

# HOW CONSERVATIVES TOOK OVER WISCONSIN

APRIL 2014



**BRIDGE  
PROJECT**

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# INTRODUCTION

Wisconsin's current political landscape looks wildly different than it did just a few years ago. Long a state with reliably Democratic leanings, everything changed in 2010 when conservative outside groups helped flip the state legislature and governor's office from blue to red.

Led by Governor Scott Walker, the state's new Republican leadership quickly set about imposing its extreme conservative agenda. They introduced an assault on collective bargaining rights that effectively cut public workers' pay and destroyed their ability to negotiate over health coverage, safety, or sick leave. The severity of the bill prompted impassioned protests centered around the state capitol and forced Republican lawmakers to use underhanded measures to pass it without a single Democrat. Although a judge initially blocked the law because of the Republican tactics, it was reinstated by the state Supreme Court, which had maintained a conservative majority thanks to a narrowly re-elected justice whose campaign got significant support from right-wing interest groups.

In 2011, Republicans enacted one of the most restrictive voter ID laws in the country – although it was later placed on hold due to court challenges – as well as a Stand Your Ground-style gun law and a measure allowing concealed weapons in public parks, bars, and near schools. They also passed a budget cutting taxes for businesses and the wealthy, increasing the burden on low-income families, and slashing \$800 million from K-12 education in a way that hit high-poverty districts the hardest. The next year, they passed an abstinence-only education bill and limited certain types of abortions. In 2013, Walker signed one bill forcing medically unnecessary ultrasounds on women seeking abortions and another – currently under injunction – imposing requirements that could force some of the state's abortion clinics to close. So far this year, Republicans have stalled a minimum wage increase, interfered with local minimum wage laws, and further limited voting opportunities.

The unpopularity of Walker's anti-worker bill sparked a movement to recall the governor, lieutenant governor, and several state senators. However, an all-out assault of cash and support from conservative groups helped nearly all of them survive their recalls. Just a few months after the final recall contests, thanks in large part to partisan gerrymandering that occurred after their 2010 victories, the GOP repeated its success in the 2012 general elections.

The Republican Party's good fortune in the Badger State wasn't merely a mirror of the Tea Party wave that benefitted Republicans across the nation in 2010; it was part of a strategy crafted on the national level and carried out with the cooperation of prominent conservative interest groups and donors, including Charles and David Koch. The Koch brothers' company heavily supported Walker's 2010 campaign and spent on behalf of 16 Republican state candidates, all of whom won their elections. Yet the Wisconsin branch of Americans for Prosperity, a Koch-founded and -financed group, made an even bigger splash, reportedly spending \$10 million to support Walker's policy agenda and buying ads during his recall election.

Along with the Kochs, the Milwaukee-based Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation helped fuel the surge in Wisconsin by doling out money to a wide variety of conservative advocacy groups. As Bradley Foundation president Michael Grebe, who also chaired Walker's gubernatorial and recall campaigns, put it, "In some way or another, most (local) conservatives, I guess, would have a connection to us."

The state-based groups working to support the right-wing agenda include Wisconsin Club for Growth, Citizens for a Strong America (funded almost entirely by Wisconsin Club for Growth), Wisconsin Right to Life, the DeVos-linked American Federation for Children, and Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce. Driving the plot from the national level were the Republican State Leadership Committee, which planned and largely bankrolled a nationwide strategy to control redistricting, and Karl Rove's American Crossroads.

According to news reports, a number of the above groups are involved in an ongoing investigation into whether they illegally coordinated with Republican candidates during Wisconsin's recall elections.

# **GOP TAKEOVER OF WISCONSIN**

## **2010 Elections And Republican Takeover**

**Before The 2010 Elections, Wisconsin Was A “Navy Blue” State That “Aspired To Lead The Nation In Carrying Out The Federal Health Care Law.”** According to the New York Times, “Until Election Day, when Wisconsin turned from navy blue to crimson red, this state aspired to lead the nation in carrying out the federal health care law and using its incentives to regulate and reshape the medical delivery system. The current governor, Jim Doyle, a two-term Democrat, praised the law as ‘a great benefit to Wisconsin.’” [New York Times, [11/18/10](#)]

**In 2010, Wisconsin Moved “From Democratic Dominion To Total Republican Control.”** According to the New York Times, “The tectonic movement in state politics across the country after the Nov. 2 election has left the health care law in hostile hands in many places, just as responsibility for carrying out the law begins to fall most heavily on the states. But nowhere might the shift cause as much whiplash as in Wisconsin, one of two states, along with Maine, that moved from Democratic dominion to total Republican control.” [New York Times, [11/18/10](#)]

**Milwaukee Journal Sentinel: Wisconsin Was “The Only State In The Country Where Democrats Lost The Governorship, A Senate Seat And An Entire Legislature.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Here in Wisconsin, Republicans gained a governor and U.S. senator in the same election for the first time since 1938. This was the only state in the country where Democrats lost the governorship, a Senate seat and an entire legislature.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/3/10](#)]

- **“Republicans Captured A Majority Of Wisconsin's Congressional Seats For The First Time In 14 Years.”** According to the USA Today, “Republicans captured a majority of Wisconsin's congressional seats for the first time in 14 years on Tuesday, ousting a Democratic incumbent and winning the open seat held by Rep. David Obey for a generation.” [USA Today, [11/3/10](#)]
- **Republican Ron Johnson Defeated Democrat Russ Feingold, “Becoming The State's First Republican Senator In 18 Years.”** According to the USA Today, “A businessman who sought support from the tea party has toppled one of the Senate's most prominent liberals. Republican Ron Johnson defeated three-term Democrat Russ Feingold on Tuesday, becoming the state's first Republican senator in 18 years.” [USA Today, [11/3/10](#)]

**Fourteen Incumbent Democratic Legislators Who Lost In 2010 “Were Targeted By Independent Spenders To The Tune Of \$1.6 Million.”** According to the National Institute on Money in State Politics, “Fourteen unsuccessful Democratic incumbent legislators (nine assembly members and five senators) were targeted by independent spenders to the tune of \$1.6 million. And, although \$1.2 million was independently spent supporting them, all were defeated. [National Institute on Money in State Politics, [11/9/11](#)]



# Post-2010 Politicized Redistricting

## **The GOP's Control Of The Legislature Gave Them Control Over Wisconsin's Redistricting.**

According to the Center for Public Integrity, "In Wisconsin, redistricting based on the 2010 Census was done largely in secret by the Republicans who controlled the state Legislature. Democrats accused the GOP of using this opportunity to cement its electoral advantage, which in itself is not illegal." [Center for Public Integrity, [11/20/12](#)]

## **Wisconsin's GOP "Unveiled Maps On July 8, Held A Single Public Hearing Five Days Later, And Within Two Weeks, Passed The Plan."**

According to the Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, "In decades past, after the federal government's spring release of census data, municipalities drew up wards by August. Legislators used those local demarcations to draw the larger districts. But in 2011, with both houses of the Legislature and the governor's office in GOP hands, the process was radically condensed by the majority party. Republican legislators unveiled maps on July 8, held a single public hearing five days later, and within two weeks, passed the plan. Instead of waiting for local governments to draw wards, as the law required, legislators changed the law and went first." [Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, [3/19/12](#)]

## **Republican Legislators In Wisconsin Signed Pledges Promising To Not Discuss Redistricting Publicly And Were Also Warned "To Ignore Public Comments About The Maps."**

According to the Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, "In January 2012, the flaws became even more obvious, when election officials confirmed that the maps didn't always match up to municipal boundaries. Although it was not learned until February, Republican legislators signed pledges during the drafting process that they would not discuss redistricting publicly. Their stance was based on a supposed attorney-client privilege stemming from the use of a law firm to draw up the maps. A GOP memo also warned lawmakers to ignore public comments about the maps." [Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, [3/19/12](#)]

## **GOP Maps "Contained Dozens Of Political Islands Where Residents Would Have Different Representation Than Their Neighbors."**

According to the Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, "Madison's mayor, Paul Soglin, who was elected as a nonpartisan, said the 2011 map drawn by GOP legislators looked 'like moths have gotten in and eaten parts' of the city. It contained dozens of political islands where residents would have different representation than their neighbors. City officials said the map would force them to redraw ward maps and add new wards, including six below the 1,000-person threshold — one with just 31 people, jeopardizing voters' anonymity. 'We were not consulted in any of this,' Dan Thompson, executive director of the Wisconsin League of Municipalities, told the State Journal." [Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, [3/19/12](#)]

## **A Federal Court Called Redistricting In Wisconsin A "Peculiarly Furtive Process" And An "Unfortunate Chapter In Wisconsin Political History."**

According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "A federal court hearing a challenge to Wisconsin's Republican-led redistricting sharply criticized the expensive, secretive, and 'peculiarly furtive process' employed by the GOP in drawing and defending the maps, but announced a close to 'this unfortunate chapter in Wisconsin political history.' 'We cannot help but conclude that the people of Wisconsin deserve better in the next round of redistricting after the 2020 census,' the three-judge panel wrote. [...] The challenge itself was resolved over a year ago, with the court sharply criticizing the GOP's 'all but shameful attempt to hide the redistricting process from public scrutiny,' but the judges ultimately upholding most of the maps since there are limited grounds for courts to strike-down redistricting." [Center for Media and Democracy, [6/4/13](#)]

# 2011 Fight To Keep The Wisconsin Supreme Court Conservative

**In 2011, Incumbent Conservative Supreme Court Justice David Prosser Narrowly Defeated Challenger, Assistant Attorney General JoAnne Kloppenburg.** According to the Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, “With the weeks-long recount complete, unofficial numbers confirm that state Supreme Court Justice David Prosser narrowly defeated Assistant Attorney General JoAnne Kloppenburg in the April 5 election. [...] The struggle over the court seat was magnified by the state's political divisions, with conservatives lining up behind Prosser and liberals siding with Kloppenburg. During the primary, the officially nonpartisan campaign focused on the court's 4-3 split, in which Prosser often - but, he stresses, not always - sides with the conservative majority. Both he and Kloppenburg have insisted they would be impartial, while questioning each other's objectivity.” [Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, [5/20/11](#)]

**Outside Groups Spent \$2.7 Million To Support Justice David Prosser Compared To \$1.8 million To Help JoAnne Kloppenburg.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Spending on the state Supreme Court totaled \$5.4 million, with more than 80% of the money coming from special interest groups that often do not report where they get their money. The report on total spending by the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign details \$4.5 million in spending by third-party groups -- substantially more than earlier estimates on TV spending from the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University. [...] This year's spending by third-party groups was second highest in state history -- \$4.5 million compared to \$4.8 million in the 2008 race. This year the groups spent \$2.7 million to help Prosser and \$1.8 million to help Kloppenburg, the Democracy Campaign found. The two candidates were limited in what they spent because they participated in a program that provided them with taxpayer money for their campaign.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [4/19/11](#)]

- **Conservative Blogger Ed Morrissey: “Prosser Got Helped By An Influx Of Money From Established Conservative Political Groups,” Including Americans For Prosperity And Club For Growth.** According to conservative blogger Ed Morrissey of HotAir.com, “However, Prosser got helped by an influx of money from established conservative political groups, such as Citizens for a Strong America, a group affiliated with Americans for Prosperity, which put in a strong effort to support the Republicans during the fleebagging episode earlier in the year. The Club for Growth's Wisconsin affiliate pitched in \$520,000 on its own for a television ad and a radio spot, and the Tea Party Express bought a TV ad for \$70,000. Put together, those three didn't amount to the same contribution as the GWC on its own, but a total of 35 outside groups spent money in this race. Presumably, the vast majority of the rest broke for Prosser.” [HotAir.com, [4/19/11](#)]

**Prosser Campaign Director: “Our Campaign Efforts Will Include...Protecting The Conservative Judicial Majority And Acting As A Common Sense Complement To Both The New Administration And Legislature.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Kloppenburg was responding to a news release issued Wednesday by Prosser's campaign announcing he had hired Brian Nemoir as his campaign director. Nemoir was quoted in that release as saying: ‘Our campaign efforts will include building an organization that will return Justice Prosser to the bench, protecting the conservative judicial majority and acting as a common sense complement to both the new administration and Legislature.’” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [12/9/10](#)]

**Washington Times: Election Was “Likely To Determine The Fate Of The State's Collective-Bargaining Law.”** According to the Washington Times, “At stake is the balance of the power on the court. With Justice Prosser on the bench, conservatives enjoy a 4-3 advantage, but a

Kloppenburg victory would swing the balance in favor of the liberal wing. How the court goes is likely to determine the fate of the state's collective-bargaining law. State District Court Judge Maryann Sumi already has placed a hold on the law until a legal challenge can be decided, but the state's high court is expected to have the final say." [Washington Times, [4/4/11](#)]

- **In 2011, The State Supreme Court's Conservative Majority Ruled That The Collective-Bargaining Law Was Legal And Overturned A Lower Court Ruling That Found Republican Legislators Had Broken Procedural Rules With It.** According to The New York Times, "The Supreme Court's ruling, issued at the close of the business day, spared lawmakers in the Republican-dominated Capitol from having to do what some of them strongly hoped to avoid: calling for a new vote on the polarizing collective bargaining measure, which had drawn tens of thousands of protesters to Madison this year and led Democratic lawmakers to flee the city in an effort to block the bill. [...] The ruling was 4 to 3, split along what many viewed as the court's predictable conservative-liberal line. The majority of the justices concluded that a lower court was wrong when it found that the Legislature had forced through the cuts in collective bargaining without giving sufficient notice — 24 hours — under the state's open-meetings requirements." [New York Times, [6/14/11](#)]
- **Conservative Justice Prosser Cast The Deciding Vote With The Court's Conservative Majority.** According to The New York Times, "The ruling was 4 to 3, split along what many viewed as the court's predictable conservative-liberal line. [...] Justice David T. Prosser, whose re-election bid was threatened this year because he was seen as a conservative who would cast the deciding vote on the collective bargaining measure if it came before the court, voted to overturn the lower court ruling. He issued his own opinion concurring with the majority." [New York Times, [6/14/11](#)]

## Radical Conservative Legislative Proposals Triggered Unprecedented Recalls

**Republican Legislature Passed Gov. Walker's Anti-Worker Bill With No Democratic Support Despite Weeks Of Public Protest.** According to the Huffington Post, "Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker on Friday signed into law the proposal that eliminates most union rights for public employees, saying he had 'no doubt' that support for the measure would grow over time. The governor's signature on the bill quietly concluded a debate over collective bargaining that provoked three weeks of loud, relentless protests at the Capitol. [...] The governor insisted the proposal was necessary to balance the state budget, and he never backed down, even after 14 Senate Democrats fled the state in an attempt to block the bill. The drama touched off an intense national debate over labor rights for public employees. [...] The measure passed both chambers of the Republican-led state Legislature earlier this week. The Senate cleared the way with a surprise move Wednesday that allowed lawmakers to approve the bill without any Democratic senators present. The state's Assembly followed suit Thursday. In addition to ending collective bargaining, the law forces state workers to pay more for their pensions and health care benefits — changes that will save an estimated \$30 million to help pay down a budget shortfall project to be \$137 million by July 1. The higher payments for state workers will take effect over the coming weeks." [Huffington Post, [3/11/11](#)]

## **2011 Senate Recalls**

**Anti-Worker Legislation's Passage Spurred "A Summer Of Unprecedented Recall Efforts" In Wisconsin.** According to the New York Times, "The outcome was seen as a victory for Gov. Scott Walker, a Republican whose move to curtail collective bargaining rights for public workers this year set off a firestorm of protests, then counterprotests and finally a summer of unprecedented recall efforts." [New York Times, [8/9/11](#)]

**Petitioners Gathered Enough Signatures To Initiate Recall Elections For Six Republicans And Three Democrats.** According to the Washington Post, "The recalls were sparked by Republican legislation to end collective bargaining for public employees in the state, a move that inspired major protests in February and March. Democratic lawmakers fled Wisconsin to avoid voting on the bill; Republicans passed it without them. The recall campaigns on both sides began soon after. [...] Eight Democrats and eight Republicans had been in office long enough to be targeted. Campaigns were launched against all sixteen, but petitioners only gathered enough signatures to recall six Republicans and three Democrats." [Washington Post, [8/10/11](#)]

**Wisconsin GOP "Orchestrated The Placement Of Fake Democrats" In Primaries To Give "Republican Incumbents More Time To Campaign And Distance Themselves The Turmoil Over The Union Law."** According to the Associated Press, "The state Republican Party orchestrated the placement of the fake Democrats on Tuesday's ballot, thereby delaying the general election for a month. That gave the Republican incumbents more time to campaign and distance themselves from the turmoil over the union law that they voted to support in March, spurring the recall efforts." [Associated Press, [9/11/11](#)]

- **In One District, The County Republican Party "Sent Emails And Paid For Phone Calls" For "A Republican On The Ballot As A Democrat" Urging "Republicans To Support Him In The Democratic Primary."** According to the Associated Press, "Five of the six winners had at least 65 percent of the vote, based on unofficial results. The sixth, Shelly Moore, had 54 percent. Moore defeated Issac Weix, a Republican on the ballot as a Democrat who had previously run twice before and lost as a GOP candidate for the state Assembly. The St. Croix County Republican Party sent emails and paid for phone calls on behalf of Weix, urging Republicans to support him in the Democratic primary." [Associated Press, [9/11/11](#)]

**Democrats Won Two Recall Elections Against Incumbent Republicans But Failed To Gain A Majority In The State Senate.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Democrats won two state Senate seats in Tuesday's historic recall elections, but failed to capture a third seat that would have given them control of the chamber. By keeping a majority in the Senate, Republicans retained their monopoly on state government because they also hold the Assembly and governor's office. Tuesday's elections narrowed their majority -- at least for now -- from 19-14 to a razor-thin 17-16." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel via LexisNexis, 8/10/11]

- **All Three Democrats Facing Recalls Successfully Defended Their Seats.** According to the Huffington Post, "Both of the Democratic Wisconsin state senators up for recall elections have survived. The Democrats targeted in Tuesday's election were among the 14 senators who fled the state in February in opposition to Republican Gov. Scott Walker's proposal curbing public employee collective bargaining rights. [...] A third Democrat won a recall election last month." [Huffington Post, [8/17/11](#)]



## **2012 Gubernatorial And Senate Recalls**

**In January 2012, Wisconsin Democrats Filed “More Than A Million Signatures” To Initiate Historic Recall Of Gov. Scott Walker.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Democrats seeking to recall Gov. Scott Walker filed more than a million signatures Tuesday, virtually guaranteeing a historic recall election against him later this year. It would mark the first gubernatorial recall election in Wisconsin history and only the third one in U.S. history. [...] The sheer number of signatures being filed against Walker - nearly as many as the total votes cast for the governor in November 2010 and about twice as many as those needed to trigger a recall election - ensure the election will be held, said officials with the state Democratic Party and United Wisconsin, the group that launched the Walker recall.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [1/18/12](#)]

**Petitions Were Also Filed To Recall Four More Republican State Senators And The Republican Lieutenant Governor.** According to the Nation, “In addition to the 1 million signatures seeking Walker's recall, petitions with 845,000 signatures were submitted to force the recall of Republican Lieutenant Governor Rebecca Kleefisch. Petitions were also filed to recall four Republican state senators: Terry Moulton in northwest Wisconsin, Pam Galloway in north-central Wisconsin, Van Wangaard in southeast Wisconsin and Senate Majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald, Walker's legislative point man in the struggle last year over the governor's move last year to strip collective bargaining rights from state, county and municipal employees and teachers. If just one of the four senators is recalled and removed, control of the chamber will shift from the Republicans to the Democrats—who picked up two seats in recall elections last summer.” [Nation, [1/17/12](#)]

**Walker And Lieutenant Governor Survived Recall Election, Which “Broke Spending Records,” Thanks In Part To Massive Fundraising Edge.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Scott Walker on Tuesday became the first governor in the country's history to survive a recall election, besting his 2010 rival in a contest that broke spending records and captured the nation's attention. [...] The campaign was by far the most expensive in the state's history. Walker raised more than \$30 million since January 2011, with the majority of it coming from out of state. That was more than seven times as much as the \$3.9 million Barrett raised since joining the race March 30. Walker was able to raise so much because of his national profile and a provision of state law that lifts the normal donation limits for certain expenses during recalls. Two donors gave him \$500,000, and more than a dozen others gave him \$100,000 or more. Barrett had to abide by the normal limits. [...] [Lieutenant Governor Rebecca] Kleefisch defeated her Democratic opponent, Madison firefighter and union president Mahlon Mitchell, in the nation's first-ever recall election of a lieutenant governor.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [6/6/12](#)]

- **Walker Received \$100,000 From Santorum Backer Foster Friess And \$500,000 From Swift Boat Funder Bob Perry.** According to the New York Times, “Under a state law that had gone unnoticed even by some of Wisconsin’s campaign finance experts, targets of recall efforts are exempt from ordinary fund-raising limits until a recall election is formally certified, as Mr. Walker’s was on Friday. So, while Mr. Walker will now be held to limits for individual donors — at most \$10,000 to a governor’s campaign — he has been able to raise far more from donors like Foster Friess (\$100,000), the Wyoming man who has donated heavily to a ‘super PAC’ that has kept Rick Santorum’s presidential hopes afloat; Trevor Rees-Jones (\$100,000), the Dallas president of Chief Oil and Gas and an established donor to Republican causes; and Bob J. Perry (\$500,000), a Texas homebuilder who helped finance the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth ads against John Kerry in 2004..” [New York Times, [3/30/12](#)]
- **Total Spending On Pro-Walker TV Ads Was “More Than Double” The Amount Spent Supporting Opponent Tom Barrett.** According to CNN, “Walker, the Republican Governors Association, and independent tea party groups and other grassroots fiscal conservative

organizations have spent around \$2.484 million to run ads in the recall campaign over the past week, according to data provided to its clients by Kantar Media/Campaign Media Analysis Group, a company that tracks and estimates the costs of campaign television ads. That's more than double the \$1.125 million Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett, Walker's Democratic challenger, Democratic Party committees and independent progressive groups have spent to run commercials from last Monday through Sunday. [...] The Republican advantage in ad spending is not just a one-week phenomenon. Dating back to November 1, Walker and his Republican allies have spent \$12.3 million to run ads, more than double the \$5.6 million spent by Barrett and his Democratic allies.” [CNN.com, [6/4/12](#)]

- **RNC Chairman Reince Priebus: “Obviously, Scott Walker Winning Tonight Means That The Republicans Are Here For Real.”** According to the New York Times, “‘Obviously, Scott Walker winning tonight means that the Republicans are here for real,’ said Reince Priebus, chairman of the Republican National Committee. ‘Conservatives are here for real.’ Mr. Priebus was attending Mr. Walker’s victory party at the Waukesha County Exposition Center, where ‘We Stand With Walker’ signs were all around.” [New York Times, [6/5/12](#)]

**One Senate Republican Out Of Four Was Recalled, Giving Democrats Control Of The Senate.** According to the Journal Times, “In a crucial election that swings control of the state Senate to the Democrats, Racine County appeared to have ousted current state Sen. Van Wanggaard Tuesday. Former state Sen. John Lehman, D-Racine led state incumbent Republican Sen. Van Wanggaard, with 36,255 votes to Wanggaard's 35,476 votes, according to unofficial results with all precincts reporting. Three Republicans won state Senate races Tuesday in Wisconsin, but with Lehman winning Racine County, the Democrats will take control of the Senate and gain the 17-16 majority.” [Journal Times, [6/5/12](#)]

## **Partisan Redistricting Helped The GOP To Take Back The Wisconsin Senate In 2012’s General Elections**

**Five Months After Democrats Took Control, Republicans Regained State Senate Majority In The November 2012 Elections.** According to Reuters, “Republicans took back control of the Wisconsin state legislature, five months after Democrats seized a slim majority of the upper chamber during a nasty fight over Governor Scott Walker's measures to curb public sector unions. The election result on Tuesday represented the third switch in party control of the state Senate in two years because of the bitter battle over unions. Republicans first took control of the state Senate in the 2010 elections, then lost it in June after Democrats and unions staged a series of successful recalls of conservative lawmakers who had supported the union restrictions.” [Reuters, [11/7/12](#)]

**Before The Recall Elections, “Walker And His Fellow Republican Legislative Leaders Had Redrawn District Lines To Favor Them.”** According to Reuters, “But before the recalls Walker and his fellow Republican legislative leaders had redrawn district lines to favor them. After Tuesday's election, Republicans emerged with a preliminary 17-15 majority in the Senate and a comfortable majority in the House of Representatives or Assembly. [Reuters, [11/7/12](#)]

**Republicans Received 49 Percent Of The 2.9 Million Votes Cast In Wisconsin’s Congressional Races, But They Won 62.5 Percent Of The Seats.** According to the Center for Public Integrity, “For instance, Republicans received 49 percent of the 2.9 million votes cast in Wisconsin’s congressional races, but won five out of eight, or 62.5 percent, of the seats, according to the Center’s analysis. The Center analyzed unofficial 2012 results reported by the Milwaukee Journal

Sentinel and official 2010 results from the state Government Accountability Board.” [Center for Public Integrity, [11/20/12](#)]

**NYT: “Thanks In Part To The Way That Republicans Drew The New Congressional And Legislative Districts... Republicans Will Still Outnumber Democrats In Wisconsin’s New Congressional Delegation Five To Three.”** According to the New York Times, “Wisconsinites leaned Democratic when they went to the polls last month, voting to re-elect President Obama, choosing Tammy Baldwin to be their new United States senator and casting more total votes for Democrats than Republicans in races for Congress and the State Legislature. But thanks in part to the way that Republicans drew the new Congressional and legislative districts for this year’s elections, Republicans will still outnumber Democrats in Wisconsin’s new Congressional delegation five to three — and control both houses of the Legislature.” [New York Times, [12/14/12](#)]

**RSLC: “Wisconsin Voters Elected A Democratic U.S. Senator By Nearly Six Points And Reelected President Obama By Nearly Seven Points, But Still Returned A 5-3 Republican Majority To Congress.”** According to the Republican State Leadership Committee’s Redistricting Majority Project, “On a statewide level, in 2012, Wisconsin voters elected a Democratic U.S. Senator by nearly six points and reelected President Obama by nearly seven points, but still returned a 5-3 Republican majority to Congress, including the GOP vice presidential nominee, Representative Paul Ryan.” [The Redistricting Majority Project, [1/4/13](#)]

**Rep. Sean Duffy Held Onto His Vulnerable Seat In The 2012 Elections With The Help Of His Newly Redistricted District.** According to the Associated Press, “Republican U.S. Rep. Sean Duffy has survived his re-election bid in northwestern Wisconsin's sprawling 7th District. The first-term congressman defeated Democrat Patrick Kreitlow on Tuesday. Democrats considered his seat vulnerable since it had been held for 41 years by Democratic Rep. Dave Obey, who retired in 2010. Outside groups spent heavily to try to oust Duffy. But he benefited from redistricting, which moved GOP-leaning areas including Vilas and St. Croix counties into the district, which roughly spans the northwest quarter of the state.” [Associated Press, [11/7/12](#)]

**NYT: “In The Nation As A Whole, Democratic Candidates For Congress Won 1.1 Million More Votes Than Republicans...But Republicans Maintained Their Control Of The House.”** According to the New York Times, “In the nation as a whole, Democratic candidates for Congress won 1.1 million more votes than Republicans, according to a tally of the popular vote kept by David Wasserman, the House editor of The Cook Political Report. But Republicans maintained their control of the House — making this one of a handful of elections in the last century where the party that won the popular vote for Congress did not win control of the House. [New York Times, [12/14/12](#)]

## Wisconsin’s John Doe Investigation

**In 2010, Prosecutors Launched A “John Doe” Investigation Into Walker’s Campaign Contributions, Walker Aides’ Political Activity, And Potential Theft Of Veterans’ Funds.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Milwaukee County prosecutors launched a secret John Doe investigation into aides and associates of Walker nearly three years ago. [Appeals Court Judge Neal] Nettesheim said the investigation focused on three issues. He said prosecutors wanted to know if employees of the Wisconsin Southern Railway and its president and owner William Gardner had made illegal contributions to Walker's campaign fund and others. They also were focused on political activity by Walker aides while on the clock for taxpayers and suspected theft of funds set aside for veterans' events.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]

## **Investigation Ended After Six People, Including Three Walker Aides, One Walker Appointee, And One Walker Campaign Contributor Were Charged And Cut Plea Deals.**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Nearly three years after the probe was launched, retired Appeals Court Judge Neal Nettesheim signed an order shutting down the secret investigation. In all, Milwaukee County prosecutors brought charges against six individuals as a result of the probe, which was opened in May 2010. Of those, three were former aides to Walker while he was Milwaukee County executive, one was an appointee and another a major campaign contributor. [...] The quality of the investigation, Nettesheim said, was indicated by the fact that none of the six individuals charged as a result of the probe took their cases to trial, instead they cut plea deals with prosecutors.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]

- **Walker Staffer Was Sentenced To Jail For Using Secret Email System For Campaign Fundraising.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Kelly Rindfleisch, who worked for Walker in the county executive's office in 2010, was sentenced Nov. 19 to six months in jail for campaign fundraising at the courthouse using a secret email system installed there.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]
- **Walker Staffer Pleaded Guilty To “Doing Campaign Work While On The County Clock.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Darlene Wink, Walker's constituent services coordinator at the county, pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors for doing campaign work while on the county clock.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]
- **Walker Donor Violated Campaign Finance Laws.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “In 2011, Gardner, president and chief executive officer of Wisconsin & Southern Railroad Co., was sentenced to two years of probation for violating state campaign finance laws. He pleaded guilty to exceeding campaign contribution limits in support of Walker and laundering additional campaign contributions through employees and associates.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]
- **A Walker Staffer And Appointee Both Pleaded Guilty To Stealing Tens Of Thousands Of Dollars Each From Funds Benefitting Veterans.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “[Timothy] Russell, a former deputy chief of staff to Walker, pleaded guilty Nov. 29 to stealing more than \$21,000 from Operation Freedom, an annual event held by the county at the zoo to honor veterans and their families. He was sentenced to two years in prison in January. Kevin Kavanaugh was convicted of stealing more than \$50,000 from Operation Freedom and other veterans funds and sentenced in December to two years in prison. Walker once named Kavanaugh to the county Veterans Service Commission.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]
- **Walker Aide's Partner Sentenced For “Contributing To The Delinquency Of A Child.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Russell's business and domestic partner, Brian Pierick, was sentenced last month to a \$2,148 fine and 50 hours of community service for contributing to the delinquency of a child. He had originally been charged with felony charges of child enticement and causing a child to expose his genitals.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/2/13](#)]

## **Prosecutor Opened A Second John Doe Probe Seven Months After The First Ended.**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “[Milwaukee County District Attorney John] Chisholm closed the John Doe probe in March 2013. But seven months earlier, he opened a second John Doe investigation, looking into campaign spending and fundraising in recall elections. That



second investigation is ongoing, and Rindfleisch also is caught up in that one. It is not known why she is a subject of that probe.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/19/14](#)]

**Second John Doe Probe Focuses On Whether Outside Groups Illegally Coordinated With Republican Candidates During Recall Elections.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “Prosecutors in a secret John Doe investigation are seeking to find whether recent recall campaigns coordinated their work with groups engaged in so-called “issue advocacy,” according to legal papers filed this week in U.S. District Court in Milwaukee. The filing suggests such advocacy, which is not regulated because it stops short of expressly advocating for the election or defeat of a particular candidate, must be reported as campaign contributions if it is done at the behest or in concert with a campaign. [...] The probe focuses on alleged illegal coordination between a campaign or campaigns and conservative political groups including Wisconsin Club for Growth. Citing leaked documents, the Wall Street Journal has reported that it is focused on Gov. Scott Walker’s recall campaign, more than two dozen conservative political groups and Senate recalls in 2011 and 2012. [Wisconsin State Journal, [3/14/14](#)]

## POST-TAKEOVER RIGHT-WING POLICY AGENDA

### Destroying Collective Bargaining Rights

**Gov. Walker And Republican State Lawmakers Passed 2011 Law That “Severely Restricted” Public Employee Union Bargaining Rights, “Diminished” The Power Of Unions, And Caused Members’ Take-Home Pay To Drop.** According to The New York Times, “[Governor Scott] Walker’s landmark law — called Act 10 — severely restricted the power of public-employee unions to bargain collectively, and that provision, among others, has given social workers, prison guards, nurses and other public employees little reason to pay dues to a union that can no longer do much for them. Members of [Marty] Beil’s group, the Wisconsin State Employees’ Union, complain that their take-home pay has fallen more than 10 percent in recent years, a sign of the union’s greatly diminished power.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 11, the Budget Repair Bill later known as Act 10, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 52 Republicans, 1 Independent and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 18 Republicans and zero Democrats. All 14 Democratic State Senators were absent for the State Senate vote on March 9, 2011. [New York Times, [2/22/14](#); Wisconsin AB 11, State Assembly Vote #184, [3/10/11](#); Wisconsin AB 11, State Senate Vote #112, [3/9/11](#)]

- **Act 10 Prohibits Public-Sector Unions From Bargaining Over Pensions, Health Coverage, Safety, Hours, Sick Leave Or Vacations And Only Allows For Base Pay Negotiation Rights Without Exceeding Inflation.** According to the New York Times, “Many labor leaders and union members are still fuming about the law. It bars public-sector unions from bargaining over pensions, health coverage, safety, hours, sick leave or vacations. All they can negotiate is base pay, and even that is limited: any raises they win cannot exceed inflation.” [New York Times, [2/22/14](#)]

- **The Law Gave Many Public Sector Employees A 12 Percent Pay Cut, Made The Process Of Collecting Union Dues “More Cumbersome,” And Established “Troublesome” Rules Governing How Unions Maintain Their Union Status.**

According to the New York Times, “Act 10, which still faces court challenges from unions, has generally required public employees to start contributing 6 percent of their pay toward their pensions and at least 12 percent of their health plan costs. For many employees, that meant a 12 percent pay cut; on top of that, many faced a multiyear pay freeze. The law repealed a so-called fair-share requirement that all public employees represented by a union pay union fees, and many employees are opting out. [...] Even the process of collecting dues is more cumbersome because the law bars government officials from deducting union dues from paychecks. Now unions must make individual arrangements with each member to collect dues. [...] For unions, an especially troublesome provision requires an annual ‘recertification’ vote for every local that hopes to retain the ability to bargain collectively, albeit only over base pay. To win, a union needs not just a majority of those who vote, but a majority of all *eligible* to vote — a far steeper hurdle.” [New York Times, [2/22/14](#)]

**During Debate Over The Bill, Protestors Filled The State Capitol And “Fury Among Thousands Of Workers, Students And Union Supporters Rose To A Boil.”** According to the New York Times, “The fury among thousands of workers, students and union supporters rose to a boil on Thursday, as state lawmakers prepared to vote on landmark legislation that would slash collective bargaining rights for public workers. Protesters blocked a door to the Senate chambers. They sat down, body against body, filling a corridor. They chanted “Freedom, democracy, unions!” in the stately gallery as the senators convened.” [New York Times, [2/17/11](#)]

- **Speaking To A Prank Caller He Believed To Be David Koch, Walker Discussed “Planting Troublemakers Amid Protesters.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Speaking with whom he believed to be billionaire conservative activist David Koch, Walker said he considered - but rejected - planting troublemakers amid protesters who have rocked the Capitol for a week. [...] Walker discussed ways Koch - a financier of the conservative group Americans for Prosperity - could help Republican legislators, presumably with TV and radio ads. Walker showed no indication on the tape he was aware the call was a prank. The 20-minute talk was actually with Ian Murphy, a blogger from Buffalo, N.Y., who edits the Buffalo Beast website. [...] At the end of the call, Murphy told Walker: ‘Once you crush these bastards, I’ll fly you out to (California) and really show you a good time.’ Walker replied: ‘All right. That would be outstanding.’” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/23/11](#)]

**All The Democratic State Senators Left The State To Delay A Vote On The Measure.**

According to the New York Times, “Then the surprising drama in Madison this week added a new twist: the Democrats disappeared. That left Republicans, who control the Capitol and had expected to push through the bill, in limbo. Although Republicans control the State Senate by 19 to 14, 20 senators — and thus, at least a single Democrat — must be in the room to call a vote on such fiscal matters. [New York Times, [2/17/11](#)]

**State Assembly’s Republican Majority Passed The Bill “Over Shouts Of Protest From Democrats.”** According to the New York Times, “Over shouts of protest from Democrats, the Republican-controlled Wisconsin State Assembly passed a bill in the early morning hours Friday that would strip state employees of most of their collective bargaining rights. But there was no sign that a stalemate over the proposal would end, as Democrats in the Senate remained out of the state after fleeing to prevent their own vote on the proposal.” [New York Times, [2/25/11](#)]

## **The Anti-Union Bill Was Eventually Passed In The Senate Separately From The Budget Bill Without Any Democrats Since A Non-Fiscal Bill Could Be Passed With A Smaller Quorum.**

According to the New York Times, “The new law was originally part of Mr. Walker’s comprehensive ‘budget repair bill,’ but was extracted as a separate piece of legislation late on Wednesday in order to secure passage. The original budget bill was blocked when 14 Senate Democrats decamped for Illinois, depriving the Senate of the quorum needed to pass fiscal legislation. The bill on collective bargaining, however, could be voted on with fewer senators, in this case Republicans only, and it passed, 18 to 1. The Assembly, overwhelmingly Republican, passed it on Thursday.” [New York Times, [3/11/11](#)]

## **A Judge Initially Blocked The Law In 2011 “Because Of The Way Legislators Passed It,” But The State Supreme Court Reinstated It Three Months Later.**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “The legal proceedings are one of the ongoing legacies of Act 10, which in early 2011 prompted massive protests and the departure of Senate Democrats from the state in an unsuccessful attempt to block the measure. The law was immediately blocked by a judge because of the way legislators passed it, only to be revived three months later by the state Supreme Court. Numerous other legal challenges followed, and those could continue for months or years.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [9/11/13](#)]

- **“Narrowly” Reelected Conservative Justice Prosser “Supported Reinstating Walker’s Bill” In 5-4 Decision.** According to Mother Jones, “Reversing an earlier decision by a county judge, the Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld Republican Governor Scott Walker’s anti-union ‘budget repair’ bill, which slashes collective bargaining rights for most public-sector unions. The unusually quick decision was 4 to 3; conservative justice David Prosser, who narrowly won reelection this spring after a series of controversial recounts, was among those who believed that Republican lawmakers had not violated the state’s open meetings act and supported reinstating Walker’s bill.” [Mother Jones, [6/15/11](#)]

## **In 2012, Key Parts Of The Law Were Found Unconstitutional By A Circuit Judge, But The State Appealed And The State Supreme Court Will Cast A Deciding Vote On The Matter In 2014.**

According to The Christian Science Monitor, “The Wisconsin judge who last year declared the state’s controversial collective bargaining law unconstitutional refused this week to issue an injunction barring the state from implementing the law until the Wisconsin Supreme Court casts a deciding vote on the matter, likely next year. [...] Dane County Circuit Judge Juan Colás ruled last year in favor of Madison Teachers Inc., a public union, and another union representing Milwaukee employees. Judge Colás said that Act 10 – the law signed by Gov. Scott Walker (R) in 2011 that eliminates collective bargaining for most public workers – violated worker rights to free speech, free association, and equal representation under the law because it resulted in capping worker raises, but had no effect on their counterparts who were not in unions. The state appealed and this summer the state Supreme Court announced it will take the case in the fall.” [Christian Science Monitor, [9/19/13](#)]

## **Weakening The Middle And Working Class**

### **Republican State Assembly Members Unanimously Voted To Preempt Minimum Wage Requirements For Local Government Workers And Contractors.**

According to the Wisconsin State Legislature’s website, Assembly Bill 750 would authorize the “preemption of local ordinances that require employees of a local governmental unit, employees of a contractor of a local governmental unit, or employees who perform work funded by a local governmental unit to be paid at a minimum wage rate specified in the ordinance and preemption of residency requirements for

laborers, workers, mechanics, and truck drivers employed on local projects of public works to which the prevailing wage law applies.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 750 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 56 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican voted against the bill. AB 750 was sent to the Wisconsin State Senate on February 21, 2014 for final approval. [Legis.Wisconsin.gov, accessed [3/7/14](#); Wisconsin AB 750, State Assembly Vote #370, [2/20/14](#)]

### **Wisconsin GOP State Senators Halted A Bill To Raise The State’s Minimum Wage.**

According to Wisconsin NBC affiliate TMJ4’s website, “The proposed bill would immediately increase the wage to \$8.20 per hour, and then to \$10.10 per hour two years later. The minimum wage would also be adjusted as inflation rises, according to the legislators.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature’s website, Senator Bob Wirth (D-Kenosha) moved that the rules be suspended and that Senate Bill 4 be withdrawn from the committee on Judiciary and Labor and taken up. The bill failed to get out of the Wisconsin Senate committee on Judiciary and Labor with “Nay” votes from all 18 Republican committee members and zero Democrats. [TMJ4, [1/9/14](#); Legis.Wisconsin.gov, accessed [3/7/14](#); Wisconsin SB 4, State Senate Vote #242, [1/14/14](#)]

**In 2011, Republican State Lawmakers Passed A Law That Invalidated Milwaukee’s Paid Sick Leave Law And Prohibited Wisconsin Cities From Requiring Small Businesses To Offer Paid Sick Leave.** According to the Wisconsin Business Journal, “Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker came to Milwaukee Thursday morning to eliminate Milwaukee’s sick leave law by signing a bill prohibiting cities from passing local paid leave requirements that exceed state mandates. [...] State law does not require paid leave and only affects companies with at least 50 workers. The law also does not guarantee sick leave for less serious medical conditions that do not require extended time away from work. [...] The [Milwaukee] law has never taken effect because of a lawsuit filed by the Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce. [...] The bill invalidates Milwaukee law, which required businesses with at least 10 employees to let workers in the city of Milwaukee accrue at least nine days of paid sick leave a year.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 23 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 56 Republicans, one Independent and two Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 19 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [BizJournals.com, [5/5/11](#); Wisconsin SB 23, State Assembly Vote #198, [4/12/11](#); Wisconsin SB 23, State Senate Vote #108, [3/3/11](#)]

**GOP Lawmakers Want To Create A Seven-Day Work Week For Wisconsin Manufacturing And Retail Workers, Potentially Forcing Employees To Work Seven Days Straight Or Lose Their Jobs.** According to the Associated Press, “Wisconsin manufacturing and retail workers could volunteer to work seven days straight without a day off under a bill two Republican lawmakers are circulating on behalf of the state’s largest business group. [...] Current Wisconsin law requires employers who own or operate factories or retail stores to give their workers at least 24 consecutive hours off every seven days. Under [Sen. Glenn] Grothman and [Sen. Mark] Born’s proposal, workers could volunteer to work seven straight days without a rest day. [...] But opponents warned the only choice employees will have is work the extra hours or lose their jobs. The measure also would give workers who can work the extra day an advantage over workers who want to spend a day with their family, they said.” [Associated Press, [1/12/14](#)]

## **Restricting Women’s Right To Choose**

**Republican State Legislators Approved And Gov. Walker Signed A Law Requiring Women Seeking Abortions In Wisconsin To Have Ultrasounds And Hear A Description Of The**



**Image.** According to PolitiFact Wisconsin, “Gov. Scott Walker signed the bill July 5, 2013. Besides ultrasounds, the law requires doctors who perform abortions to have hospital admitting privileges. A judge has temporarily blocked the requirement on doctors, but the ultrasound provision remains in effect. Before a woman can get an abortion, an ultrasound must be performed. There are exceptions for a medical emergency or in cases in which the pregnancy is the result of incest or sexual assault, if those crimes have been reported to police. The person performing the ultrasound must describe what is being shown and provide the woman an opportunity to see the ultrasound images. But the woman can't be required to view the images.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 206 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 56 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [PolitiFact, [6/12/13](#); Wisconsin SB 206, State Assembly Vote #135, [6/13/13](#); Wisconsin SB 206 State Senate Vote #100, [6/12/13](#)]

**In 2012, Republican State Lawmakers Banned Insurers From Offering Abortion Coverage In Plans On The Online Health Care Exchange In Wisconsin.** According to the Associated Press, “The first bill bans abortion coverage through policies obtained through a health insurance exchange, set to be created under the federal health care reform law starting in 2014. The only exceptions would be in cases of rape, incest or medical necessity.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 92, Coverage of Abortions Through Health Plans, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 58 Republicans, one Independent and two Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Associated Press, [4/7/12](#); Wisconsin SB 92 State Assembly Vote #660, [3/13/12](#); Wisconsin SB 92 State Senate Vote #262, [10/20/11](#)]

**GOP State Lawmakers Passed A Law Requiring Abortion Providers To Have Hospital Admitting Privileges, Forcing Certain Wisconsin Abortion Clinics To Close; The Provision Was Immediately Delayed By A Court Injunction That Was Upheld By An Appeals Court.** According to the Associated Press, “A federal appeals court panel Friday upheld an injunction delaying Wisconsin's new law requiring abortion providers to have admitting privileges at nearby hospitals, writing that state attorneys failed to prove implementing the law quickly would protect women's health. [...] The GOP-authored law requires abortion providers to have admitting privileges at hospitals within 30 miles. [...] [Judge Richard] Posner wrote that allowing the law to go into effect July 8 would have ‘wreaked havoc’ with abortions in Wisconsin. Doctors couldn't be expected to obtain admitting privileges over the two-day weekend window, he wrote. Doctors would have needed months to obtain privileges and women would have had to drive hundreds of miles further for abortions if the Appleton clinic closed, he wrote.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 206 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 56 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Associated Press, [12/21/13](#); Wisconsin SB 206, State Assembly Vote #135, [6/13/13](#); Wisconsin SB 206 State Senate Vote #100, [6/12/13](#)]

- **The Republican Abortion Law’s Future Will Be Decided In A May 2014 Trial.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “A lawsuit that seeks to overturn a recent state law requiring doctors who perform abortions to have admitting privileges at a nearby hospital is set to go to trial in late May. The lawsuit, brought by two clinics that perform abortions, has kept the law on hold since July 8, when U.S. District Judge William Conley issued a temporary restraining order barring it from taking effect. He later issued a longer-lasting preliminary injunction. Last month a federal appeals court upheld the injunction. The law requires abortion providers to have admitting privileges at hospitals within 30 miles. Republicans contend the law ensures continuity of care if a woman experiences complications following an abortion. It was to have gone into effect on July 8. Planned Parenthood and Affiliated Medical Services filed a federal lawsuit on July 5, the day Walker

signed the measure, alleging that the law would force the closure of abortion clinics in Appleton and Milwaukee, where doctors lack admitting privileges.” [Wisconsin State Journal, [1/7/14](#)]

**GOP State Lawmakers “Severely Restricted” Medication-Induced Abortions In Wisconsin In 2012; The Provision Was Temporarily Nullified A Year Later By A Court Injunction That Stays In Effect Until The Case Is Decided.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Some health care clinics in Madison, Milwaukee and Appleton will resume offering medication-induced abortions to women early in pregnancy after a Dane County judge’s April injunction clarified a recent state law that severely restricted the procedure. [...] The temporary injunction by Dane County Judge Richard Niess bars state officials from enforcing requirements that doctors be present at the time a woman takes the pill and determine through a private consultation whether a woman is being coerced into having an abortion. [...] Prior to suspending the procedure in April 2012, the clinics used it in roughly 45 percent of the pregnancy terminations they did, according to Planned Parenthood.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 306 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 57 Republicans, one Independent and two Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Wisconsin State Journal, [6/11/13](#); Wisconsin SB 306, State Assembly Vote #135, [3/15/12](#); Wisconsin SB 306 State Senate Vote #385, [2/22/12](#)]

**Wisconsin GOP State Assembly Members Approved A Measure That Would Create Pro-Life License Plates To Benefit Anti-Choice Groups.** According to the Associated Press, “A bill to create a Wisconsin license plate displaying the words ‘Choose Life’ has been approved by the Senate transportation committee in a party-line vote. There was no discussion on the bill that passed 3-2 Thursday. The bill would allow the state to sell the specialty plates for an annual \$75 registration fee and a \$15 special plate fee. Another \$25 annual fee would be donated to Choose Life Wisconsin Inc., a group set up by anti-abortion groups.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature’s website, AB 206 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 54 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican voted against the bill. [Associated Press, [3/6/14](#); Wisconsin AB 206, State Assembly Vote #236, [11/15/14](#)]

## Stifling Voting Rights

**GOP State Lawmakers Unanimously Approved “One Of The Most Restrictive” Voter ID Laws In The Country In 2011.** According to PolitiFact Wisconsin, “Gov. Scott Walker has signed a photo ID requirement for Wisconsin elections starting in 2012. [...] Wisconsin’s law is one of the most restrictive, based on our research on acceptable IDs and voting procedures for those without IDs. We got information on new voter ID laws around the country from state election offices, and the National Conference of State Legislatures.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 7, Identification Required for Voting in Elections, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from all 58 Republicans, one Independent and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from all 19 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [Associated Press, [2/15/14](#); PolitiFact.com, [6/12/11](#); Wisconsin AB 7, State Assembly Vote #331, [3/11/11](#); Wisconsin AB 7 State Senate Vote #192, [3/19/11](#)]

- **In Place For One Primary, The Voter ID Law Was Soon Halted Due To Court Challenges.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Wisconsin Supreme Court justices expressed concerns Tuesday about the state’s requirement — halted since soon after it was enacted — that voters show photo identification at the polls. [...] Before the state’s

high court are a pair of cases challenging the law approved in 2011 by Gov. Scott Walker and his fellow Republicans in the Legislature. [...] The law was in place for the low-turnout February 2012 primary, but then struck down by two Dane County judges. An appeals court overruled one of the judges, but the other ruling remains in place, meaning clerks haven't been asking people to show photo identification at the polls. The state Supreme Court is expected to rule on the cases by the end of June and could permanently block the law, modify it or put it back in place for the fall elections, when Walker is on the ballot." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/25/14](#)]

**Republican State Senators Approved A Bill That Would Limit Wisconsin's In-Person Absentee Voting Hours On Weekends, Possibly Making It "More Difficult For Minorities In Wisconsin's Largest Cities To Vote."** According to the Associated Press, "In-person absentee voting would no longer be allowed past 7 p.m. or on weekends in Wisconsin under a bill the Republican-controlled state Senate moved closer to passing Tuesday, despite objections from those who say it's an unconstitutional attempt to make it more difficult for minorities in Wisconsin's largest cities to vote. Democrats were unified in opposition to the measure but didn't have the votes to stop it. Instead, they used a procedural move to delay a final passage vote until Wednesday. Gov. Scott Walker also signaled Tuesday that he was open to signing the bill, which must also pass the Assembly." According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 324 passed the Wisconsin State Senate with "Aye" votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. The bill was sent to the Assembly on March 12, 2014. [Associated Press, [3/11/14](#); Wisconsin SB 324 State Senate Vote #325, [3/12/14](#); Legis.Wisconsin.gov, accessed [3/16/14](#)]

**In 2011, Republican State Lawmakers Reduced Early Voting Hours From Three Weeks And Three Weekends To Two Weeks And One Weekend.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "In another party-line vote, legislators approved a bill, 53-39, to set municipal clerks' office hours to weekdays between 7:30 a.m. and 6 p.m. — a move that would effectively end weekend voter drives in Democratic strongholds such as Milwaukee and Madison. [...] It is the second effort by Republicans to limit early voting hours since they took complete control of state government in 2011. Before then, early voting lasted three weeks and included three weekends. The changes set in 2011 reduced the period to two weeks that include just one weekend." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/15/13](#)]

## Undermining Public Education

**GOP State Lawmakers Unanimously Approved Gov. Walker's 2011-13 State Budget That Reduced K-12 Education Funding By A Record \$800 Million.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, "The last state budget cut a record \$800 million in K-12 aid over two years, but districts reeled from an ever steeper, unprecedented 5.5 percent reduction in their revenue limits. The reduction represented a \$1.6 billion swing in school funding from the 2 to 3 percent annual funding increase the state had historically allowed." According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2011-13 Biennial Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with "Aye" votes from 59 Republicans, one Independent and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with "Aye" votes from 19 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Wisconsin State Journal, [1/27/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #400, [6/16/11](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #233, [6/16/11](#)]

- **Walker's 2011-2013 Budget "Hit High Poverty Districts The Hardest."** According to a study from the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, "The 2011-13 Wisconsin biennial budget (Act 32) reduced state aid

to school districts by \$792 million. This budget reduction follows a reduction of \$284 million in the 2009-11 biennial budget, reducing overall state aid to public schools by more than a billion dollars. [...] State budget cuts hit high poverty districts the hardest. Analysis of district budget data shows that compared with the 2010-11 budget year, high poverty districts lost \$702.97 in average state revenue per member while low poverty districts lost \$318.70 in average state revenue per member.” [University of Wisconsin-Madison, [May 2012](#)]

**In 2013, Republican Lawmakers Approved A State-Wide School Voucher Program That Allocated \$3.2 Million In Taxpayer Money To Pay For Private School Tuition.** According to the Associated Press, “Gov. Scott Walker and Republicans who control the Legislature expanded the [voucher] program statewide for the first time this year, with enrollment capped at 500 students. [...] The statewide enrollment cap increases to 1,000 next year. The cap is for areas outside of Milwaukee and Racine, which have no limits on enrollment. [...] Income requirements must be met in order to receive a voucher, regardless of whether the applicant had been attending public or private schools the prior year. Income eligibility is 185 percent of the federal poverty level, which is \$43,752 for a family of four. [...] The statewide voucher program costs about \$3.2 million this school year.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Associated Press, [10/29/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #139, [6/19/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #150, [6/21/13](#)]

- **DPI: 73 Percent Of New Participants In The State School Voucher Program “Were Not Previously Attending Public School.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Nearly four-fifths of the more than 500 students receiving taxpayer-funded subsidies to attend private schools through a new statewide voucher initiative were not previously attending public school, the state Department of Public Instruction said in a release Tuesday. Of the students receiving vouchers in the \$3.2 million Wisconsin Parental Choice Program, 73%, or 371 students, attended a private school last year, 21%, or 106, went to a public school and the rest were either home-schooled, came from out of state or were not in school at all, such as incoming kindergartners.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [10/29/13](#)]

**In 2011, Republican State Lawmakers Approved A Bill That Would Allow Student Test Scores To be Used As A Reason To Fire A Teacher.** According to the Associated Press, “The Wisconsin state Assembly has passed a bill that would allow student test scores to be used as a reason to fire a teacher. Under current law, standardized test data can be one of several factors used to evaluate a teacher's performance, but it can't be used to discipline them.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 95, Omnibus Education Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 53 Republicans and one Independent. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [Associated Press, [11/4/11](#); Wisconsin SB 95, State Assembly Vote #539, [11/4/11](#); Wisconsin SB 95 State Senate Vote #264, [10/20/11](#)]

**In 2012, Republican State Lawmakers Passed A Measure Imposing Abstinence-Only Sex Education In Schools.** According to The Huffington Post, “The Wisconsin State Assembly on Wednesday passed a bill that will limit abortion coverage, as well as a measure imposing abstinence-only sex education in schools. [...] Wisconsin's sex education bill has received sharp criticism from Democrats who say that the law would increase pregnancy amongst teens as well as their risk for contracting sexually transmitted diseases. [...] Under the bill, sexual education courses also would have to discuss parental responsibility and the socioeconomic benefits of marriage, as well as explain pregnancy, prenatal development and childbirth.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature



website, SB 237, Changes to Human Growth and Development, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from all 57 Republicans, one Independent and two Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [Huffington Post, [3/14/12](#); Wisconsin SB 237, State Assembly Vote #667, [3/14/12](#); Wisconsin SB 237 State Senate Vote #323, [11/2/11](#)]

**In 2012, The Republican State Legislature Passed A Law That Gave Gov. Walker Veto Power Over Administrative Rules Written By Any State Agency, Including State Schools; A Judge Later Struck Down The Provision.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “A portion of a law giving Gov. Scott Walker veto powers over rules written by the state schools superintendent was struck down Tuesday by a Dane County judge, the latest in a series of legal skirmishes between the GOP governor and public employee unions. In the case, parents of students and members of the Wisconsin Education Association Council and Madison Teachers Inc. challenged the law approved last year giving Walker the power to veto administrative rules written by any state agency. In the decision issued Tuesday, Circuit Judge Amy Smith ruled that the law violated the state constitution by giving Walker that power over the state Department of Public Instruction, which is headed by state schools Superintendent Tony Evers.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 8, Agency Rule-Making Authority, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 56 Republicans, one Independent and one Democrat. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 18 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [10/30/13](#); Wisconsin AB 8, State Assembly Vote #348, [3/17/11](#); Wisconsin AB 8 State Senate Vote #83, [2/10/11](#)]

## **Giving Tax Breaks To The Wealthy While Increasing The Burden On Working Families**

**Republicans Cut Taxes For Businesses And Investors By About \$68 Million In 2013 And \$25 Million In 2012 While Reducing Income Tax Relief For Wisconsin’s Working Poor By \$29 Million And \$27 Million.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “The [earned income tax] credit, available from both the state and federal governments, is designed to provide relief to low-wage taxpayers and to encourage work by allowing them to claim refunds, even if they have paid little or no income taxes. [...] The Legislature reduced the projected credit for next year by \$28.9 million to \$119.5 million. [...] The state budget includes an estimated \$25.3 million in additional tax breaks this year and \$68.1 million next year, the fiscal bureau said, most of it targeted toward businesses and individual taxpayers who invest in Wisconsin companies.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2011-13 Biennial Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 59 Republicans, one Independent and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 19 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Wisconsin State Journal, [4/12/12](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #400, [6/16/11](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #233, [6/16/11](#)]

- **The Reduced Earned Income Tax Credit In 2012 Caused Single Mothers With Three Children Earning Minimum Wage To Lose Out On About \$518.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “Under the changes in the state's earned income tax credit program, a single mother with three children earning minimum wage will lose out on about \$518 when filing for the credit this year, a roughly 20 percent reduction from 2010, according to the Wisconsin Council on Children and Families.” [Wisconsin State Journal, [4/12/12](#)]

**In 2013, Republican Lawmakers Approved Income Tax Cuts Mostly Benefitting Wisconsin's Highest Earners That Are Expected To Decrease State Tax Revenue By \$651 Million.**

According to the Wisconsin Budget Project, "The budget includes an income tax cut that decreases state tax revenue by \$651 million over the two-year budget period, compared to current law, plus an additional \$30 million cut in the second fiscal year from a new income tax deduction for private school tuition. [...] Some legislators have said that the income tax cut is aimed at helping the middle class. However, the benefit of the income tax will largely go to the highest earners. Taxpayers earning more than \$100,000 make up just 14% of the tax filers, but will receive 55% of the benefit of the cut. The tax cut for filers earning \$50,000 a year or less will average \$45 a year, while tax cuts for filers earning \$300,000 and more will average \$1,440." According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with "Aye" votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with "Aye" votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Wisconsin Budget Project, [7/3/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #139, [6/19/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #150, [6/21/13](#)]

**Republican State Senators Approved Governor Scott Walker's \$541 Million Tax Cut Proposal, Which Would "Zero Out All Income Taxes For Manufacturers" In 2014.**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Senate Republicans Tuesday narrowly passed Gov. Scott Walker's \$541 million tax cut proposal in a vote that guaranteed the cuts will become law. The tax decreases — the third round of cuts by Republicans in less than a year — passed 17-15 with GOP Sen. Dale Schultz of Richland Center joining all Democrats in voting against the proposal. The proposal now goes to the Assembly, which passed a different version of the tax cuts last month with two Democrats joining all Republicans in supporting it. [...] Walker's bill will cut property and income taxes for families and businesses, and zero out all income taxes for manufacturers in the state. [...] Democratic opponents see it as a giveaway with a dubious payback to some of the richest people in the state, averaging about \$800 for roughly 30,000 tax filers in 2015." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/4/14](#)]

**In 2013, Republican State Lawmakers Approved Giving Parents Of Private School Students \$30 Million A Year In Income Tax Breaks.**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Walker's signing of the budget comes in time for the new fiscal year, which begins Monday. The final version of the budget will: [...] Cut income taxes by \$651 million over two years and provide \$30 million a year in income tax savings for the parents of the nearly 100,000 private school students in Wisconsin. Families could receive an income tax deduction of up to \$4,000 for private school tuition paid for each kindergarten through eighth-grade student and up to \$10,000 per high school student." According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with "Aye" votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with "Aye" votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [6/30/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #139, [6/19/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #150, [6/21/13](#)]

**In 2011, Republican State Lawmakers Stopped Adjusting The Homestead Tax Credit For Inflation, Cutting \$10.5 Million In Tax Relief For Wisconsin's Low-Income Homeowners And Renters In 2013.**

According to the Wisconsin State Journal, "The state also stopped adjusting the homestead tax credit for inflation, saving an estimated \$3.1 million this fiscal year and \$10.5 million next year. In 2011, the state paid \$132.9 million in homestead tax credits. The homestead tax credit is designed to provide tax relief for low-income homeowners and renters by allowing them to file for a rebate on some or all of the property taxes they pay." According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2011 Biennial Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with "Aye" votes from 59 Republicans, one Independent and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with "Aye" votes from 19 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Wisconsin State

Journal, [4/12/12](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #400, [6/16/11](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #233, [6/16/11](#)]

## Limiting Access To Public Health Care Programs

**Governor Walker Decided Not To Set Up A State-Run Health Insurance Exchange In Wisconsin Against The Wishes Of Business And Health Care Groups.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “Conservatives and tea party groups applauded Gov. Scott Walker’s decision Friday not to set up a state-run health insurance exchange under the federal health reform law. Business and health care groups joined Democrats in saying a federal exchange isn’t best for Wisconsin. [...] Both of the state’s health insurance associations, along with other health care groups, said a state-run exchange would best protect Wisconsin’s competitive insurance market.” [Wisconsin State Journal, [11/16/12](#)]

**Gov. Walker Opted Out Of Expanding Medicaid In Wisconsin, Causing 92,000 Adults To Lose Their Medicaid Coverage In 2014.** According to National Public Radio affiliate Milwaukee Public Radio, “State Medicaid Director Brett Davis says a letter will go out Sept. 23, to adult participants with incomes exceeding 100% of the federal poverty level. The letter will instruct those individuals to find a private health insurance plan through the new federal marketplace. Under Gov. Walker’s 2013-15 state budget, he opens the state Medicaid/BadgerCare program to all adults living below the federal poverty line. However, he rejected federal money to expand the program to adults with incomes up to 133% of poverty. According to Davis, the change will mean 92,000 adults here now covered by Medicaid will lose that coverage as of 2014. Going forward, the state program will only provide health care for the children of those parents.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013-15 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [WUWM.com, [8/16/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #139, [6/19/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #150, [6/21/13](#)]

- **Nearly 70,000 Wisconsin Residents Face A Total Of \$26 Million In Private Health Insurance Deductibles Because Governor Walker Did Not Expand Medicaid In The State.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “Gov. Scott Walker is shifting about 77,000 adults on BadgerCare, whose incomes are between 100 percent and 200 percent of the poverty level, to private insurance on the exchanges set up through the federal health care law. Many of those people could have stayed on BadgerCare if Walker had accepted federal funds to cover people up to 133 percent of the poverty level. Factoring in other people on a BadgerCare waiting list and some who didn’t have or seek coverage, a total of 69,694 people could have stayed on or enrolled in BadgerCare, had Walker accepted the federal expansion, Citizen Action said. Instead, the people now face annual deductibles, typically of \$250 to \$500, before private plans will cover medical costs, the group said. That’s a total of \$26.3 million.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013-15 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Wisconsin State Journal, [3/17/14](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #139, [6/19/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #150, [6/21/13](#)]
- **Expanding Medicaid Could Have Covered Nearly 85,000 Additional Residents And Wisconsin Could Have Gained \$119 Million In Additional Federal Money.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Walker’s signing of the budget comes in time for the

new fiscal year, which begins Monday. The final version of the budget will: [...] Shift nearly 90,000 people from the BadgerCare Plus program into a new online insurance marketplace, where the participants are supposed to find replacement health coverage. In doing so, Republicans are passing up a federal offer to cover 84,700 more people in Medicaid than their plan and receive enough additional federal tax money over the next two years to pad the state budget by \$119 million even after covering the cost of those additional people, according to the nonpartisan Legislative Fiscal Bureau.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013-15 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [6/30/13](#)]

- **Families USA: Medicaid Expansion Could Have Supported Over 10,000 New Jobs In Wisconsin.** According to a report from Families USA and Citizen Action of Wisconsin, “Assuming that the state takes up the Medicaid expansion in 2014, in 2016, Wisconsin would receive an additional \$1.1 billion in federal Medicaid funds. As noted above, we assumed that some of that money would be used to pay health care providers in neighboring states who treat Wisconsinites enrolled in Medicaid. Therefore, an estimated \$940 million would be spent on health care delivered in Wisconsin. The addition of that \$940 million in health care spending to the state’s economy would have a significant effect on jobs and economic activity throughout the state. [...] In 2016, the new federal dollars would support approximately 10,500 new jobs across all sectors of Wisconsin’s economy, a 0.28 percent increase over the number of current jobs in the state.” [Families USA and Citizen Action of Wisconsin, [February 2013](#)]

**In 2011, Governor Walker’s Administration Froze Enrollment In A State-Run, Low-Income Health Care Plan And Increased Enrollees’ Premiums.** According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “The state is freezing enrollment in the BadgerCare Basic plan, which started in July and offers limited health coverage to about 5,300 childless adults with low incomes. The program, supported by enrollees’ premiums of \$130 a month, lost \$1.6 million in its first nine months, the state Department of Health Services said Friday. [...] Coverage will remain for those in the program, but the premium will increase in May to \$200 a month. [...] The basic plan was designed for people on the waiting list for the BadgerCare Plus Core plan, which started in January 2009 for low-income adults without children. [...] Unlike the core plan and other parts of BadgerCare Plus and Wisconsin’s overall Medicaid program covering 1.2 million residents, the basic plan was designed to operate with no support from taxes.” [Wisconsin State Journal, [3/19/11](#)]

**In 2011, Governor Walker Sought To Cut Wisconsin’s Senior Prescription Drug Program By \$15 Million By Forcing Participants To Sign Up For Medicare Part D; The Plan Was Ultimately Rejected.** According to the Associated Press, “Wisconsin’s popular prescription drug program for senior citizens will remain the same under a plan approved Tuesday by the Legislature’s budget committee, which rejected proposed changes to the program sought by Gov. Walker. [...] In his two-year budget plan, Walker wanted to require SeniorCare enrollees to first sign up for the Medicare Part D prescription drug program and use state benefits under SeniorCare as a supplement. That would have saved \$15 million over the next two years. Supporters of the 10-year-old SeniorCare program, which has a history of bipartisan support, said the state program is both less expensive and easier to enroll in and understand than Medicare Part D. SeniorCare serves about 91,000 residents older than 65, but only 12,000 are also currently enrolled in Medicare Part D.” [Associated Press, [5/25/11](#)]

**In 2011, Republican Lawmakers And Governor Walker Capped Enrollment In A Medicaid Program Designed To Keep The Elderly And Disabled Out Of Nursing Homes, But**



**Removed It After Federal Officials Objected.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Family Care is a Medicaid program that is jointly funded by the state and federal governments and helps elderly or disabled participants stay in community settings rather than enter nursing homes. [...] In July 2011, Republican lawmakers and Walker placed a cap on new recipients enrolling in existing Family Care regions as part of the state budget to help control costs, then removed it after an objection by federal officials. Saying costs in the program were now more under control, Walker and GOP lawmakers passed a law to lift that cap on April 3. But under pressure from Republican lawmakers in the Assembly, they left in place a separate check on the expansion of Family Care into new regions. To start new contracts in the remaining 15 counties without Family Care, the state Department of Health Services must first win the approval of the Joint Finance Committee by showing that the expansion wouldn't raise the state's overall costs.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [1/20/13](#)]

## Cutting Food Stamps

**In 2011, Governor Walker Wanted To Privatize Wisconsin's Food Stamp Program In Violation Of Federal Law And Potentially Costing The State More Than \$20 Million In Federal Money.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Gov. Scott Walker's proposal to privatize work determining who is eligible for food assistance in the state would violate federal law and could expose the state to a loss of more than \$20 million in federal money, federal officials say. [...] Walker's proposed 2011-'13 budget would take this work from the remaining counties and centralize it with the state by using a private contractor to do much of the work. The Walker administration estimates that the proposal would save \$48 million per year and eliminate 270 positions. But [USDA's Food and Nutrition Service Administrator Office] Holden said the action could also cause the state to lose federal funds used to help pay for the cost of administering FoodShare in Wisconsin. In 2010, the state received \$20.5 million in federal money for that purpose plus another \$2.3 million in one-time federal stimulus money.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [4/28/11](#)]

**Gov. Walker And Republican Lawmakers Instituted Work Requirements For Food Stamp Recipients.** According to the Associated Press, “The budget approved by the Republican-controlled Legislature includes all of Walker's priorities, including a \$650 million income tax cut, expansion of private school vouchers and changes to the state's Medicaid and food stamp programs. [...] [Gov. Scott Walker] went on to say, however, that the ‘biggest, boldest reform’ in the budget was new work requirements for people on food stamps. Able-bodied adults must spend at least 20 hours a week working or getting trained for a job, or they will be limited to three months of benefits over three years.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 40, 2013 Budget Bill, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 55 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Associated Press, [7/1/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40, State Assembly Vote #139, [6/19/13](#); Wisconsin AB 40 State Senate Vote #150, [6/21/13](#)]

- **Department Of Health Reported Over 30,000 Food Stamp Recipients Wouldn't Be Able To Meet The Requirements.** According to the Associated Press, “Walker's Department of Health Services reports in briefing papers that about 31,350 participants in the Wisconsin FoodShare program would not be able to meet the proposed requirements. That is half of those in the program who are able-bodied adults without children.” [Associated Press, [5/20/13](#)]

## Passing Extreme Gun Laws

**In 2011, Republican State Lawmakers Passed A “Stand Your Ground” Law In Wisconsin After They Were “Urged On By The National Rifle Association.”** According to The New York Times, “No one had yet heard of a Florida teenager named Trayvon Martin when a group of Wisconsin Republicans got together last year to discuss expanding a self-defense bill before the State Legislature. [...] The bill, known as the Castle Doctrine, made it harder to prosecute or sue people who used deadly force against intruders inside their houses. But the Wisconsin legislators, urged on by the National Rifle Association in a series of meetings, wanted it to go further. They shaped an amendment that extended the bill’s protections to include lawns, sidewalks and swimming pools outside the residences, as well as vehicles and places of business. That expanded bill, passed with little debate by the Legislature and signed in December by Gov. Scott Walker, a Republican, is the newest of more than two dozen so-called Stand Your Ground statutes that have been enacted around the country in recent years.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, AB 69 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 59 Republicans and 12 Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from all 17 Republicans and 9 Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [New York Times, [4/12/12](#); Wisconsin AB 63, State Assembly Vote #497, [11/1/11](#); Wisconsin AB 63, State Senate Vote #331, [11/3/11](#)]

- **The Law Drew “Scrutiny” After A Homeowner Was Not Charged For Fatally Shooting An Unarmed Black Man And It “Drew Comparisons To The Trayvon Martin Shooting In Florida.”** According to Reuters, “The decision by authorities not to charge a homeowner who shot dead an unarmed black man in a small Wisconsin town three weeks ago has drawn scrutiny to the state's new ‘castle doctrine’ law and comparisons to the Trayvon Martin shooting in Florida. [...] Authorities ruled the killing of Bo Morrison, 20, by a Slinger, Wisconsin, homeowner on his porch justifiable in possibly the first such case under an expanded castle doctrine law enacted late last year, prosecutors said.” [Reuters, [3/26/12](#)]

**Republican State Legislators Passed A Measure Allowing Concealed Weapons To Be Carried In Public Parks, Areas “Just Off School Grounds,” Places That Sell Alcohol, And Vehicles.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Guns would be allowed in city and state parks, an issue that raised concerns among some opponents of the bill. Permit holders could carry guns in taverns and other places that sell alcohol, provided they were not drinking. [...] The bill would keep in place the ban on carrying guns in schools and on school grounds, but would allow permit holders to carry guns in areas just off school grounds. [...] The bill would also allow people to carry loaded, uncased guns in their cars. Those who got permits would also be able to carry Tasers and other electric weapons, which are banned under current law.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 93 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 57 Republicans, one Independent and 10 Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from all 19 Republicans and six Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [6/14/11](#); Wisconsin SB 93, State Assembly Vote #406, [6/21/11](#); Wisconsin SB 93, State Senate Vote #220, [6/14/11](#)]

- **Republican State Lawmakers Originally Approved A Version Of The Bill That Would Have Allowed Wisconsin Residents To Carry Concealed Weapons “Without Getting Permits Or Any Training.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Wisconsin

residents would be allowed to carry concealed weapons without getting permits or any training under a bill a Senate committee approved Wednesday, and the lead sponsor of the measure said she supported allowing people to bring guns into the state Capitol. [...] The bill approved 3-2 by the Senate Judiciary Committee would allow state residents 21 and older to carry concealed weapons as long as they weren't felons or otherwise barred from possessing firearms. [...] Democrats opposed to the measure tried to include the Capitol on the list of places where guns were banned, but Republicans who run the committee refused to allow a vote on it. [...] The committee's party-line vote sends the bill to the Senate.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [5/25/11](#)]

**Under A 2013 Republican-Proposed Bill, Local And State Police Would Have Been Charged With A Misdemeanor For Enforcing Any Federal Regulation Restricting Assault Rifles Or Magazine Capacity In Wisconsin.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Under the bill proposed by Rep. Michael Schraa (R-Algoma), any future federal regulation to restrict assault rifles or magazine capacity couldn't be enforced by local and state law enforcement officials. Officers who enforced a future restriction could be charged with a misdemeanor. [...] The bill would apply only to federal gun regulations passed after Jan. 1, 2013. Federal authorities would still have the ability to enforce those laws, but local and state police would not. [...] In addition, firearms manufactured in Wisconsin would be required to have a ‘Made in Wisconsin’ stamp and would be exempt from federal regulations. That's based on the theory that the federal government can't regulate such guns because they wouldn't cross state lines and thus wouldn't be subject to the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [6/11/13](#)]

**A Republican-Proposed Bill Would Have Allowed Police Officers To Carry Concealed Weapons At Wisconsin Schools; The Bill's Sponsor Wanted To Expand It To Allow All Permit Holders To Carry Guns On School Grounds.** According to Wisconsin ABC-affiliate WISN 2, “A proposal to allow off-duty, retired and out-of-state police officers to carry concealed weapons at Wisconsin schools won't be getting a vote in the state Assembly. [...] The pronouncement came after the bill's sponsor, fellow Republican Rep. Joel Kleefisch, said he was going ahead with a committee vote Thursday to expand the proposal to allow anyone with a concealed weapons permit to carry a gun on school grounds.” [WISN.com, [10/31/13](#)]

## Endangering The Environment

**Republican Lawmakers Changed Wisconsin's Environmental Regulations To “Clear The Way” For A Possible \$1.5 Billion Iron Mine.** According to Reuters, “Republican Governor Scott Walker on Monday signed a bill intended to streamline environmental regulations and clear the way for a possible \$1.5 billion iron ore mine in the far northwest corner of Wisconsin. Opponents of the measure said it will allow pollution of lakes, streams and groundwater, and reduce air quality for the sake of jobs and the economy. [...] The mine, if created, would be one of the largest in North America, according to the National Mining Association.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 1 passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 58 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 17 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Reuters, [3/11/13](#); Wisconsin SB 1, State Assembly Vote #46, [3/7/13](#); Wisconsin SB 1 State Senate Vote #41, [2/27/13](#)]

- **The Republican Law “Creates A Presumption That Damage To Wetlands Is Necessary,” Limits Permit Application Fees, And Caps The Number Of Days State Environmental Officials Have To Make A Permitting Decision.** According to the Associated Press, “The legislation gives state environmental officials up to 480 days to make

a permitting decision; right now the process is open-ended. It also bars public challenges during the process, allowing them only after the decision has been made. The law creates a presumption that damage to wetlands is necessary and limits permit application fees to \$2 million. It splits tax revenue on iron mining companies' revenue between local governments and the state -- right now all mining taxes go to the locals -- and exempts companies from paying the state's \$7 per ton recycling fee on waste rock. About a dozen protesters were gathered outside the Joy Global plant holding signs accusing Walker of caving to special interests.” [Associated Press, [3/11/13](#)]

### **Republican Lawmakers Want To “Limit Local And County Governments’ Regulation Of Mines And Quarries,” Which Could Lead To Unrestricted Operations In Wisconsin.**

According to the Wisconsin State Journal, “A bill that would limit local and county governments’ regulation of mines and quarries could produce a sudden wave of unrestricted operations, including frac sand mining, at now-dormant sites throughout Dane County, county officials said. [...] Senate Bill 349 would roll back many local regulations of more than 105 frac sand operations and 2,400 other non-metallic mines in the state where stone, gravel, sand and other materials, known as aggregate, are extracted. The bill would allow local governments to use only zoning laws to regulate mines, prohibiting the use of municipal licensing or other ordinances. [...] [Dane County Executive Joe] Parisi and other opponents of the bill called it unfair, noting that 240 towns around the state don’t have the ability to create zoning ordinances.” According to the Wisconsin State Legislature’s website, the SB 349 is co-sponsored by 6 Republican state Senators and 6 Republican state Representatives and zero Democrats. The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Workforce Development, Forestry, Mining and Revenue [Wisconsin State Journal, [10/28/13](#); Legis.Wisconsin.gov, accessed [3/14/14](#)]

## **Reducing Citizens’ Access To The Courts**

**In 2012, Republican State Lawmakers And Gov. Walker Passed A Law Making It More Difficult For Victims Of Wage Discrimination In Wisconsin To Bring Their Cases To Court.** According to The Huffington Post, “A Wisconsin law that made it easier for victims of wage discrimination to have their day in court was repealed on Thursday, after Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker (R) quietly signed the bill. The 2009 Equal Pay Enforcement Act was meant to deter employers from discriminating against certain groups by giving workers more avenues via which to press charges. Among other provisions, it allows individuals to plead their cases in the less costly, more accessible state circuit court system, rather than just in federal court. In November, the state Senate approved SB 202, which rolled back this provision. On February, the Assembly did the same. Both were party-line votes in Republican-controlled chambers. SB 202 was sent to Walker on March 29. He had, according to the state constitution, six days to act on the bill. The deadline was 5:00 p.m. on Thursday. The governor quietly signed the bill into law on Thursday, according to the Legislative Reference Bureau, and it is now called Act 219.”[Huffington Post, [4/6/12](#)]

**In 2011, Republican State Lawmakers And Gov. Walker Capped Damages For Pain And Suffering In Medical Malpractice Cases Linked To Nursing Homes.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “The bill approved by the Legislature on Thursday would limit punitive damages in personal injury lawsuits and damages for pain and suffering in medical malpractice cases involving nursing homes. That's left lawyers looking to make sure their clients aren't limited in collecting those. [...] The bill would limit noneconomic damages for medical malpractice in nursing homes to \$750,000; limit punitive damages to \$200,000 or double the amount of compensatory damages, whichever is greater; prevent reports by state regulators from being used in civil and criminal cases; and raise the standards for qualifying those who give court testimony as experts.”



According to the Wisconsin State Legislature website, SB 1, Tort Reform Omnibus, passed the Wisconsin State Assembly with “Aye” votes from 57 Republicans and zero Democrats. The Wisconsin State Senate passed the bill with “Aye” votes from 19 Republicans and zero Democrats. No Republican State Senator or State Representative voted against the bill. [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [1/25/11](#); Wisconsin SB 1, State Assembly Vote #38, [1/20/11](#); Wisconsin SB 1 State Senate Vote #150, [1/18/13](#)]

## Turning Down Federal Assistance

**In 2011, Republican Gov. Walker’s Administration Turned Down \$23 Million In Federal Grant Money That Would Have Provided High-Speed Internet To Nearly 380 Communities And Dozens Of Schools.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “State officials are returning \$23 million to the federal government, saying there were too many strings attached to stimulus money that was supposed to be for expanding high-speed Internet service in schools, libraries and government agencies. The money was to have boosted broadband connections in 380 Wisconsin communities, including 385 libraries and 82 schools. It also could have been used to improve police, fire department and hospital communications in rural areas.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/15/11](#)]

**Republican Gov. Walker Discontinued Plans For A High Speed Train From Milwaukee To Madison After His Administration Chose To Return \$6 Million In Federal Funds In 2010.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Wisconsin will keep only a fraction of the \$810 million it won in federal high-speed rail money, while the rest will help fund train lines in California, Florida, Illinois and other states, the U.S. Department of Transportation announced Thursday. [...] Governor-elect Scott Walker had vowed to kill the planned 110-mph Milwaukee-to-Madison passenger train route that was to be funded with Wisconsin's share of \$8 billion in federal stimulus dollars. [...] Walker said he talked with LaHood on Thursday morning and was assured that Wisconsin would not have to repay money already spent. Wisconsin also was allowed to retain up to \$2 million to fund unspecified upgrades on Amtrak's existing Milwaukee-to-Chicago Hiawatha line. But that won't cover all of the \$19.4 million cost of renovating the train shed at Milwaukee's downtown Amtrak-Greyhound station or the \$52 million cost of building a new maintenance base for two newly purchased trains, two projects that would have been paid for out of the \$810 million in federal funds.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [12/9/10](#)]

## THE GROUPS BEHIND THE CONSERVATIVE TAKEOVER

### The Lynde And Harry Bradley Foundation: Wisconsin’s Conservative Financiers

**Milwaukee Journal Sentinel: “With More Than \$600 Million In Assets, The Bradley Foundation Provides A Cornerstone For The Conservative Movement In Wisconsin And Across America.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “With more than \$600 million in

assets, the Bradley Foundation provides a cornerstone for the conservative movement in Wisconsin and across America. It has been the financial backer behind public policy experiments that started in the state and spread across the nation - including welfare reform, public vouchers for private schools and, this year, cutbacks in public employee benefits and collective bargaining.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/19/11](#)]

**Despite Lower Profile, Bradley Foundation Doled Out As Much As All Seven Koch And Scaife Foundations Combined Between 2001 And 2009.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “[O]utside conservative circles, the foundation has kept a low profile. It receives a fraction of the attention given the billionaire brothers David and Charles Koch and the Scaife family. But the Bradley Foundation is in a different league: From 2001 to 2009, it doled out nearly as much money as the seven Koch and Scaife foundations combined. [...] All told, the Bradley Foundation dispersed more than \$350 million in grants from 2001 to 2010 to hundreds of institutions, ranging from arts organizations and school choice groups in Wisconsin to prominent national policy organizations, a Journal Sentinel review shows.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/19/11](#)]

**Bradley Foundation President Michael Grebe: “In Some Way Or Another, Most (Local) Conservatives, I Guess, Would Have A Connection To Us.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “The foundation also put \$3.6 million into the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, the free-market think tank it helped found in the 1980s and that has flourished as an incubator of conservative ideas. Talk radio host Charles Sykes is editor of WPRI's magazine, Wisconsin Interest, which carries articles written by other Wisconsin conservatives. ‘In some way or another, most (local) conservatives, I guess, would have a connection to us,’ Grebe said. The foundation doesn't spend much money on such conservative social issues as abortion. Grebe said that's because the Bradley brothers weren't, strictly speaking, social conservatives. They were more interested in education, economics and foreign policy.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/19/11](#)]

- **The Bradley Foundation Has Given Nearly \$12 Million To Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$11,920,000 to the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute between 1987 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 1987-2012]
- **The Bradley Foundation Has Given Over \$1 Million To American Majority.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$1,123,720 to American Majority between 2010 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 2010-2012]
- **The Bradley Foundation Has Given \$720,000 To The MacIver Institute.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$720,000 to the MacIver Institute between 2008 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 2008-2012]
- **The Bradley Foundation Has Given \$760,000 To Americans For Prosperity Foundation.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$760,000 to Americans for Prosperity between 2004 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 2004-2012]
- **The Bradley Foundation Has Given Over \$500,000 To ALEC.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$503,000 to the American Legislative Exchange Council between 1986 and 2011. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 1986-2011]
- **The Bradley Foundation Has Given Over \$480,000 To The Franklin Center.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$482,500 to the Franklin Center for

Government and Public Integrity between 2010 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 2010-2012]

- **The Bradley Foundation Gave \$65,000 To The Sam Adams Alliance.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$65,000 to the Sam Adams Alliance in 2010. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Form 990, 2010]
- **The Bradley Foundation Gave Over \$180,000 To The State Policy Network.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, it gave \$180,000 to the State Policy Network between 1993 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 1993-2012]

**Grebe Chaired Scott Walker's Campaign For Governor, Led The Transition And Served As Chair Of Walker's Campaign During The Recall Election.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Grebe is also upfront about his leadership position with Walker's campaign. The 71-year-old chaired Walker's campaign and led the transition, including interviewing finalists for some cabinet posts. He is again serving as chairman of Walker's campaign during the recall effort." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/19/11](#)]

- **Grebe Sent Out A Fundraising Letter Asking Supporters To Help Walker Combat "The Democrats And Big Government Union Bosses."** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Last week, Grebe sent out a fundraising letter asking supporters to help the first-term Republican governor combat 'the Democrats and Big Government Union Bosses' as they spend millions to 'spread lies about Governor Walker's record of positive change.' 'I'm very careful here,' Grebe said. 'I don't use foundation resources for any of my outside activities. I have a separate email address that I use for politics. I do my political and civic work on my own time.'" [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/19/11](#)]

**Center for Media And Democracy: "Within Days Of Walker's 2010 Election, He Met The Board And Senior Staff Of The Bradley Foundation."** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "Within days of Walker's 2010 election, he met the board and senior staff of the Bradley Foundation at Milwaukee's elite Bacchus Restaurant. Two weeks later, the Bradley-funded MacIver Institute published an editorial calling for Walker and the legislature to end collective bargaining for public employees and attack private unions by making Wisconsin a 'Right to Work' state." [Center for Media and Democracy, [2012](#)]

## Republican State Leadership Committee: The National Redistricting Ringleaders

**RSLC "Spearheaded" Nationwide Redistricting Plot With REDMAP Project.** According to ProPublica, "The Republican effort to influence redistricting overall was spearheaded by a group called the Republican State Leadership Committee, which has existed since 2002. [...] Soon after [Ed] Gillespie took over, the RSLC announced an effort to influence state races throughout the country, the Redistricting Majority Project, or REDMAP. Fundraising soared. The group raised \$30 million in 2010, by far its best year. (Its Democratic counterpart raised roughly \$10 million.)" [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

- **RSLC "Helped Flip Twenty State Legislative Chambers From Democrat To Republican."** According to The Progressive, "The group played a decisive role in the 2010 elections, and helped flip twenty state legislative chambers from Democrat to Republican."

Republicans now control more state legislatures than at any time since 1928. The committee's main tactic was to barrage the public airwaves with negative ads, much of it done at the tail end of the campaign season. GOP stalwarts such as Karl Rove and Ed Gillespie aggressively executed the battle plans through their consulting firms." [Progressive, [November 2011](#)]

**RSLC Says It Spent \$1.1 Million In Wisconsin In 2010 As Part Of Its Redistricting Program.**

According to the Republican State Leadership Committee's REDMAP 2012 Summary Report, "As the 2010 Census approached, the RSLC began planning for the subsequent election cycle, formulating a strategy to keep or win Republican control of state legislatures with the largest impact on congressional redistricting as a result of reapportionment. That effort, the REDistricting MAjority Project (REDMAP), focused critical resources on legislative chambers in states projected to gain or lose congressional seats in 2011 based on Census data. [...] To fund the initiative, the RSLC raised more than \$30 million in 2009-2010, and invested \$18 million after Labor Day 2010 alone. Specifically, the RSLC: [...] Spent \$1.1 million in Wisconsin to take control of the Senate and Assembly." [Republican State Leadership Committee, [1/4/13](#)]

**RSLC Hired A Redistricting Team That "Provided Technical Assistance To An Aide To Rep. Paul Ryan As He Drew New Districts That Favored Republicans."**

According to ProPublica, "To fund the work, the Republican State Leadership Committee used its previously dormant nonprofit arm, the State Government Leadership Foundation. [...] Flush with anonymous donors' cash, the Foundation paid \$166,000 to hire the GOP's pre-eminent redistricting experts, according to tax documents. The team leader was Tom Hofeller, architect of Republican-friendly maps going back decades. [...] Because Hofeller's team was paid with dark money and the redistricting process is so secretive, it is hard to know the full extent of its activities. In Wisconsin, the team provided technical assistance to an aide to Rep. Paul Ryan as he drew new districts that favored Republicans." [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

**RSLC Credits Redistricting Strategy With Republican Success In Wisconsin's 2012 State Legislature And U.S. Congress Elections.**

According to the Republican State Leadership Committee's REDMAP 2012 Summary Report, "In 2010, the RSLC spent \$1.1 million to successfully flip both chambers of the Wisconsin legislature. With the election of Republican Governor Scott Walker, the GOP gained control of the redistricting process and gave Wisconsinites and all of America a firsthand look at what bold conservative leadership looks like. In mid-2012, Democrats were able to regain control of the Wisconsin Senate, albeit for a period of time when the chamber was out of session. In November 2012, however, running on lines redrawn after the successes of 2010, Republicans were able to retake the Senate and add to their margins in the House. On a statewide level, in 2012, Wisconsin voters elected a Democratic U.S. Senator by nearly six points and reelected President Obama by nearly seven points, but still returned a 5-3 Republican majority to Congress, including the GOP vice presidential nominee, Representative Paul Ryan." [Republican State Leadership Committee, [1/4/13](#)]

**RSLC Ran Ads Against Democratic State Senators In 2011.** According to Politico, "National Republicans are launching a counteroffensive in the symbolically charged fight for control of the Wisconsin Senate, targeting two Democratic state senators with an ad campaign aimed at keeping the chamber in the GOP's hands. The Republican State Leadership Committee is expanding a television ad campaign against Democratic state Sen. Jim Holperin and launching a media blitz against state Sen. Dave Hansen, a member of the Democratic leadership." [Politico, [3/22/11](#)]

**RSLC Spent Over \$580,000 "Supporting Republicans And Bashing Democrats" In 2011**

**Recall Elections.** According to Mother Jones, "The Virginia-based Republican State Leadership Committee has spent \$589,000 supporting Republicans and bashing Democrats in the recall



elections; the donor for its Wisconsin spending is listed as 'Republican State Leadership Committee Inc.'" [Mother Jones, [6/1/12](#)]

**RSLC's Biggest 2010 Donors Were The Chamber Of Commerce And The American Justice Partnership.** According to ProPublica, "Along with Walmart and tobacco companies, the RSLC's largest funders in 2010 were the Chamber of Commerce and American Justice Partnership, which gave a combined \$6.5 million. Those two groups raise money from corporations and others but don't have to disclose their donors." [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

**An Arm Of The Chamber Of Commerce, American Future Fund, And American Justice Partnership Were RSLC's Biggest 2012 Donors.** According to the Center for Public Integrity, "The RSLC's biggest donors in 2012 were nonprofits that support so-called tort reform legislation, or efforts to limit damages paid in civil lawsuits. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Institute for Legal Reform was the RSLC's single biggest donor in 2012, giving \$3.5 million. The nonprofit American Future Fund was the RSLC's second biggest contributor in 2012, giving nearly \$1.2 million. The Iowa-based 'social welfare' group has received millions from groups associated with the Koch brothers. [...] The American Justice Partnership, a pro-tort reform nonprofit, was the third biggest donor to the RSLC at \$1.1 million. Neither the Chamber nor the American Justice Partnership is required to disclose its donors." [Center for Public Integrity, [11/14/13](#)]

## **The Koch Brothers And Americans For Prosperity: Donations, Ads, And Bus Tours**

**The Koch Brothers Were Major Supporters Of Walker's 2010 Campaign.** According to Mother Jones, "Wisconsin Republican Governor Scott Walker, whose bill to kill collective bargaining rights for public-sector unions has caused an uproar among state employees, might not be where he is today without the Koch brothers. [...] According to Wisconsin campaign finance filings, Walker's gubernatorial campaign received \$43,000 from the Koch Industries PAC during the 2010 election. That donation was his campaign's second-highest, behind \$43,125 in contributions from housing and realtor groups in Wisconsin. The Koch's PAC also helped Walker via a familiar and much-used political *[sic]* maneuver designed to allow donors to skirt campaign finance limits. The PAC gave \$1 million to the Republican Governors Association, which in turn spent \$65,000 on independent expenditures to support Walker. The RGA also spent a whopping \$3.4 million on TV ads and mailers attacking Walker's opponent, Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett." [Mother Jones, [2/18/11](#)]

**Koch Industries PAC Contributed To 16 Winning Republicans State-Level Candidates In 2010.** According to Mother Jones, "The Kochs also assisted Walker's current GOP allies in the fight against the public-sector unions. Last year, Republicans took control of the both houses of the Wisconsin state legislature, which has made Walker's assault on these unions possible. And according to data from the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, the Koch Industries PAC spent \$6,500 in support of 16 Wisconsin Republican state legislative candidates, who each won his or her election." [Mother Jones, [2/18/11](#)]

**Americans For Prosperity President Tim Phillips Said AFP Spent \$10 Million Promoting Walker's Policies In 2011-2012.** According to the Capital Times, "In 2011 and 2012, AFP teamed up with the MacIver Institute, a conservative think-tank, on an ad campaign promoting Walker's policies. The Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, an election watchdog group, estimated that the ads cost \$3.7 million. AFP President Tim Phillips told CNN that his group spent \$10 million in 2011 and 2012 promoting Walker's policies." [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

- **Americans For Prosperity Was Founded By David Koch.** According to FactCheck.org, “Founded by billionaire businessman and conservative/libertarian political activist David Koch, Americans for Prosperity has emerged as one of the most influential conservative issue advocacy groups on the national and state political scene. A major force behind the Tea Party movement, AFP seeks to support free markets and entrepreneurship by advocating lower taxes and limited government spending and regulation.” [FactCheck.org, [10/10/11](#)]
- **Koch-Backed “Freedom Partners” Contributed \$32.3 Million To Americans For Prosperity In 2012.** According to Politico, “The group, Freedom Partners, and its president, Marc Short, serve as an outlet for the ideas and funds of the mysterious Koch brothers,” and contributed 32.3 million to Americans for Prosperity in 2012. [Politico, [9/11/13](#)]
- **Koch-Backed “Center To Protect Patient Rights” Has Contributed \$15.8 Million To Americans For Prosperity Since 2009.** According to Form 990s filed with the IRS, the Center to Protect Patient Rights has given \$15,791,079 to Americans for Prosperity since 2009. According to the New York Times, “The group, the Arizona-based Center to Protect Patient Rights, is one of the largest political nonprofits in the country, serving as a conduit for tens of millions of dollars in political spending, much of it raised by the Kochs and their political operation and spent by other nonprofits active in the 2010 and 2012 elections.” [Center to Protect Patient Rights IRS Form 990s, [2009-12](#); New York Times, [10/24/13](#)]

**Americans For Prosperity’s Mission Is “Educating” And “Mobilizing” Advocates Of “Limited Government And Free Markets.”** According to Americans for Prosperity’s website, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP) is committed to educating citizens about economic policy and mobilizing those citizens as advocates in the public policy process. AFP is an organization of grassroots leaders who engage citizens in the name of limited government and free markets on the local, state, and federal levels. The grassroots activists of AFP advocate for public policies that champion the principles of entrepreneurship and fiscal and regulatory restraint.” [AmericansForProsperity.org, viewed [4/4/12](#)]

**AFP Wisconsin Bussed Wisconsin Residents To State Capitol To Support Walker Proposals.** According to the New York Times, “Among the thousands of demonstrators who jammed the Wisconsin State Capitol grounds this weekend was a well-financed advocate from Washington who was there to voice praise for cutting state spending by slashing union benefits and bargaining rights. The visitor, Tim Phillips, the president of Americans for Prosperity, told a large group of counterprotesters who had gathered Saturday at one edge of what otherwise was a mostly union crowd that the cuts were not only necessary, but they also represented the start of a much-needed nationwide move to slash public-sector union benefits. [...] The state chapter organized buses on Saturday for hundreds of Wisconsin residents to go to the Capitol to support the governor’s proposals.” New York Times, [2/21/11](#)]

**In 2011, AFP Organized A Bus Tour To “Support Responsible Economic Policies Like Governor Walker’s.”** According to Mother Jones, “Nor is this the first time AFP has bussed in supporters to show support for Walker and his agenda. The group’s ‘Stand Against Spending. Stand With Walker’ bus tour in March 2011 cruised across the state for four days to ‘take a firm stand against wasteful government spending and support responsible economic policies like Governor Walker’s,’ according to AFP’s Tim Phillips.” [Mother Jones, [5/28/12](#)]

**During 2011 Recall Elections, AFP Mailed Voters Absentee Ballots With The Wrong Date.** According to Politico, “The conservative third-party group Americans for Prosperity said absentee ballot applications sent to Wisconsin voters this weekend with the wrong election date were the result of a ‘printing mistake.’ ‘The date on the ballot application was meant solely for the elections held on Aug. 16. Due to a mistake during printing, all applications were sent out with the Aug. 11 date,’ said AFP-Wisconsin state Director Matt Seaholm. ‘Americans for Prosperity-Wisconsin did

not intend to print the incorrect absentee deadline or confuse voters in any way.’ The fliers from the advocacy group informed voters they should return ballots to their city clerk before Aug. 11 — even though the next election day is Aug. 9. The upcoming recall elections of six Republican state senators could flip control of the state Senate, as Republicans currently hold just a 19-14 majority in the chamber.” [Politico, [8/2/11](#)]

**AFP Spent Over \$1.5 Million On TV Ads During Walker Recall Election.** According to the Sunlight Foundation, “A limited picture of how much AFP is spending in the state comes from its TV buys. The Federal Communications Commission requires that local TV stations keep information about political ad spending in a public file. As of a month ago, when Gannett's Wisconsin newspapers compiled data from the files, AFP had spent more than \$1.5 million on ads in the state's five biggest markets.” [Sunlight Foundation, [6/7/12](#)]

**Americans For Prosperity Launched Multi-City Wisconsin Bus Tour Days Head Of Walker Recall Election.** According to Mother Jones, “This week, the Wisconsin chapter of Americans for Prosperity, the conservative nonprofit with ties to Charles and David Koch, launches a four-day, 10-city bus tour to ‘highlight the successes we have had in Wisconsin and lay the ground work for the challenges to come.’ AFP's ‘A Better Wisconsin’ tour hits the road just days before the state's hugely anticipated gubernatorial recall pitting Gov. Scott Walker against Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett, as well as four state Senate recall elections that will decide who controls the Senate. AFP has promoted its tour to state and national media, and no less than AFP national president Tim Phillips will be on hand to rally Wisconsinites. Given the tour's timing and billing, any reasonable person would view it as a statewide drive to get out the vote for Walker and his GOP allies in the June 5 election. Not AFP. AFP's Wisconsin director, Luke Hilgemann, says the bus tour has nothing to do the recall elections. ‘We’re not dealing with any candidates, political parties, or ongoing races,’ Hilgemann told the Hudson, Wisconsin, Patch news site. ‘We’re just educating folks on the importance of the reforms.’” [Mother Jones, [5/28/12](#)]

**U.S. Senate Candidate Tammy Baldwin (D-WI) Was One Of AFP’s Top Targets In 2012.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, in the 2012 cycle Americans for Prosperity spent \$1,473,349 to defeat Rep. Tammy Baldwin, candidate for U.S. Senate from Wisconsin. [Center for Responsive Politics, Viewed [3/10/14](#)]

**Americans For Prosperity Wisconsin Was Subpoenaed In John Doe Investigation.** According to the Wall Street Journal, “In recent weeks, special prosecutor Francis Schmitz has hit dozens of conservative groups with subpoenas demanding documents related to the 2011 and 2012 campaigns to recall Governor Walker and state legislative leaders. Copies of two subpoenas we've seen demand ‘all memoranda, email . . . correspondence, and communications’ both internally and between the subpoena target and some 29 conservative groups, including Wisconsin and national nonprofits, political vendors and party committees. The groups include the League of American Voters, Wisconsin Family Action, Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, Americans for Prosperity—Wisconsin, American Crossroads, the Republican Governors Association, Friends of Scott Walker and the Republican Party of Wisconsin.” [Wall Street Journal, [11/18/13](#)]

## **American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC): Model Conservative Bills**

**ALEC Seeks 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 Gives Corporations Power To Alter Model Legislation That Is Often Introduced In State Legislatures.** According to NPR, “‘On the board of ALEC, you have an equal number of legislators and corporate members. ... They then set up task forces to deal with topics like health care, education, election law, and you have an equal number of legislators and corporate and/or interest groups [and] think tanks in each grouping. They have to agree on any model bill or model resolution,’ [said *Nation* reporter John Nichols] [...] What that means, Nichols says, is that corporations can veto proposals and ideas that aren't to their liking — and can also propose measures that are then written into model bills. Those model bills, he says, are often introduced in multiple places — creating consistent messages across the country.” [NPR.org, [7/21/11](#)]

**Center For Media And Democracy Identified 23 ALEC-Inspired Provisions Introduced In Wisconsin In 2011-2012, 21 Of Which Were Passed.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “32 bills or budget provisions reflecting ALEC model legislation were introduced in Wisconsin's 2011-2012 legislative session; [...] 21 of these bills or budget provisions have passed, and two were vetoed.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [5/17/12](#)]

**ALEC Wisconsin Chair Pushed State's Voter ID Law.** According to The Nation, “In the heat of Wisconsin's brutal battle over Governor Scott Walker's assaults on unions, local democracy, public education and social services, one of his closest allies suddenly shifted direction. State Representative Robin Vos, Republican co-chair of the powerful Legislative Joint Finance Committee, determined that making it harder for college students, seniors and low-income citizens to vote was an immediate legislative priority, and pressed lawmakers to focus on enacting one of the most restrictive voter ID laws in the nation. As ALEC's chair for Wisconsin, Vos was doing what was expected of him. Enacting burdensome photo ID or proof of citizenship requirements has long been an ALEC priority. ALEC and its sponsors have an enduring mission to pass laws that would make it harder for millions of Americans to vote, impose barriers to direct democracy and let big money flow more freely into campaigns.” [The Nation, [7/12/11](#)]

**As Of 2012, Wisconsin's Governor, State Assembly And Senate Leaders, And Several Committee Chairs Were Tied To ALEC.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “Not only does Governor Walker have a long history with ALEC, but so do most of his top lieutenants. The leaders in both houses are active ALEC members, as are both Joint Finance Committee chairs, and the chair of the Senate Health Committee. Two key administration officials have long been ALEC members.” [The Nation, [7/12/11](#)]

## **Eric O'Keefe: Hub Of Wisconsin's Conservative Group Wheel**

**Eric O'Keefe Was “A Chief Organizer Of Several Independent Conservative Groups” Raising Money To Support Walker In The Recall Election.** According to the Washington Post,



“Thirteen of Walker’s top 20 donors are from out of state. [...] Eric O’Keefe doesn’t make the top 20, but he’s a chief organizer of several independent conservative groups that are raising millions nationwide.” [Washington Post, [3/25/12](#)]

**O’Keefe Was Chairman Of The Sam Adams Alliance, Chairs Wisconsin Club For Growth, And Co-Founded The Campaign For Primary Accountability.** According to the Washington Post, “From his rural home west of Madison, O’Keefe is chairman of the Sam Adams Alliance, which funds groups that train tea party activists. He is also chairman of the Wisconsin Club for Growth, which has spent \$1 million on TV ads to support Walker’s effort to make state workers ‘pay their fair share.’ And he is co-founder of the Campaign for Primary Accountability, a new super PAC that is spending millions on ads attacking incumbent members of Congress from both parties.” [Washington Post, [3/25/12](#)]

**O’Keefe Is Also Tied To American Majority, The Franklin Center, The Center For Competitive Politics, And The Kochs.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “Wisconsin Club for Growth leaders are tightly intertwined with national and state right-wing networks. Board member Eric O’Keefe, who spoke with the *Wall Street Journal*, is a national player. He helped launch Center for Competitive Politics (which fights campaign finance regulations), as well as the Sam Adams Alliance, American Majority and the right-wing news outlet the Franklin Center for Public Integrity. He was national director of the Libertarian Party in 1980, when David Koch was the party’s Vice-Presidential candidate, and is on the board of the Koch-founded Cato Institute. His wife and kids work for the Lucy Burns Institute, an affiliate of the State Policy Network that publishes Ballotpedia and Judgepedia.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

**O’Keefe Has Long Been “Friendly With The Koch Brothers.”** According to the Washington Post, “Early in his libertarian days, O’Keefe became friendly with the Koch brothers, with whom he has joined in many battles, mainly through independent groups that the courts have empowered to raise unlimited money, often without having to identify their donors.” [Washington Post, [3/25/12](#)]

**O’Keefe: “We’ve Stepped In Pretty Big In Support Of Governor Walker’s Reforms.”** According to the Washington Post, “‘We’ve stepped in pretty big in support of Governor Walker’s reforms,’ says O’Keefe, a lean, soft-spoken 57-year-old who spent part of last week in Manhattan with Walker as the governor raised more cash.” [Washington Post, [3/25/12](#)]

**O’Keefe Was Subpoenaed In John Doe Investigation.** According to the Wall Street Journal, “But one target who did confirm receiving a subpoena is Eric O’Keefe, who realizes the personal risk but wants the public to know what is going on. Mr. O’Keefe is director of the Wisconsin Club for Growth, which advocates lower taxes, limited government and other conservative priorities. He has worked in political and policy circles for three decades, including stints as national director of the Libertarian Party in 1980 and a director of the Cato Institute, and he helped to found the Center for Competitive Politics, which focuses on protecting political speech.” [Wall Street Journal, [11/18/13](#)]

## Wisconsin Club For Growth

**Eric O’Keefe Is A Board Member Of The Wisconsin Club For Growth.** According to Eric O’Keefe’s personal website, he is on the “Board of Directors of Wisconsin Club for Growth, a state-wide network of thousands of pro-growth Wisconsinites, from all walks of life, who believe

that prosperity and opportunity come through economic freedom.” [Eric-OKeefe.com, Viewed [3/13/14](#)]

**Nationally, The Club For Growth Promotes “Economic Freedom” And Deregulation, And Its Super PAC Backs “Tea Party-Aligned Candidates.”** According to the Center for Public Integrity, “Club for Growth Action is the sister super PAC to free-market nonprofit Club for Growth Inc., which was founded by economist Stephen Moore in 1999. The Club for Growth network’s platform of ‘economic freedom’ includes a flat tax, lower income tax, school choice, deregulation, social security reform, free trade and the repeal of the estate tax, according to its website. The super PAC says its sole mission is to ‘defeat big-government politicians and replace them with economic conservatives.’ To this end, Club for Growth Action spent millions on tea party-aligned candidates in GOP primaries across the country, including numerous Senate primaries.” [Center for Public Integrity, [8/22/12](#)]

**Club For Growth Has State Chapters In Several States, Including Wisconsin.** According to the Center for Public Integrity, “Club for Growth Inc., a politically active nonprofit, also has a sister super PAC called Club for Growth Action, a traditional political action committee called Club for Growth PAC and several state spinoffs, including groups in South Carolina, Kentucky, Wisconsin and Missouri. Groups in Arizona, Virginia, Kansas and California have disbanded, according to a spokesman.” [Center for Public Integrity, [8/22/12](#)]

**Wisconsin Club For Growth Spent Over \$1 Million On Electioneering Between 2007 And 2010 Elections.** According to the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, “Club for Growth Wisconsin spent more than \$1 million on outside electioneering activities in the 2007 and 2008 state Supreme Court races and the 2008 and 2010 fall elections.” [Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, [1/16/14](#)]

**Wisconsin Club For Growth Spent An Estimated \$9 Million In 2011 Senate Recall Elections.** According to the Associated Press, “Nearly \$44 million was spent on recall elections targeting nine Wisconsin state lawmakers after a clash over collective bargaining rights, and unions and conservative special interest groups led the way, according to estimates being released Tuesday. [...] Club for Growth Wisconsin, the state arm of the national conservative group, was the second highest spender at an estimated \$9 million. Because of the type of campaigning it does, Club for Growth Wisconsin is not required to file the same reports as We Are Wisconsin, and its spending was estimated by the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign. It estimated the spending by looking at television ad buys and the cost of comparable activity like mailings, automated phone calls and consulting that is disclosed by others.” [Associated Press, [9/20/11](#)]

**In 2011, Wisconsin Club For Growth “Took In Funds From Some Of The Top Republican Donors...And In Turn Shuffled Millions To Other Organizations.”** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “Although the group does not disclose its donors, information that can be gathered from tax filings shows that Wisconsin Club for Growth group took in funds from some of the top Republican donors and Koch-connected dark money conduits in the country, and in turn shuffled millions to other organizations that spent money on ads in 2011 and 2012, all while keeping Wisconsin voters in the dark about the true source of the funds.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

**In 2011, Club For Growth Donated Over One-Third Of Its Budget To Citizens For A Strong America.** According to the Capital Times, “For instance, in 2011, the Club donated \$4.6 million — more than a third of its budget — to Citizens for a Strong America, a group that received no other

donations that year, had no paid employees and listed a post office box in Columbus, Wis., as its address.” [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

- **Wisconsin Club For Growth “Effectively Provided The Entire Operating Budget For ‘Citizens For A Strong America,’ In 2011.”** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “In 2011, Wisconsin Club for Growth effectively provided the entire operating budget for ‘Citizens for a Strong America,’ a mysterious group that was also active in Wisconsin's 2011 and 2012 elections. Club for Growth gave an astounding \$4,620,000 to the group in 2011.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

**Club For Growth Funneled Money To A Group That Then Passed On \$245,000 To DeVos-Linked American Federation For Children, Which Supported Walker In Recall.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “Club for Growth Wisconsin gave a group called the ‘Jobs First Coalition’ \$425,000 in 2011, which amounted to nearly half of the \$927,860 that the Coalition raised that year. (The Jobs First Coalition also gave Club for Growth Wisconsin \$75,000, which would appear to be a reimbursement). The Jobs First Coalition formed in 2009 and has close ties to disgraced former Assembly Majority Leader Scott Jensen, who was the ALEC state chair as a legislator. Jensen is now the top lobbyist at the school privatization group American Federation for Children, a group organized and funded by Amway heirs Dick and Betsy DeVos (who also gave Walker \$250,000 during his recall election). Jensen represents the organization on the ALEC Education Task Force and has brought AFC bills to ALEC for adoption as ‘model’ legislation. Here is where the web gets even more tangled. After receiving \$425,000 from Wisconsin Club for Growth in 2011, the Jobs First Coalition transferred \$245,000 that same year to Jensen's other group, the American Federation for Children. In the 2012 gubernatorial recall race, American Federation for Children was one of Governor Scott Walker's top PAC supporters, reporting \$1.1 million in expenditures on his behalf. They also reported spending \$1.3 million helping GOP Senators facing recall in 2011. It is not known whether additional spending was not disclosed.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

**Wisconsin Club For Growth Spent \$520k Running Pro-Prosser TV Ad And Anti-Kloppenburg Radio Ad.** According to the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign: “Club for Growth Wisconsin, the state arm of the national Club for Growth that backs conservative Republicans for federal offices, which spent an estimated \$520,000. The group sponsored a television ad and a radio ad. The television ad aired a week before the February 15 primary, lauding Prosser for his work on the court. The radio ad criticized Kloppenburg for having no previous experience as a judge.” [Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, [4/19/11](#)]

**Wisconsin Club For Growth Spent Around \$100,000 On Walker’s Recall Election.** According to the Associated Press, “Walker became a national conservative hero, and possible 2016 presidential candidate, after he became the first governor in U.S. history to win a recall election in 2012. He was targeted for recall because of the law he championed, in the face of massive protests, that effectively ended collective bargaining for most public workers. Nearly \$81 million was spent by the candidates, special interest groups and political committees in that race, more than doubling the previous record set by Walker in the 2010 election. Wisconsin Club for Growth spent an estimated \$100,000 on the recall, according to the nonpartisan Wisconsin Democracy Campaign.” [Associated Press, [2/10/14](#)]

**Club For Growth Action “Was The Top Outside Spender In The Wisconsin GOP Senate Primary” In 2012.** According to the Center for Public Integrity, “Hoping to replay its victories in Indiana and Texas, Club for Growth Action was the top outside spender in the Wisconsin GOP Senate primary on Aug. 14 at nearly \$1.7 million. However, the group’s favored candidate, former congressman Mark Neumann, did not win.” [Center for Public Integrity, [8/22/12](#)]

**In 2011, Wisconsin Club For Growth Received Funding From The Koch-Linked Center To Protect Patient Rights And The Wellspring Committee.** According to its form 990 filed with the IRS, Center to Protect Patient Rights donated \$225,000 to Wisconsin Club for Growth. According to the New York Times, “The group, the Arizona-based Center to Protect Patient Rights, is one of the largest political nonprofits in the country, serving as a conduit for tens of millions of dollars in political spending, much of it raised by the Kochs and their political operation and spent by other nonprofits active in the 2010 and 2012 elections.” [Center to Protect Patient Rights IRS Form 990, 2011; New York Times, [10/24/13](#)]

- **National Club For Growth Received Over \$1 Million From Center To Protect Patient Rights.** According to its Forms 990 filed with the IRS, Center to Protect Patient Rights donated \$1,149,000 to the Club for Growth between 2009 and 2012. [Center to Protect Patient Rights IRS Form 990, 2009-2012]

**Wisconsin Realtors Association’s Political Arm Gave Over \$1 Million To Club For Growth Between 2010 And 2012, And Wisconsin Insurance Alliance Gave Over \$400,000.** According to the Capital Times, “For instance, the Wisconsin Homeowners Alliance, the political arm of the Wisconsin Realtors Association, has given no money to WMC in recent years, but directed more than \$1.1 million to the Club for Growth between 2010 and 2012. Similarly, the Wisconsin Insurance Alliance gave more than \$400,000 to the Club in those three years, but only \$5,000 to WMC.” [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

**Center For Media And Democracy: “There Is Evidence” That Club For Growth Was Coordinating With Walker's Office Ahead Of Union-Busting Legislation.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “Wisconsin Club for Growth's top ‘advisor,’ R.J. Johnson, is a close Walker ally and the former Executive Director of the Republican Party of Wisconsin. In Walker's soon-to-be-released book, *Unintimidated*, the governor refers to Johnson as a friend of more than 20 years and his key campaign operative. While the *Wall Street Journal* editorial notes that the John Doe inquiry may be looking into illegal coordination between independent groups and political campaigns, it fails to mention that Johnson is an advisor to both Walker's campaign and Wisconsin Club for Growth. There is evidence that the R.J. Johnson-led Club for Growth was coordinating with Walker's office early in the battle over the governor's controversial Act 10 legislation. Just three days after Governor Walker introduced his ‘budget repair bill’ that ended collective bargaining in the state back in February 2011, Wisconsin Club for Growth began running slick ads accusing state workers of not having to sacrifice, and urging support for the legislation to make state workers ‘pay their fair share.’ One week later, Club for Growth and Americans for Prosperity organized a pro-Walker rally featuring Sarah Palin, Herman Cain, Andrew Breitbart and others.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

**Wisconsin Club For Growth Was Subpoenaed In Second John Doe Investigation.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, Sources have said prosecutors are looking at whether groups such as the Wisconsin Club for Growth coordinated illegally with GOP candidates during the 2011 and 2012 recall races. [...] Last month Peterson — the judge overseeing the probe — issued a secret order quashing subpoenas against conservative groups supporting Walker, dealing investigators a setback, sources told the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel. [...] The quashed subpoenas were sent to Walker's campaign, business lobbying group Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, the Wisconsin Club for Growth and Citizens for a Strong America, according to the Wall Street Journal.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/10/14](#)]

**Wisconsin Club For Growth Sued Over John Doe Investigation, Arguing It Violates Freedom Of Speech And Equal Protection.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Milwaukee County District Attorney John Chisholm and special prosecutor Francis Schmitz are conducting a John Doe investigation into whether conservative groups violated campaign finance



laws during the recall elections. The recalls included one against Gov. Scott Walker, who in June 2012 became the first governor in the country's history to survive a recall vote. John Doe investigations allow prosecutors to compel people to testify and produce documents and order them not to speak about the investigation to anyone but their attorneys. Last month, the Wisconsin Club for Growth and one of its directors sued Chisholm, Schmitz, investigator Dean Nickel and others, arguing the John Doe probe violates their rights to freedom of speech and equal protection under the law. They are seeking a preliminary injunction to halt the probe, saying it has chilled their free speech and kept them from raising money to tell the public about Walker's plans to cut taxes."

[Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [3/12/14](#)]

## **Citizens For A Strong America & Wisconsin Right To Life**

**Wisconsin Club For Growth "Effectively Provided The Entire Operating Budget For 'Citizens For A Strong America' In 2011."** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "In 2011, Wisconsin Club for Growth effectively provided the entire operating budget for 'Citizens for a Strong America,' a mysterious group that was also active in Wisconsin's 2011 and 2012 elections. Club for Growth gave an astounding \$4,620,000 to the group in 2011." [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

### **Citizens For A Strong America "Spent Millions" To Influence Wisconsin Elections.**

According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "Citizens for a Strong America spent millions on ads influencing Wisconsin elections and also funneled money to other groups, which in turn spent the money on political activity in the state." [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

**Citizens For A Strong America Was One Of The Top Spenders In The 2011 Wisconsin Supreme Court Race.** According to the Brennan Center for Justice, Citizens for a Strong America spent \$836,090 on Wisconsin's Supreme Court election through Tuesday, April 5, 2011. Other top groups spent between \$53,200 and \$1,365,340. [Brennan Center for Justice, [4/5/11](#)]

- **Citizens For A Strong America Ran Ads Hitting Supreme Court Candidate JoAnn Kloppenburg And Supporting Her Opponent, David Prosser.** According to the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign: "Greater Wisconsin sponsored web ads, phone banks and four television ads to support Kloppenburg. One of the group's worst ads condemned Prosser for not prosecuting a Catholic priest in Green Bay accused of sexually abusing two boys when Prosser was Outagamie County district attorney in the late 1970s. [...] Rounding out Prosser's top outside supporters were three ideological groups that generally back Republican or conservative candidates for state or federal offices: [...] Citizens for a Strong America, a Beaver Dam-based group with ties to the tea party movement and Americans for Prosperity that uses a postal box as its address, which spent an estimated \$985,000. The group sponsored two television ads. One ad was critical of Kloppenburg because she sued businesses and farmers in court as part of her job as an assistant state attorney general. The other ad featured one of the victims in the priest sex abuse case handled by Prosser. The victim criticized Greater Wisconsin for running the anti-Prosser ad and Kloppenburg for not asking the group to pull it." [Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, [4/19/11](#)]

**Citizens For A Strong America Provided Over 90 Percent Of Wisconsin Family Action's 2011 Grants, Most Of Which They Then Spent On Wisconsin Elections.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "Citizens for a Strong America, which was bankrolled almost entirely by Wisconsin Club for Growth cash, in turn funneled \$916,045 to Wisconsin Family Action in 2011, which was over 90 percent of the \$1,009,616 in grants that the anti-abortion, anti-gay marriage

group received that year. The group spent an estimated \$850,000 on the Senate recall campaigns that year, and an additional undisclosed amount on the Prosser-Kloppenburger race.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [11/18/13](#)]

- **Wisconsin Family Action Was Subpoenaed In John Doe Investigation.** According to the Wall Street Journal, “In recent weeks, special prosecutor Francis Schmitz has hit dozens of conservative groups with subpoenas demanding documents related to the 2011 and 2012 campaigns to recall Governor Walker and state legislative leaders. Copies of two subpoenas we've seen demand ‘all memoranda, email . . . correspondence, and communications’ both internally and between the subpoena target and some 29 conservative groups, including Wisconsin and national nonprofits, political vendors and party committees. The groups include the League of American Voters, Wisconsin Family Action, Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, Americans for Prosperity—Wisconsin, American Crossroads, the Republican Governors Association, Friends of Scott Walker and the Republican Party of Wisconsin.” [Wall Street Journal, [11/18/13](#)]

**Citizens For A Strong America Gave Almost \$350,000 To Wisconsin Right to Life – 14 percent Of The Latter’s Revenue.** According to the Capital Times, “Citizens for a Strong America then directed a large portion of that money to socially conservative organizations. Most notably, it gave \$916,000 to Wisconsin Family Action, a group that stridently opposes gay marriage and abortion, and \$347,582 to the anti-abortion Wisconsin Right to Life. Those contributions accounted for more than 90 percent of Family Action's revenue that year and roughly 14 percent of the revenue for Wisconsin Right to Life. [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

- **Wisconsin Right To Life “Enabled Its Political Action Committee Arm” To Support Walker In Recall Election.** According to RH Reality Check, “In less than three weeks, a monumental election will be held in Wisconsin, where for the first time the governor could potentially be recalled and replaced before his official term in office is ended. But anti-choice activists in the state are determined that doesn’t happen. To defend Republican Governor Scott Walker, anti-choice group Wisconsin Right for Life has enabled its political action committee arm, dedicating web pages, videos and candidate bios on behalf of Walker’s candidacy.” [RH Reality Check, [5/18/12](#)]
- **Wisconsin Right To Life Email: Scott Walker’s Recall Success And Election Of GOP Majorities In State A “Silver Lining” In 2012 Elections.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Abortion opponents were disappointed by President Barack Obama's re-election and the ability of Democrats to retain control of the U.S. Senate. But Wisconsin Right to Life noted in an email to supporters that the election also put all of Wisconsin's state government in the hands of Republicans. ‘The silver lining in the November 6 elections is that Wisconsin has a right-to-life governor, Scott Walker, and strong right-to-life majorities in both houses of the Legislature!’ the group's email newsletter said.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/24/12](#)]
- **Wisconsin Right To Life Hoped To Further Wisconsin’s Abortion Restrictions.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “The state's largest anti-abortion group sees opportunities to place further regulations on abortion, including requiring women seeking the procedure to view an ultrasound of her fetus. Wisconsin Right to Life is also proposing banning abortions that would cause pain to the fetus, barring abortions that are sought based on the sex of the fetus and prohibiting the ability of state employees to use their state health care plans to access abortions.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [11/24/12](#)]

### **Citizens For A Strong America Was Subpoenaed In Second John Doe Investigation.**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, Sources have said prosecutors are looking at whether groups such as the Wisconsin Club for Growth coordinated illegally with GOP candidates during the 2011 and 2012 recall races. [...] Last month Peterson — the judge overseeing the probe — issued a secret order quashing subpoenas against conservative groups supporting Walker, dealing investigators a setback, sources told the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel. [...] The quashed subpoenas were sent to Walker's campaign, business lobbying group Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, the Wisconsin Club for Growth and Citizens for a Strong America, according to the Wall Street Journal.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/10/14](#)]

## **American Federation For Children: A DeVos Family School Privatization Group**

**AFC Is A National Network That Funds School Privatization.** According to The Nation, “She was delivering for American Federation for Children (AFC), the powerful national network of billionaire campaign contributors that has been pouring millions into school privatization fights across the country.” [The Nation, [8/8/11](#)]

**AFC “Works With Allied Legislators And Governors” To Enact School Privatization Policy.** According to The Nation, “AFC is not just shaping the agenda in Wisconsin. Like the American Legislative Exchange Council, which produces model legislation designed to shape state agendas on a host of policies, AFC outlines legislative goals, crafts specific proposals and then works with allied legislators and governors to implement it’s [*sic*] agenda. It is in the forefront of high-stakes school ‘choice,’ voucher and privatization fights in Pennsylvania, Florida, Indiana, Louisiana and the District of Columbia.” [The Nation, [8/8/11](#)]

**AFC Is Organized By The DeVos Family, Conservative Billionaires.** According to The Nation, “Organized by Michigan billionaires Dick and Betsy DeVos, Americans for Children [*sic*] is officially nonpartisan. But Dick DeVos is a former Republican nominee for governor of Michigan and Betsy DeVos is a former chair of the Michigan Republican Party. Together, they have poured tens of millions of dollars into the ideological and electoral infrastructure that supports school privatization.” [The Nation, [8/8/11](#)]

### **AFC Reported Spending \$1.3 Million To Help GOP Senators In 2011 Recall Elections.**

According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “They [American Federation for Children] also reported spending \$1.3 million helping GOP Senators facing recall in 2011. It is not known whether additional spending was not disclosed.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [5/8/13](#)]

**Wisconsin Joint Finance Committee Co-Chair Put Together Budget Hostile To Public Education.** According to The Nation, “As co-chair of Wisconsin’s powerful legislative Joint Finance Committee, Alberta Darling was charged by Governor Scott Walker with cobbling together the most anti–public education budget in Wisconsin history. And Darling delivered, with a plan to slash \$800 million in funding for public schools across Wisconsin while at the same time scheming to shift tens of millions from the state treasury into the accounts of private schools.” [The Nation, [8/8/11](#)]

- **Joint Finance Committee Co-Chair’s Emails Revealed Communication With AFC Lobbyist.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “A Democratic-leaning advocacy group and Sen. Alberta Darling (R-River Hills) have settled their dispute over a records request by the advocacy group, and she must pay a \$1,000 attorney fee, according to a

stipulation made public this week. The advocacy group, One Wisconsin Now, had sued Darling after she did not respond to a June request for her communications with a school voucher advocacy group, American Federation for Children, according to a release from One Wisconsin Now. She was in the midst of a recall election at the time. The release said she finally responded to the request after the lawsuit was filed, releasing records that showed email communication with a lobbyist representing the AFC.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [10/28/11](#)]

**In 2012, The State In Which AFC Spent The Most On Elections Was Wisconsin: Almost \$2.4 Million.** According to the American Federation for Children’s 2012 Election Impact Report, “The American Federation for Children, the American Federation for Children Action Fund, and our affiliated organizations invested more than \$7 million in 2012 to elect candidates in states across the country who will work to enact, expand, and strengthen educational choice for America’s children.” AFC invested \$2,392,000 in Wisconsin’s 2012 elections, more than any of the eight other states detailed in the report. [American Federation for Children 2012 Election Impact Report, [3/25/13](#)]

- **AFC Spent Over \$1.5 Million On Wisconsin’s 2012 Recall Election.** According to the American Federation for Children’s 2012 Election Impact Report, “The American Federation for Children and the American Federation for Children Action Fund invested heavily in the primary and general elections, as well as the special recall election efforts in 2012. With expenditures of \$2,392,000, the American Federation for Children and the AFC Action Fund engaged in hard-fought, successful battles to ensure educational choice majorities in both chambers of the legislature.” The report also states that “AFC and the Action Fund invested \$1,598,000 in the recall elections,” “\$259,000 in primary races,” and “\$535,000 in the general elections.” [American Federation for Children 2012 Election Impact Report, [3/25/13](#)]
- **AFC Reported Only \$345,000 In Political Spending To Wisconsin’s Election Board.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “The American Federation for Children, a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization that supports school privatization through "vouchers" and other programs, told Wisconsin's elections board it spent only \$345,000 on state legislative races in 2012. Like many nonprofit groups active in the 2012 elections, the actual total spent around the elections was much higher, but it was never disclosed publicly because AFC claimed the spending was about ‘issues’ rather than supporting or opposing a particular candidate. AFC sang a different tune for funders. In a document titled ‘2012 Election Impact Report’ obtained by Dan Bice of the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, AFC boasted that it spent \$2.4 million in Wisconsin helping elect nine pro-privatization legislators to office.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [5/8/13](#)]

## The Franklin Center & The Wisconsin Reporter

**Eric O’Keefe Helped Launch The Franklin Center.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “The only name associated with the investigation, Eric O’Keefe, helped launch the Franklin Center's operations in 2009, and his Sam Adams Alliance group provided the majority of its startup budget; O’Keefe has spoken publicly about being subpoenaed in his capacity as director of Wisconsin Club for Growth. Franklin Center's Director of Special Projects John Connors, and the Executive Assistant to the President Claire Milbrandt, also have close ties to a group reportedly involved in the John Doe probe. Its former Director of Operations and General Counsel, James Skyles, worked with another group active in the Wisconsin recalls.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [12/19/13](#)]



**The Franklin Center Trains Conservative Think Tanks In Investigative Journalism And Pays For Nonprofits To Hire Reporters.** According to Washington Monthly, “The calls were organized by a new nonprofit called the Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity, which was training right-of-center think tanks to do investigative journalism, as well as funding nonprofits to run news sites and hire reporters.” [Washington Monthly, [May/June 2010](#)]

**The Franklin Center Has Affiliates In Most States, Including Wisconsin’s MacIver Institute And The Wisconsin Reporter.** According to the Franklin Center’s website, it has affiliates, including its Watchdog sites, research institutions, and other news outlets, in the states marked blue on the following map. Its Wisconsin affiliates are the Wisconsin Reporter and the MacIver Institute.



[FranklinCenterHQ.org, Viewed [3/6/14](#)]

**The Franklin Center Runs Watchdog.org, Which Publishes Reporting From State-Based Watchdog Outlets In 23 States.** According to the Columbia Journalism Review, “The Franklin Center, in turn, created a website of state-based reporting, called Watchdog.org—fed by ‘a network of journalists reporting on state and local governments.’ The Watchdog.org site serves as a hub for stories from Watchdog outlets in 23 states.” [Columbia Journalism Review, [4/2/13](#)]

- **Pew Study: 12 Most Conservative Non-Profit News Sites Nationally Were Funded By The Franklin Center And Shared The Common Name “Watchdog.”** According to USA Today, “More than half of emerging non-profit news sites produce content with a clear ideological bent, according to a study released Monday by the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism. The report examined 46 national and state non-profit news websites, which have become more common as traditional newsrooms have shrunk, and found 56 percent of the sites were ideologically based. [...] The most conservative sites were 12 that shared the common name ‘Watchdog’ and were funded chiefly by the Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity, which was launched in part by the libertarian group the Sam Adams Alliance.” [USA Today, [7/19/11](#)]

### **The Wisconsin Reporter Is Housed Within The Franklin Center's Watchdog.org Website.**

According to Watchdog.org, "Watchdog.org is a collection of independent journalists covering state-specific and local government activity. The program began in September 2009, a project of Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity, a 501(c)3 non-profit organization dedicated to promoting new media journalism." Navigating to the Wisconsin-specific page on Watchdog.org brings up the Wisconsin Reporter. [Watchdog.org, Viewed [3/7/14](#)]

### **CJR: The Franklin Center's Sites "Report From An Obviously Conservative Standpoint."**

According to the Columbia Journalism Review, "The sites report from an obviously conservative standpoint, about which the editors do not apologize. (Though the Franklin Center's website claims that its sites are nonpartisan, this seems only nominally true.)" [Columbia Journalism Review, [9/13/12](#)]

**Wisconsin Reporter Bureau Chief: "We Are A Free-Market Organization."** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, "'We are a free-market organization,' says Matt Kittle, bureau chief of Wisconsin Reporter, a news service founded at the end of 2010. 'We investigate and we are watchdogs of waste, fraud and abuse.'" [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

**Wisconsin Reporter Articles Have Been Picked Up in 11 Mainstream Papers.** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, "Franklin currently has affiliates in 40 states. Some are clearly libertarian or conservative advocacy groups, such as the Goldwater Institute in Arizona, while a large number are self-described news websites, most of which focus on state politics and budgeting. Some, including Wisconsin Reporter, produce news articles that are picked up for publication in mainstream newspapers in their respective markets. Wisconsin Reporter articles, for instance, have appeared in 11 papers in this state and Iowa." [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

**In 2011, Wisconsin Reporter And Franklin Center Cherry Picked Their Own Poll To Report Support For Walker's Public Union Changes.** According to Talking Points Memo, "A poll purporting to show broad support in Wisconsin for Gov. Scott Walker's (R) budget proposal made the rounds today, popping up on at least one Wisconsin news site and getting a mention on MSNBC. 'BREAKING: Poll Shows 71% of Wisconsinites Think Walker's Budget Changes are 'Fair',' screamed the release from the poll's sponsor, the conservative-leaning Franklin Center For Government and Public Integrity, based in Alexandria, VA. [...] There's only one problem: the poll actually shows more Wisconsin voters are on the side of the pro-union protesters and their Democratic allies than back Walker and the Republicans. [...] More than half (56%) of respondents said Wisconsin state workers should have collective bargaining power. Just 32% sided with Walker and said state workers should not be allowed to collectively negotiate benefits and other compensation. [...] But over at the Franklin Center -- and its local news site, WisconsinReporter.com -- there's no mention of the strong support for collective bargaining. Instead, the headline is 'New poll: Wisconsinites split on Walker's budget proposal.'" [Talking Points Memo, [2/24/11](#)]

**Wisconsin Reporter And The Franklin Center Have Attacked Wisconsin's John Doe Campaign Finance Investigation.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, "The Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity (through its *Wisconsin Reporter* and Watchdog.org websites) has aggressively attacked the 'John Doe' probe into possible campaign finance violations during Wisconsin's 2011 and 2012 recall elections. [...] Franklin Center's *Wisconsin Reporter* has written 16 stories so far that are highly critical of the John Doe probe and prosecutors (calling its series 'Wisconsin's Secret War'), but these latest revelations raise questions about whether the outfit has a conflict of interest in its coverage." [Center for Media and Democracy, [12/19/13](#)]

- **Wisconsin Reporter “Recast The John Doe Investigation As ‘An Abuse Of Prosecutorial Powers’ With ‘The Apparent Goal Of Bringing Down Gov. Scott Walker.’”** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “*Wisconsin Reporter* launched its ‘Wisconsin’s Secret War’ series in October, citing unnamed sources to reveal that Wisconsin Club for Growth, Americans for Prosperity, and Republican Governors Association had received subpoenas, and describing details about ‘after-hours visits to homes and offices’ and prosecutors’ ‘demands for phone, email and other records.’ Thanks to those unnamed sources, *Wisconsin Reporter* had a new platform, and used it to recast the John Doe investigation as ‘an abuse of prosecutorial powers’ with ‘the apparent goal of bringing down Gov. Scott Walker.’ The Walker campaign and 28 other groups also reportedly received subpoenas.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [12/19/13](#)]

**Seed Money For The Franklin Center’s 2009 Founding Came From The Conservative Sam Adams Alliance.** According to the Columbia Journalism Review, “The Franklin Center is perhaps the most ambitious conservative news organization you’ve never heard of. Founded in 2009 by Jason Stverak, a former Republican campaign operative, and initially funded by over \$2 million in seed money from the conservative Sam Adams Alliance, the Franklin Center funds small online news operations in 18 states.” [Columbia Journalism Review, [9/13/12](#)]

**The Franklin Center “Has Numerous Ties” To Koch Brothers’ Americans For Prosperity.** According to the Center for Public Integrity, “Franklin has numerous ties to the Koch-connected Americans for Prosperity like board member Rudie Martinson, a former assistant state director for AFP’s North Dakota’s chapter, and Franklin’s vice president of strategic initiatives, Erik Telford, who was director of membership and online strategy at AFP for four years. One of Franklin’s state-based blogs, New Jersey Watchdog, also received \$50,000 from AFP in 2011, according to IRS records.” Center for Public Integrity, [2/14/13](#)]

- **The Nation: The Franklin Center Has “Partnered With [State Policy Network] And Americans For Prosperity To Hire And Train Conservative Reporters In Nearly Every State Capital.”** According to The Nation, “A key area of growth among state-level conservative think tanks involves efforts to develop nonprofit media. Founded in 2009, the Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity has partnered with [State Policy Network] and Americans for Prosperity to hire and train conservative reporters in nearly every state capital. In fact, many Americans for Prosperity officials now lead the center.” [Nation, [3/26/13](#)]

**The Franklin Center And The Heritage Foundation Cosponsored The Breitbart Awards Dinner To “Pay Tribute To The Monumental Achievements Of Andrew Breitbart’s Work.”** According to the Breitbart Awards Dinner’s website, “The Heritage Foundation and Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity has partnered together to pay tribute to the monumental achievements of Andrew Breitbart’s work, and the recognition of those who continue his legacy by carrying the torch for freedom and truth.” [Breitbart Awards, accessed [10/29/13](#)]

**Franklin Center Has Received Over \$18 Million From DonorsTrust And Donors Capital Fund Since 2009.** According to DonorsTrust’s and Donors Capital Fund’s 990s, the Franklin Center received a combined total of \$18,076,046 from those two funders between 2009 and 2012. [DonorsTrust IRS Forms 990, 2009-2012; Donors Capital Fund IRS Forms 990, 2009-2012]

- **The Franklin Center Got 95 Percent Of Its 2011 Revenues From Donors Trust.** According to the Columbia Journalism Review, “In 2011, fully 95 percent of the Franklin Center’s revenues came from a charity called Donors Trust, whose top contributors were the Koch brothers.” [Columbia Journalism Review, [4/2/13](#)]

**The Franklin Center Got Over \$480,000 From The Bradley Foundation.** According to the Bradley Foundation's 990s, the Franklin Center received \$480,500 from the foundation between 2010 and 2012. [The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 2010-2012]

## **Sam Adams Alliance, American Majority, And Media Trackers**

### **Sam Adams Alliance**

**Eric O'Keefe Was Chairman Of The Now-Defunct Sam Adams Alliance.** According to Eric O'Keefe's personal website, he was the "chairman of the Sam Adams Alliance, a former organization that cultivated citizen activism." [Eric-O'Keefe.com, Viewed [3/13/14](#)]

**Sam Adams Alliance Was "Focused On Training People How To Use New Media Tools" To Further "Liberty."** According to the American Spectator, "Their American Majority originally was conceived (but is organizationally independent from) the Sam Adams Alliance, which is another key, fairly new player on the grassroots conservative scene. Sam Adams, founded in December 2006, is particularly focused on training people how to use new media tools, especially 'wikis' (as in Wikipedia), and using them as tools to 'advance economic and individual liberty.' [...] Perhaps the best known of the Alliance's projects is 'Ballotpedia,' a wiki that keeps tabs on ballot initiatives across the country. In the four days immediately before last year's elections, Ballotpedia received some 5 million page views as people tried to follow the progress of initiatives on gay marriage, crime, tax hikes, and other subjects. Newer and less well known—but already with more than a million page views each—are Sunshine Review, a wiki hotline for government accountability and transparency, and Judgepedia, which already features articles on each of the nation's 338 state Supreme Court justices and that by the end of the year will feature every state appeals court judge in the country." [American Spectator, [June 2009](#)]

**Sam Adams Alliance Sought To "Encourage Right-Leaning Activists And Bloggers To Get Online And Focus On Local And State Issues."** According to the New York Times' Caucus blog, "The Sam Adams Alliance, a nonprofit conservative organization, has started an ambitious project this year to encourage right-leaning activists and bloggers to get online and focus on local and state issues." [New York Times, Caucus Blog, [7/19/08](#)]

**Sam Adams Alliance Provided "Much Of" The Franklin Center's \$2.9 Million First-Year Budget.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel's No Quarter blog, "The Franklin Center has received money from leading conservative groups - including, again, the Bradley Foundation, which donated \$190,500 last year. In its first year, the Franklin Center had a \$2.9 million budget, much of it from the libertarian Sam Adams Alliance." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, No Quarter blog, [8/7/11](#)]

**Sam Adams Alliance Has Received Over \$8.4 Million From DonorsTrust And Donors Capital Fund.** According to 990s from DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund, those two groups gave a combined \$8,420,104 to the Sam Adams Alliance between 2008 and 2011. [Donors Capital Fund IRS Forms 990, 2009-2011; DonorsTrust IRS Forms 990, 2008-2010]

**In 2010, The Bradley Foundation Gave \$65,000 To Sam Adams Alliance.** According to its Form 990 filed with the IRS, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation distributed \$65,000 to Sam Adams Alliance in 2010. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Form 990, 2010]



## **American Majority & Media Trackers**

**As Of 2011, American Majority Got “Most Of Its Money From The Sam Adams Alliance” And Was “Run By Established GOP Operatives.”** According to Mother Jones, “American Majority was founded and is run by Ned Ryun. He is a former speechwriter for George W. Bush and the son of former Kansas Rep. Jim Ryun (R), who was tainted by the Jack Abramoff lobbying scandal. Ned's twin brother Drew was the deputy director of grassroots for the Republican National Committee in 2004. Drew Ryun also works for American Majority, an outfit run by established GOP operatives. The group gets most of its money from the Sam Adams Alliance, and the alliance's funding is not publicly known.” [Mother Jones, [2/18/11](#)]

**Media Trackers Was Partly Financed Through Bradley Foundation Grants To Its Parent Company, American Majority.** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, “While MacIver's partisan agenda is relatively transparent — it has not sought credentials from the Wisconsin Capitol Correspondents Association — its methods are quite polished compared to those of Wisconsin-based Media Trackers, which was financed at least in part by two 2010 grants totaling \$173,000 from Bradley to its parent group, American Majority, whose mission is to ‘promote liberty through limited government.’” [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

- **The Bradley Foundation Gave Over \$1 Million To American Majority.** According to its Forms 990 filed with the IRS, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation contributed \$1,123,720 to American Majority between 2010 and 2012. [Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation IRS Forms 990, 2010-2012]

**Twin Brothers Drew And Ned Ryun Run Media Trackers And American Majority, Respectively.** According to Mother Jones, “Drew Ryun says Media Trackers has been attracting new donors. (The Koch brothers and their affiliates, Ryun says, are not among those donors.) He plans to double the group's footprint by year's end while spinning it off from its current nonprofit sponsor, American Majority, a tea party training organization run by his twin brother, Ned.” [Mother Jones, [5/21/12](#)]

**American Majority “Spearheaded” Pro-Walker Demonstration In Madison.** According to Mother Jones, “After several days of union protests in Madison, Wisconsin, opposing Republican Gov. Scott Walker's attempt to end collective bargaining rights for many state employees, tea party activists are mobilizing their own foot soldiers to converge on Madison on Saturday, February 19. Tea partiers are arranging for buses to the state Capitol, with the help of a local talk radio host. They're promising a massive counter-demonstration to all those angry teachers. And this effort is being spearheaded by the conservative group American Majority, which has been training activists to become candidates at the state level. American Majority has set up an ‘I Stand With Scott Walker Rally’ Facebook page to spread the word, and by 1 o'clock Friday, 1100 people had replied and said they were planning to descend on Madison.” [Mother Jones, [2/18/11](#)]

**Media Trackers Was Conceived As A Network Of Quick Hit Conservative Blogs Focused On Using Opposition Research To Attack Liberals.** According to Mother Jones, “In June 2010, half a dozen rich donors came to Drew Ryun, a former Republican National Committee staffer, with the kind of question a dyed-in-the-wool operative like himself could only dream about. ‘If you had X number of dollars,’ he recalls the donors saying, ‘what would you do that the conservative movement does not have?’ [...] What conservatives lacked, Ryun told the donors, were nimble attack blogs that could quickly capitalize on the latest missteps by big-government politicians or the ‘liberal’ media—essentially hard-hitting, opposition-research-style shops that prize scoops, speed, and scandal over policy briefs and press conferences. His pitch: Create a network of one- and two-man digital media outlets with low overhead, rapid response, and a nose for controversy. The

donors loved it. They ponied up seed money in the low six figures, and Ryun's conservative attack machine, Media Trackers, was born.” [Mother Jones, [5/21/12](#)]

**The First Media Trackers Outlet Was Set Up In Wisconsin Just Ahead Of Controversy Over Walker’s Union-Busting Bill.** According to Mother Jones, “The first Media Trackers outlet launched in Wisconsin in January 2011. The timing was perfect, as the state was primed to explode in protest over Gov. Scott Walker's anti-union ‘budget repair’ bill.” [Mother Jones, [5/21/12](#)]

**Media Trackers Published Damaging Story On Democratic Candidate A Week Before Election That Turned Out To Be False.** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, “To call Media Trackers heavy-handed would be a severe understatement. Its two principal writers, Brian Sikma and Collin Roth, are both former GOP operatives, and most of their articles allege some type of malfeasance on the part of Democratic lawmakers or liberal groups. Their attacks are sometimes outrageous. The most notorious instance came a week before the Nov. 6 election, when lead writer Sikma made a bizarre allegation against state Rep. Mark Pocan's husband. The allegation centered on Kyle Wood, a volunteer for Chad Lee, who was Pocan's Republican opponent for the 2nd Congressional District seat. Wood, who is openly gay, as is Pocan, had claimed the previous week that he was beaten up by a mysterious intruder who apparently viewed his work on behalf of a GOP candidate as treasonous to the gay community. While police were still investigating his claim, Media Trackers posted a story alleging that, in the days before the attack, Wood had received threatening text messages from Pocan's husband, Phil Frank. The ‘transcript’ of the text exchange was posted online by Media Trackers and featured a number of crude and occasionally racist remarks directed at Wood, Lee and Lee's wife. When I asked Sikma whether he had checked Wood's phone for the text messages, he said that he couldn't — that the police had the phone. Instead, he accepted as fact an email that Wood sent him of the alleged text exchange, without any evidence that the texts were from Frank's phone or that they were even texts to begin with. The whole story turned out to be fabricated. Wood recanted his claims, including the initial beating he had reported.” [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

**Media Trackers Published An Anonymously Sourced Story Alleging Legal Violations By Progressive Group That “Turned Out To Be Dead Wrong.”** According to Mother Jones, “Media Trackers wasted no time in urging conservatives to ‘stand united’ in support of Ryan. The Wisconsin bloggers' biggest splash arguably came that August. A Media Trackers story with a headline screaming ‘EXCLUSIVE’ promised a juicy scoop: that a labor-backed progressive group had violated Wisconsin state law by handing out free BBQ to Milwaukee residents in exchange for pledges to vote early in a closely fought state Senate recall election. The story, sourced to a single anonymous witness, sparked an investigation by a Milwaukee district attorney and a flurry of follow-up coverage in the local media. Conservative blogs flew into a frenzy over the scandalous activities unearthed by Media Trackers. Trouble is, the accusation turned out to be dead wrong; the DA found no evidence of wrongdoing.” [Mother Jones, [5/21/12](#)]

**Media Trackers Published A Misleading Story Claiming People Who Signed Walker Recall Protections Were Open To Harassment Due To Absence Of Privacy Protections.** According to Mother Jones, “Although Ryun stresses the importance of fact-based research, the barbecue-for-votes nonscandal wasn't the only time Media Trackers has mangled the truth. Last November, in another splashy post that was quickly amplified by the right-wing blogosphere, Media Trackers' Wisconsin outlet claimed there were ‘no privacy protections’ for people who signed a recall petition to recall Walker, leaving them open to harassment and abuse. *PolitiFact* rated the claim “Mostly False,” and noted that Media Trackers had given no evidence that harassment was taking place.” [Mother Jones, [5/21/12](#)]

**Media Trackers Published A Completely False Story Claiming Members Of Wisconsin’s Judicial Commission Had Signed Walker Recall Petitions.** According to Mother Jones, “And

in March, soon after the Wisconsin Judicial Commission filed an ethics complaint against conservative state Supreme Court Justice David Prosser, Media Trackers published a story claiming four of the commission's nine members had signed Walker recall petitions. In fact, none had." [Mother Jones, [5/21/12](#)]

## **State Policy Network, The MacIver Institute, And Wisconsin Policy Research Institute**

### **State Policy Network**

**State Policy Network Seeks To “Build A Fifty-State Network Of Free-Market Think Tanks” That Will “Educate The General Public And Policy Makers...To Embrace Market-Friendly Policies.”** According to State Policy Network’s website, its “vision” is “To build a fifty-state network of free-market think tanks that are the most effective, widely respected and successful policy research and education institutions in their respective states. As a result of the investment, talent and strategic leadership that SPN provides, state-based think tanks will educate the general public and policy makers in every state to embrace market-friendly policies that maximize liberty and opportunity.” [SPN.org, viewed [1/30/14](#)]

**State Policy Network’s Wisconsin Members Are The MacIver Institute And The Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.** According to the State Policy Network’s member directory, its Wisconsin members are the MacIver Institute for Public Policy and the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute. [SPN.org, viewed [3/14/14](#)]

**Donors Capital Fund Gave Over \$9 Million To State Policy Network Between 2007 And 2012.** According to its Forms 990 filed with the IRS, Donors Capital Fund donated a total of \$9,307,601 to State Policy Network between 2007 and 2012. [Donors Capital Fund IRS Form 990, 2007-2012]

**DonorsTrust Gave \$655,000 To State Policy Network Between 2007 And 2012.** According to its Forms 990 filed with the IRS, DonorsTrust donated a total of \$655,000 to State Policy Network between 2007 and 2012. [DonorsTrust IRS Form 990, 2007-2012]

### **Wisconsin Policy Research Institute**

**WPRI Does “Academic Research That Makes The Case For Conservative Policies” And Puts Out The Wisconsin Interest Magazine.** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, “In addition to conducting academic research that makes the case for conservative policies, such as school choice, WPRI puts out a magazine, Wisconsin Interest, which often includes commentary from voices that are not particularly conservative, such as former Isthmus Editor Marc Eisen.” [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

**WPRI Has Heavy Ties To Partisan Conservative Interests.** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, “Indeed, Lightbourn argues that WPRI is not an organization engaged in politicking — that its central focus is pure academic research, which it publishes even when the results don't favor conservative positions. But the ties between the organization and partisan elements of the conservative movement remain strong. Its political reporting, for instance, often comes from Christian Schneider, a former GOP legislative staffer who in 2010 was granted behind-the-scenes access to U.S. Senate candidate Ron Johnson's campaign, and later wrote a piece celebrating his candidacy against incumbent Russ Feingold. Johnson's campaign did not allow any mainstream media the same level of access. And when, several years ago, WPRI hired UW-Madison

professor Ken Goldstein to conduct polling on a variety of political issues, liberal group One Wisconsin Now filed an open records request that revealed emails between Lightbourn and Goldstein in which Lightbourn urged the professor to downplay results showing poor support for school choice around the state.” [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

**WPRI Gets About Half Of Its Annual Budget From The Bradley Foundation.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel’s No Quarter blog, “[Charlie Sykes] serves as senior fellow and magazine editor for the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute. Records show the institute receives \$400,000 per year from the Bradley Foundation, representing about half - and sometimes more - of its annual budget.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, No Quarter Blog, [8/7/11](#)]

## **MacIver Institute For Public Policy**

**The MacIver Institute Is A Free-Market Think Tank That “Also Acts As A ‘News Service.’”** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “The MacIver Institute, also known as the John K. MacIver Institute for Public Policy, is a Wisconsin-based, free-market think tank formed in 2009 which also acts as a ‘news service,’ supplying videos and reports to media outlets, like newspapers and television broadcasters.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [3/15/11](#)]

**The MacIver Institute Publishes Several Online Stories A Week, “Many Of Which Seek To Celebrate Republican Policy.”** According to the Capital Times, a progressive outlet, “Unlike WPRI, MacIver has a news service that releases at least several online stories per week, some of which are straight, but many of which seek to celebrate Republican policy, discredit Democrats and — in particular — to sound an alarm about alleged voter fraud.” [The Capital Times, [11/28/12](#)]

**The MacIver Institute’s Stories Describe “What It Suggests Is The Questionable Behavior Of Democrats Or The Bold Actions Of Walker Or Other Republicans.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel’s No Quarter blog, “Bradley dollars have also been flowing to the MacIver Institute, which runs a ‘news service’ that provides stories detailing what it suggests is the questionable behavior of Democrats or the bold actions of Walker or other Republicans.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, No Quarter Blog, [8/7/11](#)]

**Two Weeks Before Walker First Raised The Issue Of Collective Bargaining Rights, The MacIver Institute Published An Editorial Urging Walker To Make Wisconsin A “Right To Work” State.** According to the Center for Media and Democracy, “On November 24, 2010, just weeks after Walker was elected governor, the MacIver Institute published an editorial by Brian Fraley calling for the newly-elected governor and legislature to repeal public sector collective bargaining and make Wisconsin a ‘Right to Work’ state. Walker never mentioned attacking collective bargaining rights during the campaign. The editorial was published two weeks before Walker first raised the subject publicly at a Milwaukee Press Club luncheon.” [Center for Media and Democracy, [2012](#)]

**The MacIver Institute “Teamed Up” With Americans For Prosperity On An Estimated \$3.7 Million Ad Campaign Promoting Walker’s Policies.** According to the Capital Times, “In 2011 and 2012, AFP teamed up with the MacIver Institute, a conservative think-tank, on an ad campaign promoting Walker’s policies. The Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, an election watchdog group, estimated that the ads cost \$3.7 million. AFP President Tim Philips told CNN that his group spent \$10 million in 2011 and 2012 promoting Walker’s policies.” [Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

**The MacIver Institute “Promoted” And “Followed Up On” Media Trackers’ Stories During Recall Races.”** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel’s No Quarter blog, “In the recall races, MacIver has promoted several of Media Trackers’ stories and followed up on them with their own critical coverage. One recent story simultaneously reported and ripped Milwaukee County



prosecutors for appearing ‘disinterested in allegations of election fraud’ because they were not aggressively pursuing a liberal group for offering free food and prizes in conjunction with rides to the polls.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, No Quarter Blog, [8/7/11](#)]

## **Wisconsin Manufacturers And Commerce**

### **Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce Is Wisconsin’s “Leading Business Lobby.”**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “Dan Ariens, chief executive of snowblower and lawn mower manufacturer Ariens Co., on Friday was elected chairman of the Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, the state's leading business lobby association. According to the 3,500-member state chamber of commerce, Ariens will continue the WMC's focus on pro-business, pro-growth policies as well as workforce development. He will ‘educate the public about issues important to businesses,’ WMC said.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [1/31/14](#)]

### **WMC Maintains “Hard-Line Pro-Business And Anti-Tax Positions,” And Its Former President “Thrust The WMC Into Nearly Every Significant Political Skirmish That Involved Taxes, Regulations Or The Size Of Madison's Government.”**

According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, “The Madison-based WMC on Thursday announced that its president of the last 25 years, James Haney, will retire next year - just as the organization turns 100. It will name a successor by the second quarter of 2011. [...] While Haney is often called diplomatic and soft-spoken, the WMC has a reputation for being combative and sometimes partisan. As Japan, Mexico and China took turns over the years challenging the state's traditional industries, Haney thrust the WMC into nearly every significant political skirmish that involved taxes, regulations or the size of Madison's government. With an annual political lobbying budget of about \$1 million by its own estimates, the WMC seldom shies from political hardball. [...] But the WMC's hard-line pro-business and anti-tax positions sometimes obscure its work in other areas, such as education, and the awards it grants in sustainable economic models, said Tom Still, president of the Wisconsin Technology Council.” [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [6/10/10](#)]

**WMC Usually Holds Positions “Firmly In Line With Republicans.”** According to Wisconsin Public Radio, “WMC's positions are normally firmly in line with Republicans.” [Wisconsin Public Radio, [2/3/14](#)]

### **WMC’s Affiliate, WMC Issues Mobilization Council, “Regularly Dumps Millions Of Dollars Into ‘Issue Ads’ Attacking Democrats And Boosting Republicans.”**

According to the Capital Times, “In addition to a cadre of lobbyists, most of whom are plucked from the staffs of Republican legislative leaders, Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce has an affiliate organization, the WMC Issues Mobilization Council, which regularly dumps millions of dollars into ‘issue ads’ attacking Democrats and boosting Republicans.” [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

**WMC Was Supreme Court Candidate Prosser’s Biggest Financial Supporter.** According to the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign: “[F]our special interest groups doled out a combined \$2.65 million to back Prosser. His largest single outside supporter was Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, the state’s largest business group and one of the most powerful players in Wisconsin politics. Like Greater Wisconsin, the business group has spent millions of dollars in recent years on outside electioneering activities, but Wisconsin Manufacturers supports Republican and conservative candidates for legislative and statewide offices. WMC spent nearly \$1.1 million in the race to create and air two television ads. One of the ads used audio clips of Kloppenburg in which she says being tough on crime was not her message. The ad told listeners ‘being weak on criminals is dangerous for Wisconsin families,’ and resembled tough-on-crime ads sponsored by the group in past Supreme Court races that distort most of the cases and decisions rendered by the state’s high court.” [Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, [4/19/11](#)]

**One Of WMC's Biggest Donors Is Wisconsin Club For Growth.** According to the Capital Times, "While most of the money for WMC's main organization comes from dues that member businesses pay, the money for its political arm comes exclusively from voluntary contributions, either from member businesses, individuals or outside organizations. Any contributions coming directly from companies or individuals is nearly impossible to track, however, since that information is not public. [...] What is clear from the tax records of other large political organizations in the state, however, is that one of WMC's largest donors is the Wisconsin Club for Growth, the state affiliate of the national anti-tax group founded by New York City money managers in the 1980s. In 2012 alone, the Club gave nearly \$3 million to the WMC Issues Mobilization Council, about 45 percent of the \$6.7 million that the group raised that year." [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

- **In 2011, WMC Gave Almost \$1 Million To Wisconsin Club For Growth.** According to the Capital Times, "Sometimes the money moves in the opposite direction. In 2011, WMC gave nearly \$1 million to the Club." [The Capital Times, [1/15/14](#)]

**Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce Was Subpoenaed In Second John Doe Investigation.** According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Sources have said prosecutors are looking at whether groups such as the Wisconsin Club for Growth coordinated illegally with GOP candidates during the 2011 and 2012 recall races. [...] Last month Peterson — the judge overseeing the probe — issued a secret order quashing subpoenas against conservative groups supporting Walker, dealing investigators a setback, sources told the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel. [...] The quashed subpoenas were sent to Walker's campaign, business lobbying group Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, the Wisconsin Club for Growth and Citizens for a Strong America, according to the Wall Street Journal." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, [2/10/14](#)]

## American Crossroads/Crossroads GPS: Broad GOP Support

**Crossroads Founder Karl Rove Emphasized Importance Of Winning Statehouses To Control Redistricting Process.** According to ProPublica, "Republicans had a years-long strategy of winning state houses in order to control each state's once-a-decade redistricting process. [...] Republican strategist Karl Rove laid out the approach in a Wall Street Journal column in early 2010 headlined 'He who controls redistricting can control Congress.'" [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

- **Rove: Winning 107 Targeted Seats In 16 States Will Let GOP Draw Lines For Nearly 190 Congressional Districts.** According to a Wall Street Journal op-ed by Karl Rove, "There are 18 state legislative chambers that have four or fewer seats separating the two parties that are important for redistricting. Seven of these are controlled by Republicans and the other 11 are controlled by Democrats, including the lower houses in Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana and Pennsylvania. Republican strategists are focused on 107 seats in 16 states. Winning these seats would give them control of drawing district lines for nearly 190 congressional seats." [Wall Street Journal, [3/4/10](#)]
- **Rove: GOP Won The House Majority In 1994 Because Of Redistricting.** According to a Wall Street Journal op-ed by Karl Rove, "Control of the state legislature matters whether a state loses or gains seats. [...] To understand the broader political implications, consider that the GOP gained somewhere between 25 and 30 seats because of the redistricting that followed the 1990 census. Without those seats, Republicans would not have won the House in 1994." [Wall Street Journal, [3/4/10](#)]

**In 2010, American Crossroads Donated Over \$1 Million To Redistricting Leader RSLC.** According to the Center for Responsive Politics, in the 2010 cycle American Crossroads donated \$1,200,000 to the Republican State Leadership Committee. [Center for Responsive Politics, Viewed [2/21/14](#)]

**American Crossroads Unsuccessfully Spent \$2.7 Million Against Tammy Baldwin's Senate Bid.** According to the Sunlight Foundation, "In Wisconsin, high turnout for Obama helped elect Rep. Tammy Baldwin to the Senate; American Crossroads spent \$2.7 million on the race." [Sunlight Foundation, [12/10/12](#)]

**American Crossroads Was Subpoenaed In John Doe Investigation.** According to the Wall Street Journal, "In recent weeks, special prosecutor Francis Schmitz has hit dozens of conservative groups with subpoenas demanding documents related to the 2011 and 2012 campaigns to recall Governor Walker and state legislative leaders. Copies of two subpoenas we've seen demand 'all memoranda, email . . . correspondence, and communications' both internally and between the subpoena target and some 29 conservative groups, including Wisconsin and national nonprofits, political vendors and party committees. The groups include the League of American Voters, Wisconsin Family Action, Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce, Americans for Prosperity—Wisconsin, American Crossroads, the Republican Governors Association, Friends of Scott Walker and the Republican Party of Wisconsin." [Wall Street Journal, [11/18/13](#)]