

Origins Of Koch Interest In Criminal Justice Reform: 97 Indictments For Environmental Violations Prosecution Against Koch Industries

THE KOCHS' "COME TO JESUS" MOMENT ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM WAS PROSECUTION... AGAINST THEM

Koch's "Come To Jesus" Moment On Criminal Justice Reform Involved Their Employees Being Indicted For Violating The Clean Air Act. According to Yahoo News, "The Kochs' 'come to Jesus' moment on criminal justice reform came back in the 1990s, when a handful of their employees at a Corpus Christi, Texas, refinery were indicted for violating the Clean Air Act and other crimes. The charges against the employees were eventually dropped in 2001, but Koch, as a corporate entity, settled with the federal government, pleading guilty to one count of the original 97 and paying millions of dollars in fines. While the Kochs' critics see this incident as an example of a company rightly being punished for polluting the environment, for Charles Koch and other company officials, it was a wake-up call that the government was over-criminalizing legitimate conduct and over-prosecuting its citizens. Mark Holden, Koch Industries' top lawyer, said he worried that such scrutiny from the government would have an insidious effect on the company's culture." [Yahoo News, <u>11/12/14</u>]

Charles Koch: Koch Industries' Indictment On 97 Felonies Led To Conclusion That Criminal Justice
System Needs Reform. According to the Wichita Eagle, "Of all the contentious history between Koch Industries
and the U.S. government, the Corpus Christi, Texas, case from 1995 is the one that Charles Koch remembers most
vividly. A federal grand jury indicted his company on 97 felonies involving alleged environmental crimes at an oil
refinery. [...] No one at Koch wants to re-litigate the Corpus Christi case, [Koch Industries chief counsel Mark]
Holden said. But it prompted Charles Koch to study the justice system – both federal and state – wondering whether
it has been over-criminalized with too many laws and too many prosecutions of nonviolent offenders, not only for
him but for everybody. His conclusion: Yes, it has." [Wichita Eagle, <u>12/27/14</u>]

Koch's Top Lawyer Worried That Government Scrutiny Of Potentially Criminal Conduct "Would Have An Insidious Effect On The Company's Culture." According to Yahoo News, "While the Kochs' critics see this incident as an example of a company rightly being punished for polluting the environment, for Charles Koch and other company officials, it was a wake-up call that the government was over-criminalizing legitimate conduct and over-prosecuting its citizens. Mark Holden, Koch Industries' top lawyer, said he worried that such scrutiny from the government would have an insidious effect on the company's culture." [Yahoo News, <u>11/12/14</u>]

Wonkette: "Charles Koch, Like Bruce Wayne, Will Become A Champion For The Downtrodden, The Common Man... Any Everyday Schlub Who Might Find Himself Just Accidentally Dumping Hundreds Of Tons Of Toxic Chemicals Into The Air And Water Around Their Humble Home." According to Wonkette, "So now Charles Koch, like Bruce Wayne, will become a champion for the downtrodden, the common man, the little guy, any everyday schlub who might find himself just accidentally dumping hundreds of tons of toxic chemicals into the air and water around their humble home." [Wonkette, <u>12/30/14</u>]

Wonkette: Libertarian Efforts To Reduce Sentences For Drug Crimes "Sounds All Beautiful... Until They Add That Of Course, Real Liberty Also Means Rescinding Restrictive Laws Against Dumping Toxic Sludge Into Rivers." According to Wonkette, "It's not really too surprising, we suppose — it's of a piece with libertarian efforts like Rand Paul's drive to reduce prison sentences for drug crimes, which sounds all beautiful and Kumbaya-singy, until they add that of course, real liberty also means rescinding restrictive laws against dumping toxic sludge into rivers." [Wonkette, <u>12/30/14</u>]

Wonkette: Given Charles Koch's History, "We Can't Help But Think He's Mostly Concerned About The Little Guy With 97 Counts Of Environmental Crimes." According to Wonkette, "Or maybe [Charles] Koch's genuinely interested in helping the little guy, for Great Justice. Given his history, though, we can't help but think he's mostly concerned about the little guy with 97 counts of environmental crimes." [Wonkette, 12/30/14]

CRIMINAL JUSTICE PUSH ANOTHER WAY TO ADVANCE THE KOCH INDUSTRIES BOTTOM LINE

Politico: "Critics Would Say That The Libertarian-Minded Koch Brothers Have Ample Personal Reasons To Want To Curtail The Power And Reach Of The U.S. Justice System ... It Serves Both Their Industrial And Political Purposes To Reduce Laws On The Books That Can Constrain Them" According to Politico Magazine, "Critics would say that the libertarian-minded Koch brothers have ample personal reasons to want to curtail the power and reach of the U.S. justice system. After all, it serves both their industrial and political purposes to reduce laws on the books that can constrain them. Thanks to a series of court rulings opening up the floodgates for political spending by outside groups and individuals, Koch money can now do almost as it pleases in politics; the Kochtopus would obviously like to do the same in court against the tree-huggers and labor unionists who so often seek to block them." [Politico Magazine, <u>March 2015</u>]

Purpose Of Koch Interest In Criminal Justice Reform: Good Press While Advancing Their Financial Interests

Koch's "Newly Hired Head Of Marketing And Communications" Steve Lombardo Said "Emphasizing Criminal Justice Reform Is A Key Part Of The Strategy To Deflate The Negative Narrative Around The Kochs." According to Yahoo News, "What we're doing more than ever is taking our case to the public,' said Steve Lombardo, the newly hired head of marketing and communications, as a Koch Twitter feed rapidly updated on his computer monitor behind him. The company began running a series of TV ads this past year featuring Koch manufacturing employees next to a banner that reads 'We Are Koch,' which Lombardo said appears to be having an effect on public perceptions of the company. The brothers also opened up portions of their biannual political seminars for wealthy donors to a few handpicked journalists, helping to dispel their reputation for secrecy. Emphasizing criminal justice reform is a key part of the strategy to deflate the negative narrative around the Kochs, Lombardo said." [Yahoo News, <u>3/25/15</u>]

• Yahoo: "The Decision To Go Public And Go Bigger With The Criminal Justice Reform Effort Has Done Wonders For The Kochs' Image." According to Yahoo News, "It wasn't until the past year that Koch became more public about the criminal justice reform effort, as more and more politicians from both sides of the aisle began to express interest. Holden now spends more than half his time promoting criminal justice reform at various panels, workshops and in meetings with Capitol Hill staffers and politicians. The decision to go public and go bigger with the criminal justice reform effort has done wonders for the Kochs' image. It emphasizes an aspect of libertarian thought that liberals can agree with, and it also shows that the brothers are open to working across the ideological spectrum." [Yahoo News, 3/25/15]

Daily Beast: "The Kochs Are Aware That Pursuing Criminal Justice Reform Will Make Them Appear Less Political." According to the Daily Beast, "The Kochs are aware that pursuing criminal justice reform will make them appear less political. After all, striking down mandatory minimums and slamming sentencing disparities has traditionally been a purview of the left." [Daily Beast, <u>1/13/15</u>]

Atlantic: It's Possible To View The Koch's Criminal-Justice Push As "Just Another Attempt To Manipulate The Political Process To Advance The Company's Financial Interests." According to the Atlantic, "Critics such as Robert Greenwald, director of the documentary Koch Brothers Exposed, suspect that the push to roll back the criminal code is really just the brothers' deregulatory agenda by another name. Indeed, Charles Koch, the company's chairman and CEO, has said he became interested in criminal-justice reform after a grand jury's 1995 indictment of a Koch refinery in Texas for 97 felony violations of environmental law. The company spent six years fighting the charges and eventually settled with the government for \$10 million. Seen in this light, the criminal-justice pitch is just another attempt to manipulate the political process to advance the company's financial interests." [Atlantic, 3/3/15]

Atlantic: Are The Koch Brothers "Sincere Ideologues Dedicate To A Libertarian Vision For America? Or Are They Simply Trying To Tilt The Political System To Favor Themselves And Their Companies?" According to the Atlantic, "This is the question that has always swirled around the Kochs and their political efforts—the massive juggernaut of funding for conservative activism and candidates that critics dub the 'Kochtopus': Are the brothers sincere ideologues dedicated to a libertarian vision for America? Or are they simply trying to tilt the political system to favor themselves and their companies?" [Atlantic, 3/3/15]

Atlantic: The Koch's Criminal Justice Push "Coincides With A New PR Push To Show Koch Industries In A Friendlier Light... Prompting The Kochs' Critics To Suspect A Whitewash." According to the Atlantic, "But the Kochs' advocacy has become more vocal in recent months, from public statements to new partnerships with such groups as Families Against Mandatory Minimums, the American Civil Liberties Union, and even the liberal Center for American Progress. The bid for more attention for the reform effort has received overwhelmingly positive attention, and coincides with a new PR push to show Koch Industries in a friendlier light, including a 'We Are Koch' national television campaign that casts the company as heartland job creators—prompting the Kochs' critics to suspect a whitewash. After all, the investment in criminal-justice reform pales in comparison to the hundreds of millions the Kochs and their donor network have spent electing Republicans, many of whom don't share their views on civil liberties, [*Koch Brothers Exposed* Director Robert] Greenwald noted. 'Certainly the scales tip against the impact of this, except from the press point of view,' he said of the reform push." [Atlantic, 3/3/15]

Koch's Support For Tough-On-Crime Candidates Shows That Criminal Justice Reform Is Not Their Highest Priority

Kochs Have No Intention To Back Pro- Criminal Justice Reform Candidates Because "The Politics...Can Muddle Things." According to Yahoo News, "For now, the Kochs have no intention of turning their financial support for the NACDL into a political effort. The American Civil Liberties Union, backed with money from liberal tycoon George Soros, plans to spend at least \$50 million to make criminal justice reform an issue in elections around the country, the New York Times reported last week. In theory, the Kochs could use some of their considerable political spending to back pro-reform candidates, as well. 'That's not what's driving what we're doing,' Holden said of the politics of criminal justice reform. 'We are focused more on the society well-being side of it here. We should all put the politics aside because that can muddle things.'" [Yahoo News, <u>11/12/14</u>]

Slate: "The Kochs Seem To Draw A Strange Distinction Between The Causes They Support As Activists And The Candidates They Support In Elections." According to Slate, "The Kochs seem to draw a strange distinction between the causes they support as activists and the candidates they support in elections. In a November 2014 story for Yahoo News Liz Goodwin interviewed Koch Industries lead counsel Mark Holden, who has emerged as the Kochs' voice on criminal justice reform. Holden indicated that David and Charles Koch would not necessarily be trying to advance their views on incarceration and overcriminalization by backing pro-reform candidates in elections." [Slate, <u>4/21/15</u>]

Slate: "People Should Not Expect The Kochs' Actions As Political Donors To Dovetail With Their Activism In The Criminal Justice Realm." According to Slate, "The point itself was a bit muddled, but the takeaway seemed clear enough: People should not expect the Kochs' actions as political donors to dovetail with their activism in the criminal justice realm." [Slate, <u>4/21/15</u>]

THE KOCHS "WON'T MAKE CRIMINAL JUSTICE A POLITICAL LITMUS TEST" IN THE WAY THEY HAVE ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS

Holden Said The Kochs "Won't Make Criminal Justice A Political Litmus Test, In The Way They Have Focused Attention On Issues Like Health-Care Reform Or Environmental Regulations." According to Time, "Holden says the Kochs won't make criminal justice a political litmus test, in the way that they have focused attention on issues like health-care reform or environmental regulations. At the same time, 'to the extent that there are candidates that are working on these issues we care about,' Holden says, 'we're probably going to want to support candidates who are in favor of helping people, helping the disadvantaged with their policies." [Time, 1/29/15]

ThinkProgress: "The Koch Brothers Have Thrown Their Financial Weight Behind Candidates Who Have A Record Of Putting More People In Prison, Keeping Them There For Longer, And Spending More Money On Mass Incarceration." According to ThinkProgress, "But in recent elections, the Koch Brothers have thrown their financial weight behind candidates who have a record of putting more people in prison, keeping them there for longer and spending more money on mass incarceration." [ThinkProgress, <u>4/1/15</u>]

ThinkProgress: The Koch Network Has "Backed So-Called 'Tough On Crime' Candidates Even As They Call Publicly For A Move Away From That Philosophy." According to ThinkProgress, "By giving large direct donations and by funneling money through their complex web of proxy groups, they've backed so-called 'tough on crime' candidates even as they call publicly for a move away from that philosophy." [ThinkProgress, $\frac{4/1}{15}$]

ThinkProgress: "This Contradiction Raises Questions About The Koch Brothers' Place In The Bipartisan Criminal Justice Reform Coalition." According to ThinkProgress, "This contradiction raises questions about the Koch brothers' place in the bipartisan criminal justice reform coalition and who they will support in 2016 and beyond." [ThinkProgress, <u>4/1/15</u>]

ThinkProgress Cited Govs. Scott Walker, Doug Ducey, Mike Pence, And Bobby Jindal As Having Koch Support And "Tough On Crime" Records. [ThinkProgress, <u>4/1/15</u>]

Support Of Gov. Scott Walker, "Distinctly Unfriendly Toward Criminal Justice Reform"

Walker Was A Koch Favorite, They "All But Created" Him.

Headline: "David Koch Signals A Favorite: Scott Walker." [New York Times, 4/20/15]

New York Times: "David Koch Told Donors That He And His Brother... Believed That Mr. Walker Would Be The Republican Nominee." According to the New York Times, "On Monday, at a fund-raising event in Manhattan for the New York State Republican Party, David Koch told donors that he and his brother, who oversee one of the biggest private political organizations in the country, believed that Mr. Walker would be the Republican nominee. When the primaries are over and Scott Walker gets the nomination," Mr. Koch told the crowd, the billionaire brothers would support him, according to a spokeswoman. The remark drew laughter and applause from the audience of fellow donors and Republican activists, who had come to hear Mr. Walker speak earlier at the event, held at the Union League Club." [New York Times, <u>4/20/15]</u>

New York Times: "Two People Who Attended The Event Said They Heard Mr. Koch Go Even Further, Indicating That Mr. Walker Should Be The Republican Nominee." According to the New York Times, "Two people who attended the event said they heard Mr. [David] Koch go even further, indicating that Mr. [Scott] Walker should be the Republican nominee." [New York Times, <u>4/20/15</u>]

Walker Was Totally At Odds With Kochs on Criminal Justice Reform

Walker: "A New System That Ends Parole And All Forms Of Early Release Must Be Put Into Place. We Have Passed A Truth-In-Sentencing Plan In The Assembly That Keeps Criminals In Prison For Their Entire Sentences." In a Milwaukee Journal Sentinel opinion piece, Walker wrote, "Next, a new system that ends parole and all forms of early release must be put into place. We have passed a truth-in-sentencing plan in the Assembly that keeps criminals in prison for their entire sentences." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 9/17/97]

• Truth In Sentencing Law Meant That People Convicted Certain Felonies Served Whole Sentence With No Chance For Parole. According to Milwaukee Public Radio, "The policy took hold here and across the country 15-20 years ago, as a solution for making communities safer. It means that people convicted of certain felonies must serve their entire sentence – no parole." [Milwaukee Public Radio, <u>6/9/14</u>]

Yahoo: Walker's "Crowning Achievement Was The Truth In Sentencing Act, A Bill That Effectively Ended The Parole System In The State Of Wisconsin." According to Yahoo News, "His [Scott Walker's] crowning achievement was the Truth in Sentencing Act, a bill that effectively ended the parole system in the state of Wisconsin." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]

- Walker's Truth In Sentencing Act "Expanded The Prison Population" And Was Partially Responsible For The Fact That "The Prison Budget Outpaced Higher Education Spending For The First Time In State History." According to Yahoo News, "The law has expanded the prison population in the state and is partly responsible for the fact that the prison budget outpaced higher education spending for the first time in state history in 2011." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Walker "Wrote Or Co-Sponsored More Than Two Dozen Bills Limiting Parole, Increasing Prison Time For A Variety Of Offenses, Expanding The Definition Of Crimes, And Other Criminal Justice Changes." According to Yahoo News, "Between 1997 and 1998, [Scott] Walker wrote or co-sponsored more than two dozen

bills limiting parole, increasing prison time for a variety of offenses, expanding the definition of crimes, and other criminal justice changes." [Yahoo, $\frac{7/13/15}{12}$]

April 1997: Walker Wrote An Opinion Piece In Favor Of Truth-In-Sentencing And Said "The Cost Of Not Keeping Criminals In Prison Will Be The Loss Of Entire Neighborhoods In Wisconsin." In an Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel opinion piece, Walker wrote, "Thankfully, the governor has also proposed a solution: truth-in-sentencing. Cynics argue that the governor's proposal to end parole and early release is too costly. In response, I argue that the cost of not keeping criminals in prison will be the eventual loss of entire neighborhoods in Wisconsin. National reports show that 15 to 20 crimes per year are averted for each additional incarcerated inmate. Most importantly, the governor's proposal shows that punishment will be swift and certain. This is an important message to would-be criminals and is a comfort to victims and to the community. In the end, the real question must be, 'Can we afford not to keep criminals off of our streets.?'" [Milwaukee Journal Sentine], 4/6/97]

• Walker Said A Version Of The Bill That Did Not Include Increased Maximum Sentences For Felony Crimes Sent "A Pretty Poor Message To Criminals." According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "The Senate Judiciary Committee Monday voted, 4-0, to advance a version of the truth-in-sentencing measure that was introduced by Democrats. That version does not include increased maximum sentences for felony crimes, a provision that is part of the bill approved by the Assembly last May. The Republican sponsors of the Assembly bill said they could not go along with that modification of their truth-in-sentencing measure, which requires prisoners to serve their full sentences and eliminates parole. "That sends a pretty poor message to criminals," said Rep. Scott Walker (R-Wauwatosa)." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 2/10/98]

Slate Headline: The Koch Brothers Want It Both Ways: How Can They Support Criminal Justice Reform And Scott Walker At The Same Time?" [Slate, 4/21/15]

- Slate: Some Have Questioned The Koch Brothers' Sincerity On Criminal Justice Reform; "Yesterday, The Kochs Did Something That Made The Skeptics Look Right To Be Circumspect." According to Slate, "While some on the left have seen no reason not to join forces with the conservative megadonors when they get behind something worthwhile, others have questioned their sincerity. Yesterday, the Kochs did something that made the skeptics look right to be circumspect. It happened at a fundraiser in Manhattan, where David Koch seemed to signal that he and his brother would like the Republican nominee in 2016 to be Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker. According to the New York Times, David Koch told the crowd that, 'When the primaries are over and Scott Walker gets the nomination,' he and his brother—who are reportedly planning to spend nearly \$900 million during the 2016 election—would support him." [Slate, 4/21/15]
- Slate: "Of All The Republicans Who Are Expected To Run For The Party's Nomination, Walker Stands Out As Distinctly Unfriendly Toward Criminal Justice Reform." According to Slate, "Here's why the Kochs' apparent enthusiasm for [Scott] Walker's presidential prospects is surprising: Of all the Republicans who are expected to run for the party's nomination, Walker stands out as distinctly unfriendly toward criminal justice reform." [Slate, <u>4/21/15]</u>
- Slate: "How Can The Koch Brothers Support A Candidate Who Has Spent His Career Fighting For Policies They Now Passionately Oppose?" According to Slate, "How can the Koch brothers support a candidate who has spent his career fighting for policies they now passionately oppose?" [Slate, <u>4/21/15</u>]

Yahoo News Headline: "The Koch Brothers Love Scott Walker – But Not His Tough-On-Crime Past." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]

- Yahoo: "One Area Of Disagreement Remains Between" Walker" And "Kochworld: The Effectiveness And Fairness Of The U.S. Criminal Justice System." According to Yahoo News, "But as [Scott] Walker gears up to announce his presidential bid, one major area of disagreement remains between him and Kochworld: the effectiveness and fairness of the U.S. criminal justice system." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Yahoo: "Walker Remains Attached To The Tough-On-Crime Policies That Helped Make His Reputation... The Kochs, On The Other Hand, Have Helped Lead A Conservative Movement To Reverse Many Of Those Same Laws." According to Yahoo News, "[Scott] Walker remains attached to the tough-on-crime policies that

helped make his reputation as a young politician in the Wisconsin Assembly in the '90s; the Kochs, on the other hand, have helped lead a conservative movement to reverse many of those same laws, which they regard as callous and an example of government overreach run amok." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]

- Yahoo: "Most Of The Leading GOP Candidates Now Echo The Kochs' Concerns About America's Enormous Prison Population And Agree The System Needs Reform." According to Yahoo News, "Most of the leading GOP candidates now echo the Kochs' concerns about America's enormous prison population and agree the system needs reform." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Yahoo: Walker's Policies "Could Be A Source Of Tension Between Walker And The Kochs, Who Have Become The Leading Advocates Among Deep-Pocketed Donors For Reforming The Criminal Justice System." According to Yahoo News, "This could be a source of tension between [Scott] Walker and the Kochs, who have become the leading advocates among deep-pocketed donors for reforming the criminal justice system and reducing the prison population." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Yahoo: "The Kochs' Political Operation Hopes Walker Will Come Around" On Criminal Justice. According to Yahoo News, "The Kochs' political operation hopes [Scott] Walker will come around." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Yahoo: "There Have Been General Discussions With The Governor's Staff About The Issue And... Team Walker Has Been Receptive To Some Of The Criminal Justice Reforms Close To The Koch Brothers' Hearts." According to Yahoo News, "A source with knowledge of the Freedom Partners network said there have been general discussions with the governor's staff about the issue and that Team [Scott] Walker has been receptive to some of the criminal justice reforms close to the Koch brothers' hearts." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Yahoo: "The Governor Himself Hasn't Directly Spoken To Anyone In The Koch Network About Criminal Justice Reform." According to Yahoo News, "The governor himself hasn't directly spoken to anyone in the Koch network about criminal justice reform, the source said. The reform supporters hope they can sway Walker, the son of a Baptist preacher, both by appealing to his fiscal conservatism and by arguing that people deserve a chance at redemption." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]
- Yahoo: "A Walker Aide Told Yahoo News That The Governor Has No Plans To 'Evolve' On Criminal Justice And Believes Strongly In The 'Truth In Sentencing' Principle He Endorsed 15 Years Ago." According to Yahoo News, "But a [Scott] Walker aide told Yahoo News that the governor has no plans to 'evolve' on criminal justice and believes strongly in the 'truth in sentencing' principle he endorsed 15 years ago." [Yahoo, 7/13/15]

Walker Dismissed Concerns About Costs of Being "Tough" On Crime

Walker Said If Truth-In-Sentencing Cost \$227 Million More A Year, That Was A "Bargain" And That "Peace Of Mind For Victims And Their Families...Is Invaluable." According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "Rep. Scott Walker (R-Wauwatosa), key legislative sponsor of Thompson's plan, said the report made a number of assumptions. If truth in sentencing does cost the state \$227 million more a year, Walker said, that price is a bargain. While it's still very debatable whether truth in sentencing will require any additional money, how can you put a price tag on peace of mind for victims and their families?' Walker said. It's invaluable." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 6/4/97]

Walker Said It "Was Not Useful To Estimate Costs Now When There Are So Many Unknowns About What Judges Will Do In Sentencing." According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "But Rep. Scott Walker (R-Wauwatosa) said it was not useful to estimate costs now when there are so many unknowns about what judges will do in sentencing and other factors that will affect prison use. "The bigger price and the bigger cost to be worrying about . . . is how do we continue on with a system that offers this degree of uncertainty,' said Walker, adding that people want a judge's sentence to mean what it says." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 5/22/97]

June 1998: Walker Called For 3,000 More Prison Beds To House State Prisoners After Thompson Signed The Truth-In-Sentencing Bill. According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, "With the stroke of his pen Monday, Gov. Tommy Thompson put an end to parole in Wisconsin by signing the politically popular truth-in-sentencing bill into law. [...] In fact, the ink on Thompson's signature was barely dry when Rep. Scott Walker (R-Wauwatosa) called for 3,000 more prison beds to house state prisoners." [Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 6/16/98] Walker Introduced Bills To Eliminate Laws Against Employment Discrimination Based On Conviction Record.

According to BuzzFeed, "Walker repeatedly introduced bills that would have eliminated or chipped away at laws against employment discrimination "based on conviction record," and allowed employers to fire or refuse to hire individuals on such grounds." [BuzzFeed, 7/13/15]

Support Of Gov. Jeb Bush

Support As Governor Of Florida – Various Koch Organizations Supported Jeb Bush And He Was Invited To An Early Koch Summit.

Matt Schlapp Of Koch Industries Personally Invited Gov. Jeb Bush On Behalf of Charles Koch to a Koch Conference On January 17, 2006. According to an email from Matt Schlapp of Koch Industries to Jeb Bush on January 17, 2006, "Subject: Koch Industries Governor Bush, Sorry to bother you with a request that is so timely, but the Chairman of Koch Industries, Charles Koch, would love for you to be his guest at this conference. Following all ethical guidelines, we can discuss transportation, lodging, etc. I will follow up with your assistant to see if this may be possible. Sincerely, Matt Schlapp Executive Director Federal Government Affairs Koch Industries, Inc. 655 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005." [Matt Schlapp Email to Jeb Bush, 1/17/06]

• "From 2001 To 2005," Matt Schlapp Served As President Bush's Political Director For His Re-Election Campaign, "Schlapp Left The White House To Run The Washington, DC Offices Of Koch Industries." According to a biography of Matt Schlapp from the American Conservative Union, "On June 19, 2014 the board of the American Conservative Union unanimously voted to elect Matt Schlapp as the ninth Chairman of the nation's oldest and largest conservative grassroots organization. From 2001 to 2005, Schlapp served as President Bush's political director during the re-election and previously as his deputy political director. During the 2000 presidential campaign he was a Regional Political Director with oversight of Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Schlapp left the White House to run the Washington, DC offices of Koch Industries, a company headquartered in his hometown and known for their philanthropy to free market causes." [American Conservative Union, accessed 2/24/15]

Politico: "A Top Koch Aide Revealed… That Jeb Bush Will Be Given A Chance To Audition For The Brothers' Support, Despite Initial Skepticism About Him At The Top Of The Kochs' Growing Political Behemoth." According to Politico, "In another surprise, a top Koch aide revealed to POLITICO that Jeb Bush will be given a chance to audition for the brothers' support, despite initial skepticism about him at the top of the Kochs' growing political behemoth." [Politico, 4/21/15]

The Kochs "Identified Five Candidates Who Have The Right Message And 'A Good Chance Of Getting Elected": Scott Walker, Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, Rand Paul, And Marco Rubio. According to USA Today, "[Charles] Koch, his brother David and their team have identified five candidates who have the right message and 'a good chance of getting elected,' he told USA TODAY in an exclusive interview at Koch Industries' headquarters. They are Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, former Florida governor Jeb Bush and Sens. Ted Cruz of Texas, Rand Paul of Kentucky and Marco Rubio of Florida." [USA Today, <u>4/21/15</u>]

Jeb Bush Was Scheduled To Give The Keynote Address Of AFP's "Defending The American Dream" Summit. According to Mother Jones, "In a matter of weeks, that opportunity will come. Bush, it was announced on Monday, will give the keynote address on August 21 at the 'Defending the American Dream' summit organized by Americans for Prosperity, the advocacy group founded and partly funded by the Kochs. At this event, Bush will have his shot to impress the Kochs and their inner circle. He won't be singing for his supper; he'll just be auditioning for millions of dollars—perhaps hundreds of millions of dollars—in support." [Mother Jones, <u>6/22/15</u>]

Gov. Bush's "Tough" On Crime Policies

1993: Jeb Bush Said He Would Build More Prisons And Fill Them With More Prisoners. According to the St. Petersburg Times, "Jeb Bush, a 40-year-old Miami real estate investor, said that as governor he would dismantle the state Department of Education, build more prisons and fill them with more prisoners and make people on welfare get a job or an education." [St. Petersburg Times, 6/15/93]

1994: Jeb Bush Said He Would Pay For The Prison Expansion Primarily By Freezing All Other State Spending With The Exception Of Money Needed For Public School Students, Welfare, And Other Entitlements. According to the Miami Herald, "Bush, a Miami businessman and second son of former President George Bush, said he would pay for the prison expansion primarily by freezing all other state spending with the exception of money needed for new public school students, for welfare and other entitlements and for the state's mandatory reserve fund." [Miami Herald, 1/11/94]

1994: Bush Said "You Need To Lock Criminals Up And Be Sure They Serve At Least 85 Percent Of Their Sentences. And For Juvenile Offenders, You Punish Them First And Worry About Counseling Them Later." According to the Orlando Sentinel, "Bush, Connor, former state Rep. Chester Clem, state Sen. Curt Kiser, R-Tampa, and Pinellas County Commissioner Barbara Sheen Todd agreed that curbing crime would make Florida safer and coax tourists back. [...] 'You need to lock criminals up and be sure they serve at least 85 percent of their sentences,' Bush told a crowd of about 200. 'And for juvenile offenders, you punish them first and worry about counseling them later." [Orlando Sentinel, 8/10/94]

1998: Jeb Bush Favored Giving Mandatory Life Sentences To Criminals With Their Third Felony Conviction, "Except That The Felonies Should Be Of Specified Degrees Of Seriousness." According to the Palm Beach Post, "Do you favor giving mandatory life sentences to criminals with their third felony conviction (three strikes and out)? Bush: Yes, except that the felonies should be of specified degrees of seriousness." [Palm Beach Post, 11/1/98]

1999: One Legislator Called Jeb Bush's 10-20-Life Plan A "Legal Lynching." According to the St. Petersburg Times, "Bush's 10-20-Life plan to crack down on criminals who use guns also has raised questions for some black politicians. The idea was a central theme on the campaign trail, but critics said the legislation unfairly targets blacks. One legislator called it a 'legal lynching,' noting that a similar law in California was used to prosecute far more blacks and Hispanics than whites." [St. Petersburg Times, 3/15/99]

Support Of Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan

Political Support

The Intercept: "Hogan's Rise To Power Was Backed By Political Infrastructure Funded By The Koch Brothers." According to the Intercept, "However, Hogan's rise to power was backed by political infrastructure funded by the Koch brothers. Hogan used campaign data supplied by i360, a voter targeting database set up by the Koch brothers. Logan's [sid] political group Change Maryland worked closely with Americans for Prosperity, the grassroots group founded and funded largely by the Kochs." [The Intercept, 5/22/15]

Hogan's Attacks on Criminal Justice Reform

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan Vetoed Six Criminal Justice Reform Bills, Including A Bill To Allow Felons To Register To Vote And A Bill To Limit Asset Forfeiture. According to the Intercept, "Gov. Larry Hogan, R-Md., issued a press release on Friday declaring that he vetoed six pieces of legislation, including major reforms to Maryland criminal justice law. The governor, who campaigned on a promise to limit government overreach to win his upset victory last November, vetoed legislation designed to rein in law enforcement abuse of power, including: SB 517, legislation to remove the penalty for marijuana paraphernalia (and impose a civil fine of up to \$500 for smoking marijuana in public). SB 528, a bill to limit asset forfeiture seized by police and to prohibit seized property from being transferred to the federal government unless there is a federal criminal charge. HB 980, a bill to allow felons to register to vote." [The Intercept, <u>5/22/15</u>]

The Intercept: "Will The Kochs Lash Out At Hogan, As They Have Done Before Against Lawmakers Who Cross Them On Major Policy Issues?" According to the Intercept, "Will the Kochs lash out at Hogan, as they have before against lawmakers who cross them on major policy issues?" [The Intercept, 5/22/15]

Support Of Gov. Susana Martinez

Political and Financial Support

Politico: "New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez Secretly Spoke To Wealthy Donors At The Koch Brothers' Recently Concluded Summer Gathering." According to Politico, "Rep. Paul Ryan, House Majority Leader Eric Cantor and New

Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez secretly spoke to wealthy donors at the Koch brothers' recently concluded summer gathering on the outskirts of Albuquerque." [Politico, $\frac{8/7}{13}$]

Koch Industries Contributed \$4,694 To Martinez In 2014, \$10,000 In 2010 And \$5,000 To Her PAC. According to the Santa Fe New Mexican, "Koch Industries has contributed \$4,694 to Martinez's campaign this year and contributed \$10,000 to her 2010 campaign. In addition, Koch Industries contributed \$5,000 to the governor's political committee, SusanaPAC, which mainly is used to contribute to other Republican candidates in the state." [Santa Fe New Mexican, 5/7/14]

Martinez's Attacks on Criminal Justice Reform

New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez Vetoed A Measure To Limit Probation Periods And To Allow Nonviolent Convicts To Spend Their Last Year Of Incarceration In A Halfway House. According to NM Political Report, "Two bills endorsed by the subcommittee passed the Legislature and made their way to the desk of Republican Gov. Susana Martinez during the most recent legislative session. One sought to limit probation periods while the other would have allowed nonviolent convicts to spend their last year of incarceration in a halfway house. Martinez, a former prosecutor, vetoed both measures." [NMPoliticalReport.com, 7/9/15]

Associated Press Headline: "Governor Martinez: New Mexico Needs Tougher 'Three Strikes' Law." [KRQE, 7/3/15]

NOTABLY THE KOCHS AREN'T INCLUDING RICK PERRY AMONG 2016 CANDIDATES THEY MAY SUPPORT, DESPITE FACT HE HAS CAMPAIGNED ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

Gov. Rick Perry

Rick Perry Was Campaigning On His Criminal Justice Reform Efforts In Texas. According to the Washington Times, "Speaking in New Hampshire Thursday, former Texas Gov. Rick Perry invoked the work of former President Reagan and former House Speaker Tip O'Neill as a model of bipartisanship and touted results from criminal justice reform in his home state as an example of 'real conservatism." [Washington Times, <u>3/12/15</u>]

The Kochs "Identified Five Candidates Who Have The Right Message And 'A Good Chance Of Getting Elected": Scott Walker, Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, Rand Paul, And Marco Rubio. According to USA Today, "[Charles] Koch, his brother David and their team have identified five candidates who have the right message and 'a good chance of getting elected,' he told USA TODAY in an exclusive interview at Koch Industries' headquarters. They are Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, former Florida governor Jeb Bush and Sens. Ted Cruz of Texas, Rand Paul of Kentucky and Marco Rubio of Florida." [USA Today, <u>4/21/15</u>]

Koch Said Of Rick Perry: "I Like Him, But He Can't Win." According to the New York Post's Page Six, "And former Texas Gov. Rick Perry? 'I like him, but he can't win,' [David] Koch told my source." [Page Six – New York Post, <u>4/29/15</u>]

KOCH'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM FUNDING PALES IN COMPARISON TO THEIR POLITICAL SPENDING

Daily Beast: The Kochs Have "Poured Seven Figures In Donations To The National Association Of Criminal Defense Lawyers" Over The Past Decade; "According to the Daily Beast, "Quietly over the past decade, a Koch Industries spokesman told The Daily Beast, the Kochs have poured seven figures in donations toward criminal justice reform, mainly through the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers. As a point of comparison, the Kochs spent at least \$8.5 million on political campaigns in 2014 alone—to the benefit of Republicans across the country, and the dismay of Democrats." [Daily Beast, <u>1/13/15</u>]

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campaigns in 2014 alone—to the benefit of Republicans across the country, and the dismay of Democrats." [Daily Beast, $\frac{1}{13}$

Time: "Compared To Their Spending On Elections, The Money The Kochs Are Funneling Toward Justice Reform Is Modest...And Holden Said There Are No Plans At The Moment To Increase The Financial Support For Justice Reform." According to Time, "Compared to their spending on elections, the money the Kochs are funneling toward justice reform is modest. Their network plans to fork out nearly \$900 million in advance of the 2016 election, according to reports nearly as much as Barack Obama and Mitt Romney corralled in 2016 to support their campaigns. And Holden says there are no plans at the moment to increase the financial support for justice reform or form a new nonprofit devoted to the issue, although he wouldn't rule it out." [Time, 1/29/15]

Atlantic: The Kochs' "Investment In Criminal-Justice Reform Pales In Comparison To The Hundreds Of Millions" They "Have Spent Electing Republicans, Many Of Whom Don't Share Their Views On Civil Liberties." According to the Atlantic, "But the Kochs' advocacy has become more vocal in recent months, from public statements to new partnerships with such groups as Families Against Mandatory Minimums, the American Civil Liberties Union, and even the liberal Center for American Progress. The bid for more attention for the reform effort has received overwhelmingly positive attention, and coincides with a new PR push to show Koch Industries in a friendlier light, including a 'We Are Koch' national television campaign that casts the company as heartland job creators—prompting the Kochs' critics to suspect a whitewash. After all, the investment in criminal-justice reform pales in comparison to the hundreds of millions the Kochs and their donor network have spent electing Republicans, many of whom don't share their views on civil liberties, [Robert] Greenwald noted. 'Certainly the scales tip against the impact of this, except from the press point of view,' he said of the reform push." [Atlantic, 3/3/15]

NO INCREASE IN FUNDING AFTER LATEST "PUSH"

A Koch Spokesperson Confirmed That Money Spent On Criminal Justice In 2015 Would "Be In The Same Range As Previous Years." According to the Daily Beast, "Through their foundation and related entities, five Koch staffers work fullor part-time on criminal justice issues. But they could not pledge that the amount spent on criminal justice reform in 2015 would definitely exceed that of previous years. 'We can confirm it will be in the same range as previous years,' a Koch spokesperson said." [Daily Beast, <u>1/13/15</u>]