeted for phasing out by some in Congress. ‘GE, our suppliers and more than 200 North Carolina companies depend on the EXIM Bank to help sell our goods that we make here

to customers overseas,' Gilligan said. "The EXIM Bank supports more than 18,000 North Carolina jobs in all, at no cost to the taxpayers.'" [Times-News, [6/9/15](#)]

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President And CEO Of The Greater Raleigh Chamber Of Commerce Harvey Schmitt: Over A Seven Year Period, The Ex-Im Bank Helped 188 Companies Export \$2.6 Billion Worth Of Goods While Supporting More Than 16,000 In North Carolina. According to an op-ed by President and CEO of the Greater Raleigh Chamber of Commerce Harvey Schmitt for The News & Observer, "In North Carolina alone, the Ex-Im Bank has helped 188 companies export \$2.6 billion worth of goods over the past seven years, supporting more than 16,000 jobs." [Harvey Schmidt – The News & Observer, [9/15/14](#)]

- **Schmitt: "While Some Big Companies Get Help From Ex-Im, 80 Percent Of The Bank's Customers Are Small Businesses Trying To Break Into Or Expand Foreign Markets."** According to an op-ed by President and CEO of the Greater Raleigh Chamber of Commerce Harvey Schmitt for The News & Observer, "While some big companies get help from Ex-Im, 80 percent of the bank's customers are small businesses trying to break into or expand foreign markets." [Harvey Schmidt – The News & Observer, [9/15/14](#)]

Thom Tillis

THE KOCH BROTHERS DEPLOYED THEIR POLITICAL NETWORK TO ATTACK HAGAN AND BOOST THEIR PUPPET THOM TILLIS

Americans For Prosperity's Anti-Hagan Efforts Included Web Ads, A 14-Stop Statewide Tour Featuring Grover Norquist, And Attacks On Hagan's Family

AFP Spent More Than \$1.5 Million In North Carolina During The 2014 Cycle, But Skirted FCC Disclosure Requirements

As Of September 2014, AFP Spent "At Least \$1.8 Million" On TV Ads In North Carolina, Some Of Which Was Spent On Ads That "Pummeled" Sen. Kay Hagan Without "Overtly" Calling For Hagan's Defeat In Order To Avoid FCC Disclosure Requirements. According to the Huffington Post, "[Sen. Kay] Hagan's campaign has repeatedly blasted the Koch brothers, who support conservative nonprofit Americans for Prosperity, for their involvement in the race. But the top sponsor of ads in this contest? It's Senate Majority PAC, a Democratic super PAC, which has produced more than 9,500 ads in the race. That's about 63 percent more ads than Americans for Prosperity, which has pummeled Hagan for her ties to Obama and her vote for the president's health care law. Americans for Prosperity's ads don't overtly call for Hagan's defeat, thereby allowing the group to avoid telling federal election regulators how much money its pumping into its messaging machine. Kantar Media/CMAG estimates that Americans for Prosperity has spent at least \$1.8 million on TV ads in the Tar Heel State. Other sources, in attempting to calculate the cost of TV ad buys, have put this figure much higher." [Huffington Post, [9/2/14](#)]

- **AFP-NC Released A Digital Ad Against Sen. Kay Hagan's "96% Voting Record With President Obama And Support For Policies Such As Obamacare And Higher Spending And Debt That Are Hurting The State."** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, "Americans for Prosperity has released a hard-hitting ad calling on North Carolinians to fire Kay Hagan for blindly voting with President Obama against their interests. AFP's new ad focuses on Senator Hagan's 96% voting record with President Obama and support for policies such as

ObamaCare and higher spending and debt that are hurting the state. [...]The web ad will run online and is part of a six-figure, nationwide ad buy running in other states.” [Americans for Prosperity, [10/15/14](#)]

- **AFP Released A Web Video Featuring Interviews Of Hagan Supporters In Asheville Who “Struggled To Name Specific Policy Accomplishments They Agree With.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website,, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP) released a three minute web video of ‘man on the street’ interviews with Asheville residents about Kay Hagan’s accomplishments for them and the state generally. In response after response, even supporters of Senator Hagan struggled to name specific policy accomplishments they agree with. At one point the interviewer asked supporters how they felt about major issues in which the Senator voted against their interests, and found that people weren’t aware that Senator Hagan has voted against them on those issues.” [Americans for Prosperity, [10/27/14](#)]

The Associated Press Reported In October 2014 That AFP Was “Expressly Opposing Hagan In Wake, Mecklenburg And Forsyth Counties” And Was “Performing Generic Get-Out-The-Vote Activities” In Four Other Counties. According to the Associated Press, “Americans for Prosperity is expressly opposing Hagan in Wake, Mecklenburg and Forsyth counties but is performing generic get-out-the-vote activities to urge fiscally conservative citizens to vote in four other counties. ‘We’re always trying to sharpen’ the group’s message, said Americans for Prosperity state director Donald Bryson.” [Associated Press, [10/23/14](#)]

AFP Launched A 14-Stop “Call Out Kay Tour” Featuring Conservative Heavyweights Grover Norquist, Tucker Carlson, And Guy Benson

AFP-NC Announced A “Call Out Kay Tour” To “Oppose Senator Hagan’s Support For Obamacare, A Carbon Tax, The EPA’s War On Traditional Energy, And Higher Taxes And Wasteful Washington Spending.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website,, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP) North Carolina today announced a Call Out Kay tour featuring rallies in over a dozen cities throughout North Carolina to oppose Senator Hagan’s support for ObamaCare, a carbon tax, the EPA’s war on traditional energy, and higher taxes and wasteful Washington spending. Starting next Monday, the rallies will feature speeches from national opinion leaders and give North Carolinians an opportunity to tell Senator Hagan to stop supporting the policies that are hurting the state’s economy.” [Americans for Prosperity, [9/15/14](#)]

- **The Tour Was Scheduled To Include 14 Rallies, Including Speeches By AFP President Tim Phillips, Grover Norquist, Tucker Carlson, Guy Benson, And Bill Whittle.** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP) North Carolina today launched its weeklong, statewide Call Out Kay tour with a morning rally in Asheville. AFP is holding 14 rallies across the state to call out Senator Kay Hagan for supporting ObamaCare, a carbon tax, the EPA’s war on traditional energy, and higher taxes and wasteful Washington spending. Rallies will include speeches from speakers as AFP President Tim Phillips, Tucker Carlson, Grover Norquist, Guy Benson, and Bill Whittle and music from local bluegrass band Carolina Road.” [Americans For Prosperity, [9/22/14](#)]

AFP’s Third “Call Out Kay” Rally Featured Both TownHall.com Editor Guy Benson And Daily Caller Editor-In-Chief Tucker Carlson. According to the News & Record, “Two conservative pundits headlined an Americans for Prosperity event here Tuesday night. Television commentators Tucker Carlson, a former host of CNN’s ‘Crossfire,’ and Guy Benson, political editor for Townhall.com, talked to a crowd of about 40 people at the Joseph S. Koury Convention Center. [...] Carlson, now editor-in-chief of The Daily Caller, a conservative news website, blamed the shifting demographics of the country on the popularity of Democrats like President Barack Obama.” [News & Record, [9/22/14](#)]

- **Carlson At The AFP Rally When Asked How Conservatives Can Change Demographic Shift To Democratic Voters: “The Only Thing That Ever Fixes People Is Fear.”** According to the News & Record, “Carlson, now editor-in-chief of The Daily Caller, a conservative news website, blamed the shifting demographics of the country on the popularity of Democrats like President Barack Obama. Fewer married people, more immigrants and fewer religious devotees mean more votes for Democrats, Carlson said. ‘The president understands if he does nothing, the country will come around to his view’ as those demographics shift, Carlson said. Isn’t there anything conservatives can do to change that, audience members asked? ‘The only thing that ever fixes people is fear,’ Carlson said.” [News & Record, [9/22/14](#)]

Grover Norquist Spoke At An AFP “Call Out Kay” Rally At The Charlotte Motor Speedway. According to Fox News, “The ‘Call Out Kay’ tour stopped by the iconic Charlotte Motor Speedway in Concord, N.C., last Thursday for a rally and information session. Their message was clear: They might not all be on Team Tillis, but they all agree it’s time for Hagan to go. [...] Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, followed with a simple message: ‘We are low maintenance. We are a “leave us alone” coalition.’” [Fox News, [10/2/14](#)]

AFP Deployed A Staff Of 45 Across Five Offices During Their Get Out The Vote Efforts

In October 2016, AFP Began “More Direct And Aggressive Attacks On Democratic Candidates” Through Digital Advertising, Direct Mail Pitches And Door-To-Door-Campaigning In North Carolina. According to the New York Times’ First Draft, “Polls and statistical models may show Republicans with a decisive edge in the fight for control of the Senate. But privately, many Republicans worry that the race is still far too close — and they are moving to change that. A group backed by the billionaire Koch brothers is shifting tactics in several of the most competitive Senate races and will begin more direct and aggressive attacks on Democratic candidates. The group, Americans for Prosperity, plans to put millions of dollars into the offensive — through digital advertising, direct mail pitches and door-to-door-campaigning — in states like Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa and North Carolina.” [First Draft via NYTimes.com, [10/2/14](#)]

- **AFP North Carolina Director Donald Bryson Said That “As Far As Large-Scale, Smart Operations, Nobody On Our Side Compares”** According to the New York Times, “And if voters are confused about who exactly is trying to get them to the polls, there is good reason. Americans for Prosperity on the right and Planned Parenthood, labor-backed Working America and the League of Conservation Voters, among others, on the left are augmenting the robust efforts by the campaigns and the parties themselves. Americans for Prosperity, financed by the billionaire brothers David H. and Charles G. Koch, is the most significant player on the Republican side, providing far more clout than either Mr. Tillis or the Republican Party. ‘As far as large-scale, smart operations, nobody on our side compares,’ said Donald Bryson, Americans for Prosperity’s North Carolina director.” [New York Times, [10/26/14](#)]

AFP Canvassers Used An App That Had “Neighborhood Maps, Addresses, Political Affiliations, Voting Records, Background Information And Pre-Loaded Scripts On How To Talk To Specific Voters They've Already Identified As Conservative.” According to ABC11.com, “Foot soldiers with the right-leaning policy group [AFP] have an app downloaded onto their iPhones and iPads that has neighborhood maps, addresses, political affiliations, voting records, background information and pre-loaded scripts on how to talk to specific voters they've already identified as conservative.” [ABC11.com, [10/28/14](#)]

- **AFP-North Carolina’s App “Allowed The Group To Specifically Tell People They've Categorized As Conservative To Vote Against Hagan.”** According to ABC11.com, “North Carolina's Americans for Prosperity has not explicitly endorsed a candidate for U.S. Senate, but their app has allowed the group to specifically tell people they've categorized as conservative to vote against Hagan.” [ABC11.com, [10/28/14](#)]

As Of October 2014, AFP-North Carolina Had 45 Staff And Five Field Offices Across The State. According to ABC11.com, “Now we have 45 staff in North Carolina with five field offices across the state,” [AFP-North Carolina State Director Donald] Bryson told ABC11.” [ABC11.com, [10/28/14](#)]

- **Bryson Said That His Team Knocked On “Nearly 200,000 Doors” And Contacted “Over 1.2 Million North Carolinians About Hagan’s Support For The President’s Failing Policies” In The Lead Up To The 2014 Election.** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP), the leading grassroots organization for economic freedom, released the following statement on the results of the recent election. ‘The voters have answered loud and clear: They are done with Senator Kay Hagan and President Obama’s failing agenda for North Carolina,’ stated Donald Bryson, North Carolina State Director for Americans for Prosperity. Our team of 45 did a great job this season, knocking on nearly 200,000 doors and contacting over 1.2 million North Carolinians about Hagan’s support for the President’s failing policies and about the importance of economic freedom.” [Americans for Prosperity, [11/5/14](#)]

AFP-North Carolina Released What They Called A “Damning New Timeline” Documenting How Hagan’s Family “Financially Benefited From The Stimulus Package She Supported.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Senator Hagan is on the defensive after Americans for Prosperity (AFP) North Carolina released a damning new timeline documenting how her family has financially benefited from the stimulus package she supported. The timeline includes excerpts from the most pertinent press stories covering the scandal. AFP is urging North Carolinians to retire Senator Hagan.” [Americans for Prosperity, [10/29/14](#)]

- **AFP-North Carolina State Director Donald Bryson Said That Hagan Was “Lining The Pockets Of Her Family” By Supporting “Cronyist, Big Government Policies.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website,, “Senator Hagan’s support for cronyist, big government policies is driving up the tax burden on North Carolinians while lining the pockets of her family,’ explained Donald Bryson, North Carolina State Director of Americans for Prosperity.” [Americans for Prosperity, [10/29/14](#)]
- **Bryson: “Regardless Of Senator Hagan’s Specific Motives In Voting For The Stimulus Package, It’s Clear The Ultimate Result Was To Help Her Family While Further Inflating Washington’s Astronomical \$17 Trillion Debt.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Senator Hagan’s support for cronyist, big government policies is driving up the tax burden on North Carolinians while lining the pockets of her family,’ explained Donald Bryson, North Carolina State Director of Americans for Prosperity. ‘Regardless of Senator Hagan’s specific motives in voting for the stimulus package, it’s clear the ultimate result was to help her family while further inflating Washington’s astronomical \$17 trillion debt. It’s time to cut the waste, end the cronyism, and lower the tax burden; that starts by retiring Kay Hagan.” [Americans for Prosperity, [10/29/14](#)]

The National Review Reported In October 2014 That AFP Canvassers “Might” Raise The Issue Of Sen. Hagan’s 2009 Stimulus Vote And “Revelations That The Legislation Resulted In Taxpayer Funding For Her Family’s Businesses” When Going Door-To-Door. According to the National Review Online, “[Sen. Kay] Hagan’s vote for the 2009 stimulus, coupled with revelations that the legislation resulted in taxpayer funding for her family’s businesses, has emerged as an October surprise in a race hitherto marked by her unexpected resilience in a difficult political environment. The story has received limited attention in local press, but now a Koch-backed free-market group is launching a major TV ad campaign accusing the Hagans of self-dealing. [...] Americans for Prosperity, a Koch-supported advocacy group focused on get-out-the-vote efforts in North Carolina, might also have its army of volunteers raise this issue when going door-to-door.” [NationalReview.com, [10/17/14](#)]

AFP President Tim Phillips Praised Tillis

Americans For Prosperity President Tim Phillips Boosted Thom Tillis’ Candidacy At A Koch Donor Conference, And Touted AFP’s Decade-Long Efforts To Invest In North Carolina. According to the transcript of a Koch Conference panel, “TIM PHILLIPS: ‘Absolutely. Kay Hagan, uh, Marc mentioned her just a minute ago. She’s the freshman incumbent Democrat running for reelection. She got elected in 2008 with a good, strong Obama wind at her back. It was a very close race. Her polling average is pretty much steady in the low forties. If you’re an incumbent and you’re in the low forties, that’s a flashing red light danger zone for her. Uh, the Republican nominee was just chosen without a runoff, Speaker Thom Tillis. That’s very good for him. While this race is a toss-up region, we think it offers the best opportunity. I can tell you this. This seminar effort began investing, you — many of you — began investing in North Carolina a decade ago. This was a charter state AFP chapter along with Kansas and Texas, and so we have a deep network there.” [Koch Conference Panel Transcript, Posted [8/26/14](#)]

Tillis Used A Study Promoted By AFP With Incorrect Information To Criticize Rising Health Insurance Rates

According To The News & Observer, Thom Tillis’s Claim That Health Insurance Rates Might Go Up By 11 Percent At A September 2014 Debate Was “Wrong” And “Didn’t Come From The N.C. Department Of Insurance.”

According to the News & Observer, “One point that flew by in Wednesday’s U.S. Senate debate between U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan and Republican Thom Tillis was the big question of how high health insurance rates might go up next year. [...] During the discussion of whether there should be an increase in the minimum wage, Tillis said that if health care goes up 11 percent

along with other “regulatory burdens,” even a 20 percent increase in the minimum wage might not be enough to get by. Not only was the number wrong it didn’t come from the N.C. Department of Insurance, the state agency with the data.” [News & Observer, [9/4/14](#)]

- **The 11 Percent Statistic Cited By Tillis Was Put Out By Americans For Prosperity Just Before The Debate, Citing A Study By PricewaterhouseCoopers’ Health Research Institute.** According to the News & Observer, “The 11 percent was put out just before the debate by the Koch brothers-funded conservative group Americans for Prosperity. They cited a study by PricewaterhouseCoopers’ Health Research Institute.” [News & Observer, [9/4/14](#)]
- **News & Observer: “It’s Not Clear What The Source Of PwC’s Numbers Was,” In North Carolina, Rate Details “Remain Confidential,” And “The State Insurance Office Hasn’t Completed All Reviews Or Approved Rates Yet.”** According to the News & Observer, “But it’s not clear what the source of PwC’s numbers was. The state Department of Insurance hasn’t made the data public or shared the numbers with PwC, said the agency’s director of public information, Kerry Hall, in an email on Thursday. Insurers have filed their 2015 rate requests as trade secrets under North Carolina law, Hall said. In North Carolina, unlike some other states, the rate details in the filings remain confidential. And the state insurance office hasn’t completed all reviews or approved rates yet.” [News & Observer, [9/4/14](#)]

Concerned Veterans For America Spent At Least \$1.6 Million Attacking Hagan, But Claimed That Their Efforts Were “Issue Advocacy” Rather Than Political

Concerned Veterans For America Launched A \$1.6 Million Statewide Campaign With Ads Targeting Democratic U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan Over Problems At The Department Of Veterans Affairs. According to the Charlotte Observer, “Charlotte viewers of next week’s ‘60 Minutes’ were scheduled to see a political ad sponsored by Freedom Partners, a group affiliated with the conservative Koch brothers. Now they won’t. The conservative group has canceled ads in Charlotte, Raleigh and elsewhere in North Carolina. Instead it has turned over its air time to the Concerned Veterans for America. That group, funded by Freedom Partners, this month launched a \$1.6 million statewide campaign with ads taking Democratic U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan to task over problems at the Department of Veterans Affairs. [Charlotte Observer, [8/17/14](#)]

CVA Ran A TV Ad In August 2014 “Exposing Sen. Hagan’s True Record On Fixing The VA.” According to a press release from Concerned Veterans For America, “Sen. Kay Hagan’s sudden attempts to distance herself from President Obama and the tragedies at VA hospitals across the country are too little, too late. After promising to improve the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA), Sen. Hagan did nothing to address VA delays she knew existed until political expediency proved beneficial. Meanwhile, wait times in North Carolina grew to be some of the worst in the country. [...] CVA is currently running a TV ad exposing Sen. Hagan’s true record on fixing the VA.” [Concerned Veterans For America Press Release, [8/26/14](#)]

- **CVA CEO Pete Hegseth In August 2014: “Senator Hagan Knew That Delays Were Taking Place And Only Became Interested In Fixing The VA When It Became Politically Expedient.”** According to a press release from Concerned Veterans For America, “Pete Hegseth, CEO of Concerned Veterans for America, issued the following statement: [...] ‘Based on her own words, Senator Hagan was sent to Washington to improve care for North Carolina’s veterans. But since 2008, North Carolina’s VA facilities have deteriorated to become some of the worst in the country. Plain and simple, Senator Hagan knew that delays were taking place and only became interested in fixing the VA when it became politically expedient.’” [Concerned Veterans For America Press Release, [8/26/14](#)]

CVA Legislative Campaign Manager Dan Caldwell Claimed That Hagan, Along With Rep. Bruce Braley, “Campaigned On Being Veterans Advocates...But Once They Got Into Office, The Situation At The VA Got Worse And They Didn’t Really Devote Enough Attention To It.” According to NPR, “Dan Caldwell, issues and legislative campaign manager for Concerned Veterans, says this spot and one the group is running in North Carolina targeting Democratic Sen. Kay Hagen are aimed at holding Democrats accountable. ‘Congressman Braley and Sen. Kay Hagen [*sic*] have something in common. They both campaigned on being veterans advocates, they were going to help fix the VA. But once they got into office, the situation at the VA got worse and they didn’t really devote enough attention to it,’ he says.” [NPR.org, [9/10/14](#)]

Caldwell Claimed That The Group's Ads Attacking Hagan Were "Issue Advocacy," Rather Than Political.

According to Roll Call, "Concerned Veterans of America is run by and champions veterans, countered Dan Caldwell, the group's issues and campaign manager, a veteran himself. The group fills a void in the veterans' community, he said, by advocating VA changes, deficit reduction and national security. Caldwell acknowledged the VA scandal "changed the whole dynamic of our organization," but denied that the group's high-dollar attacks on such Democrats as North Carolina incumbent Kay Hagan and Bruce Braley in Iowa for failing to help veterans are political. [...] "These ads we consider issue advocacy," Caldwell said." [Roll Call, [9/30/14](#)]

American Future Fund Released 10 YouTube Videos Supporting Hagan's Libertarian Opponent For His Support Of Legalizing Marijuana

American Future Fund Released A Series Of 10 YouTube Videos That Urged Voters Who Supported "More Weed, Less War" To Vote For Libertarian Sean Haugh Instead Of Hagan During The 2014 North Carolina Senate Election. According to the News & Observer's website, Under the Dome Blog, "A series of 10 YouTube commercials appeared this week supporting Sean Haugh, but they weren't produced or funded by the libertarian Senate candidate. The American Future Fund – a national conservative group with ties to the billionaire Koch brothers – posted the videos urging voters who support 'more weed, less war' to cast a ballot for Haugh instead of Democratic Sen. Kay Hagan. [...] 'Haugh supports the legalization of marijuana. Others tout his support for pulling American troops out of foreign wars and cleaning up the environment. 'Kay Hagan doesn't support any of this,' notes a young woman in an earth-tone flannel shirt." [Under the Dome Blog via NewsObserver.com, [10/22/14](#)]

- **One Of American Future Fund's Videos Features A Group Chanting The Slogan "Get Haugh, Get High."** According to the News & Observer's website, Under the Dome Blog, "One video [from American Future Fund] features a group of young adults chanting the slogan 'get Haugh, get high.'" [Under the Dome Blog via NewsObserver.com, [10/22/14](#)]
- **Libertarian Senate Candidate Sean Haugh On AFF Ads: "I've Never Spoken With AFF. I'm Happy When Anyone Promotes My Message Accurately And Tells Anyone Why They Should Vote Libertarian."** According to the News & Observer's website, Under the Dome Blog, "[Sean] Haugh posted a statement about the ads on his Facebook page Wednesday morning. 'These ads came as a complete surprise to me,' he wrote. 'The source makes the intent obvious. I've never spoken with AFF. I'm happy when anyone promotes my message accurately and tells anyone why they should vote Libertarian.' The Haugh campaign's videos are far less slick, generally featuring the candidate casually addressing the camera while sipping a craft beer at a kitchen counter." [Under the Dome Blog via NewsObserver.com, [10/22/14](#)]

Freedom Partners Denied Involvement In The Pro-Haugh Campaign, But American Future Fund Received Funds From The Koch-Backed Group American Commitment During The 2014 Cycle

Freedom Partners Spokesman James Davis Claimed That The Organization Had "Not Given American Future Fund Any Grants" Between 2013 And 2014, And Had "No Involvement" With Their Pro-Haugh Campaign.

According to The Washington Post's Post Politics blog, "American Future Fund, a tax-exempt organization based in West Des Moines, has been frequently used as a pass-through for political money on the right. In the 2012 campaign, it was a major player in a network of politically active nonprofits supported by the billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and other conservative donors. But James Davis, a spokesman for Freedom Partners, the main financial arm of the Koch-backed network, said it no longer funds the Iowa group and has nothing to do with its pro-Haugh campaign. 'Freedom Partners has not given American Future Fund any grants in the last two years and has no involvement with their current campaign in North Carolina,' Davis said in a statement." [Post Politics via Washington Post, [10/23/14](#)]

92 Percent Of American Future Fund's 2012 Revenue Came From Two Organizations Connected To Charles And David Koch: Freedom Partners And The Center To Protect Patient Rights. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, "American Future Fund, a politically active nonprofit based in Iowa that reported spending more than \$25 million in last year's elections on ads and other communications benefiting Republicans, received more than 92 percent of its 2012 revenues from two organizations connected to Charles and David Koch. According to the group's annual tax form, filed with the IRS in mid-November and obtained by *OpenSecrets Blog*, its income came to \$67.9 million last year -- a sharp increase from

the \$2.6 million it registered in 2011, a nonelection year. [...] The Center to Protect Patient Rights (CPPR), a political nonprofit that has served as something of an ATM for other groups and is run by someone who is part of the Kochs' network of conservative operatives, gave AFF \$49.2 million last year. Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce, also a 501(c) whose board members are all connected to the billionaire Koch brothers, chipped in \$13.6 million. Freedom Partners also provided most of CPPR's budget, \$115 million out of nearly \$147 million, last year." [Center for Responsive Politics, [12/9/13](#)]

AFF Founder Nick Ryan Declined To Say Who Was Supporting The Group's Pro-Haugh Campaign. According to The Washington Post's Post Politics blog, "Nick Ryan, AFF's founder, declined to say who was supporting the campaign. 'As a practice, we don't comment on who does or does not contribute to our organization,' he wrote in an email. He added that the goal of the pro-Haugh campaign 'is straightforward — share information with voters about where Sean Haugh stands on a variety of issues.' Ryan said the campaign is now generating so much buzz that AFF plans to expand its initial \$225,000 buy." [Post Politics via Washington Post, [10/23/14](#)]

American Future Fund Received \$65,000 From American Commitment In 2013. According to the 2013 American Commitment IRS Form 990, the organization granted \$65,000 to American Future Fund. [2013 American Commitment IRS Form 990 via Conservative Transparency, [8/12/14](#)]

- **American Commitment Received 87 Percent Of Its Funding Between 2011 And 2013 From Koch-Connected Nonprofits.** According to The Center for Public Integrity, "The group, American Commitment, received 87 percent of its \$13 million in funding between 2011 and 2013 from three Koch-connected nonprofits: the Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce, the Center to Protect Patient Rights and Free Enterprise America, according to tax filings reviewed by the Center for Public Integrity." [Center for Public Integrity, [11/20/14](#)]

GenOpp Spent At Least \$800,000 Mobilizing Voters Against Hagan

In June, Generation Opportunity Launched An \$800,000 Campaign To "Mobilize Young Voters Against Hagan." According to the News & Observer, "The ad will run online throughout the state over the next month, according to GenOpp. In June, Generation Opportunity kicked off an \$800,000 campaign to mobilize young voters against Hagan. GenOpp declined to say how much it's spending on the campaign, but indicated it is in addition to the \$800,000 spent earlier." [News & Observer, [9/24/14](#)]

GenOpp Purchased An Online Advertisement Criticizing Sen. Hagan For Voting To "Allow States To Make Large Online Retailers Pay Sales Tax On Goods." According to the News & Observer, "A youth advocacy organization created and funded by the Koch brothers is buying an online commercial portraying Democratic U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan as out of touch with young people. Why the criticism? Because of Hagan's vote last year that would allow states to make large online retailers pay sales tax on goods. Republican Sen. Richard Burr also voted for it. There has been talk that the bill could be resurrected in the House but it has been dormant since clearing the Senate." [News & Observer, [9/24/14](#)]

GenOpp NC Director Alex Johnson Said That Hagan's "Vote In Favor Of The Internet Sales Tax And Continued Support Clearly Shows Her Strong Interest In Pandering To Special Interest Groups Instead Of Supporting Young Entrepreneurs." According to the News & Observer, "Senator Kay Hagan's previous vote in favor of the internet sales tax and continued support clearly shows her strong interest in pandering to special interest groups instead of supporting young entrepreneurs in North Carolina," North Carolina director Alex Johnson says in a news release." [News & Observer, [9/24/14](#)]

60 Plus Included Hagan In An Ad Campaign Criticizing Senators Who Supported Reforms To The Mortgage Industry

60 Plus Launched An Ad Campaign In April 2014 Against Members Of The Senate Banking Committee, Including Sen. Hagan, Who Sponsored Legislation To "Allow The Government To Take Over The Mortgage Industry In An Action 'Disturbingly Similar' To Obamacare. According to a press release by 60 Plus Association, "The 60 Plus Association today released TV and radio advertisements in seven states targeting Senate Banking Committee Members who are sponsoring recently introduced legislation that will allow the government to take over the mortgage industry in an action 'disturbingly similar' to Obamacare." [60 Plus Association, [3/31/16](#)]

- **According To The Bipartisan Policy Center, The Housing Finance Reform And Taxpayer Protection Act Of 2014 Aimed To “Wind Down” Fannie Mae And Freddie Mac With Mortgage-Backed Securities.** According to the Bipartisan Policy Center, “The Housing Finance Reform and Taxpayer Protection Act of 2014, commonly known as Johnson-Crapo, aimed to wind down and replace the government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs), Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, with a system of paid-for federal guarantees of the timely payment of principal and interest to investors in ‘eligible’ mortgage-backed securities (MBS).” [Bipartisan Policy Center, [8/3/16](#)]

FactCheck.org Called The Ad, Which Claimed Sen. Kay Hagan Was “Teaming Up With Barack Obama To Take Over The Mortgage Industry,” A “Huge Stretch.” According to an article featuring the work of FactCheck.org that investigates a 60 Plus ad that ran in April 2014, “Claim: [Sen. Kay] Hagan is ‘teaming up with Barack Obama to take over the mortgage industry.’ Facts: This is a huge stretch.” [Factcheck.org, [10/13/14](#)]

- **FactCheck.org Wrote That The “Bipartisan Effort In The Senate To Restructure The Housing Finance Market And Wind Down Fannie And Freddie” Didn’t Amount To A Government “Takeover” Of The Mortgage Industry.** According to an article featuring the work of FactCheck.org that investigates a 60 Plus ad that ran in April 2014, “This is a huge stretch. In fact, the bipartisan legislation in question is an attempt to roll back the government’s involvement in the insurance industry. This claim, featured in an ad from the 60 Plus Association, a conservative advocacy group, is based on a bipartisan effort in the Senate to restructure the housing finance market and wind down Fannie and Freddie. [...] Does that amount to a government ‘takeover’ of the mortgage industry? Not compared with the way things work today.” [Factcheck.org, [10/13/14](#)]

State Legislature

THE KOCH NETWORK HAD “A STRONG INFLUENCE” OVER NORTH CAROLINA’S REPUBLICAN PARTY

Washington Post: The Koch Network Has “A Strong Influence” Over North Carolina’s Republican Party. According to the Washington Post, “North Carolina, in particular, may present a challenge for Trump. The political network of conservative industrialist brothers Charles and David Koch has a strong influence in the state party as well as an aversion to Trump. Trump has not participated in most Koch-related events this year and, unlike other candidates, his campaign has not been offered valuable data about voters by Koch affiliates, said sources familiar with both operations.” [Washington Post, [8/25/15](#)]

Politico: The Koch Brothers “Helped North Carolina Republicans Build A Robust Conservative Infrastructure And Fundraising Network, Leading To The GOP Winning Both The Governor’s Mansion And The State Legislature In The Same Year For The First Time Since Reconstruction.” According to Politico, “Cash from groups backed by the Koch brothers and others helped North Carolina Republicans build a robust conservative infrastructure and fundraising network, leading to the GOP winning both the governor’s mansion and the state legislature in the same year for the first time since Reconstruction.” [Politico, [5/11/13](#)]

The Kochs Spent Over \$460,000 To Replace Moderate Republican Legislators With Radicals To Advance Their Agenda

News & Observer: Efforts By Koch Brothers In North Carolina A Few Years Before 2014 To Replace More Moderate Republicans With “More Conservative And Radical Ones” In North Carolina Worked “Dramatically.” According to The News & Observer, “The Koch brothers reportedly spent \$3 million in the last Kansas state legislative primary elections, focusing on bumping off more moderate Republicans and replacing them with more conservative and radical ones, and had a huge impact. A similar effort worked dramatically a few years earlier in North Carolina.” [News & Observer, [3/24/16](#)]

- **2010: AFP Spent Nearly \$285,000 On North Carolina Legislative Contests, Much Of That Going To Support HB2 Co-Sponsor Republican Rep. Jonathan Jordan And A Number Of Other Lawmakers Who Voted For HB2.** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP), a conservative ‘social

welfare’ organization that Pope helped found with billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and to which Pope has contributed generously, spent nearly \$285,000 in 2010 on North Carolina legislative contests, with much of that going to support HB2 co-sponsor Republican Rep. Jonathan Jordan of Jefferson and a number of other lawmakers who voted for HB2. Then in 2012, AFP spent \$130,000 supporting McCrory and contributed \$83,000 to help elect 11 Republican state lawmakers who voted for HB2, including primary sponsor Bob Steinburg of Edenton and co-sponsors Michele Presnell of Burnsville and Michael Speciale of New Bern.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [5/6/16](#)]

- 2012: AFP Contributed \$83,000 To Help Elect 11 Republican State Lawmakers Who Voted For HB2, Including Primary Sponsor Bob Steinburg Of Edenton And Co-Sponsors Michele Presnell Of Burnsville And Michael Speciale Of New Bern.** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP), a conservative ‘social welfare’ organization that Pope helped found with billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and to which Pope has contributed generously, spent nearly \$285,000 in 2010 on North Carolina legislative contests, with much of that going to support HB2 co-sponsor Republican Rep. Jonathan Jordan of Jefferson and a number of other lawmakers who voted for HB2. Then in 2012, AFP spent \$130,000 supporting McCrory and contributed \$83,000 to help elect 11 Republican state lawmakers who voted for HB2, including primary sponsor Bob Steinburg of Edenton and co-sponsors Michele Presnell of Burnsville and Michael Speciale of New Bern.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [5/6/16](#)]

Between 2010 And 2016, Koch Industries And Americans For Prosperity Contributed At Least \$460,379 To North Carolina State House And Senate Candidates. According to the FEC filings, between 2010 and 2016 Koch Industries and Americans for Prosperity contributed at least \$460,379 to North Carolina State House and Senate candidates. This information is further detailed in the following table:

Contributor	Date	Target	Office	Purpose	Amount
Koch Industries PAC	10/23/2015	Mike Hager	State House	Direct Contribution	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	10/23/2015	Tim Moore	State House	Direct Contribution	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	10/23/2015	Harry Brown	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	10/23/2015	Phil Berger	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$5,000
Koch Industries PAC	10/23/2015	Jason Saine	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,500
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Tom Apodaca	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Mike Hager	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Rick Catlin	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Mike Lee	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	10/7/2014	Tim Moffit	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Ted Davis	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Tim Moore	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Harry Brown	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	John Bell	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Justin Burr	State	Direct Contribution	\$2,000

			House		
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	Phil Berger	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/30/2014	William Rabon	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Americans for Prosperity	10/24/2012	Bill Cook	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$4,869.64
Americans for Prosperity	10/24/2012	Bill Cook	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$4,869.64
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Michael Speciale	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$3,905.54
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Bob Steinburg	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$4,876
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Richard Button	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$7,297.53
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Michael Presnell	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$6,969.81
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Tim Moffitt	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$6,586.59
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Nathan Ramsey	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$7,300.14
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	John Szoka	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$6,058.59
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Tom Murray	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$6,309.15
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Rob Bryan	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$7,352.16
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Mike Stone	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$11,469.54
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Dennis Riddell	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$5,998.77
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Steve Ross	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$6,719.25
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Chris Malone	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$6,561.45
Americans for Prosperity	10/9/2012	Jim Davis	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$13,050.09
Americans for Prosperity	4/30/2012	Marcus Brandon	State House	Independent Expenditure: Direct Mail	\$5,100
Koch Industries PAC	9/28/2012	Harry Brown	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/28/2012	Phil Berger	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$4,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/28/2012	Paul Stam	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	9/28/2012	Thom Tillis	State House	Direct Contribution	\$4,000
Koch Industries PAC	4/26/2012	Thom Tillis	State House	Direct Contribution	\$4,000
Koch Industries PAC	4/26/2012	Harry Brown	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Koch Industries PAC	4/26/2012	Phil Berger	State Senate	Direct Contribution	\$4,000

Koch Industries PAC	4/26/2012	Paul Stam	State House	Direct Contribution	\$2,000
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Johnny Dawkins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$5,097.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Bill Brawley	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$5,097.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Rayne Brown	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$5,097.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jackie Warner	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,946.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jimmy Dixon	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,946.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Wesley Meredith	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,946.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Buck Newton	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$10,002
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Brent Jackson	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$10,002
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Louis Pate	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$10,002
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Tim Moffitt	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$7,305.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jonathan Jordan	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$7,305.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Mike Stone	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$7,305.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Ralph Hise	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$8,764.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jeff Collins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$8,764.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	John Szoka	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$8,764.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Bill Cook	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$13,504
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Rick Gunn	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$13,504
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Dan Soucek	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$13,504
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Tom Murry	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$12,434
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Johnny Dawkins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$689.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Bill Brawley	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$689.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Rayne Brown	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$689.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jackie Warner	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$938
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jimmy Dixon	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$938
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Wesley Meredith	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$938
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Buck Newton	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,351.33

Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Brent Jackson	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,351.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Louis Pate	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,351.33
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Tim Moffitt	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$986.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jonathan Jordan	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$986.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Mike Stone	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$986.66
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Ralph Hise	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,184
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Jeff Collins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,184
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	John Szoka	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,184
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Bill Cook	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,824
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Rick Gunn	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,824
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Dan Soucek	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,824
Americans for Prosperity	10/4/2010	Tom Murry	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$1,680
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Johnny Dawkins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$2,552
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Bill Brawley	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$2,552
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Rayne Brown	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$2,552
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Jackie Warner	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$3,473.33
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Jimmy Dixon	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$3,473.33
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Wesley Meredith	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$3,473.33
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Buck Newton	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$5,001
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Brent Jackson	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$5,001
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Louis Pate	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$5,001
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Tim Moffitt	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$3,652.66
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Jonathan Jordan	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$3,652.66
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Mike Stone	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$3,652.66
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Ralph Hise	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$4,382.33
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Jeff Collins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$4,382.33
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	John Szoka	State	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$4,382.33

Prosperity			House		
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Bill Cook	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,752
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Rick Gunn	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,752
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Dan Soucek	State Senate	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,752
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Tom Murry	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$6,217
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Johnny Dawkins	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$344.66
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Bill Brawley	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$344.66
Americans for Prosperity	9/15/2010	Rayne Brown	State House	Independent Expenditure: Signers	\$344.66
Total:					\$460,379

[North Carolina State Board of Elections, accessed 9/26/16]

The Koch Brothers Were Among The Largest Donors To The Republican State Leadership Committee

Koch Brothers Were Among The Largest Donors To North Carolina's Republican State Leadership Committee.

According to the Los Angeles Times, "The biggest donors to the Republican State Leadership Committee were corporations and businessmen. Tobacco company RJ Reynolds, the Chamber of Commerce, Blue Cross/Blue Shield and the Koch brothers were among the largest donors, according to data gathered by the Center for Responsive Politics. But the committee's ads often said little about economic issues, instead hammering judges as soft on criminals; such gut appeals are often more effective, say experts on judicial elections." [Los Angeles Times, [11/23/14](#)]

- **Republican State Leadership Targeted Democratic North Carolina Supreme Court Justice Robin Hudson.** According to the Los Angeles Times, "[Justice Robin] Hudson, a Democrat on the North Carolina Supreme Court, was one of the state-level judges targeted this year by the Republican State Leadership Committee, which spent \$4 million nationwide on an effort to tilt state courts in a conservative direction." [Los Angeles Times, [11/23/14](#)]

AFP CONTINUED THEIR CAMPAIGN FOR IDEOLOGUES INTO 2016

AFP-North Carolina State Director Donald Bryson Has Not "Ruled Out Singling Out Republicans In 2016 Who Keep Voting Counter To What They Consider Conservative And Free-Market Principles."

According to the Associated Press, "Neither De Luca nor Americans for Prosperity state director Donald Bryson have ruled out singling out Republicans in 2016 who keep voting counter to what they consider conservative and free-market principles. Bryson's group educated voters about Democratic U.S. Sen. Kay Hagan on what it considered her bad policies during her unsuccessful 2014 re-election bid. A final state budget vote will come this summer." [Associated Press, [5/31/15](#)]

AFP Singled Out Republican Rep. Nelson Dollar With A Multimedia Campaign

AFP-North Carolina Launched An Online Ad Called, "Nelson Dollar Sold Out Taxpayers," The Week That The House's Spending Plan That Rep. Nelson Dollar Helped Produce Was Approved. According to the Associated Press, "It was 2004 when state Rep. David Miner, running for re-election, felt an avalanche of campaign mailers and ads from an outside advocacy group criticizing him for backing a state budget that extended temporary tax increases. 'You've got to make those tough decisions when you're in charge,' Miner said in an interview recalling his time as a finance committee chairman. Miner was one of several House GOP leaders targeted then during a nasty intraparty feud pitting Republicans who entered a power-sharing arrangement with Democrats and those who believed doing so betrayed party principles. Miner's primary opponent, Nelson Dollar, defeated Miner that year. Eleven years later it's Dollar — senior chairman of the House Appropriations Committee — and other Republicans getting rapped by similar conservative advocacy groups. 'Nelson Dollar Sold Out Taxpayers,' read an online ad released by the state chapter of Americans for Prosperity the week that the House's spending plan that Dollar helped produce was approved." [Associated Press, [5/31/15](#)]

AFP Supported Rep. Nelson Dollar's Republican Primary Challenger

WRAL: Rep. Nelson Dollar Weathered His Primary Campaign After A Challenge From Mark Villee, A Cary Business Owner Who Was Backed By Americans For Prosperity And Republican Financier Bob Luddy. According to WRAL, “A pair of top House leaders who had been challenged from their political right led the list of legislative incumbents who weathered their primary campaigns Tuesday. Rep. Nelson Dollar, R-Wake, and Rep. David Lewis, R-Harnett, both held commanding leads as unofficial results rolled into the State Board of Elections. Dollar has been the top budget writer in the state House, while Lewis is the powerful Rules Committee chairman. Both faced challengers who said they had lost sight of their conservative roots. In a Cary-based district, Dollar faced a challenge from Mark Villee, a Cary business owner who was backed by Republican financier Bob Luddy and Americans for Prosperity, a conservative nonprofit group.” [WRAL, [3/15/16](#)]

AFP Attacked Rep. Dollar For Supporting Green Energy Mandates And Tax Credits

AFP-NC Launched Canvasses And Phone Banks Targeting Republican Rep. Nelson Dollar, Alleging He Supported Special Interest Giveaways And His Votes “Stifled Competition And Padded The Profits Of Select Energy Companies.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina (AFP-NC) activated neighborhood canvassing and phone banks in N.C. House District 36 this week informing residents of ‘special interest giveaways’ supported by local Rep. Nelson Dollar. The awareness efforts point out that Rep. Dollar’s votes have stifled competition and padded the profits of select energy companies.” [Americans for Prosperity, [2/10/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC’s Door Hangers Claimed Rep Dollar “Voted For A North Carolina Solyndra.”**



[Americans for Prosperity, [2/10/16](#)]

- **AFP-NC: Rep. Nelson Dollar “Supported A Two-Year Extension Of A 35% Tax Credit For Companies Investing In ‘Green’ Energy Sources” And “Voted Twice In The Last Three Years To Keep The State’s ‘Green’ Energy Mandate In Place.”** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Rep. Dollar’s votes for special energy interests are corrupting North Carolina’s energy market,” said AFP-NC communications director Joseph Kyzer. “This tax giveaway ballooned to nearly \$1 billion over 10 years, yet Rep. Dollar supported extending this special treatment at the expense of North Carolina taxpayers.” Rep. Nelson Dollar supported a two-year extension of a 35% tax credit for companies investing in ‘green’ energy sources. The tax credit had been in place since 2009 and was set to expire on December 31st. Kyzer continued: “While supporting special interest tax loopholes at the expense of state residents, Rep. Dollar has also voted twice in the last three years to keep the state’s ‘green’ energy

mandate in place. Not only do these special interests receive tax loopholes, but North Carolina consumers are mandated to buy their product.” [Americans for Prosperity, [2/10/16](#)]

AFP LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES

AFP's Lobbying Approach Prioritized Maintaining Sustained Pressure On Conservative Ideals

AFP Launched A New Arm Of The Group's Website That “Lays Out A Four-Pronged Approach To Lobbying At The General Assembly.” According to WRAL.com, “[AFP-North Carolina State Director Donald] Bryson pointed to a new arm of AFP's website that lays out a four-pronged approach to lobbying at the General Assembly. Nothing in the group's ‘jobs agenda’ is a shift in philosophy for AFP, which continues to advocate for lower taxes and against state subsidies for the renewable energy sector.” [WRAL.com, [5/27/15](#)]

- **AFP Executives Announced They Would “Try To Keep Sustained Pressure On The General Assembly For A Number Of Conservative Ideals Rather Than Intervening On A Case-By-Case Basis.”** According to WRAL.com, “Executives with Americans for Prosperity said Tuesday they would try to keep sustained pressure on the General Assembly for a number of conservative ideals rather than intervening on a case-by-case basis.” [WRAL.com, [5/27/15](#)]

Promoting Free-Market Economics

AFP Thanked Five North Carolina State Lawmakers “For Steadfast Commitments To Free-Market Economic Reforms.” According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity – North Carolina’s leading advocate for economic freedom – thanked five state lawmakers Monday for steadfast commitments to free-market economic reforms. ‘We’re recognizing the hard work of these legislators who stood up for citizens and constituents in a test of will for taxpayer protections,’ said Communications Director Joseph Kyzer in a statement. These lawmakers stood strong for a fair private-sector playing field against insider influence seeking handouts for ‘green’ energy companies. [...] We’re thanking these members for taking the hard path to lasting, effective change.” The legislators were Rep. Justin Burr, Sen. Bill Cook, Rep. Carl Ford, Rep. Mike Hager, and Rep. Harry Warren. [Americans for Prosperity, [9/14/15](#)]

Cutting Personal Income And Business Taxes

AFP-NC Praised General Assembly Leaders For Proposed Reductions In Personal Income And Business Taxes As Part Of The 2015 State Budget. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity’s North Carolina chapter praised General Assembly leaders for proposed reductions in personal income and business taxes as part of the 2015 state budget. The measure – which passed the Senate 37-13 on Wednesday – will cut taxes by more than \$2 billion, restrain government spending, and keep more money in the pockets of North Carolina’s hardworking taxpayers.” [Americans for Prosperity, [9/16/15](#)]

AFP's 2016 Legislative Jobs Agenda: Opposing Taxes, Renewable Energy Standards And Jobs Development Grants

AFP Announced Its 2016 Legislative Jobs Agenda, Advocating For No Tax Increases, Passage Of The “Taxpayer Protection Act,” Freezing The Renewable Energy Portfolio Standard, Tightly Capping The Jobs Development Incentive Grants And Opposing Film Grants And Certificate Of Need Laws. According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “Americans for Prosperity-North Carolina (AFP-NC) today announced its 2016 legislative Jobs Agenda with a ‘Back to Work’ theme. AFP-NC is encouraging lawmakers to provide further tax relief and government deregulation in the session starting April 25 by highlighting the state’s rapid job creation and economic growth since tax reforms passed in 2013. [...] North Carolina ‘Back to Work’ Jobs Agenda 2016[:] Passage of a state budget that controls spending without tax increases; An increase in the standard deduction to provide more tax relief for families; End the \$30 million annual taxpayer film grants to movie studios Passage of Senate Bill 607 – Taxpayer Protection Act – in the state House, to limit the growth of state government spending; Passage of House Bill 760 – Regulatory Reform Act of 2015 – in the state Senate, to freeze the Renewable Energy Portfolio Standard; Passage of House Bill 3 – Eminent Domain – to clarify and limit state and local governments’ power of eminent domain; Continued commitment to long-term occupational licensure reform[:] Keeping a

tight budget cap of \$50 million on Jobs Development Incentive Grants[;] Passage of patient-centered health care reform through reform of the state's Certificate of Need (CON) laws[.]” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/19/16](#)]

- **AFP Planned To Promote Its Agenda On Freedom Action Network In April 2016.** According to a post on the Americans for Prosperity website, “State Director Donald Bryson joins Freedom Action Network radio at 4 pm on Tuesday, April 19, 2016 to discuss the Jobs Agenda on ‘What Matters’ with Chad Adams.” [Americans for Prosperity, [4/19/16](#)]