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CONSERVATIVE TRANSPARENCY

A LOOK AT THE ORGANIZED RIGHT IN 2014



**BRIDGE
PROJECT**

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Introduction

In the last election, conservative outside groups spent more than \$800 million attempting to defeat President Obama and secure Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. The unprecedented flood of cash failed to produce results on Election Day, but right-leaning donors and conservative groups have not given up on their efforts to obstruct progressive governance and implement a right-wing agenda.

Heading into the 2014 midterms, the network of well-funded organizations that comprise the “conservative movement” is larger than ever. Led by Charles and David Koch, the conservative donor class has increased its investment in the think tanks and advocacy groups charged with formulating conservative policy ideas and electing a government that will implement them. However, while the Koch brothers are well known to most political observers, it can be difficult to keep track of all the relevant players.

Bridge Project is committed to keeping a watchful eye on the conservative movement – and Conservative Transparency, an interactive database that tracks the flow of money on the right, is central to that mission. In addition to documenting the reported political contributions of major individual donors, Conservative Transparency uses the publicly available tax filings of conservative foundations and charities to provide hard-to-find information about the money behind think tanks and politically active nonprofits that do not have to disclose the sources of their funding.

While the database is frequently updated as new information becomes available, we have compiled details about many of the main players on the right in this report to help paint a clearer picture of the conservative movement in 2014.

SHELDON ADELSON

Born: 1933

Location: Nevada

Net Worth: \$36.1 Billion (as of December 2013)

Associations: Las Vegas Sands; Miriam Adelson

Mission: Anti-union; hawkish foreign policy

Political Donations: \$106,827,563 (since 2008 election cycle)

Election Cycle	Amount
2008	\$5,601,138
2010	\$2,276,000
2012	\$98,950,425

Top Known Recipients (since 2008 election cycle):

Restore Our Future (Mitt Romney)	\$30,000,000
American Crossroads	\$23,000,000
Winning Our Future (New Gingrich)	\$20,000,000
American Solutions For Winning The Future	\$6,650,000
Congressional Leadership Fund	\$5,000,000
YG Action Fund	\$5,000,000

Summary:

Sheldon Adelson is an American casino mogul, the 15th richest person in the world as of February 2014, and the majority stakeholder of the Las Vegas Sands Corporation, which is the largest gambling company in the world. The self-made tycoon is primarily known for his hawkish views on the Middle East and for his attempts to weaken organized labor. While long a player in funding political campaigns, Adelson burst onto the scene during the 2012 election and was the largest individual donor on either side; he and his wife, Miriam Adelson, reported contributions of almost \$99 million dollars in the 2012 election. Notably, the two gave \$20 million to help former House Speaker Newt Gingrich win the Republican nomination, and when Gingrich's campaign floundered, the Adelsons gave \$30 million to Restore Our Future, a super PAC backing Mitt Romney.

Notable Facts:

- In addition to the 2012 contributions disclosed to the FEC, Adelson reportedly gave at least \$30 million to Crossroads GPS and at least \$15 million to groups linked to the Koch brothers.
- Adelson is behind a campaign to ban online gambling, which he refers to as “fool’s gold.”
- In 2013, Adelson suggested that the U.S. deploy nuclear weapons inside Iranian territory to persuade the country to end its nuclear program.

AMERICAN ACTION NETWORK

Founded: 2009

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: American Action Forum; Norm Coleman; Fred Malek; Brian Walsh; Vin Weber; Congressional Leadership Fund

Mission: To “create, encourage and promote center-right policies based on the principles of freedom, limited government, American exceptionalism, and strong national security.”

Election Spending (since 2010 cycle): \$15,721,376

Election Cycle	American Action Network
2010	\$ 18,945,602
2012	\$11,689,399
2014	N/A

Top Known Donors (total since 2010):

PhRMA	\$6,075,000
Republican Jewish Coalition	\$4,000,000
Aetna	\$3,000,000
Crossroads GPS	\$500,000
Wellspring Committee	\$305,500
American Petroleum Institute	\$250,000

Revenue

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2012	\$22,556,387	\$22,578,115
2011	\$27,479,380	\$27,479,384
2010	\$2,750,351	\$2,750,372

Summary:

The American Action Network (AAN) is a center-right “action tank” founded by former Minnesota Sen. Norm Coleman and former Nixon aide Fred Malek. Brian Walsh serves as AAN’s president, and a sister nonprofit organization, the American Action Forum, is run by former Congressional Budget Office director Douglas Holtz-Eakin. AAN carries out its mission to “create, encourage and promote center-right policies” largely by spending money on ads targeting Democrats. In 2012, the vast majority of AAN’s spending total went toward attacks on Democratic candidates for the House. Unlike similar outside spending groups, AAN’s spending actually decreased from the 2010 midterms

to 2012, likely due to the emergence of similar organizations such as the Congressional Leadership Fund, a related super PAC that is also led by Coleman, Malek, and Walsh.

Notable Facts:

- In its application to the IRS seeking tax-exempt status, AAN said that only “a minor portion of its activities may be classified as political campaign intervention.”
- In 2012, AAN waded into the Republican Senate primary in Indiana, spending more than \$645,000 against eventual nominee Richard Mourdock, who defeated longtime incumbent Sen. Richard Lugar before losing in the general election.
- The watchdog group Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) asked the IRS to “investigate whether the American Action Network (AAN) has violated tax law” after AAN spent millions attempting to defeat Democratic candidates.
- American Action Network used to share office space with Crossroads GPS.

AMERICAN COMMITMENT

Founded: 2011

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Phil Kerpen; American Commitment Action Fund (super PAC); Sean Noble; Koch brothers

Mission: American Commitment is “dedicated to restoring and protecting the American Commitment to free markets, economic growth, Constitutionally-limited government, property rights, and individual freedom.”

Election Spending:

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2012	\$1,858,765
2014	\$570,291*

**As of 2/23/14; includes American Commitment Action Fund*

Top Known Donors

Center to Protect Patient Rights	\$6,396,544
Freedom Partners	\$6,260,000
Free Enterprise America	\$103,000

Summary:

Before creating its super PAC arm in 2013, American Commitment (classified as a “social welfare” nonprofit) attempted to influence federal races and policy using ads, online petitions, and microsites. American Commitment is led by Phil Kerpen, a former vice president at Americans for Prosperity who also has worked at the Free Enterprise Fund, Club for Growth, and the Cato Institute. Although the group reported just \$1.86 million in election spending in 2012, its overall expenditures totaled more than \$11.5 million. Nearly all of American Commitment’s known funding comes from the Center to Protect Patient Rights (CPPR) and Freedom Partners, both of which are closely linked to the Koch brothers and their secretive donor network. American Commitment’s tax filings identify Sean Noble, the president of CPPR, as a director.

Notable Facts:

- In the 2013 special Senate election in New Jersey, American Commitment unsuccessfully tried to defeat then-Mayor Cory Booker and elect Republican Steve Lonegan. The group attacked Booker using web and TV ads, as well as with the website “BookerFail.com.”

- American Commitment’s TV ads against the Affordable Care Act were rated as “mostly false,” “false,” and “pants on fire” by PolitiFact.
- In 2012, American Commitment ran \$1 million worth of ads urging senators from both parties to overturn EPA rules regarding coal, and the group’s most successful petition so far has been to “Stop Obama’s War on Coal.”

AMERICAN CROSSROADS & CROSSROADS GPS

Founded: 2010

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Karl Rove; Ed Gillespie; Steven Law; Carl Forti; Crossroads Generation

Mission: Electing Republicans to federal office

Election Spending (since 2010): \$215,723,003

Election Cycle	American Crossroads	Crossroads GPS
2010	\$23,061,030	\$16,733,363
2012	\$104,746,670	\$71,181,940
2014	\$0*	\$0*

**As of January 24, 2014*

Top Known Donors (total since 2010):

Harold Simmons*	\$26,500,000
Sheldon Adelson	\$23,000,000
Bob Perry*	\$15,500,000
Robert Rowling	\$10,841,880
Joe Craft	\$5,775,000
B. Wayne Hughes	\$4,250,000
Weaver Popcorn	\$3,725,000
Jerry Perenchio	\$3,500,000
Robert Mercer	\$2,000,000
Kenneth Griffin	\$1,500,000
Harlan Crow	\$1,500,000

**Deceased*

Summary:

Karl Rove-founded super PAC American Crossroads and its affiliated dark money nonprofit, Crossroads GPS, together constitute the top outside spending powerhouse in the past two election cycles. After nearly \$40 million yielded great success for Republican candidates in the 2010 elections, the Crossroads groups' spending more than quadrupled in the 2012 cycle – but with far less efficacy than in the Tea Party-fueled midterms. The groups' primary activity is running television ads targeting Democratic candidates, both with traditional ads urging voters to cast a ballot for or against a candidate and with “issue” ads.

Notable Facts:

- In 2012, the Crossroads groups' top targets were Barack Obama (\$100 million), Tim Kaine (\$11.2 million), Shelley Berkley (\$7 million), Sherrod Brown (\$6.3 million), Tammy Baldwin (\$6 million), Jon Tester (\$5 million), Joe Donnelly (\$4.7 million), and Bill Nelson (\$4 million).
- Crossroads president Steven Law expects to spend \$100 million on the 2014 midterms.
- Casino magnate Sheldon Adelson reportedly donated at least \$30 million in dark money to Crossroads GPS.
- Crossroads Generation is a super PAC planning to target young Republican voters.

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE

Founded: 1938

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Arthur C. Brooks (president); Dick Cheney (trustee); Pete Coors (vice chairman); Harlan Crowe (trustee); Danielle Pletka (vice president for foreign and defense policy studies); Irving Kristol (senior fellow emeritus)

Mission: “The American Enterprise Institute is a community of scholars and supporters committed to expanding liberty, increasing individual opportunity, and strengthening free enterprise.”

Assets: \$ 150,553,387 (2012)

Annual Revenue: \$38,831,796 (2012)

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2007	\$34,063,743	\$40,910,056
2008	\$58,988,984	\$50,952,567
2009	\$47,301,847	\$52,524,255
2010	\$12,427,227	\$13,185,521
2011	\$31,138,309	\$34,577,193
2012	\$36,460,964	\$38,831,796

Top Known Donors (since 2007):

Donors Capital Fund	\$13,474,114
Kovner Foundation	\$9,500,000
Searle Freedom Trust	\$7,800,000
Smith Richardson Foundation	\$4,165,250
Sarah Scaife Foundation	\$3,050,000
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$2,587,500
Exxon Mobil	\$1,520,000
Paul E. Singer Foundation	\$1,212,000
John Templeton Foundation	\$840,000
Charles Koch Foundation	\$717,289

Summary:

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI), once called the “epicenter” of the neoconservative intellectual movement by Newsweek, is one of the oldest think tanks in the United States. While AEI was originally a domestic policy think tank dedicated exclusively to promoting “free,

competitive enterprise” at home, over the decades AEI has entrenched itself in every field of policy debate and has become an especially prominent voice on foreign policy issues, such as the invasion of Iraq. The think tank’s historical influence has extended to the White House, as President Ronald Reagan appointed several dozen AEI scholars and fellows to work in his administration and President George W. Bush appointed over 20, including Vice President Dick Cheney. AEI is governed by a Board of Trustees that includes executives from companies such as Molson Coors Brewing Company, State Farm Insurance, and Cigna Corporation.

Notable Facts:

- Every year, AEI confers the Irving Kristol Award in recognition of individuals “who have made exceptional intellectual and practical contributions to improve government policy, social welfare, or political understanding.” The award is named for the late Irving Kristol, AEI senior fellow emeritus, who is “widely considered to be the founder of American neoconservatism,” according to AEI. Past winners include Dick Cheney, Alan Greenspan, Charles Krauthammer, David Petraeus, Paul Ryan, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas.
- In December 2012, AEI announced that conservative journalists Timothy Carney and Ramesh Ponnuru would join the think tank as visiting fellows. At AEI, Carney focuses on “barriers to competition in all areas of American life,” while Ponnuru “examines the future of conservatism, with particular attention to health care, economic policy, and constitutionalism.”
- In March 2010, former Bush speechwriter David Frum abruptly resigned from AEI after seven years as a fellow. While the parties provided conflicting accounts of his departure, it was widely reported that Frum was fired over his criticism of conservatives and the Republican Party.
- On September 13, 2001, an AEI scholar published a column in the Wall Street Journal suggesting that Iraq had been involved in the 9/11 attacks. In October 2002, AEI began hosting “a monthly conference series titled ‘Post-Saddam Iraq,’ which...addressed the process of Iraq's potential transition to a democratic regime.”

AMERICAN FUTURE FUND

Founded: 2007

Location: Des Moines, Iowa

Associations: Nick Ryan; Bruce Rastetter

Mission: Support “free market” and conservative interests

Election Spending:

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$9,367,283
2012	\$25,415,969
2014	\$59,750*

*As of 12/17/13

Top Known Donors:

Center to Protect Patient Rights	\$63,222,409
Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce	\$13,600,000
American Justice Partnership	\$2,491,000
Wellspring Committee	\$367,457

Summary:

The American Future Fund is one of the “social welfare” groups that exploit weak campaign finance laws to bring anonymous money into play in federal elections. Exempt from fully disclosing its donors, much of American Future Fund’s known funding comes from the Center to Protect Patient Rights, a Koch-linked dark money conduit that paid a record fine for violating California campaign finance laws in funding 2012 state ballot initiatives. In 2012, American Future Fund spent around \$25 million on television ads, much of which targeted President Obama or supported Mitt Romney in the presidential race.

Notable Facts:

- AFF Founder Nick Ryan is a former adviser to Rick Santorum and founded the pro-Santorum super PAC Red, White and Blue Fund during the 2012 cycle.
- In 2012, American Future Fund donated over \$4 million each to 60 Plus Association and the California Future Fund for Free Markets, plus \$1.2 million to the RSLC
- In 2012, funding from the Center to Protect Patient Rights and Freedom Partners together made up over 92 percent of American Future Fund’s budget.

AMERICANS FOR JOB SECURITY

Founded: 1997

Location: Alexandria, VA

Associations: David Carney; Stephen DeMaura; Center to Protect Patient Rights

Mission: AJS supports “free markets and pro-paycheck public policy,” such as tax cuts and tort reform.

Election Spending: \$24,130,963

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$8,258,099
2012	\$15,872,864
2014	N/A

Top Known Donors (total since 2008):

Center to Project Patient Rights	\$4,945,000
Wellspring Committee	\$2,951,922
Crossroads GPS	\$2,000,000
Freedom’s Watch	\$1,430,000
New Majority California	\$500,000

Summary:

Americans for Job Security (AJS) bills itself as “the only independent, bi-partisan, pro-business issue advocacy organization” but operates as a dark money group, spending millions on electioneering as well as steering money to other groups involved in electing Republicans. According to the New York Times, AJS seems to have been explicitly “devised to sidestep campaign disclosure rules” and reports most of its revenue as “membership dues” despite noticeable increases during election years. In 2010, for instance, the group spent more than \$11.3 million (or 91 percent of its revenue for the year) on television, radio, newspaper, and direct mail. In 2012, AJS received \$2 million from Crossroads GPS and gave more than \$24.5 million to the Center to Protect Patient Rights, a secretive entity linked to the Koch brothers that funded a variety of groups that worked to elect Republicans in the 2012 election. In tax forms submitted to the Internal Revenue Service, AJS has stated that it “seeks a Congress that is more receptive to the organization’s mission.”

Notable Facts:

- Stephen DeMaura, the group’s president, was formerly the executive director of the New Hampshire GOP.

- Americans for Job Security's huge contribution to the Koch-linked Center to Protect Patient Rights was part of an effort to influence two ballot initiatives in California, which resulted in million-dollar fines for CPPR and another group, Americans for Responsible Leadership.
- Americans for Job Security's total revenue in 2012 was \$51 million, over four times more than its previous high of \$12.4 million in 2010.
- In addition to spending over \$15 million against President Obama in 2012, AJS spent almost \$650,000 attacking Republican Senate candidate Eric Hovde, who eventually lost his primary contest against former Republican Governor Tommy Thompson.

AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY

Founded: 2004

Location: Arlington, VA

Associations: Americans for Prosperity Foundation; Citizens for a Sound Economy; Koch brothers; Freedom Partners; Center to Protect Patient Rights

Mission: “Americans for Prosperity (AFP) is committed to educating citizens about economic policy and mobilizing those citizens as advocates in the public policy process.” AFP promotes “limited government and free markets” and supports “public policies that champion the principles of entrepreneurship and fiscal and regulatory restraint.”

Annual Expenses (since 2008):

2012	\$122,250,942
2011	\$17,697,139
2010	\$24,064,187
2009	\$14,475,217
2008	\$7,047,048

Top Known Donors (total since 2004)*

Freedom Partners	\$32,300,000
Center to Protect Patient Rights	\$15,791,079
Donors' Trust	\$11,724,911
Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation	\$3,000,000
John William Pope Foundation	\$2,775,000
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	\$2,541,725

**includes contributions to Americans for Prosperity Foundation*

Summary:

The centerpiece of David and Charles Koch’s political machine is Americans for Prosperity (AFP), the self-described “grassroots” organization best known for helping to fuel the rise of the Tea Party. David Koch founded American for Prosperity in 2004 after internal divisions caused another conservative entity, Citizens for a Sound Economy, to dissolve into two separate groups (the other became FreedomWorks). Together with its companion “educational” foundation, AFP has become a leading force in small-government activism and a major player in federal elections. AFP’s activities include hosting the annual “Defending the American Dream Summit,” organizing nationwide campaigns on a range of issues (such as combating “climate alarmism” and opposing health care

reform), and, increasingly, flooding the airwaves with attack ads targeting Democratic candidates. AFP boasts of having more than 90,000 individual contributors, but a significant portion of its funding is tied to the Koch brothers. Although the group does not have to disclose its donors, two organizations associated with the Kochs, Freedom Partners and the Center to Protect Patient Rights, have reported contributions to AFP totaling more than \$48 million since 2009.

Notable Facts:

- AFP's overall expenses of \$122 million in 2012 by far exceeded the group's total combined spending from its founding in 2004 through 2011.
- Of the 2012 sum, about \$36.4 million was reported to the FEC as "political" spending, with about \$33.5 million going toward efforts to defeat President Obama.
- AFP actively supported Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker's crackdown on the state's public-sector unions, and it also sponsored TV ads defending Walker during his recall election.
- AFP president Tim Phillips has touted AFP's role in increasing the number of Republicans who do not accept the scientific consensus on climate change. "If you look at where the situation was three years ago and where it is today, there's been a dramatic turnaround. Most of these candidates have figured out that the science has become political," he said. Phillips added, "The vast majority of people who are involved in the [Republican] nominating process—the conventions and the primaries—are suspect of the science. And that's our influence. Groups like Americans for Prosperity have done it."
- AFP's board of directors includes Koch Industries executive vice president Richard Fink and former McCain for President senior adviser and spokesperson Nancy Pfotenhauer.

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Founded: 1985

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Grover Norquist; Americans for Tax Reform Foundation

Mission: Opposing any net increase in tax revenues

Election Spending: \$19,954,851

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$4,160,299
2012	\$15,794,552
2014	N/A

Top Known Donors (total since 2007):

Crossroads GPS	\$30,400,000
Center to Protect Patient Rights	\$4,539,000
Free Enterprise America	\$813,000
PhRMA	\$680,000
American Petroleum Institute	\$525,000

Revenue

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2012	\$30,920,021	\$30,975,283
2011	\$3,955,838	\$4,054,801
2010	\$12,393,076	\$12,319,576
2009	\$3,881,070	\$4,069,396
2008	\$5,344,902	\$5,520,995
2007	\$2,566,968	\$2,795,816

Summary:

Americans for Tax Reform is a powerful conservative advocacy group led by anti-tax crusader Grover Norquist, who famously summed up his philosophy by saying, “I don’t want to abolish government. I simply want to reduce it to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub.” Norquist and ATR are primarily known for sponsoring the “Taxpayer Protection Pledge,” which asks all candidates seeking office to promise that they won’t vote to raise taxes. Lawmakers who violate the pledge – or who neglect to sign it – often face a well-funded effort to undermine them in their home districts. An associated 501(c)(3), the Americans for Tax Reform

Foundation, furthers ATR's small-government objective by "educat[ing] taxpayers on the true cost of government." In recent years, ATR has tested IRS rules by spending millions on electioneering activities.

Notable Facts:

- Americans for Tax Reform claims that it was founded "at the request of President Reagan."
- Norquist hosts the infamous "Wednesday Meeting" at ATR's headquarters, a weekly gathering where influential conservative leaders establish common priorities and coordinate activities.
- ATR reported to the FEC that it spent approximately \$15.8 million on the 2012 elections – or "more than 51 percent" of its total spending for the year, according to the Center for Responsive Politics – the majority of which went toward opposing Democratic candidates for the House. ATR also targeted seven Democratic senate candidates, six of whom won their races.

AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL (ALEC)

Founded: 1973

Location: Arlington, VA

Associations: Koch Industries; State Policy Network; The Jeffersonian Project; PhRMA, Exxon Mobil; NRA

Mission: To provide “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.”

Assets: \$4,855,087 (2012)

Annual Revenue:

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2007	\$6,130,496	\$7,803,119
2008	\$5,626,129	\$6,975,222
2009	\$5,302,779	\$6,271,633
2010	\$5,997,347	\$7,171,357
2011	\$7,759,834	\$9,218,069
2012	\$7,216,208	\$8,425,051

Top Known Donors (since 2007):

PhRMA	\$993,217
Searle Freedom Trust	\$520,000
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	\$450,000
Exxon Mobil	\$344,000
Allegheny Foundation	\$275,000
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$220,000

Summary:

Acting as a sort of consortium, the American Legislative Exchange Council brings together state legislators and private-sector businesses to discuss public policy and draft model state-level legislation. ALEC’s lawmaker members often introduce those model bills, sometimes word-for-word, in their home states. Although it purports to be nonpartisan, code words like “limited government” and the fact that Republican state legislators dominate its board of directors broadcast

ALEC's conservative agenda. In addition to legislation that would deprive the government of revenue, a notable chunk of ALEC's model bills seek to edge everything from prisons to public schools toward privatization, turning them into new streams of private-sector revenue for ALEC's corporate members. Likewise, ALEC has been connected to anti-union bills across the country. A number of voter ID laws and other electoral restrictions are also tied to ALEC. The most notorious legislation generated by the group, brought to light in the wake of the death of 15-year-old Trayvon Martin, is Florida's "Stand Your Ground" law, versions of which have been pushed in dozens of other states. The resulting controversy prompted a number of high-profile businesses to withdraw from ALEC, and shortly thereafter, ALEC issued a statement pledging to focus on economic issues.

Notable

Facts:

- Since the Center for Media and Democracy obtained an archive of ALEC-drafted legislation and launched the website ALECExposed.org in 2011, shedding light on the secretive organization's role in voter ID and "stand your ground" laws, many corporations have left and publically distanced themselves from ALEC, including General Motors, Walgreens, Johnson & Johnson, Wal-Mart, Amazon, McDonald's, Coca-Cola, and GE.
- In 2013, ALEC began adding a disclaimer to the bottom of all its documents stating: "Because this is an internal ALEC document, ALEC believes it is not subject to disclosure under any state Freedom of Information or Public Records Act." This move seems to be an attempt to avoid state public records laws. ALEC has also started using the internet drop box website Box.com, allowing ALEC members to share materials via hyperlink.
- A study by the Brookings Institution found that during the 2012 legislative session 132 bills based on ALEC models were introduced in the states, and that Republicans sponsored over 90 percent of them. In addition, the ALEC bills' likelihood of passing was "strikingly high compared to the dismal rate at which all other bills are enacted into law."
- While ALEC disbanded its "Public Safety and Elections" taskforce after growing criticism of its role in stand your ground and voter ID laws, according to the Center for Media and Democracy, 10 "stand your ground" bills and 52 bills "to enact or tighten voter-ID restrictions" based on ALEC model legislation were introduced in 2013.
- ALEC has close ties to the Koch brothers. Since 2007, foundations associated with the Kochs have given ALEC around \$600,000, and Koch Industries has donated an "untold amount." Koch Industries has also chaired ALEC's corporate board and has had a seat on its board for over a decade.

CATO INSTITUTE

Founded: 1977

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Koch brothers

Mission: The Cato Institute is “dedicated to the principles of individual liberty, limited government, free markets and peace.”

Assets: \$60,639,117 (2012)

Annual Revenue:

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2007	\$18,878,487	\$20,354,008
2008	\$22,189,765	\$23,740,702
2009	\$19,129,916	\$20,145,060
2010	\$29,717,643	\$31,529,336
2011	\$39,253,053	\$40,410,727
2012	\$31,736,230	\$33,097,063

Top Known Donors (since 2007):

Dunn's Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking	\$4,295,000
Claws Foundation	\$1,700,000
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$910,000
Searle Freedom Trust	\$875,000
Donors Capital Fund	\$861,364
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	\$767,350

Summary:

The “first, and largest, libertarian think tank,” according to the New Yorker, the Cato Institute was founded by Ed Crane and Charles G. Koch as a “public policy research organization...dedicated to the American principles of liberty and limited government.” Cato is well known for advocating limited government and deregulation, especially the privatization of Social Security. Cato has for the most part stuck to libertarian principles, advocating for the elimination of many federal agencies while also supporting the decriminalization of marijuana and opposing bans on gay marriage. Cato is closely associated with the Koch brothers, though not without disputes through the years. In the early 1990s, Charles Koch resigned from the board and withdrew his financial support (David stayed

as a member of the board). Twenty years later, however, Charles Koch – who remained a shareholder of the think tank – made a “very serious play to reassert his control of the organization.” After the death of another shareholder, Charles and David attempted to block the transfer of the remaining shares and to effectively take control of the think tank. A compromise was eventually reached, as a result of which Crane stepped down as CEO.

Notable Facts:

- John Allison, the new CEO of the Cato Institute and an “ardent devotee of Ayn Rand,” is the former chairman and CEO of the BB&T Corporation. Allison has “waged a campaign” to make college students read Rand’s works by bestowing large grants to schools on the condition that they develop and teach courses on Rand.
- Some conservatives believe the Koch brothers have not given up on moving the Cato Institute into closer alignment with their other political efforts. According to economist and former Reagan adviser Bruce Bartlett: “It’s clear to me that the Kochs have abandoned libertarianism and essentially thrown in totally with the G.O.P. They are putting in place a structure that will gradually erode Cato’s independence and move it closer to the American Enterprise Institute and Heritage Foundation.”
- Along with David Koch, Americans for Prosperity board member Nancy Pfotenhauer serves on Cato’s board of directors.

CENTER TO PROTECT PATIENT RIGHTS

Founded: 2009

Location: Phoenix, AZ

Associations: Sean Noble; Koch brothers; Freedom Partners

Mission: “Educating the public” and “engaging in issue advocacy” on issues related to “limited government, free enterprise and health care with an emphasis on patient rights.”

Assets: \$15,058,461 (2012)

Annual Revenue:

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2009	\$13,656,500	\$13,656,712
2010	\$61,838,792	\$61,841,262
2011	\$25,318,576	\$25,321,822
2012	\$146,564,969	\$146,569,081

Top Known Donors (since 2009):

Freedom Partners	\$104,688,000
Americans For Job Security	\$24,550,000
American Action Network	\$200,000

Contributions (since 2009): \$182,322,038

Top Overall Recipients (since 2009):

American Future Fund	\$63,222,409
Americans for Responsible Leadership	\$25,552,800
60 Plus Association	\$16,659,723
Americans for Prosperity	\$15,791,079
Americans for Limited Government	\$7,160,000
American Commitment	\$6,396,544
Americans for Job Security	\$4,945,000
Americans for Tax Reform	\$4,539,000
Coalition to Protect Patients' Rights	\$4,344,000
CitizenLink	\$4,195,218

Summary:

Center to Protect Patient Rights (CPPR) is a secretive nonprofit tied to the Koch brothers that disbursed more than \$182 million between 2009 and 2012. After its founding in 2009, CPPR maintained an unusually low profile – no website, no press efforts, and no public address besides a post office box in Arizona – allowing it to remain virtually invisible until campaign watchdogs stumbled across it in May 2012. CPPR is run by Sean Noble, a veteran political operative who found his way into the Koch brothers’ inner circle after serving as chief of staff to Rep. John Shadegg (R-AZ). In 2010, Noble reportedly was a regular at Karl Rove’s so-called “Weaver Terrace” meetings, where conservative groups strategized and coordinated their ad spending in the midterm elections. The top recipients of CPPR cash are: American Future Fund (\$63.2 million), Americans for Responsible Leadership (\$25.6 million), 60 Plus Association (\$16.7 million), Americans for Prosperity (\$15.8 million), and Americans for Limited Government (\$71.6 million). CPPR has also contributed to a number of other prominent conservative groups such as Grover Norquist’s Americans for Tax Reform, the anti-choice Susan B. Anthony List, and the anti-spending Club for Growth.

Notable Facts:

- Since 2011, Koch-linked Freedom Partners seems to have provided CPPR with a majority of its funding. Freedom Partners gives secretly by donating to limited-liability companies with changing names that don’t have to disclose their affiliations. To donate to CPPR, Freedom Partners gave to a “disregarded entity” owned by CPPR called Corner Table LLC (Corner Table’s name has already been changed to Cactus Wren LLC).
- CPPR was investigated in 2013 by California state authorities for participating in “campaign money laundering.” CPPR and another organization, Americans for Responsible Leadership, were fined a total of \$1 million, “one of the largest penalties ever assessed on a political group for failing to disclose donations.” The scandal reportedly has already caused the Kochs to begin distancing themselves somewhat from the organization.
- CPPR’s top recipient, American Future Fund, received more than 92 percent of its 2012 revenues from just CPPR and Freedom Partners.

JOHN W. CHILDS

Born: 1941

Location: Florida/Boston

Net Worth: \$1.2 billion in 2006

Associations: J.W. Childs Associates; Club for Growth; Ducks Unlimited's Wetlands America Trust

Mission: Small government, lower taxes

Political Donations: \$6.71 million (since 2008 election cycle)

Election Cycle	Amount
2008	\$657,900
2010	\$1,111,100
2012	\$4,407,400
2014	\$542,200*

**As of January 2014*

Top Known Recipients (since 2008 election cycle):

Club for Growth**	\$2,296,600
American Crossroads	\$1,850,000
Restore Our Future	\$1,000,000
Congressional Leadership Fund	\$375,000
Kentuckians for Strong Leadership (Mitch McConnell)	\$250,000
National Republican Senatorial Committee	\$211,200
National Republican Congressional Committee	\$162,400

***includes all Club for Growth affiliates*

Summary:

Leveraged buyout specialist John W. Childs has been a generous political donor over the last three decades. He founded private equity firm J.W. Childs (of which he is chairman & CEO) in 1995 after leaving his number-two position at Thomas H. Lee Company, where he oversaw the \$135 million purchase of Snapple – and its resale for \$1.7 billion. His company is currently invested in companies like NutraSweet, Brookstone, and Sunny Delight, according to the company's website. Companies held under his equity firm have benefited greatly from government contracts. After Childs and his partner took over CHG Healthcare, it took in over \$230 million in federal health care dollars over six years before the equity firm sold it for around five times the amount the firm paid for it. Childs,

who rarely grants interviews to the media, is president of Ducks Unlimited's Wetlands America Trust and is a board member of the anti-tax group Club for Growth – the largest recipient of his political donations.

Notable Facts:

- In the late 1990s, Childs was dubbed a “Republican ATM” for largesse that put him near the top of the Republican donor list.
- Just prior to the 2002 Massachusetts gubernatorial election, in which Mitt Romney faced off against Democrat Shannon O’Brien, Childs provided half the funding for a radio ad supporting Romney by secretly giving \$25,000 to a group in violation of campaign finance law. He and his accomplice, Robert Maginn, were found out after the election and fined.
- Childs got involved in the contentious Wisconsin recall election, donating \$100,000 to recalled Republican Gov. Scott Walker’s campaign.

CLUB FOR GROWTH

Founded: 1999

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Club for Growth, a 501(c)(4); Club for Growth Action, a super PAC; Club for Growth PAC; John W. Childs; Chris Chocola; Sen. Pat Toomey (R-PA)

Mission: Club for Growth and its affiliates support “pro-growth policies, limited government, low taxes and economic freedom.”

Election Spending* (since 2010 cycle): \$26,713,362

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$7,953,821
2012	\$17,960,737
2014	\$1,369,268**

**Includes spending by all Club for Growth affiliates*

***As of 2/28/14*

Top Known Donors* (total since 2007):

Virginia James	\$2,925,200*
Jerry Hayden	\$2,426,000*
John Childs	\$2,298,200*
Jackson Stephens	\$2,195,900*
Peter Thiel	\$2,000,000*
Bob Perry (deceased)	\$1,850,000*
Richard Uihlein	\$1,633,300*
Robert Arnott	\$1,078,400*

**Includes contributions to all Club for Growth affiliates*

Summary:

The Citizens Club for Growth, Inc. was formed in 1999 by conservative economic pundits Stephen Moore, Thomas Rhodes and Larry Kudlow, together with Ed Crane of the libertarian Cato Institute and others. The Club has had numerous iterations since its founding, with a series of similarly named PACs orbiting the central advocacy organization. In addition its 501(c)(4) hub, the Club currently has a traditional political action committee and a super PAC called “Club for Growth Action.” In pursuit of a “morally and economically superior” tax code that taxes all Americans at the same rate regardless of their income, the Club bundles millions in campaign contributions from its members to conservative Republicans, airs election ads, and conducts direct mail campaigns targeting Democrats and moderate Republicans alike.

Notable Facts:

- In 2004, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, the Club directed nearly a million dollars to Pat Toomey for a failed primary challenge to then-Sen. Arlen Specter (PA). Toomey went on to serve as the Club's president from 2005 until his second, successful run for Senate began in spring 2009 and current president Chris Chocola took over.
- The Club's main tool for enforcing ideological discipline on Capitol Hill is its "Congressional Scorecard," which rates members based on a number of "key votes" in each legislative session. On the 2013 scorecard, just four House members and two senators – Ted Cruz and Mike Lee – received a 100 percent rating.
- The original Citizens Club for Growth did not consider itself a PAC, but when the FEC disagreed and filed suit, the Club paid \$350,000 to settle, retroactively reported over \$27 million in campaign spending from 2000-2007, and registered the "Club for Growth PAC" that operates today.
- During the 2012 election cycle, Club for Growth Action spent over \$9 million against Republicans (in primary contests), compared to \$4 million against Democrats.

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP FUND

Founded: 2011

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: American Action Network; former Sen. Norm Coleman; Fred Malek; Brian Walsh; Vin Weber

Mission: Congressional Leadership Fund “is an independent expenditure fund focused solely and exclusively on maintaining the Republican majority in the House of Representatives.”

Election Spending: \$9,450,223

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2012	\$9,450,223
2014	N/A

Top Known Donors (total since 2011):

Sheldon & Miriam Adelson	\$5,000,000
Chevron Corporation	\$2,500,000
Bob Perry (deceased)	\$1,000,000
John W. Childs	\$375,000
American Action Network	\$318,176

Summary:

Founded in 2011, the Congressional Leadership Fund is a super PAC dedicated to maintaining the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. The group is closely related to another politically active nonprofit, the American Action Network. Although neither group advertises a formal affiliation with the other, they share a common leadership team with former Sen. Norm Coleman serving as chairman, Fred Malek as a board member, and Brian Walsh as president.

Notable Facts:

- The Congressional Leadership Fund’s top targets in 2012 were Betty Sue Sutton in Ohio (\$2.7 million), Pete Gallego in Texas (\$1 million), Kathy Hochul in New York (\$890,366), Brad Schneider in Illinois (\$829,421), and Patrick Kreitlow in Wisconsin (\$675,072).
- Charlie Spies, the founder and treasurer of the pro-Romney super PAC Restore Our Future, serves as a senior adviser to the Congressional Leadership Fund.

- While the Congressional Leadership Fund and American Action Network have positioned themselves as advocates for the center-right, CLF donor John W. Childs is a financial supporter and board member of the ultraconservative Club for Growth, which often supports primary challenges against more moderate Republicans.

DONORSTRUST & DONORS CAPITAL FUND

Founded: 1999

Location: Alexandria, VA

Associations: Philanthropy Roundtable; Searle Freedom Trust; American Enterprise Institute

Mission: DonorsTrust is an “innovative charitable vehicle” for donors who are “dedicated to the ideals of limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise.”

Assets: \$67,391,081* (2012)

Total Annual Revenue: \$104,319,348* (2012)

Contributions (since 2007): \$404,933,646*

2007	\$50,252,199
2008	\$80,285,285
2009	\$72,422,636
2010	\$63,318,275
2011	\$86,334,527
2012	\$96,390,777

Key Conservative Recipients (since 2007)*:

Clarion Fund	\$18,403,600
Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity	\$18,076,046
Heartland Institute	\$14,012,117
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	\$13,673,614
State Policy Network	\$13,256,064
Americans for Prosperity Foundation	\$12,708,861
Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	\$10,728,963
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	\$7,854,387
Mercatus Center	\$6,105,150
American Majority	\$6,081,080

**Reflects combined totals for DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund*

Top Overall Recipients (since 2007)*:

Foundation for Jewish Camping	\$42,500,000
Clarion Fund	\$18,403,600
Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity	\$18,076,046
Bar-Ilan University	\$15,800,000
Heartland Institute	\$14,012,117
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	\$13,673,614
State Policy Network	\$13,256,064
Americans for Prosperity Foundation	\$12,708,861
Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	\$10,728,963
Sam Adams Alliance	\$8,420,104

**Reflects combined totals for DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund*

Summary:

DonorsTrust is a Virginia-based donor-advised fund that dispersed almost \$30 million in grants in 2011. Along with the connected Donors Capital Fund – whose 2011 grants totaled more than \$56 million – DonorsTrust offers its account holders a degree of anonymity unavailable to private foundations. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, “not even the IRS knows where a particular donor’s money goes after it gets to DonorsTrust.” Reflecting a commitment to “supporting groups that promote liberty,” DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund have provided significant financial support to a variety of conservative think tanks and advocacy groups. Their top beneficiaries include the Americans for Prosperity Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, the Heartland Institute, the Franklin Center for Government & Public Integrity, and the State Policy Network. While most of DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund’s contributors are unknown, several major conservative funders have reported grants to them, including the Searle Freedom Trust, the Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and the Charles G. Koch Foundation.

Notable Facts:

- DonorsTrust president and CEO Whitney Ball, who is also a board member of Donors Capital Fund, was previously the executive director of Philanthropy Roundtable. Donors Capital Fund chairman Adam Meyerson is the president of Philanthropy Roundtable.
- DonorsTrust administers the Project on Fair Representation, which bankrolled the lawsuit that led to the Supreme Court’s decision striking down part of the Voting Rights Act.
- According to The Guardian, DonorsTrust has contributed more money to groups that deny climate change than the Koch Foundations and Exxon Mobil combined.

FEDERALIST SOCIETY

Founded: 1982

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Sen. Orrin Hatch (board of visitors co-chairman); Edwin Meese III (board member); Michael Mukasey (board member); Justice Antonin Scalia (former faculty advisor); Chief Justice John Roberts (former member)

Mission: The Federalist Society is “committed to the principles that the state exists to preserve freedom, that the separation of governmental powers is central to our Constitution, and that it is emphatically the province and duty of the judiciary to say what the law is, not what it should be.”

Assets: \$ 8,749,884 (2012)

Annual Revenue: \$13,619,720 (2012)

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2008	\$11,780,427	\$12,700,553
2009	\$9,373,787	\$9,899,921
2010	\$8,773,357	\$9,465,480
2011	\$8,849,120	\$9,645,367
2012	\$12,954,105	\$13,619,720

Top Known Donors (since 2007):

Donors Capital Fund	\$6,687,963
Donors Trust	\$4,041,000
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$3,175,000
Searle Freedom Trust	\$1,745,000
Sarah Scaife Foundation	\$1,375,000
John Templeton Foundation	\$1,143,400
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	\$770,000
Dunn's Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking	\$478,000
John M. Olin Foundation	\$466,000
William E. Simon Foundation	\$401,000

Summary:

The Federalist Society is a legal group consisting of over 40,000 conservative lawyers, academics, and students, with chapters across the country and in almost every law school. According to the Los

Angeles Times, the Federalist Society has played a “prominent role” in helping Republican presidents turn the federal judiciary into a “predominantly conservative force.” It serves as a network for members – whom it tries to keep anonymous – and disseminates conservative ideas through discussion and its public debates. Known for having members who believe the Constitution should be interpreted using “originalism,” the Federalist Society’s influence has extended to the Supreme Court: Chief Justice John Roberts is a former member, Justice Antonin Scalia is a former faculty adviser to the organization, and Justice Clarence Thomas has spoken at Federalist Society events.

Notable

Facts:

- President George W. Bush “repeatedly” appointed Federalist Society members to cabinet and senior staff positions in his administration; by 2005, 15 of the 41 appeals court judges confirmed under him were identified as members of the law group.
- Federalist Society members have also played vital roles in some of the most important political battles of the last 20 years, including former Federalist Society chairman Kenneth W. Starr, who wrote the report that led to the impeachment of President Bill Clinton, and member Theodore B. Olson, who helped secure President George W. Bush’s first term with his successful argument in *Bush v. Gore*. (Olson also led the successful challenge to California’s ban on same-sex marriage, but other lawyers associated with the Federalist Society took the opposite position; Starr defended California’s ban before the state Supreme Court in 2009.)
- When Chief Justice John Roberts was a Supreme Court nominee, he denied being a member of the Federalist Society, but the Washington Post discovered that Roberts’ name was listed in the 1997-98 Federalist Society Lawyers’ Division Leadership Directory when he was a partner at the Hogan & Hartson law firm.

FRANKLIN CENTER FOR GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC INTEGRITY

Founded: 2009

Location: Alexandria, VA

Associations: Watchdog.org; Americans for Prosperity; State Policy Network; Heritage Foundation; RedState; True the Vote

Mission: To address “falling standards in the media” and to train and support journalists “working to detect and expose corruption and incompetence in government at the state and local levels.”

Assets: \$631,030 (2012)

Annual Revenue:

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2009	\$2,918,430.59	\$2,932,901.82
2010	\$3,776,997	\$3,775,771
2011	\$6,611,263	\$6,614,542
2012	\$11,621,132	\$11,625,189

Top Known Donors (since 2009):

Donors Capital Fund	\$14,273,246
Donors Trust	\$3,802,800
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$480,500
Searle Freedom Trust	\$362,500
Wellspring Committee	\$160,000

Summary:

Founded in 2009, the Franklin Center aims to fill the gap created by “a steep falloff in reporting on state government” by training and supporting “journalists working to detect and expose corruption and incompetence in government at the state and local levels.” To that end, the Franklin Center operates Watchdog.org websites in over 20 states and promotes the work of “affiliates” all over the country. Although it claims to be nonpartisan, the Franklin Center is closely tied to the organized right. Franklin Center president Jason Stverak was previously the executive director of the North Dakota Republican Party; the Franklin Center has conducted a number of training sessions with Americans for Prosperity; and its “Watchdog Wire” website lists a number of conservative “partners” such as AFP, Heritage Foundation, State Policy Network, and True the Vote.

Notable Facts:

- Franklin Center senior vice president Erik Telford was previously the director of membership and online strategy at Americans for Prosperity.
- In 2013, Franklin Center and the Heritage Foundation cosponsored the “Breitbart Awards Dinner,” which honored right-wing pundit Michelle Malkin. Franklin Center was also a “major” sponsor of Erik Erickson’s “RedState Gathering” in 2012.
- Franklin Center president Jason Steverak, wrote a defense of ALEC published by Breitbart, stating that “groups such as ALEC educate elected officials on a variety of issues” and that he “worked directly with ALEC in the past.” A member of the Franklin Center’s board, North Dakota Rep. Blair Thoreson, is the public sector chair of ALEC’s Communications and Technology Task Force.

FREEDOM PARTNERS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Founded: 2011 (as the Association for American Innovation)

Location: Arlington, VA

Associations: Koch Brothers; Marc Short; Richard Fink; Center to Protect Patient Rights; TC4 Trust

Mission: To advance its members' "common business interests by promoting economic freedom and improving business conditions in the United States."

Assets: \$18,256,338 (2012)

Total Annual Revenue: \$255,674,218 (2012)

Contributions: \$235,715,250

Top Overall Recipients:

Corner Table (Center to Protect Patient Rights)	\$114,688,000
PRDIST LLC (Americans for Prosperity)	\$32,300,000
60 Plus Association	\$15,660,000
American Future Fund	\$13,600,000
Concerned Women for America Legislative Action	\$8,150,000
American Commitment	\$6,260,000
STN LLC (Themis Trust)	\$5,781,000
PDFN LLC (Public Notice)	\$5,466,250
ORRA LLC (EVANGCH4 Trust)	\$5,055,000
TRGN LLC (Generation Opportunity)	\$5,040,000
National Rifle Association	\$3,465,000
TDNA LLC (LIBRE Initiative)	\$3,112,000

Summary:

Called the "Koch brothers' secret bank" by Politico, Freedom Partners is a mysterious trade association that donated more than \$235 million to conservative groups in the 2012 cycle, making it the "largest sugar daddy for conservative groups in the last election." Originally formed in 2011 as the Association for American Innovation, Freedom Partners was almost completely unknown until September 2013, when it posted its first IRS Form 990 on a new website and voluntarily disclosed some vague information to Politico. The organization claims to have "over 200 members" who pay at least \$100,000 in annual dues, though the largest single donation to Freedom Partners was about

\$25 million. In addition to funneling in excess of \$100 million to the Center to Protect Patient Rights – another Koch-connected entity that gives heavily to conservative groups – Freedom Partners’ top beneficiaries in 2012 were Americans for Prosperity (\$32.3 million), 60 Plus Association (\$15.7 million), American Future Fund (\$13.6 million), Concerned Women for America (\$8.2 million), and American Commitment (\$6.3 million).

Notable Facts:

- Freedom Partners president Marc Short was previously the chief of staff for the House Republican Conference. Three of the four remaining board members (in addition to Short), are current or former Koch Companies employees.
- In addition to being an executive vice president and board member at Koch Industries, Freedom Partners board member Richard Fink is also a board member at Americans for Prosperity and the Mercatus Center, and serves as president of the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation and the Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation.
- Of the estimated \$407 million raised in the 2012 election cycle by the entire Koch-controlled political network of organizations, \$302 million of that can be traced back to Freedom Partners or its predecessor, an organization called TC4 Trust.
- By far the biggest beneficiary of Freedom Partners donations has been the Center to Protect Patient Rights, headed by Sean Noble, who oversaw spending by the Kochs’ donor network before Marc Short.

FREEDOMWORKS FOR AMERICA

Founded: 2011

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: FreedomWorks Foundation, a 501(c)(3); FreedomWorks PAC, a traditional political action committee; FreedomWorks, Inc., a 501(c)(4); Matt Kibbe; Dick Armey; Citizens for a Sound Economy; Empower America

Mission: Support “candidates who fight for lower taxes, less government, and more freedom” in Republican primaries and general elections

Election Spending Since 2010 Cycle: \$20,264,808

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$500,589
2012	\$19,638,968
2014	\$266,681*

**As of 2/26/14*

Top Known Donors (total since 2010):

Specialty Group Inc.*	\$10,575,000
Kingston Pike Development LLC*	\$1,500,000
DonorsTrust**	\$1,151,423
Dean and Barbara White Family Foundation**	\$1,000,000
Mary E. Stiefel	\$755,000
Sarah Scaife Foundation**	\$715,000
Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation**	\$700,000
Dunn’s Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking**	\$682,000
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation**	\$660,000
Donors Capital Fund**	\$572,000
William Stuart Dunn (Dunn Capital Management)	\$500,000

**These companies are related; see “notable fact” section*

***Donations were to FreedomWorks Foundation*

Summary:

FreedomWorks for America, established in 2011, is the super PAC arm of the multi-part FreedomWorks organization, a pro-Tea Party powerhouse that also includes a traditional PAC, a 501(c)(3), and a 501(c)(4). FreedomWorks as a whole was created in 2004 out of the Koch-backed Citizens for a Sound Economy and Empower America, a reorganization that also spawned

Americans for Prosperity. Focused on electing conservatives, supposedly through “grassroots” tactics, FreedomWorks for America often wades into Republican primaries, supporting Tea Party candidates against Republican establishment figures. In the 2012 cycle, it spent over \$1 million on independent expenditures against Republicans, although that number was dwarfed by the \$11 million it put into supporting Republicans and the \$7 million that towards defeating Democrats.

Notable Facts:

- Specialty Investments Group and Kingston Pike Development were “established within a day of each other by William S. Rose III,” according to the Washington Post, and the money for their donations to FreedomWorks reportedly originated with Cancer Treatment Centers of America founder Richard J. Stephenson and his family.
- FreedomWorks chairman Dick Armey, formerly a House majority leader, left the organization with an \$8 million payout in September 2012 after attempting to eject president Matt Kibbe and senior vice president Adam Brandon.
- In 2012, FreedomWorks for America’s top target was Illinois House candidate Tammy Duckworth (D), who triumphed over Rep. Joe Walsh (R) despite the group’s \$1.8 million effort to defeat her. The group spent another \$1.8 million in support of Rep. Connie Mack (R-FL) in his unsuccessful challenge to Sen. Bill Nelson (D). Tea Party Republicans Richard Mourdock (R-IN), Josh Mandel (R-OH) and Jeff Flake (R-AZ) each also benefitted from over \$1 million in expenditures from the group, with only Flake emerging triumphant.
- In the current cycle, FreedomWorks has already spent over \$20,000 against incumbent Republican Sens. John Cornyn (TX) and Mitch McConnell (KY).

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Founded: 1973

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Jim DeMint (president); Paul Weyrich (founding president); Edwin Feulner (cofounder and former president); Heritage Action for America; DeVos Family

Mission: “The Heritage Foundation is a research and educational institution—a think tank—whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.”

Assets: \$174,109,394 (2011)

Annual Revenue:

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2007	\$47,138,503	\$65,765,247
2008	\$62,910,593	\$70,877,006
2009	\$71,755,400	\$69,230,717
2010	\$73,957,186	\$78,253,864
2011	\$65,687,562	\$72,170,983

Top Known Donors (since 2007):

Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation	\$10,000,000
Sarah Scaife Foundation	\$3,800,000
Lillian S. Wells Foundation	\$3,003,428
Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation	\$3,000,000
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	\$1,808,571
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$1,603,500
Jaquelin Hume Foundation	\$1,400,000
Allegheny Foundation	\$1,350,000
Searle Freedom Trust	\$725,000
F.M. Kirby Foundation	\$680,000

Summary:

The Heritage Foundation was founded in 1973 by Paul Weyrich, who served as Heritage’s first president, and Edwin Feulner, who was its president from 1977 to 2013. Perhaps the most widely recognized of the many conservative think tanks that have proliferated since the 1970s, the Heritage

Foundation has historically occupied a privileged position among Washington's Republican establishment. However, since the 2010 addition of a 501(c)(4) advocacy group called Heritage Action for America, Heritage has increasingly aligned itself with Tea Party-style conservatism — even at the expense of its relationships with the Republican leaders. This shift was solidified when ultra-conservative Sen. Jim DeMint (R-SC) resigned his elected position to succeed Feulner as Heritage's president. With DeMint's support, Heritage Action and its head Michael Needham have used fierce political pressure to demand ideological purity from Republican members of Congress on issues ranging from the farm bill to “defunding” the Affordable Care Act.

Notable Facts:

- The Heritage Foundation reportedly received “its biggest donation ever” last year, a \$26 million grant from the “family of its longtime funders, Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis.” According to The Hill, the Davis family “made the contribution to advance foreign policy and defense studies.”
- In 2013, Heritage Action's aggressive tactics led the Republican Study Committee – the large, influential caucus of House conservatives – to bar Heritage staffers from the RSC's weekly strategy meeting.
- The Heritage Foundation has resisted the Republican Party's shift toward the middle on immigration policy. In May 2013, Heritage issued a controversial report claiming that comprehensive immigration reform would cost the government \$6.3 trillion. One of the report's authors resigned after reporters uncovered his doctoral dissertation, which argued that immigration policy should be guided in part by the gap in IQ between Hispanic immigrants and white Americans.
- Heritage Foundation scholar Robert Rector, a leading conservative voice on the social safety net, has authored multiple reports aiming to show the Americans who live in poverty are not actually poor because they have “modern amenities,” such as cars and household electronics. According to Rector, welfare is based on the “idiot premise” that more resources will cause impoverished Americans to “behave more like middle-class people.”

LIBRE INITIATIVE

Founded: 2011

Location: Mission, TX

Associations: Koch brothers, Freedom Partners

Mission: The LIBRE Initiative is “dedicated to informing the U.S. Hispanic community about the benefits of a constitutionally limited government, property rights, rule of law, sound money supply and free enterprise.”

Assets: \$1,096,851 (2011)

Annual Revenue:

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2012	\$2,145,150	\$2,146,190

Top Known Donors:

Freedom Partners	\$3,112,000
TC4 Trust	\$693,000
Center to Protect Patient Rights	\$152,366

Summary:

The LIBRE Initiative was founded in 2011 in an attempt to “win the hearts, minds and votes of the fast- growing Hispanic community.” Dedicated to advancing “the principles and values of economic freedom” and equipping “the Hispanic community with the tools they need to be prosperous,” the LIBRE Initiative has attempted through ad campaigns and field work to draw Hispanic voters away from the Democratic Party. The group was established with funding from the Koch brothers and its only known donors – Freedom Partners, TC4 Trust, and Center to Protect Patient Rights – are linked to the Kochs. Stating its intention to “align with organizations that support economic freedom,” the LIBRE Initiative has pushed for immigration reform and has offered a number of social services to the Hispanic community. Heading into the 2014 midterm elections, the LIBRE Initiative has also devoted significant resources to opposing the Affordable Care Act and attacking Democrats who support it.

Notable Facts:

- Daniel Garza, executive director of LIBRE, was a White House aide to President George W. Bush and was scheduled to be part of one of the secret seminars the Koch brothers held in 2014.
- LIBRE has launched large ad campaigns targeting Democrats in “Hispanic-heavy districts,” spending about a half-million dollars attacking Rep. Pete Gallego for his support of the

Affordable Care Act and more than \$700,000 on ads attacking Rep. Joe Garcia for supporting the health care law.

- LIBRE initiative spokesperson Rachel Campos Duffy is married to Wisconsin Congressman Sean Duffy.

LYNDE AND HARRY BRADLEY FOUNDATION

Founded: 1942

Location: Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Associations: Michael Grebe; Scott Walker

Mission: The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation is “devoted to strengthening American democratic capitalism and the institutions, principles, and values that sustain and nurture it. Its programs support limited, competent government; a dynamic marketplace for economic, intellectual, and cultural activity; and a vigorous defense, at home and abroad, of American ideas and institutions.”

Assets: \$640,390,126 (2012)

Total Annual Revenue: \$41,933,448 (2012)

Contributions (since 2007): \$230,584,726

2007	39,810,371
2008	36,636,481
2009	44,367,300
2010	42,346,950
2011	34,948,522
2012	32,475,102

Key Conservative Recipients (since 2007):

Hudson Institute	\$5,375,000
American Civil Rights Institute	\$4,725,000
Federalist Society	\$3,175,000
American Enterprise Institute	\$2,587,500
DonorsTrust	\$2,246,565
Manhattan Institute	\$ 2,005,000
Hoover Institution	\$ 1,955,000
David Horowitz Freedom Center	\$ 1,835,000
Center for Union Facts	\$ 1,820,000
The Heritage Foundation	\$ 1,603,500

Top Overall Recipients (since 2007):

Charter School Growth Fund	\$15,000,000
Hudson Institute	\$ 5,375,000
Institute for Educational Advancement	\$ 5,023,000
American Civil Rights Institute	\$4,725,000
Sand County Foundation	\$ 4,645,000
Encounter for Culture and Education	\$ 4,400,000
Bradley Prizes Initiative	\$ 4,050,000
Wisconsin Policy Research Institute	\$ 3,850,000
Center for Neighborhood Enterprise	\$ 3,700,500
Milwaukee Public Museum	\$ 3,510,000

Summary:

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation calls itself the “philanthropic legacy” of the Bradley brothers, who were entrepreneurs with an interest in limited government and free-market economics. To further its mission of “strengthening American democratic capitalism and the institutions, principles, and values that sustain and nurture it,” the Bradley Foundation has doled out money to virtually every major player in the conservative movement. In 2001, Michael Grebe took over as the Bradley Foundation’s president and CEO, deepening the foundation’s ties to the Republican Party. Grebe’s resume includes an 18-year stint as the Republican National Committeeman for Wisconsin, time as a general counsel to the Republican National Committee, and a spot as a delegate to five Republican National Conventions. In 2010, Grebe served as chairman for Republican Scott Walker’s Wisconsin gubernatorial campaign. Grebe also headed Walker’s transition team and later chaired Walker’s recall election campaign in 2012.

Notable Facts:

- In 2011, Bradley Foundation president Michael Grebe told the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel that the foundation is “part of the right-wing movement.”
- According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, from 2001 to 2009 the Bradley Foundation “doled out nearly as much money as the seven Koch and Scaife foundations combined.”
- Each year, the foundation awards the \$250,000 Bradley Prize to “recognize individuals of extraordinary talent and dedication who have made contributions of excellence in areas consistent with The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation’s mission.” The 2013 winners were National Affairs editor Yuval Levin, Fox News CEO Roger Ailes, Bush administration Solicitor General Paul Clement, and former Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels.
- The Bradley Foundation has provided the financial support for public policy initiatives that include welfare reform in the 1990s, school voucher programs, and, more recently, the crackdown on public-sector unions’ collective bargaining rights in the foundation’s home state of Wisconsin.

NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION

Founded: 1871/1975

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: NRA Institute for Legislative Actions; NRA Political Victory Fund; Wayne LaPierre; Chris Cox; gun industry

Mission: Promoting gun ownership and firearms education and lobbying to preserve “the right of all law-abiding individuals to purchase, possess and use firearms.”

Election Spending (since 2010 cycle): \$28,039,204

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$8,251,759
2012	\$19,767,043
2014	\$160,370*

**As of 2/24/2014*

Top Known Donors* (total since 2007):

Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce	\$3,465,000
Center to Protect Patient Rights	\$3,150,000
Sturm, Ruger & Company	\$1,254,000
MidwayUSA	\$1,000,043
DonorsTrust	\$870,000
Crossroads GPS	\$600,000

**Includes donations to NRA-ILA and NRA Freedom Action Foundation*

Summary:

The National Rifle Association (NRA) was founded in 1871, originally with the simple goal of promoting “rifle shooting on a scientific basis,” but over the years it has become a massive political and lobbying force focused on encouraging gun use and fighting regulation of guns. Much of its political power has come from its lobbying arm, the NRA Institute for Legislative Action (NRA-ILA), founded in 1975. The NRA-ILA has been headed by lobbyist Chris W. Cox since 2002 (he also heads the NRA’s PAC, the NRA Political Victory Fund). The organization has backed and taken credit for the success of many pieces of pro-gun legislation, including a law that shields firearms manufacturers from liability lawsuits and a law that prevents authorities from confiscating weapons during states of emergency. The NRA has been arguably even more successful at stopping or restricting any gun control legislation. While the NRA previously was supportive of mild regulations for firearms – in, 1999 NRA vice president Wayne LaPierre testified in support of background checks for gun sales – in latter years the organization has veered further to the right and

has hardened its anti-regulation stance. Most recently, the NRA opposed and successfully defeated several measures proposed in response to the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newton, CT. The defeated legislation included a ban on some types of assault rifles, limits to the size of ammunition magazines, and expanded background checks. The NRA also endorses a number of state and congressional candidates every election cycle.

Notable Facts:

- The NRA is heavily backed by corporate interests, especially gun and ammunition manufacturers and distributors. The Violence Policy Center revealed the existence of a “Corporate Partners Program,” which specifically targets the gun industry for contributions. Companies are categorized into different “Ring of Freedom” levels depending on how much they give. While exact numbers from most of the corporations are not known, some companies advertise how much they contribute on their own websites.
- The NRA helped push for the passage of “stand your ground” state laws throughout the country. The organization worked closely with the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) to draft the model legislation that was used as a basis for the laws, along with providing money and backing to legislators who supported the laws.
- While the NRA has claimed to have over 4.5 million members – just a small fraction of the number of Americans who own guns – the Washington Post concluded that the organization’s number is most likely “at least a tad exaggerated.”
- In 2012, the NRA listed 120 “national organizations with anti-gun policies” on its website. Although the list has since been removed, it included entities that advocate for gun control as well as groups such as the American Psychological Association and the National Parks and Conservation Association. It also listed “celebrities, journalists and corporations it considered “anti-gun.”

REPUBLICAN STATE LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE (RSLC)

Founded: 2002

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Bill McCollum; Chris Jankowski; Ed Gillespie

Mission: Elect Republicans to state-level offices

Election Spending:

Election Cycle	Election Spending**
2014*	\$9,180,189
2012	\$40,581,141
2010	\$29,911,967

**As of 11/14/13*

***These totals account for all expenditures, including administrative costs and employee salaries*

Top Known Donors:

Donor	Amount
US Chamber of Commerce	\$8,462,165
Blue Cross/Blue Shield	\$4,407,031
American Justice Partnership	\$3,850,000
Altria	\$2,625,684
Reynolds American	\$2,621,919
Devon Energy	\$1,450,000
PhRMA	\$1,279,937
American Crossroads	\$1,200,000
American Future Fund	\$1,185,000
AstraZeneca	\$991,342

Summary:

A big business-funded 527 with a mission to sway state politics, the Republican State Leadership Committee has reimagined its methods several times since its 2002 inception. Originally fashioned as a way for industry to influence state-level regulation, in 2010, under the direction of former RNC chair Ed Gillespie, the RSLC announced its intention to focus on delivering control of redistricting to the Republican Party by helping the GOP win control of state legislatures. With the RSLC's assistance, Republicans took over twenty state chambers, putting the party in control of redistricting maps in 17 states. In 2012 and 2013, it continued to pour money into key state elections. In early

2014, however, the organization underwent significant changes, with both Gillespie and the RSLC's president, Chris Jankowski, stepping down. In addition, the group's attorneys general arm split off from the larger RSLC to separately incorporate as the Republican Attorney General Association.

Notable Facts:

- RSLC attributed the GOP's retention of the U.S. House in 2012 to its post-2010 gerrymandering.
- In 2012, RSLC launched a largely unsuccessful effort to recruit more Republican women and minority candidates.
- Former RSLC chairman Ed Gillespie is running for the Senate in Virginia in 2014.

RICHARD AND HELEN DEVOS FOUNDATION

Founded: 1970

Location: Grand Rapids, Michigan

Associations: Amway; Orlando Magic; Heritage Foundation; Dick DeVos

Mission: “The DeVos family is dedicated to the entrepreneurial spirit and helping people live better lives.”

Assets: \$75,876,443 (2012)

Total Annual Revenue: \$99,704,694 (2012)

Contributions (since 2007): \$240,185,796

2007	\$42,073,127
2008	\$48,940,490
2009	\$46,457,200
2010	\$52,596,202
2011	\$50,118,777

Key Conservative Recipients (since 2007):

The Heritage Foundation	\$10,000,000
Young America's Foundation	\$10,000,000
Intercollegiate Studies Institute	\$5,200,000
Americans for Prosperity Foundation	\$3,000,000
DonorsTrust	\$2,500,000
Focus on the Family	\$2,300,000
George W. Bush Foundation	\$2,000,000
Media Research Center	\$1,300,000
FreedomWorks Foundation	\$700,000
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	\$545,000

Top Overall Recipients (since 2007):

Grand Rapids Christian School Association	\$17,387,930
Grand Rapids Symphony	\$11,086,780
Calvin College	\$10,655,000
The Heritage Foundation	\$10,000,000
Young America's Foundation	\$10,000,000
Michigan State University	\$9,500,000
Northwood University	\$7,093,500
Lee University	\$7,000,000
Rehoboth Christian School	\$6,834,000
National Constitution Center	\$6,610,000

Summary:

The Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation, with assets worth over \$75 million as of the end of 2012, is a conservative Grand Rapids-based charitable organization. In addition to funding educational and artistic ventures in Michigan and around the country, the DeVos Foundation directs a significant portion of its grants to conservative outfits, especially ones focused on socially conservative causes. The foundation's namesakes, Richard and Helen DeVos, derive their fortune from Amway, a direct selling company Richard co-founded in 1959. Ranked 60th on Forbes' list of the richest Americans, Richard is worth \$6.8 billion (as of September 2013). The DeVos family also owns the Orlando Magic and contributes generously to Republican candidates and campaigns, most notably pouring over \$35 million into son Dick DeVos' unsuccessful 2006 quest to become governor of Michigan. In 2012, Richard DeVos donated \$250,000 to help Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker win his recall election.

Notable Facts:

- In January 2014, Mother Jones published a profile of the DeVos family titled "Meet the New Kochs," highlighting Dick DeVos' role in passing anti-union "right-to-work" legislation in Michigan.
- In 2004, the Heritage Foundation used a grant from the Richard and Helen DeVos to establish the DeVos Center, which "integrates the role of the family, religion and civil society across policy areas."
- The DeVos Foundation financially supports organizations that oppose abortion and LGBT rights, such as Focus on the Family, which has received \$2.3 million from the foundation since 2007.
- Richard DeVos is the former finance chairman of the Republican National Committee and was a member of the Presidential Commission on AIDS in the late 1980s.

JOE RICKETTS

Born: 1941

Location: Wyoming

Net Worth: \$1.23 billion (as of October 2013)

Associations: TD Ameritrade; Chicago Cubs; Ending Spending Action Fund

Mission: Deregulation and cutting government spending

Political Donations: \$14,941,554 million (since 2008 election cycle)

Election Cycle	Amount
2008	\$148,100
2010	\$1,236,452
2012	\$13,557,954

Top Recipients (since 2008 election cycle):

Ending Spending Action Fund/ Ending Spending	\$13,910,000
Campaign For Primary Accountability	\$500,000
Restore Our Future (Mitt Romney)	\$100,000

Summary:

Joe Ricketts founded the company that is now TD Ameritrade, where he served as CEO until 2001 and chairman until 2008. Together, he and his wife still own just over a tenth of the company, and two of their sons are on its board. Since retiring from Ameritrade, Ricketts has launched a handful of new business ventures including a bison meat supplier, an educational organization focused on developing countries, a New York City news website, and a film company that produces movies about American history. In 2010, Ricketts founded Taxpayers Against Earmarks, which was soon became Ending Spending. An affiliated super PAC is called the Ending Spending Action Fund. Most of Ricketts' major donations have gone to Ending Spending, helping to fund causes such as Sharron Angle's unsuccessful campaign against Harry Reid and the election of Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker.

Notable Facts:

- Ricketts achieved a low level of notoriety in 2012 when the New York Times reported that he was considering a proposal (called the "Ricketts Plan") for a series of ads that would link President Obama to the controversial preaching of Rev. Jeremiah Wright – a line of attack

that flared up in 2008 but was disavowed by influential members of the Republican establishment.

- The Ricketts family owns 95 percent of the Chicago Cubs, which son Tom Ricketts controls.
- Ricketts' son Peter is now on the board of the conservative American Enterprise Institute, a position his father also once held. His daughter Laura, however, was a bundler for President Obama.
- The Campaign for Primary Accountability, which is another top recipient of Ricketts' donations, is an anti-incumbent effort that has supported primary challenges against members of both parties.

ROBERT ROWLING

Born: 1953

Location: Texas

Net Worth: \$4.9 billion (as of September 2013)

Associations: TRT Holdings; Omni Hotels; Golds Gym; American Crossroads; Koch donor network

Mission: Electing Republicans to federal office

Political Donations: \$ 12,711,280 (since 2008 election cycle)

Election Cycle	Amount
2008	\$215,800
2010	\$6,023,680
2012	\$6,396,600

Top Recipients (since 2008 election cycle):

American Crossroads	\$11,841,880
National Republican Senatorial Committee	\$289,000
Restore Our Future (Mitt Romney)	\$100,000
National Republican Congressional Committee	\$97,400
Republican Governors Association	\$75,000

Summary:

Multibillionaire Robert Rowling is one of several wealthy Texans who helped support Karl Rove's nascent American Crossroads after it was founded in 2010. In addition to the millions donated directly by Rowling, he has also given through his holding company, TRT Holdings, which owns Omni Hotels and Gold's Gym. Rowling's business interests also include part of a Mexican chain of dollar stores and Tana Exploration, an oil exploration and development company that operates mostly in the Gulf of Mexico. The Rowling family's initial millions were earned by strategically building up and selling off oil reserves held by Rowling's father's company, Tana Oil & Gas. In February 2014, Rowling was identified as a participant at the Koch brothers' secretive donor summit.

Notable Facts:

- In 2003, Rowling started the Rowling Foundation, whose mission statement declares that it "exists, first and foremost, to help proclaim the name of Jesus Christ throughout the world."

The Rowling Foundation has granted money to organizations that include the Campus Crusade for Christ, the Council for Life, the Dallas Pregnancy Resource Center, and the Brent Bozell-founded Parent's Television Council.

- Rowling was also a major bundler for both of George W. Bush's campaigns.
- In 2010, the four Gold's Gym branches in San Francisco split from the company in response to Robert Rowling's large donations to American Crossroads. The San Francisco gyms were specifically protesting American Crossroads' support of anti-gay candidates.

SARAH SCAIFE FOUNDATION

Founded: 1960

Location: Pittsburgh, PA

Associations: Richard Mellon Scaife; Michael W. Gleba (president); Allegheny Foundation; Carthage Foundation; Scaife Family Foundation; Colcom Foundation

Mission: “The Sarah Scaife Foundation’s grant program is primarily directed toward public policy programs that address major domestic and international issues.”

Assets: \$272,650,661 (2012)

Total Annual Revenue: \$17,541,882 (2012)

Contributions (since 2007):

2007	\$18,228,500
2008	\$20,909,000
2009	\$13,447,500
2010	\$13,601,500
2011	\$13,111,500
2012	\$12,481,500

Key Conservative Recipients (since 2007):

Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis	\$4,560,000
The Heritage Foundation	\$3,800,000
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy	\$3,050,000
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation	\$3,035,000
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace	\$2,409,000
The Claremont Institute	\$2,125,000
Center for Strategic and International Studies	\$2,035,000
Landmark Legal Foundation	\$1,850,000
Intercollegiate Studies Institute	\$1,850,000
Competitive Enterprise Institute	\$1,825,000
David Horowitz Freedom Center	\$1,600,000

Top Overall Recipients (since 2007):

Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis	\$4,560,000
The Heritage Foundation	\$3,800,000
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy	\$3,050,000
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation	\$3,035,000
University of Kentucky	\$2,600,000
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace	\$2,409,000
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	\$2,055,000
The Claremont Institute	\$2,125,000
University of Virginia School of Law	\$2,000,000
Center for Strategic and International Studies	\$2,035,000
Landmark Legal Foundation	\$1,850,000

Summary:

The Sarah Scaife Foundation is the largest of a trio of foundations controlled by billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife, an heir to the fortune of his great uncle, Andrew Mellon. Set up by Richard's mother, Sarah, the Scaife family's foundations were relatively apolitical until Sarah's death in 1965 when Richard assumed greater control of the family fortune and was able to direct his wealth toward the growth of a conservative infrastructure. By 1976, over half of the Scaife foundations' grant money went to conservative organizations and causes. Scaife has been credited with helping to "fund the creation of the modern conservative movement in America" through his foundations and personal wealth.

Notable Facts:

- In the 1990s, Richard Mellon Scaife, chairman of the Sarah Scaife Foundation, funded numerous projects in an effort to taint the public images of Bill and Hillary Clinton, leading Hillary to call Scaife the man behind the "vast right wing conspiracy."
- The Sarah Scaife Foundation, along with other foundations controlled by the Scaife family, has funded several anti-immigrant groups, including ProEnglish, NumbersUSA and the Federation for American Immigration Reform.
- Richard Mellon Scaife is vice chairman of the Heritage Foundation, a minority owner of the conservative publication Newsmax, and owner and publisher of the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review.

SEARLE FREEDOM TRUST

Founded: 1998

Location: Chicago, IL

Associations: DonorsTrust; Donors Capital Fund; American Enterprise Institute

Mission: “To foster research and education on public policy issues that affect individual freedom and economic liberty.”

Assets: \$128,863,136 (2011)

Total Annual Revenue: \$12,934,631 (2011)

Contributions (since 2007): \$61,229,676

2007	\$8,896,624
2008	\$10,502,926
2009	\$12,365,445
2010	\$14,499,263
2011	\$14,965,418

Key Conservative Recipients (since 2007):

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	\$7,800,000
DonorsTrust	\$4,959,500
Reason Foundation	\$4,570,500
Manhattan Institute for Policy Research	\$2,836,000
State Policy Network	\$2,438,500
Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	\$1,745,000
Mercatus Center	\$1,570,000
Institute for Justice	\$1,400,000
Competitive Enterprise Institute	\$1,125,000
Pacific Research Institute	\$1,110,000

Top Overall Recipients (since 2007):

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	\$7,800,000
DonorsTrust	\$4,959,500
Reason Foundation	\$4,570,500
Art Institute of Chicago	\$3,000,000
Manhattan Institute for Policy Research	\$2,836,000
State Policy Network	\$2,438,500
George Mason University	\$2,251,893
George Mason University School of Law	\$1,968,591
Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	\$1,745,000
Institute for Humane Studies	\$1,572,532

Summary:

Searle Freedom Trust's founder and namesake, Daniel C. Searle, was president, CEO, and eventually chairman of his family's pharmaceutical company. That business, G.D. Searle & Company, made a number of well-known pharmaceuticals, including Enovid, the first oral contraceptive in the U.S. In a six-page mission statement for the Trust, Searle, who passed away in 2007, declared, "I am concerned about certain social, political, and economic trends that I see in our society. I believe that if these trends continue unabated, future generations will end up living in a world dominated by big government, devoid of ethical values, and lacking in individual initiative and responsibility." Searle Freedom Trust is closely linked to other conservative organizations, including the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and DonorsTrust, and is required to "spend itself out of existence" by 2025 to ensure, according to Daniel Searle, "that the Foundation will always remain in the hands of people who understand my intentions and are committed to carrying out the Foundation's mission."

Notable Facts:

- Searle Freedom Trust president and CEO Kim Dennis also currently chairs the board of DonorsTrust and serves as vice chair of Donors Capital Fund.
- Searle Freedom Trust funds the Dan Searle Fellowship in Economics at DonorsTrust, which offers the opportunity for "newly minted PhDs to spend two years pursuing research as postdoctoral fellows before entering the academic job market."
- Grant advisors to the Searle Freedom Trust include DonorsTrust Vice Chairman James Piereson, Club For Growth founder Stephen Moore, and former AEI president Christopher DeMuth.
- When Daniel Searle died in 2007, his family (at his request) asked that in lieu of flowers people send donations to the trust or the American Enterprise Institute.

SENATE CONSERVATIVES FUND & SENATE CONSERVATIVES ACTION

Founded: 2008

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Jim DeMint; Matt Hoskins (president)

Mission: Senate Conservatives Fund “seeks to bring bold conservative leadership to Washington by supporting candidates who have the courage to fight for the timeless conservative principles of limited government, strong national defense, and traditional family values.” SCF does “not support liberal Republicans.”

Election Spending: \$8,211,573

Election Cycle	Senate Conservatives Fund	Senate Conservatives Action
2008	\$22,397	
2010	\$1,785,809	
2012	\$3,546,738	\$1,331,979
2014*	\$1,196,274	\$328,376

*As of 2/27/14

Top Known Donors* (total since 2010):

Bob Perry (deceased)	\$1,000,000
Mountaire Corporation	\$200,000
College Loan Corp	\$130,000
Arnott Family Trust	\$100,000
Richard Uihlein	\$100,000

**Includes contributions to Senate Conservatives Fund and Senate Conservatives Action*

Summary:

Founded in 2008 by former Sen. Jim DeMint (R-SC), the Senate Conservatives Fund is a PAC dedicating to electing conservative Republicans to the Senate. A formidable fundraising machine, the group has spent millions backing right-wing challenges to incumbent GOP senators. In 2012, when DeMint vacated his Senate seat to become president of the Heritage Foundation, his former staffer, Matt Hoskins, was named the new president of SCF. According to Politico, Hoskins “and his core team of five staffers essentially have free rein to spend donors’ cash — to lambaste sitting senators, renovate the group’s Washington office space or build the SCF’s notoriety on the right.” The group is affiliated with Senate Conservatives Action, a super PAC.

Notable Facts:

- SCF endorsed Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell's 2014 primary opponent, Matt Bevin, and has repeatedly attacked McConnell with negative ads.
- The group reportedly spent \$427,000 on copies of right-wing radio personality Mark Levin's book, "Liberty and Tyranny." Levin has promoted the group on social media and on his nationally syndicated radio show.
- In 2013, SCF announced that it would start getting involved in House races.

STATE POLICY NETWORK

Founded: 1992

Location: Arlington, VA

Associations: 64 free-market member think tanks; DonorsTrust & Donors Capital Fund; Philanthropy Roundtable

Mission: To promote “free-market” policies through a nationwide network of state-based think tanks

Assets: \$3,766,649 (2012)

Annual Revenue: \$8,050,050 (2012)

Year	Contributions and Grants	Total Revenue
2012	\$7,977,573	\$8,050,050
2011	\$5,114,279	\$5,160,138
2010	\$4,705,773	\$4,812,513
2009	\$4,260,367	\$4,480,054
2008	\$3,980,169	\$4,083,058
2007	\$2,562,853	\$2,632,137

Top Known Donors (since 2007):

Donors Capital Fund	\$12,233,014
Searle Freedom Trust	\$2,438,500
DonorsTrust	\$1,023,050
JM Foundation	\$475,000
Jaquelin Hume Foundation	\$425,000
The Roe Foundation	\$365,000
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$115,000
Dunn's Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking	\$101,000

Top Recipients (since 2007):

Operation Geek Farm	\$496,900
James Madison Institute	\$319,622
Oregon Capitol Watch Foundation	\$290,000
Idaho Freedom Foundation	\$290,000
Illinois Policy Institute	\$277,000
Opportunity Ohio	\$265,775
Pelican Institute for Public Policy	\$253,718
North Dakota Policy Council	\$241,197
Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives	\$224,000
Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs	\$220,971

Summary:

State Policy Network is a “free-market” organization uniting 64 state-based member think tanks. Although SPN claims that the think tanks under its umbrella operate independently, evidence suggests they regularly coordinate priorities and strategy, launching multi-state campaigns to further conservative policies on issues such as labor, climate change, voting, and education. SPN also boasts over 100 “associate members” that include right-wing groups like Accuracy in Media, ALEC, Americans for Prosperity Foundation, DonorsTrust, and FreedomWorks. While SPN itself brought in around \$8 million in 2012, its members’ collective reach is much longer: the Center for Media and Democracy reports combined 2011 fundraising of \$83 million, and the New Yorker writes that SPN poured \$79 million into state-level conservative policies in that year. State Policy Network’s biggest funder since 2007 has been the “donor advised” Donors Capital Fund, a setup that largely obscures the money’s original sources.

Notable**Facts:**

- State Policy Network emerged from a more loosely organized collection of state think tanks called the Madison Group.
- State Policy Network’s board members include Whitney Ball, the president and CEO of DonorsTrust, and Adam Meyerson, the chairman of Donors Capital Fund and president of Philanthropy Roundtable.
- State Policy Network members submit model legislation to ALEC.
- State Policy Network’s Wisconsin affiliate heavily supported Gov. Scott Walker ahead of his recall election.

U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Founded: 1912

Location: Washington, DC

Associations: Thomas Donohue

Mission: Elect pro-business candidates and enact business-friendly policies

Election Spending: since 2008 cycle

Election Cycle	Election Spending
2010	\$33,849,755
2012	\$35,657,029
2014	\$2,062,052*

**As of 2/27/14*

Top Known Donations:

Aetna	\$4,100,000	2011
Freedom Partners Chamber of Commerce	\$3,000,000	2012
The Dow Chemical Company	\$2,925,000	2012
Prudential Financial	\$2,000,000	2009
Dow Chemical	\$1,700,000	2009
Dow Corporation	\$1,648,750	2011
Prudential	\$1,570,000	2011
Chevron Corp	\$1,000,000	2012
News Corporation	\$1,000,000	2010
Prudential Financial, Inc.	\$925,000	2012
Merck & Co., Inc.	\$907,500	2012
American Electric Power Company, Inc.	\$525,000	2012
Metlife, Inc.	\$525,000	2012
3M Company	\$515,000	2012
Chevron	\$500,000	2011
Wellpoint	\$500,000	2011

Summary:

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is a powerful, secretive business lobby funded largely through large corporate contributions, although the exact source of much of its funding remains murky since it is not required to disclose its donors. Year after year, the Chamber tops the list of lobbying spenders, and it also doles out big money -- over \$30 million in each of the 2010 and 2012 cycles -- to influence national elections, largely through ads targeting Democratic candidates. Officially nonpartisan, the vast majority of the Chamber's political beneficiaries are Republican, and it has worked heavily against top progressive priorities including the Affordable Care Act and Wall Street reform.

Notable Facts:

- Health insurance companies contributed over \$100 million to the Chamber in 2009 and 2010, coinciding with the group's efforts to block the Affordable Care Act.
- After the Affordable Care Act passed, the Chamber backed repeal efforts and ran ads in both the 2010 and 2012 cycles attacking politicians who supported reform.
- In 2012, the Chamber's top targets were Democrats in competitive Senate races, unsuccessfully spending over \$1 million each on efforts to defeat Tim Kaine (VA), Sherrod Brown (OH), Bill Nelson (FL), Tammy Baldwin (WI), Martin Heinrich (NM) and Jon Tester (MT).