Minnesota

Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board Meeting

Wednesday, November 7th, 2018
10:30 AM

St Croix Room
Centennial Office Building
St Paul MN

REGULAR SESSION AGENDA

1. Minutes
   Regular session, October 3, 2018

2. Chair's report
   a. Meeting schedule

3. Executive director report

4. Possible Legislative Recommendations

5. Enforcement report

6. Prima Facie Determinations Finding No Violation
   A. Prima Facie Determination—Complaint of Julie Westerlund regarding the Cindy (Pugh) for Minnesota committee
   B. Prima Facie Determination—Complaint of Bill Holm regarding the Keith Ellison for Attorney General committee

7. Legal report

8. Other business

EXECUTIVE SESSION
Immediately following regular session
The meeting was called to order by Chair Flynn.

Members present: Flynn, Haugen, Leppik, Moilanen (by telephone), Rosen, Swanson (by telephone)

Others present: Sigurdson, Engelhardt, Olson, Pope, staff; Hartshorn, counsel

MINUTES (September 12, 2018)

After discussion, the following motion was made:

Member Leppik’s motion: To approve the September 12, 2018, minutes as drafted.

Vote on motion: A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.

CHAIR’S REPORT

A. Meeting schedule

The next Board meeting is scheduled for 10:30 a.m. on Wednesday, November 7, 2018.

PAPER REPORTS – LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF MINNESOTA

Mr. Sigurdson presented members with a memorandum regarding this matter that is attached to and made a part of these minutes. Mr. Sigurdson told members that Chapter 10A requires campaign finance reports to be filed electronically. The Board, however, must grant a waiver of this requirement if good cause is shown. Mr. Sigurdson said that the Board typically has found good cause is shown when a committee historically has had less than $5,000 in annual transactions, the treasurer does not have internet access or a computer, or the treasurer has a computer that is not compatible with the Board’s Campaign Finance Reporter software. Mr. Sigurdson stated that the Board sends a paper report form to filers that have been given a waiver. Mr. Sigurdson told members that the Board has the statutory authority to develop paper report forms and that requiring all paper filers to use these forms promotes consistent disclosure of information.

Mr. Sigurdson said that the Board had granted the Libertarian Party of Minnesota a waiver to file paper reports. The party unit has been using the summary and certification pages from the Board’s report form but has been using its own forms for the supporting schedules. Mr. Sigurdson said that he had
directed the Libertarian Party to use all the pages of the Board’s paper report form beginning in 2019. Mr. Sigurdson said that the party unit disagreed with that direction and essentially was appealing to the Board.

Mary O’Connor, treasurer of the Libertarian Party of Minnesota, then addressed the Board. Ms. O’Connor said that she used a library computer to prepare the supporting schedules for the party unit’s reports. Ms. O’Connor stated that her schedules followed the format of the paper report schedules and were easy to read because they were typewritten. Ms. O’Connor said that if the party unit were required to use the paper report schedules, she would have to hand-write each of the party unit’s transactions on those schedules. Ms. O’Connor stated that because the schedules must include information in alphabetical order back to the beginning of the year, she could not simply add information to prior reports and, instead, would have to create a new report for every reporting deadline. Ms. O’Connor also stated that there was not enough room on the paper report schedules to include all of the information that she included on her schedules regarding the purpose of each expenditure.

After discussion, the following motion was made:

Member Rosen’s motion: To approve the direction that staff has given to the Libertarian Party of Minnesota to use the Board’s entire paper report form beginning in 2019.

Vote on motion: A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR REPORT

Mr. Sigurdson presented members with a memorandum regarding this matter that is attached to and made a part of these minutes. Mr. Sigurdson told members that reports from committees, funds, constitutional office candidates, and state party units were due at the end of September and that only four reports had not yet been filed. Mr. Sigurdson said that the pre-general-election reports were due on October 29, 2018. Mr. Sigurdson stated that staff recently had conducted an evening campaign finance compliance training session that had been well attended. Mr. Sigurdson then told members that he was preparing the budget for the next biennium. Mr. Sigurdson said that in order to maintain the current staff level of nine, the Board would have to ask for a small increase in its base budget. Mr. Sigurdson said that to ensure that the Campaign Finance Reporter software was moved from a PC-based system to a web-based system before the 2020 elections, he also planned to ask for a small, one-time increase in the Board’s IT budget. Finally, Mr. Sigurdson said that staff had prepared a memorandum on the Chapter 10A implications of the recent federal court decision in CREW v. FEC.

ANNUAL BOARD REPORT – FISCAL YEAR 2017

Mr. Sigurdson presented members with a memorandum regarding this matter that is attached to and made a part of these minutes. Mr. Sigurdson told members that staff had completed the annual report of Board operations for fiscal year 2017. Mr. Sigurdson said that this report was statutorily required and was provided to the governor and legislative leadership and posted on the Board’s website. Mr.
Sigurdson said the annual report for fiscal year 2018 was nearing completion and would be presented to the Board at the December meeting.

After discussion, the following motion was made:

Member Leppik’s motion: To authorize the issuance of the annual report of Board operations for fiscal year 2017.

Vote on motion: A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.

ENFORCEMENT REPORT

A. Waiver requests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Candidate or Committee</th>
<th>Late Fee &amp; Civil Penalty Amount</th>
<th>Reason for Fine</th>
<th>Factors for waiver</th>
<th>Board Member’s Motion</th>
<th>Motion</th>
<th>Vote on Motion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blong Yang, Mississippi Watershed Management Organization (MWMO)</td>
<td>$1,000 CP $100 LFF</td>
<td>2017 annual EIS</td>
<td>Official was listed as alternate commissioner in 2016 and 2017 by MWMO but he states he never served and was never officially informed that he was alternate. He nonetheless filed timely EISs for 2015 and 2016 because he received reminder to do so. He states he did not receive reminder to file annual EIS for 2017 despite leaving forwarding mailing address before leaving position as a Minneapolis City Councilor in Jan. 2018. However, he did receive our letter dated June 26, which was sent to Minneapolis City Hall and filed his EIS Sept. 5. The LFF assessed against another former Minneapolis City Councilor regarding an EIS for 2017 was waived under similar circumstances at April 4 meeting.</td>
<td>Member Rosen</td>
<td>To waive the late filing fee and civil penalty</td>
<td>A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kris Lohrke, MN Department of Health</td>
<td>$100 LFF</td>
<td>2017 annual EIS</td>
<td>Official was on leave from December 2017 until retirement in May 2018 and did not receive any mail sent to her work address until she received a notice from us September 12, 2018.</td>
<td>Member Rosen</td>
<td>To waive the late filing fee</td>
<td>A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosperity for Minnesota</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF $100 CP</td>
<td>2018 pre-primary report</td>
<td>The committee decided to terminate and issued a partial refund to a contributor in June to zero out its balance. The treasurer mistakenly thought the next report was not due until September. Also, a late filing fee of $25 remains owed from the 2017 year-end report being filed one day late.</td>
<td>Member Rosen</td>
<td>To waive the late filing fee and civil penalty</td>
<td>A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7A House District RPM</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF $100 CP</td>
<td>2018 pre-primary report</td>
<td>This was new treasurer’s first report. New treasurer and old treasurer are busy and had difficulty finding time to work on report. Notices were sent to old treasurer and new treasurer says he was ignorant of the seriousness of, and deadline for, filing report.</td>
<td>Member Rosen</td>
<td>To reduce the late filing fee to $100 and to leave the civil penalty at $100</td>
<td>A roll call vote was taken. All members voted in the affirmative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Informational Items

A. Payment of a late filing fee for June 15, 2018, lobbyist disbursement report

Scott Hedderich, $250

B. Deposit to the General Fund

Arlene Perkkio, $50

C. Payment of a late filing fee for July 30, 2018, report of receipts and expenditures

Coll PAC, $100
Neighbors for Jim Davnie, $300
Power by the People, $150
Wabasha County DFL, $150

LEGAL COUNSEL’S REPORT

Mr. Hartshorn presented members with a legal report that is attached to and made a part of these minutes. Mr. Hartshorn told members that one party unit on the report, the Duluth DFL, had retained legal counsel. Mr. Hartshorn also said that the Committee to Elect Sean White had filed an answer admitting all allegations in the complaint and asking the court to reduce the monetary penalties. Mr. Hartshorn stated that he would prepare a motion for judgement on the pleadings in this matter.

OTHER BUSINESS

There was no other business to report.
EXECUTIVE SESSION

The chair recessed the regular session of the meeting and called to order the executive session. Upon recess of the executive session, the regular session of the meeting was called back to order and the chair had the following to report into regular session:

Probable cause determination for the complaint of Erin Koegel regarding Anthony Wilder for House committee, Capra’s Sporting Goods, and Heritage Auto Body

There being no other business, the meeting was adjourned by the chair.

Respectfully submitted,

Jeff Sigurdson
Executive Director

Attachments:
Memorandum regarding Libertarian Party of Minnesota’s paper report request
Memorandum regarding executive director report
Memorandum regarding annual Board report for fiscal year 2017
Annual Report of Board Operations – Fiscal Year 2017
Legal report
Probable cause determination for the complaint of Erin Koegel regarding Anthony Wilder for House committee, Capra’s Sporting Goods, and Heritage Auto Body
Board Meeting Dates for Calendar Year 2018

Meetings are at 10:30 A.M. unless otherwise noted.

2018

Wednesday, December 5
Date: October 31, 2018

To: Board Members

From: Jeff Sigurdson, Executive Director  Telephone: 651-539-1189

Re: Executive Director’s Report – Board Operations

Program Updates

Campaign Finance Program

The pre-general election report of receipts and expenditures was due on October 29, 2018. Reports were expected from 295 candidates, 415 political committees and funds, and 318 political party units. Staff mailed a notification of the need to file the report to all affected treasurers, and then followed up with an e-mail reminder and finally a telephone call to all treasurers who had not yet filed a report by October 29th.

Nomination Committee

Each year the chair forms a nomination committee consisting of the chair and one other Board member of a different political party. The nomination committee creates a slate of candidates for the positions of chair and vice chair; and then contacts the nominated members to verify that they would be willing to serve in the positions. The full Board then votes on the nominations at the December Board meeting.

Development of Fiscal Years 2020 – 2021 Biennial Budget

The governor’s initial biennial budget recommendations for fiscal years 2010-2021 must be developed and delivered to the legislature by February 19, 2019. This deadline requires the governor to develop a proposed budget regardless of the upcoming transition to a new administration. As part of that process all agencies and boards prepare and submit a base budget request and requested change items to that budget for consideration by the governor. The deadline for required budget documents was October 15, 2018.

As I discussed with the Board at the July and October meetings a change item to the base budget is needed to maintain current operations and a staff of nine FTE. The change item request for operations is $75,000 per fiscal year. The last request for an increase in the operating budget for the Board was in 2013.

A second change item request for funding to support the development of a web based campaign finance reporting system has also been submitted. The funding requested in this
change item is much lower than I had anticipated in July. After reviewing the project thoroughly with IT staff it became clear to me that an additional full-time IT position is not needed, and that the work already done on the project is far enough along that a one-time appropriation of $50,000 should be sufficient to complete the project in time for the 2020 election.

Whether Governor Dayton will incorporate either change request into his budget is unknown, and of course, the next governor may very well have different budgetary priorities. A copy of both change item requests are attached for your reference.

Coalition for Integrity Report

Periodically good government organizations release evaluations of state laws on lobbying, campaign finance, and ethics. In October, the Coalition for Integrity released an index of states with anti-corruption measures for public officials (S.W.A.M.P. Index). This particular index combined a review of select campaign finance laws on independent expenditures, gift prohibitions for public officials, and conflict of interest disclosure, with a review of the enforcement authority of the agencies responsible for those laws.

Minnesota did not fare particularly well in this index, ranking 33rd of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Minnesota received a score of 46%, based on the Coalition’s evaluation of Minnesota’s laws that passed its test. The Coalition’s grading is fairly stringent as no state finished with a score higher than 78%, and only five states and the District of Columbia scored higher than 70%.

It is also important to note that the score is for the state, not necessarily for statutes regulated by the Board. For example, Minnesota is marked down in the index because the legislature conducts investigations of the ethics of its members through its legislative ethics committee. Another area where the score for Minnesota loses points is the lack of a separate agency to monitor conflict of interest and ethics for all executive branch employees, not just public officials. Regardless as to whether that is a good idea or not, there are over 37,000 executive branch employees in Minnesota. Collecting disclosure from that many individuals and establishing one agency with the authority to dismiss employees for ethical violations (another scoring area where Minnesota lost points) would be a significant policy decision outside of the Board’s jurisdiction. If you hold these two areas out of the scoring matrix for all states, the relative ranking for Minnesota improves from 33rd to 24th.

The rest of the scoring areas used to create the index are primarily regulated under Chapter 10A. The following is a list measures used for the index where Minnesota scored low.

- Does the ethics agency have authority to hold public hearings? To receive a positive score investigations must be public at least after a probable cause determination has been made that an investigation is warranted.
- Does the ethics agency have authority to enjoin covered officials who commit ethical violations? To receive a positive score an agency must be able to issue an injunction to prohibit a public official from performing a particular action.
- Does the ethics agency have authority to impose fines on covered officials who commit ethical violations? To receive a positive score an agency must be able to issue a civil penalty for a violation of conflict of interest provisions.
• Are elected and appointed executive branch officials and legislators prohibited from accepting gifts from persons other than high-risk sources in an aggregate of $250 or more? A high-risk source is defined as a lobbyist or principal. To receive a positive score state laws must prohibit gifts of $250 or more from any source.

• Are elected and appointed executive branch officials and legislators required to publicly disclose gifts that they receive? To receive a positive score a state must require public officials to disclose gifts. It is unclear if this requirement applies to all gifts, only gifts from high-risk sources, or only to gifts above a certain value.

• Does the state require reporting of the beneficial owners of LLCs that contribute to groups that make independent expenditures? To receive a positive score a state must require the disclosure of individuals who enjoy the benefits of ownership of an LLC even though title to the LLC is in another name. I understand it also can mean any individual, or group of individuals, who, either directly or indirectly, has the power to influence the transaction decisions of the LLC. In the scoring matrix used for the index no state received full credit for this issue, and only two states and the District of Columbia received partial credit.

• Do legislators have to disclose client names as part of their financial disclosure reports? To receive a positive score state legislators must list clients for their business or occupation on the EIS statement.

A copy of the full report is attached for members to review. The scoring matrix for the index is contained in a spreadsheet of all 50 states. If a member is interested in reviewing the scoring matrix let me know and I will e-mail a copy out. The policy recommendations of the Coalition for Integrity are found on page six of the report. If members are interested in one or more of the Coalition’s policy recommendations staff can develop draft language for inclusion with the Board’s legislative recommendations.

Attachment
Biennial budget change items
S.W.A.M.P. Report
Change Item Title: Increase to Operating Budget

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Impact ($000s)</th>
<th>FY 2020</th>
<th>FY 2021</th>
<th>FY 2022</th>
<th>FY 2023</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Fund</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Funds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Fiscal Impact</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Expenditures – Revenues)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTEs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Request:
The requested change item is to increase the base operating budget of the Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board by $75,000 per fiscal year. This will result in a base budget of $1,121,000 per fiscal year. This increase will allow the Board to maintain its current staff of nine FTEs.

At the current base operating funding level of $1,048,000 per fiscal year, the projected staff salary and benefit costs for FY 2020 and FY 2021 will require a reduction in staff of one FTE, which represents eleven percent of Board staff. The change item will not be used to increase the size of the Board staff, it will remain at nine FTEs.

The requested increase of $75,000 per fiscal year represents approximately a 7.25% increase to the current base budget.

Rationale/Background:
The Board last asked for, and received, a change to its base budget for the fiscal year 2014 – 2015 biennium. At that time, the base budget was increased to $1,000,000 to allow for a staff of nine and for IT related projects. The Governor in subsequent budget years made small increases to all small agency budgets to partially compensate for contractual increases to employee salaries. The fiscal year 2019 base budget is $1,048,000. In the past two biennial budgets the Board has not asked for any increase to its operating base budget.

During the six budget years from 2014 to 2019, the percentage of the Board’s budget that is tied to salary and benefits has increased significantly, as shown in the chart below. The projected salary and benefits for fiscal years 2020 and 2021, shown in bold, increases the percentage to 89% and 91% respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Base Budget</th>
<th>Salary and Benefits</th>
<th>% of Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FY 2014</td>
<td>$ 1,000,000</td>
<td>$ 635,000</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2015</td>
<td>$ 1,000,000</td>
<td>$ 778,000</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2016</td>
<td>$ 1,014,000</td>
<td>$ 771,000</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2017</td>
<td>$ 1,028,000</td>
<td>$ 834,000</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2018</td>
<td>$ 1,036,000</td>
<td>$ 846,000</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2019</td>
<td>$ 1,048,000</td>
<td>$ 888,000</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2020</td>
<td>$ 1,048,000</td>
<td>$ 930,000</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY 2021</td>
<td>$ 1,048,000</td>
<td>$ 949,000</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Note the salary and benefits listed in the table is the budgeted amount for that fiscal year. Because of staff vacancies actual expenditures were lower than the budgeted amount in some years.)

The Board considered reducing other operating expenses as an alternative to requesting an increase to the operating base. However, other fixed operating expenses make that alternative impractical. For example, when the fixed cost of office space and MNIT services are added to the cost of salary and benefits the total represents 95% of the current base budget in fiscal year 2020, and 97% of the current base budget in fiscal year 2021. Reducing all other operating expenses, including postage, supplies, equipment, and other contracted services to fit within 3% of the budget is not doable, and certainly not sustainable. Without the requested increase to the operating budget, the only feasible option is to reduce staff size to operate within the current base budget.

At the July 2018, monthly meeting the Board authorized the Executive Director to request an increase to the operating budget sufficient to maintain the agency’s current operations and staffing level.

Proposal:
This change item provides an additional $75,000 per fiscal year to the operating funds of the Board. The additional funding is not for a new initiative and does not represent a significant change to an existing program. The funding is necessary to: 1) offset increases in staff salary and benefit costs that have occurred in the past six years since the last increase to the Board’s operating budget; and 2) offset projected increases in staff salary and benefits in the next four years.

Without the increase Board staff will be reduced by one FTE in the upcoming biennium. In an agency with a small staff of nine FTEs, the loss of even a single position will result in reduced customer service and slower management of statutorily-required disclosure and enforcement functions. Board staff currently administers the registration, reporting, and enforcement actions needed for a combined 1,400 candidate committees, political party units, political committees, and political funds in the campaign finance program; 1,450 lobbyists in the lobbying program, and over 2,800 public officials in the economic interest program. All Board staff work in the administration of all three programs to some extent, so a reduction in staff will negatively affect the support provided to the regulated community in all three programs and to the speed and quality of the disclosure provided to the public.

Equity and Inclusion:
Not applicable to this request.

IT Related Proposals:
Not Applicable to this request.

Results:
- The Board’s programs typically are not subject to simple performance measures. However, by all measures, the time it takes the Board to complete its work is directly related to the staff available to complete the work. As recently as fiscal year 2012, the Board operated with only seven staff. A staff of seven resulted in the Board taking months to issue advisory opinions and complete even simple investigations. Additionally the lack of staff resulted in the end of client training sessions in greater Minnesota, and a lack of progress in critical web-based public disclosure and reporting applications. Restoring staff levels to nine FTEs allowed the Board to restart training in greater Minnesota, develop online reporting for the lobbyist and economic interest programs, upgrade the disclosure provided on the Board’s website, and resolve most citizen-initiated Board actions in less time.

- The Board’s mission is to foster citizen confidence in government by providing and administering programs of regulation and disclosure. This mission requires staff that is experienced in program administration, the conduct of investigations, client training, and producing meaningful data in a context...
relevant to citizens. This proposal will allow the Board to maintain the staff needed to complete this mission.

**Statutory Change(s):**
No statutory changes are required.
Change Item Title: Web-based Campaign Finance Reporter Application

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Impact ($000s)</th>
<th>FY 2020</th>
<th>FY 2021</th>
<th>FY 2022</th>
<th>FY 2023</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Fund</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>50</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenues</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Funds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenues</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Fiscal Impact =</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Expenditures – Revenues)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTEs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Request:
The requested change item is to fund up to $50,000 in fiscal year 2020 for programming, and consultant services to evaluate system load balancing and security for the Board’s web-based campaign finance reporting application.

The Board currently provides at no charge the Campaign Finance Reporter software for use in filing required periodic reports of receipts and expenditures by candidate committees, political party units, political committees and political funds. The current version of the software is PC based, and was first released in 1998. Board staff is in the process of developing a web-based reporting application that will replace Campaign Finance Reporter. To insure that the web-based application is completed during a non-election year, the Board requests a one-time increase of $50,000 for professional/technical services in support of the application’s development.

The one-time increase of $50,000 in fiscal year 2020 represents approximately a 4.75% increase over the base budget appropriation.

Rationale/Background:
In 2011, the legislature enacted the Board’s recommendation that campaign finance reports of receipts and expenditures must be filed electronically. Minn. Stat. § 10A.20, subd. 1(c). The electronic filing may be completed by using the free Campaign Finance Reporter software provided by the Board, or by using third-party vendor software that complies with standards developed by the Board. Electronic filing eliminates the need for manual data entry of reports by Board staff, and makes the data in the Board’s systems available to the public more quickly.

The Board does waive the requirement to file electronically for good cause. The Board considers good cause to include the use of a computer that is not compatible with Campaign Finance Reporter. Without a Windows emulation program, Campaign Finance Reporter will not work on an Apple computer, and to the Board’s knowledge it is not possible to use the software on a Chrome computer. This limitation has forced a number of political committees to file by paper when they would prefer to file electronically.

The Board is also concerned that future versions of Microsoft Windows may not be compatible with Campaign Finance Reporter. This concern is based on past experience. The version of Campaign Finance Reporter developed for Windows 95 was incompatible with Windows 2000. In response, the Board requested and received an appropriation of $250,000 in order to contract with a vendor to reprogram elements of Campaign Finance Reporter so that it would work with the latest version of Windows. While the Board has no specific knowledge...
that future versions of Windows will be incompatible with Campaign Finance Reporter, moving to a web-based application will eliminate that possibility.

Additionally, Campaign Finance Reporter provides a number of compliance checks on receipts, contributions, spending limits, and other reporting requirements. Each time there is a statutory change to the compliance requirements of Chapter 10A the code for Campaign Finance Reporter must be modified, and then the upgrade must be provided to each treasurer who uses the software. Although the software alerts users when an upgrade is available, the experience of the Board is that many treasurers ignore this message and continue using a version of Campaign Finance Reporter that is out of date. This problem would be resolved by moving to a web-based reporting system. If the web-based reporting application were modified to reflect a statutory change each treasurer would automatically have the most up-to-date reporting application when they next signed on to work on a report.

Proposal:
The Board is using existing IT staff who currently support Campaign Finance Reporter to develop the on-line reporting application. However, the web-based reporting application must be ready for initial release during calendar year 2019, which is a non-election year for state-level candidates. During a non-election year there is only one report due from registered committees for the year. Releasing the application during a state election year would be too risky because there are multiple reports due during the course of that year.

To insure that the application is ready for release during the non-election year the Board will contract for programing and other professional services related to the web-based reporting application that will supplement the work of staff. In effect, the contracted services will spread out the workload and buy time for staff to complete the project in time for release in 2019.

The Board also intends to use salary savings available in fiscal year 2019 to purchase professional/technical services through June of 2019. The requested funds will provide resources for the project in the second half of calendar year 2019.

Equity and Inclusion:
Not applicable to this request.

IT Related Proposals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>FY 2020</th>
<th>FY 2021</th>
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Results:
The Board has tracked the number of political committees that file electronically. The percentage of all campaign finance reports filed electronically has been in decline over the last two years. This trend is alarming because committees that file by paper are more likely to have compliance errors that would have been identified if the transactions had been entered into Campaign Finance Reporter. Further, reports filed on paper require staff data entry and therefore are not available for public disclosure as readily as electronic reports.

**Percentage of campaign finance filers reporting electronically**

![Graph showing the percentage of campaign finance filers reporting electronically from 2009 to 2017.]

The Board will consider the move to a web-based reporting application successful if the percentage of reports filed electronically increases during calendar year 2020.

**Statutory Change(s):**
No statutory changes are required.
States With Anti-corruption Measures for Public Officials [S.W.A.M.P.] Index Report 2018

Coalition for Integrity
The Coalition for Integrity is non-profit, non-partisan 501(c)(3) organization, formerly operating as Transparency International-USA. We work in coalition with a wide range of individuals and organizations to combat corruption and promote integrity in the public and private sectors. www.coalitionforintegrity.org.

Every effort has been made to verify the accuracy of the information contained in this report. Nevertheless, Coalition for Integrity cannot accept responsibility for the consequences of its use.

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The S.W.A.M.P. Index

The Index of States With Anti-corruption Measures for Public officials [S.W.A.M.P.] analyzes the laws of the 50 States and District of Columbia relating to the scope, independence and powers of ethics agencies, acceptance and disclosure of gifts by public officials, transparency of funding independent expenditures and client disclosure by legislators. It is an objective analysis, based on current state laws and regulations governing ethics and transparency in both the executive and legislative branches.¹

¹ In a majority of states, judicial ethics is subject to a separate legal and regulatory framework and administered by a separate entity. We expect to produce a similar index for the judiciary in the future.
Why This Project?

Battling corruption requires an extensive tool box of laws promoting ethical behavior, enhancing transparency, enabling effective enforcement and ensuring accountability. This is particularly important on the state level, where executive branch officials and legislators make daily decisions and spend trillions of dollars on roads, health, education, welfare and other programs. At a time when the U.S. Congress is often deadlocked and the federal government is de-regulating, the states are exercising more power than at other times in U.S. history. In fact, according to a 2016 Gallop poll, a majority of people favor concentrating more power in the states.

Many have noted the link between a strong ethics regime and trust in the government. State laws are often the first line of defense against corruption and cover thousands of elected or appointed officials and state employees nationwide. In reviewing the first two years of New York State’s ethics agency, the New York City Bar Association and Common Cause, pointed to the most important reason to have a strong and effective ethics agency:

> because ethics rules are based on both the fact and appearance of impropriety, they serve to require a mode of official behavior that reduces cynicism and encourages the people's trust in government and their willing participation in the political process.²

As the 2018 election approaches, the Coalition for Integrity wants voters to understand the “state of ethics” in their state so they can better evaluate candidates, demand commitments to improve the legal framework and judge proposed reforms. At the same time, those elected in November on the state level will have a comprehensive view of how the ethics framework in their state compares with that in other states. They will also have access to a description of best practices to draw from.

In *McDonnell v. United States*, the Supreme Court unanimously held that the states have the right to regulate “the permissible scope of interactions between state officials and constituents.”³ Our goal is to contribute to a more comprehensive and effective legal framework to govern those interactions and enhance trust in state governments.

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² New York City Bar Association and Common Cause, *Hope for JCOPE* at 2 (March 14, 2014).
What Constitutes a Strong Legal Framework for Public Ethics?

‣ All states should have an independent ethics agency with jurisdiction over elected and appointed executive branch officials, legislators and executive and legislative branch employees.

‣ A toothless ethics agency serves no purpose. Whether there are one or two agencies with jurisdiction over all elected officials and public servants, the agency needs wide powers to investigate and sanction all government personnel.

‣ Proceedings of the ethics agency should be open to the public once there is a determination that probable cause exists indicating a violation has occurred.

‣ Legislators should be subject to the same treatment as elected executive branch officials and employees. In states where legislatures have a separate ethics entity, it should be independent of the legislature, composed of members of the public and not legislators.

‣ Members of an ethics agency should be statutorily protected from removal without cause.

‣ Gift rules should apply equally to all government officials and should prohibit all gifts above a reasonable threshold, regardless of the source and regardless of the intent of the recipient or the gift-giver.

‣ Reporting all gifts above a reasonable threshold should apply equally to all government officials.

‣ Legislators should disclose the names of all clients for whom they work, whether the client directly hires the legislator or hires the entity which employs the legislator.

‣ States should take the lead in mandating disclosure of the beneficial owners of LLCs and donors to 501(c) organizations which contribute to independent spenders.
What Questions Did We Ask?

We asked eight questions, focusing on the words of the relevant laws and regulations rather than the subjective impressions of journalists and other experts as has been the practice in other reviews of state ethics.  

We recognize that having good laws is not enough to prevent corruption and that, as a consequence, our index captures only part of the ethics framework. Enforcement is a key element in curbing unethical practices. Another very important element, which we have not addressed, is the source and adequacy of funding of the ethics agency. In a dramatic example, the Oklahoma Ethics Commission recently filed suit against Gov. Mary Fallin, legislative leaders and others for allegedly failing to provide adequate funding.

ETHICS AGENCIES

The first set of questions address the fundamental framework for promoting and enforcing ethical behavior – an independent body, which has a governing board protected from removal without cause, strong investigative powers and the ability to sanction offenders. It does not matter whether there is one or two – or in the case of Alaska – three ethics agencies. What does matter is whether elected and appointed executive branch officials and employees and state legislators are covered by the ethics agencies.

One key element of a strong ethics regime is the independence of the entity from political interference. We recognize that politics and cronyism play a role in the appointment process in many ethics agencies. In almost all cases, the appointments are made by the governor and the majority leaders of the state legislatures. For example, the head of the New York State ethics agency has always been headed by a director who previously worked for Governor Andrew Cuomo, while he was either governor or attorney general. Statutory language prescribing the reasons for removal of these appointees protects these appointees when they carry out their duties properly. We have given no credit in cases where there is no such statutory language, where the statute allows for removal at the pleasure of the appointing authority and, for the legislative branch, where

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6. We have not included legislative branch employees because they rarely have decision-making authority and therefore pose less of a risk of corruption.

the ethics agency is composed of legislators.

The authority to investigate – on its own initiative or upon referral – is essential to enforcing the ethics laws and deterring corrupt behavior. The fact that the authority is shared with an inspector general or another specialized body does not detract from its effectiveness. To carry out an effective investigation, the agency must be able to compel testimony and production of documents. The proceedings of ethics agencies should be public to promote transparency and enhance the trust of the public in the operations of the ethics agency. Like criminal proceedings, information should be available once there is probable cause that a violation has occurred, and the hearings should be open to the public. The notion that ethics investigations are more sensitive than criminal proceedings or deserve more confidentiality is misplaced.

The final piece is the enforcement powers of the ethics agency. No matter how strong the ethics rules are, effective enforcement is crucial to deter wrongdoing and provide a meaningful incentive to public officials to refrain from improper conduct. Our experience from enforcement of other laws, like Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, illustrates how compliance increases with effective enforcement. If the agency’s enforcement powers are limited, then its ability to compel ethical behavior is undermined. In cases, where enforcement of ethical standards is “outsourced” to the criminal justice system, the likelihood of prosecution is limited to the most egregious cases. 8

There are a range of sanctions available, with the most extreme and least authorized being termination of employment. In cases of elected officials, both executive and legislative, this option is unavailable and the only avenue is impeachment. Nonetheless, there are personnel actions that can provide effective deterrence, such as censure, reprimand, suspension. The ability to enjoin improper behavior or force compliance and to issue fines for noncompliance are essential tools. 9

**GIFTS**

Gifts are the most obvious focus of ethics regulations. They take myriad forms, of which cash is probably the least used – alternatives include hotel accommodations, meals, tickets to sporting events, payment of honoraria for speaking, wedding and birthday presents, funeral flower arrangements, discounted purchases, loans, etc. Giving or accepting a gift in return for a specific

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8. The need for enforcement has been clearly stated in another context, which applies equally to ethics. “No matter how sound the rules are for regulating the conduct of market participants, if the system of enforcement is ineffective – or is perceived to be ineffective – the ability of the system to achieve the desired outcome is undermined.” G20 Working Group 1, Final Report, Enhancing Sound Regulation and Strengthening Transparency at 44 (March 25, 2009).

9. We have not looked, however, at the size of available fines, though we recognize that de minimus amounts are unlikely to act as a deterrent.
official act – or failure to act – is subject to criminal bribery statutes in every state. This kind of quid pro quo can be difficult to prove. Moreover, states need gift rules which take into account that gifts are an obvious way of building personal relationships, gaining attention, providing a chance to talk in an informal setting, demonstrating good will, and supporting a certain position – all ways of indirectly influencing action by a public official or employee.\(^\text{10}\)

Gifts from sources with a substantial reason to influence the recipient obviously pose the most serious ethical risks. In the case of a legislator, a high risk is posed when he or she is given gifts from a lobbyist, a lobbyist’s principal or someone acting on behalf of a lobbyist. High-risk sources are broader in the case of an executive branch official or employee, including not only lobbyists, but also government contractors and entities subject to licensing and regulation.

All gifts from these high-risk sources should be prohibited. However, states rules vary considerably and are often confusing with different rules applying to legislators and executive branch officials and employees. Few states prohibit all gifts, regardless of the source; while others apply an objective test to determine whether a gift is proper by asking would a reasonable person believe that the gift would tend to influence the recipient’s official action. Others focus on a subjective test of whether the gift giver had the intent to influence an act of the recipient or rely entirely on criminal bribery statutes. In all cases, there are usually numerous exceptions.\(^\text{11}\)

**CAMPAIGN FINANCE**

Outside money in elections has dramatically increased since the Supreme Court’s ruling on Citizens’ United in 2010, allowing corporations and unions to use their treasury funds to pay for independent expenditures and electioneering communications.\(^\text{12}\) Shortly after the Citizens’ United decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit struck down the federal contribution limits for “independent expenditure committees.”\(^\text{13}\) The court ruled that contributions to political action committees (PACs) that make only independent expenditures cannot be limited. These independent expenditure-only committees are commonly referred to today as ‘Super PACs’.

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\(^\text{10}\) The clearest example is the case of VA Governor Robert McDonnell, who accepted cash, designer clothes and other gifts from a person seeking state action from Virginia government officials. McDonnell was acquitted on federal charges, which required proof that the Governor had taken “official acts” in return for these gifts. Since McDonnell's actions had been limited to setting up meetings and making introductions, the court determined his conduct did not constitute “official acts.” McDonnell v. United States, 136 S. Ct. 2355 (2016). At the time these events took place, Virginia had no ethics agency and such gifts were not prohibited by state law. Laura Vozella, Washington Post, *Virginia legislature adopts stricter gift standards for public officials* (Apr. 17, 2015).

\(^\text{11}\) Many of the exceptions are fairly standard, such as gifts from family members, coffee or tea during a meeting, a momentum for giving a speech. Others are more questionable, such as the exclusions of meals and entertainment for Pennsylvania lawmakers which do not exceed $650.


\(^\text{13}\) SpeechNow v. Federal Elections Commission, No. 08-5223, D.C. Cir. (2010)
On the federal level, Super PACs are not subject to the same campaign spending limits that apply to PACs. In addition to raising money from individuals and corporations, Super PACs may accept money from entities such as limited liability companies (LLCs), or social welfare organizations, trade associations, labor unions and other entities subject to provisions of Section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code. The LLCs which contribute to Super PACs do not have to disclose their beneficial owners and, similarly, 501(c) organizations do not have to publicly disclose their donors. So while these entities are disclosed as donors to Super PACs, the original source of funding remains hidden. Some information about 501(c)(4) donors had been available through IRS filings, but in July 2018 the Internal Revenue Service revised its regulations to end the requirement for 501(c)(4) groups to disclose the names of their large donors to the IRS.

The amount of Super PAC campaign-related spending is astounding. According to a new report from Issue One, the top 15 donors to Super PACs gave $600 million between January 2010 and December 2016, accounting for more than 75 percent of the money spent by these organizations during that time period.

Every state has its own rules on PACs and Super PACS and, with rare exceptions, there is a similar lack of transparency with respect to the underlying donors. If voters know the ultimate sources behind campaign spending, they are better able to assess the credibility of the campaign advertisements financed by independent spenders, as well as judge the candidates themselves.

The question about campaign finance regulation has two parts. The first part, asks if “independent spenders” must reveal the identities of their contributors. These spenders may be PACs, LLCs, SuperPACs, 501(c) organizations—any person making independent expenditures. In general, the states require disclosure of donors with variations on the threshold amount for reporting. The second part asks more narrowly about truly "dark money" in the context of independent expenditures. If a 501(c) group or an LLC contributes to the entity making independent expenditures, must that entity disclose the 501(c) group’s funders or the beneficial owners of the LLCs? At this level, anonymity prevails and voters have no way of knowing who is behind the independent campaign ads. Unfortunately, only a few states even begin to address this second level of disclosure.

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14. A recent court ruling in CREW v. FEC and Crossroads Grassroots Policy Strategies, No. 16-259, D.C. Cir. (2018), should lead to additional disclosure of donors by 501(c)(4)s which contribute to Super PACs. On Sept. 18, 2018, the Supreme Court refused to stay the entry into force of the D.C. District Court ruling invalidating certain Federal donor disclosure rules. It is not likely that the Federal Election Commission, which has been deadlocked in the past, will issue new rules on the subject quickly. As a result, there is much uncertainty about the scope of disclosure required. Josh Gerstein And Maggie Severn, Politico, “Supreme Court move could spur more dark-money disclosure” (Sept. 18, 2018).


CLIENT DISCLOSURE

According to the National Conference of State Legislators, only ten state legislatures provide full-time employment at reasonable salary levels, while 14 are part-time with quite low compensation, requiring legislators to have other sources of income in order to make a living. Regardless of whether their employment is full or part-time or in between, almost all state legislators have reported some sort of outside income creating a huge opportunity for conflicts of interest.

The Center for Public Integrity and The Associated Press reviewed the financial disclosure forms of 6,933 state legislators and discovered that “three out of four lawmakers had income from other employment.” The report described numerous examples of state legislators acting in their own financial interest and the interest of their clients.

In most states where legislators are required to file a financial disclosure form, they are required to report the name of their employer so some information is available to judge whether their legislative actions pose a conflict of interest. The question, however, addresses the requirement to disclose client names – an equally important source of potential conflict.

What Did We Find?

The Index of States With Anti-Corruption Measures for Public officials (S.W.A.M.P.) scores the 50 States and the District of Columbia based on answers to the eight questions described above: scope and independence of ethics agencies, powers of those agencies, acceptance and disclosure of gifts by public officials, transparency of funding independent expenditures and client disclosure by legislators.

The index uses a scale of 0 to 100, where 100 is a perfect score. There is wide variation in state laws and regulations governing ethics and transparency in the executive and legislative branches. The chart on the next page illustrates the number of states in the five scoring ranges: 0-20%, 21%-40%, 41%-60%, 61%-80% and 81%-100%.
No state achieved a perfect score, and in fact, no state qualified for the top 20th percentile.

- 36 states score below 60% and 21 states score below 50%.
- Three states, Washington (78%), Rhode Island (75%) and California (75%) land at the top of the score chart.
- New Mexico, which scored 36% has a proposed constitutional amendment on the November 2018 ballot to create an ethics commission. The proposed measure gives the commission the authority to investigate and adjudicate ethics violations.
- North Dakota, which scored 0, also has a measure on the November 2018 ballot to amend the
North Dakota Constitution to create an independent ethics commission. However, the ballot measure is silent on the scope or powers of the commission.

- Vermont, which created an ethics commission earlier this year, scores 37% but the commission has no independent investigative authority, no authority to issue subpoenas or hold public hearings with respect to complaints and no authority to sanction violations.

- By contrast, Washington State which scored 78% has an Executive Ethics Board and a Legislative Ethics Board, both of which have authority to independently investigate, hold public hearings, issue reprimands and impose fines. The state also has strong gift rules which prohibit elected and appointed executive branch officials and legislators from accepting more than $50 worth of gifts, in aggregate, in a calendar year or in a single gift from multiple sources.

ETHICS AGENCIES

Question 1: Is there an ethics agency, with the authority to conduct its own investigations, including public hearings and subpoena power?

15 states got a perfect score on Question 1. This means they have one or more ethics agencies with jurisdiction over the executive branch (appointed, elected, and employees) and legislators. In addition, these agencies have the powers necessary to conduct independent investigations, compel testimony and documents through subpoenas.

The graph displays the distribution of scores for Question 1. The potential score ranges from 0 points to 10 points.

Scope of Coverage of Independent Ethics Agencies

- Five states (Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming) have no independent ethics agencies whatsoever so they received a score of 0 for Question 1. There are ballot
initiatives that will be voted on in the November 2018 election in New Mexico and North Dakota to create independent ethics agencies.

‣ New Mexico’s proposed amendment stipulates that the commission will have the authority to investigate and adjudicate ethics violations and have subpoena power.

‣ The Vermont State Ethics Commission, which came into being on January 1 of this year, has no investigative authority and no power to issue subpoenas, hold public hearings or sanction violations.

‣ The scope of jurisdiction varies from state to state, though in a majority of states (29) all executive branch officials and employees and legislators are covered by an independent ethics agency.

‣ Three states (Delaware, Maryland, and Montana) have full jurisdiction over the executive branch, but limited jurisdiction over legislators. Delaware and Maryland have jurisdiction over the members of the General Assembly solely regarding financial disclosure, while in Montana the ethics agency cannot investigate if a complaint involves a “legislative act”.

‣ Four states (Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and South Dakota) have ethics agencies with jurisdiction over the executive branch officials and employees, but not legislators.

‣ The 10 remaining states have independent ethics agencies with mixed jurisdictions. For example, Utah’s ethics agency has authority only over elected officials.

**Authority to Conduct Investigations, Hold Public Hearings, and Subpoena**

‣ Of the 46 states with independent ethics agencies that have jurisdiction over all or most executive branch officials and employees:
  - 36 can initiate and conduct their own investigations
  - 27 are required to hold public hearings
  - 42 have subpoena power

‣ Of the 42 states with independent ethics agencies that have jurisdiction over legislators for at least some rules:
  - 33 states have the full authority to conduct investigations
Question 2: Does the ethics agency have the ability to sanction, including personnel actions, injunctions, and fines?

Having an independent ethics agency is important, but an ethics agency without the ability to act on its findings and sanction offenders is meaningless. States that received full credit for this question have one or more ethics agencies with jurisdiction over the executive and legislative branch, with the power to take personnel actions (including termination of an official not subject to impeachment), enjoin an official and impose fines.

- Only three states (Louisiana, New Jersey and Rhode Island) received full credit on question two because their sanctioning power extends to legislators and that power included all forms of sanction (other than termination for elected officials).
- Another three states (Alaska, Indiana and Iowa) have robust powers, but only with respect to the executive branch.
- Of the 11 states which received 0 points, five are those without any independent ethics agency (Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, North Dakota and Wyoming). Six state agencies have no ability to sanction or impose fines (Florida, Maine, Michigan, Utah, Vermont and Virginia).

Question 3: Are the members of the ethics agency protected from removal without cause?

To receive full points for this question the members of the independent ethics agency must be protected from removal without cause through statutory language.

- 28 states statutorily protect the members of their ethics agencies which have jurisdiction over both the executive and legislative branch from removal without cause and received full credit.
- An additional six states have legislative ethics agencies whose members are protected from removal without cause.
Some states only have jurisdiction over a particular branch and received partial credit. For example, there is statutory language relating to removal of members of two of the three ethics agencies in Alaska and none protecting the members of the third agency.

Nine states with independent ethics agencies did not have statutory protections from removal without cause for their members (Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Nevada, Oregon, Virginia and Wisconsin).

**GIFTS**

Our questions ask about two classes of rules – rules pertaining to gifts from high-risk sources (lobbyists, lobbyists’ principals, and government contractors) and rules for all others.

In order to receive full points for Questions 4 and 5 states need to have a prohibition on all gifts regardless of the source or a cap on aggregate receipts of $250 or more. In addition, there should be no loopholes in the gift definition beyond fairly standard exceptions. (Standard exceptions include gifts from family members, tea or coffee at meetings, or honoraria for speeches).

- Three states (New Hampshire, New Mexico and Washington) got a perfect score for both Questions 4 and 5.

- Overall, with a few exceptions, the laws prohibiting or limiting gifts to executive branch officials are stronger than those applied to legislators.

- Gift rules for high-risk sources are much stronger.

**Question 4:** Are elected and appointed executive branch officials and legislators prohibited from accepting gifts from high-risk sources (lobbyists, lobbyists’ principals, government contractors) in an aggregate of $250 or more?

- 16 states received a perfect score because they prohibit or cap aggregate receipts for gifts at $250 for legislators and executive branch officials and the laws have only standard exceptions.
Six states (Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey and New York) got a perfect score for their laws pertaining to executive branch officials, but only a ‘Moderate’ score for their treatment of legislators.

Four states (South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Wisconsin) got a perfect score for legislators but only a ‘Moderate’ score for the executive branch.

Two states (North Dakota and Missouri) received a score of 0 because they have no explicit prohibitions on gifts.

Nine states (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Montana, Nebraska and Nevada) received a ‘Moderate’ score (a score of 7) for their treatment of both executive officials and legislators. This means that covered officials’ gift acceptance turns on an objective test (a reasonable person’s perception of “tendency to influence”) OR else they may accept gifts from some high-risk sources, but others are prohibited.

Seven states (Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Texas and Wyoming) received a ‘Minimal’ score (a score of 3) for their treatment of both executive officials and legislators because the rule relies either on a criminal statute or the test was a subjective one (i.e. the gift giver’s intent).

Question 5: Are elected and appointed executive branch officials and legislators prohibited from accepting gifts from persons other than high-risk sources in an aggregate of $250 or more?

8 states received a ‘Moderate’ score for their treatment of both executive officials and legislators. This means that gift acceptance turns on an objective test (a reasonable person’s perception of “tendency to influence”) or is subject to a broad category of exceptions.
22 states received a ‘Minimal’ score for their treatment of both executive officials and legislators. This means that gift acceptance is governed by a criminal statute or turns on a subjective test (the gift giver’s “intent to influence”) or the annual limit was above $250, or the gift definition excludes gifts of $250 or less.

Question 6: Are elected and appointed executive branch officials and legislators required to publicly disclose gifts that they receive?

There is a large amount of variation among state gift disclosure requirements. In order to receive full credit for this question, states must require full public disclosure of every gift below $250 in aggregate value.

- 13 states got a perfect score.
- 19 states received a score of 0. This means there is no public disclosure of any gifts, regardless of the source.
- Some states had high reporting thresholds, such as Arizona, Kansas, and Illinois ($500), New York ($1,000) or Pennsylvania ($650 for entertainment and meals accepted by legislators).
- Other states only required reporting of gifts from lobbyists or high-risk sources (Maryland, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia) or related to certain gifts (New Hampshire and Washington).

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Question 7: Does the state require reporting of contributors to independent spenders?
The question has two levels of inquiry. The first part asks if “independent spenders” must reveal the identity of contributors who donated to them. These spenders may be PACs, LLCs, SuperPACs or 501(c) organizations. Most states follow the federal disclosure rules, though with varying thresholds for contributions. The second level asks more narrowly about truly “dark money” in the independent expenditure context: if a 501(c) group or an LLC contributes to the entity making independent expenditures, must the 501(c) group’s funders be disclosed as well, or the beneficial owners of the LLCs? On this level, we have found very few states with piercing disclosure requirements.

- California requires 501(c) organizations which contribute to “SuperPACs” to file disclosure reports. Those reports must contain the name of any person who has made over $1000 in donations to the 501(c) (unless it was specifically earmarked not to be a part of political contributions or expenditures).

- The District of Columbia Office of Campaign Finance can require a business contributor, including a LLC, to provide information about its individual owners, the identity of affiliated entities, the individual owners of affiliated entities, the contributions or expenditures made by such entities, and any other information the deemed relevant to enforcing the provisions of the campaign finance rules.

- In Delaware and Ohio, there is minimal additional reporting of owners of LLCs which contribute to independent spenders.

- Alaska, Connecticut, Maryland and Minnesota have minimal additional reporting requirement for donors to 501(c) organizations which contribute to independent expenditures.

**CLIENT DISCLOSURE**

**Question 8: Do legislators have to disclose client names as part of their financial disclosure reports?**

Client disclosure is an important way to determine whether a legislator has a conflict of interest in matters on which he or she acts or refrains from acting. It is not sufficient to list the name of the employer, such as a consulting firm. The potential conflict arises from the clients for whom the legislator provides services, as an employee of that firm.
Only Oregon got a perfect score. Oregon requires that legislators must disclose the identity of each person for whom the person has performed services for a fee greater than $1,000 if that person has a “legislative or administrative interest or that has been doing business, does business or could reasonably be expected to do business with the governmental agency of which the public official holds, or the candidate if elected would hold, an official position or over which the public official exercises, or the candidate if elected would exercise, any authority.”

17 states received partial credit because they had some client disclosure requirements. Some states require reporting if the client is a lobbyist or if the service provided requires interaction with a state agency. Others define a very narrow class of clients or limit disclosure to very specific and narrowly defined circumstances.

What Needs to Be Done?

- Voters should demand commitments to address the shortcomings in their state ethical legal framework identified in this report.
- In states without an independent ethics agency or ones with limited jurisdiction or power, this means a constitutional amendment where required or legislative action if possible.
- States with a stronger legal framework should focus on adequate funding of their ethics agencies, effective enforcement of the rules and enhanced transparency.
- Legislators should hold themselves to high standards and not be subject to less stringent rules than those applied to the executive branch.
## Appendix 1: State Rankings Table

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<th>State</th>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>75%</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
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<td>72%</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
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*Note: Our final scores are rounded to the nearest percent. Because of this several states appear to have the same score, however, only two states – Oregon and Illinois – received the exact same score. This is reflected as a tie in the official rankings. For more information on the precise scores see our Score Chart.*
Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Coalition for Integrity. The project was managed by Shruti Shah, President and CEO of the Coalition for Integrity. The research team was led by Laurie Sherman, Policy Advisor at the Coalition for Integrity. The research team consisted of Richard Skinner, Simon Sheaff, and Jess Unger. Additional support was provided by Jenna Bauer and Carina Tenaglia.

A Policy Advisory Committee of acknowledged policy experts reviewed the interim findings and contributed to the conclusions and recommendations on a pro-bono basis. We would like to recognize and thank:

- Cynthia Canary, Former Executive Director at Illinois Campaign for Political Reform, Member, Coalition for Integrity Board of Directors
- Kevin Davis, Beller Family Professor of Business Law, New York University School of Law, Member, Coalition for Integrity Board of Directors
- Paul Lagunes, Assistant Professor of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University
- Susan Rose-Ackerman, Professor Emeritus of Law and Political Science, Yale University
- Matthew Stephenson, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

The Coalition for Integrity is also grateful to the following firms for generously donating their time and expertise:

- The Mintz Group
- Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP
- King & Spalding LLP
- Covington & Burling LLP
- Baker McKenzie

While Coalition for Integrity benefited greatly from the advice provided by the foregoing persons and firms, this report, including its conclusions and recommendations, represents the views of the Coalition for Integrity and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Policy Advisory Committee, the listed firms or others that provided time and services to the report.
If the Board is interested in providing legislative recommendations in 2019, then it is appropriate for the Board to identify subject areas now so that staff can begin the process of drafting specific language for introduction. This memo provides topics identified by staff for Board consideration. Board members should of course feel free to bring forth other ideas at the meeting. Draft statutory language for recommendations will be brought back to the Board in January for approval before forwarding any recommendations to the legislature.

The possible recommendations in this memo are grouped by program area, and then technical changes are listed separately from policy recommendations. If the Board decides to offer recommendations, it may be advisable to split the technical issues into a separate bill.

Members will recall from 2018 that the legislative process is not particularly predictable. Some of the Board’s recommendations were enacted; some were never heard in committee. I believe that there are three precursors for success in seeing any potential recommendations passed.

- **Bipartisan support.** If authors and co-authors from both parties in both the Senate and House will not sign on to the legislation prior to introduction, then I strongly recommend that the Board not actively pursue passage of the legislation. There are long run ramifications for the Board in pressing for legislation that is supported by members of only one party. In order to secure bipartisan support it may be necessary to drop one or more recommendations from the bill. For example, last year the Board’s recommendation for a two-tier disclosure system for the economic interest statement was simply a nonstarter in one body.

- **Support of the incoming governor.** As this memo is written I have no idea who will be the next governor, or if the new administration will have any particular interest in Chapter 10A. The new governor must be in agreement with, or at least not in opposition to, the recommendations. Regardless of party legislators often tell me that they are not willing to support or work on legislation if the governor has concerns on proposed legislation.

- **The recommendations should be limited in scope.** I do not mean that significant policy issues are to be avoided. However, there is only so much time and attention that the legislature has to dedicate to Chapter 10A in any given year. If the Board does wish to move forward with recommendations, it will also
need to prioritize which issues are of greatest concern, and realize that some issues may need to wait until another year.

Economic interest statement program.

Technical

• **Ensure that Minnesota State Colleges and Universities trustees and its chancellor continue to file EIS statements.** MNSCU trustees and chancellor are currently filing EIS statements as public officials. However, it appears that a 2002 change in the definition of public official inadvertently excluded the MNSCU trustees and chancellor from the requirement to file the EIS statement, and from the gift prohibition. In other words, their disclosure is being provided voluntarily. Given that the MNSCU Board makes decisions regarding the expenditure of millions of dollars in public funds it would be advisable to make the EIS disclosure required.

• **Eliminate requirement that local governments provide a notice of appointment for local officials to the Board.** Minnesota Statutes section 10A.09, subdivision 2, requires local governments to notify the Board whenever they hire or accept an affidavit of candidacy from a local official who is required to file a statement of economic interest with that local entity. The notice must include the name of the local official and the date of the employment or filing. The Board, however, never uses this information because local officials do not file with the Board. Therefore, most local governments do not bother to file the notice.

• **Enterprise Minnesota, Inc. contribution statement.** Minnesota Statutes section 116O.03, subdivision 9, and section 116O.04, subdivision 3, require members of the Enterprise Minnesota, Inc. Board of Directors and its president to file statements with the Campaign Finance Board showing contributions to any public official, political committee or fund, or political party unit. These statements must cover the four years prior to the person’s appointment and must be updated annually. The information on these statements, however, is already reported by the recipients to the Campaign Finance Board or, for county commissioners, to the county auditor. This disclosure therefore is repetitive and not helpful to the public. Staff is also not sure why this disclosure is required only of members of the Enterprise Minnesota, Inc. Board of Directors and its president.

• **Clarify economic interest statement reporting periods.** Minnesota Statutes section 10A.09, subdivision 6, clearly spells out the reporting period for an annual statement. There is no such language defining the reporting period for an original statement. This creates confusion among filers and, in some cases, inconsistent disclosure between public officials. Additionally, EIS forms are divided into five disclosure schedules, none of which have the same reporting period for an original statement. A standardization of the reporting period requirement would simplify completing the statement.
Policy

- Establish a two-tiered disclosure system. Disclosure required for soil and water conservation district supervisors, members of watershed districts and watershed management organizations, and perhaps some other public officials with very limited authority would not include financial investments. A higher level of disclosure would remain for other public officials. The Board made this recommendation in 2018, but it was not included in the legislation that passed.

- New disclosure. Require public officials to disclose direct or indirect interests in government contracts. Require public officials to list all fiduciary duty obligations.

- Disclosure for spouse. Increase disclosure on the EIS to include the occupation and investments of the public official’s spouse. The Board made this recommendation in 2018, but it was not included in the legislation that passed. Some legislators said that they would be willing to reconsider the issue in 2019.

Campaign finance program

Technical

- Affidavit of contribution deadline. Minnesota Statutes section 10A.323 provides that the affidavit of contributions required to qualify for a public subsidy payment must be submitted “by the deadline for reporting of receipts and expenditures before a primary under section 10A.20, subdivision 4.” The cross-reference to section 10A.20, subdivision 4, is incorrect as the deadline for submitting the pre-primary report is set in section 10A.20, subdivision 2.

- Update multicandidate political party expenditures. Minnesota Statutes section 10A.275 provides five specific ways that a political party may spend money that does not constitute a contribution to a candidate. The list includes funds spent for a phone bank as long as the call includes the name of three or more individuals who will appear on the ballot. This provision could be updated to include direct text message service, direct voice mail services, and e-mails that meet the same standard.

In addition, Minnesota Statutes section 10A.275 cross-references Minnesota Statutes section 10A.20, subdivision 3, paragraph (g), for a reporting standard. However, section 10A.20, subdivision 3, was renumbered in 2013, and the correct reference is actually paragraph (h).

- Eliminate disclosure requirement for shared expenditures incurred by federal and state committees of same political party. The federal committee of a state political party unit is an unregistered association under Chapter 10A. Under federal law, the federal committee must initially pay for expenditures that are shared with the state committee. For example, if the federal committee for the RPM and the state central committee for the RPM share office space or staff costs, the federal committee must pay for the costs, at least initially. This creates a contribution to the state RPM from an unregistered association, which in turn triggers significant disclosure requirements with little or no practical benefit to the public. The unique relationship between national and state party units is already
recognized in Minnesota Statutes section 10.27, subdivision 13, paragraph (d), which exempts a national political party from providing the disclosure statement required of unregistered associations when the national party makes a contribution to the state central committee of the same party. Expanding the exception to include contributions from the federal committee of a state party unit would eliminate this problem.

- **Accept a web address for the disclosure required with contributions from unregistered associations.** An unregistered association that provides a contribution of over $200 to a committee registered with the Board (excluding independent expenditure committees and funds) must provide a disclosure statement with the contribution equivalent to the report of receipts and expenditures required in Chapter 10A. The committee that accepts the contribution then forwards the disclosure from the unregistered association to the Board, where it is kept on file in our office. In many cases, the unregistered association is a federal committee, and the disclosure statement is an FEC report which may be hundreds of pages long.

This recommendation would allow the unregistered association to provide either a written statement or a web address where the disclosure report may be viewed online. This change would still provide the same information currently required, but would provide a way to reduce paper filings and also provide better access to the disclosure.

- **Clarify procedures used for Board investigations.** The current process of evaluating a complaint with a prima facie determination, and then a probable cause hearing, is generally working well. However, the statute could provide direction on the following situations:
  
  - When multiple complaints are filed on the same issue. Currently separate prima facie and probable cause determinations are required for each complaint. Clarify that the Board may consolidate similar complaints.
  
  - When a complaint is filed on an issue already under investigation by the Board. Currently the Board must issue another prima facie determination and hold another probable cause determination even though it is already investigating an issue.
  
  - When a complaint is filed on a reporting issue. For example, a complaint could be filed for the failure to file a report on time. The late report is already accruing late fees and possible civil penalties. Is the Board required to accept a complaint on a late report already being penalized as provided in statute?

**Policy**

- **Express advocacy – functional equivalent.** To be classified as an independent expenditure a communication must use words of express advocacy (vote for, elect, support, cast your ballot for, Smith for Congress, vote against, defeat, and reject). The words of express advocacy test is based on the Buckley v. Valeo Supreme Court decision in 1976. In subsequent cases, (McConnell v. Federal Election Commission in 2003 and Federal Election Commission v.
Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc. in 2007) the Supreme Court has adopted a functional equivalent of express advocacy standard that recognizes that communications can easily convey support for or opposition to a candidate while avoiding use of the “magic words.” A possible recommendation would be to amend the definition of independent expenditure to include both words of express advocacy and their functional equivalent.

The Board should know that this recommendation was offered before as part of a much broader package of recommendations on independent expenditures. The legislature declined to pass any part of that recommendation. Nonetheless, I have been approached by legislators from both parties who are concerned about the increase in mailers in their districts that are clearly intended to influence voting, but which are not identified as independent expenditures. On this one issue related to independent expenditures, I believe there is potential for some bipartisan agreement.

**Lobbying program**

**Technical**

- **Limit receptions allowed as an exception to the gift prohibition to events held outside of the Capitol.** Minnesota Statutes section 10A.071, subdivision 3, provides exceptions to the general prohibition on gifts from lobbyists or principals to public officials. Among the listed exceptions is “the recipient is a member or employee of the legislature and an invitation to attend the reception, meal, or meeting was provided to all members of the legislature at least five days prior to the date of the event.” In 2018, a principal provided a meal at the Capitol during session using this exception. The public perception of the event was not good as staff received several inquiries from concerned citizens about the propriety of the event.

**Policy**

- **Major rewrite of the reporting requirements for lobbyists.** The information required in disbursement reports submitted by lobbyists is focused on the operational costs of lobbying. For example, Minnesota Statutes section 10A.04, subdivision 4, requires the lobbyist to report the amount spent on postage, travel, telephone and telegraph, and other similar expenses. Frankly, I would suggest that much of the disclosure provided on disbursement reports is irrelevant to understanding lobbying in Minnesota, which could explain the lack of media or public interest in lobbying disbursement reports.

In place of the current disclosure, the Board recommendation would instead focus on disclosure of the specific legislation on which lobbying occurred. The disclosure would provide the subjects, and if applicable the bill numbers, that the lobbyist worked on during the reporting period. This would provide a better understanding of what issues are important to the over 1,400 principals represented in the state, and insight into the effort made by these organizations to influence public policy.
DATE: November 7, 2018

TO: Board Members
Counsel Hartshorn

FROM: Andrew Olson, Legal/Management Analyst

SUBJECT: Enforcement report for consideration at the November 7, 2018 Board meeting

A. Consent item

1. Request for administrative termination of lobbyist registration – Cari-Ann Alleman
Ms. Alleman’s principal association, the Minnesota Association of Townships (MAT), notified Board staff that Ms. Alleman is no longer an employee, effective July 18, 2018. MAT is asking the Board to accept an unsigned lobbyist termination statement for Ms. Alleman. Ms. Alleman’s disbursements have been reported by MAT’s designated lobbyist, Gary Pedersen.

B. Waiver requests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee/Entity</th>
<th>Late Fee/Civil Penalty</th>
<th>Report Due</th>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Most Recent Balance</th>
<th>Previous Waivers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Robert Wright (18391)</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF $200 CP</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary Candidate only received and spent $100. He registered a committee but thought he did not have to file a report unless he crossed the $750 threshold.</td>
<td>$0</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>womenwinning State PAC (40268)</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF $500 CP</td>
<td>May 2018 Report was submitted via EveryAction (NGP VAN software) on the due date. The committee states that a software glitch led them to believe the report had been filed. The committee filed its pre-general report on time using NGP VAN software.</td>
<td>$5,072</td>
<td>2 $500 LFFs for 24-hour notices reduced to $100 each in June 2009. Their staff was unaware that 24-hour notices applied to political committees.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Raymond Dehn (17318)</td>
<td>$50 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>An attempt was made to submit the report via NGP VAN software on the due date. However, the report was rejected by our server as it was not accompanied by a valid committee ID. After being notified that the report was not received they filed it successfully the following day.</td>
<td>$5,015</td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Veterans Party of Minnesota (41178)</td>
<td>Pre-primary: $1,000 LFF $400 CP Pre-primary and September: $200 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>Both the treasurer and chair were ordered to active duty military service. The chair provided a copies of his orders showing he was on active duty from July 3 through September 28.</td>
<td>$353</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>AGC PAC (40098)</td>
<td>$100 LFF</td>
<td>May 2018</td>
<td>This was the new treasurer's first report. He thought the report was filed on time. Based on our logs it appears he downloaded files June 14 via CFR but didn't actually upload the report until June 18. Please note that we initially sent AGC PAC a letter stating the report was never filed, but we later learned the report was uploaded June 18 then deleted from our server in error, so the amount owed was changed from $1,700 to $100.</td>
<td>$6,695</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>42nd Senate District DFL (20858)</td>
<td>$300 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>New treasurer had difficulty getting records from old treasurer, the new treasurer's computer crashed in June, and the new treasurer was dealing with his mother-in-law's health issues and then her death on July 29.</td>
<td>$29,727</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>MN Operators of Music and Amusements PAC Fund (30694)</td>
<td>$600 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>This was the Treasurer's second report. He stated that he has been dealing with medical issues throughout the past year and now has a back-up person in place in case he is out of the office.</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Building Trades C1 PAC Fund (30617)</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>Relatively new person was made responsible for filing the report. She was apparently confused by information contained in a notice they received regarding the requirement to file 24-hour notices and thought they didn't need to file a pre-primary report unless they gave over $1,000 in contributions to other committees.</td>
<td>$111</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PAC Name</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Messerli &amp; Kramer PAC (40786)</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF</td>
<td>24-Hour Notice Pre-primary</td>
<td>$2,000 contribution was received 7/30. The Treasurer self-reported the error and states the timing of the contribution did not benefit the committee. The largest outgoing contribution during the 24-hour reporting period (July 24 - August 13) was for $250. All contributions from the committee to another committee or candidate during that period total $850 (including $250 given to a local candidate) and the committee had plenty of money to cover those outgoing contributions regardless of the contribution received 7/30.</td>
<td>$2,053</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Maiv PAC (41158)</td>
<td>$1,000 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>This was the Treasurer's second report. She stated that she forgot to put the deadline for the pre-primary report on her calendar. She states she has entered upcoming deadlines into her personal calendar and the calendar used by the committee.</td>
<td>$1,182</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Minneapolis Downtown Council PAC (70017)</td>
<td>$50 LFF</td>
<td>2018 Pre-primary</td>
<td>Treasurer did not have access to her computer on the due date and filed the report the next day.</td>
<td>$316</td>
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C. Informational Items

1. Deposit to the General Fund
   Lyndon Carlson, $30
   Alice Mann, $50

2. Payment of a late filing fee for July 30 2018, report of receipts and expenditures
   3rd CD GPM, $100
   4th CD IPMN, $100
   12th SD DFL, $100
   Matt Bliss, $50
   Omar Fateh, $400
   Sarah Hamlin, $50
   Frank Horstein, $100
   Maplewood City DFL, $150
   MN School Counselors PAC, $150
   MPS PAC, $50
   Precinct 12 DFL, $50
   Wyatt-Yerka, $50

3. Payment of a civil penalty for Lobbyist contribution during Legislative Session 2018
   Sarah Stoesz, $75

4. Payment of a civil penalty for Political Action Committee contribution during Legislative Session 2018
   IUPAT Dist. Council 82, $75

5. Payment for a late filing fee for Economic Interest Statement 2018
   Doug Wardlow, $85

6. Payment of a late filing fee and civil penalty for 2018 Pre-primary report
   7A HD RPM, $200
   MN State Council of UNITE Here, $200

7. Payment of a late filing fee for 24 hr. reporting of large contributions for 2018 Pre-primary report
   Cindy Yang, $300

8. Payment of a civil penalty for July 30, 2018, report of receipt and expenditures.
   Jen Kader, $100
Minnesota Campaign Finance Board
190 Centennial Office Building, 656 Cedar St, St Paul, MN 55155
https://cfb.mn.gov/

Lobbyist Termination Statement

Filing instructions

- This statement must be completed and filed with a Lobbyist Disbursement Report when terminating a lobbyist registration.
- This form may be emailed to cf.board@state.mn.us or faxed to 651-539-1196 or 800-357-4114.
- All information on this form or report is public information and may be published on the Board's website at https://cfb.mn.gov/
- Do not use pencil or red ink to complete this form.
- Board staff may also be reached by phone at 651-539-1187 or 800-657-3889 or by email at cf.board@state.mn.us.

Lobbyist information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of lobbyist</th>
<th>Registration number</th>
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<tr>
<td>CARI-ANN P. ALLEMAN</td>
<td>4288</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Telephone (Daytime)</th>
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<tr>
<td>PO BOX 267</td>
<td>763-497-2330</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City, state, zip</th>
<th>Name of association, individual, political subdivision or public higher education system represented</th>
<th>Registration number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAINT MICHAEL MN 55376-0267</td>
<td>MINNESOTA ASSOCIATION OF TOWNSHIPS</td>
<td>0469</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Date of termination: 7/18/2018

Certification

I, CARI-ANN P. ALLEMAN, certify that this report is complete, true, and correct.

Signature unavailable: no longer an employee 9/17/2018

Signature of lobbyist Date

Any person who signs and certifies to be true a report or statement which the person knows contains false information, or who knowingly omits required information, is subject to a civil penalty imposed by the Board of up to $3,000 and is subject to criminal prosecution for a gross misdemeanor.

This document is available in alternative formats to individuals with disabilities by calling 651-539-1180, 800-657-3889, or through the Minnesota Relay Service at 800-627-3529.
CFBEmail

From: Julie Lenneman <jlenneman@mntownships.org>
Sent: Monday, September 17, 2018 10:36 AM
To: CFBEmail
Subject: C. Alleman lobbyist forms

Minnesota Association of Townships #0469

In my email to your office on June 21, 2018, I mentioned that an additional form for Cari Ann P. Alleman would be forthcoming.

Therefore, please accept the attached Lobbyist forms as follows:

1. Cari-Ann P. Alleman #4288
   a. Lobbyist Amended Registration
      i. Changing the Association designated lobbyist to Steven M. Fenske (#3424)
       1. Previous Association designated lobbyist was Gary L. Pedersen (#2825)

   b. Lobbyist Termination Statement

You’ll see that neither form is signed by Cari-Ann; she is unavailable to sign due to her no longer being an employee. I will be happy to address any questions or concerns.

Thank you.

Julie A. Lenneman
Financial Director
MN Assn of Townships
P.O. Box 267
Saint Michael MN 55376
763/497-2330, ext. 148
800/228-0296 – MN toll free
763/497-3361 - fax
October 18, 2018

Minnesota Campaign Finance Board
190 Centennial Office Building
658 Cedar Street
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55155

Dear Board of Directors,

On behalf of the Minnesota Association of Townships, registration number 0469, please find enclosed a Lobbyist Termination Statement for Cari-Ann P. Alleman, registration number 4288.

After Ms. Alleman's employment ended on July 18, 2018, we made several attempts to obtain her signature.

We, hereby, ask that you accept this as an administratively termination, effective immediately.

Please confirm approval of Cari-Ann P. Alleman's termination at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Nathan H. Redalen, President
Minnesota Association of Townships
Hi Melissa,

Sorry for the email without an attachment. Here it is.

Best Regards,
Robert M Wright
(320) 281-4000

Quoting CFBEmail <cfb.reports@state.mn.us>:

Hi Robert,

Thank you for sending in your report. We also need you to send in the corresponding schedules that go with the In-Kind contribution and In-kind expenditure. You will only need to write in the amount at the bottom of each form where it states non-itemized amount. After we receive these forms we can terminate your committee.

Thank you,
Hi Megan,

Attached is the final report form to close out my committee.

I am requesting that you waive any late fees for filing a report of contributions and expenditures. I was under the impression that such a report was not required unless a committee expected to have contributions over a minimum amount of $750. I'm also nearly certain that I asked the person that I talked to there, about the form for qualifying for public funding, if there was anything else I needed to file, and being told no. The only contribution I had was what I spent myself on paper and toner and some minor items like notebooks and pens, estimated at about $100.

Best Regards,
Robert M Wright
Dear Ms. Engelhardt,

My name is Liz Young and I am the Director of Advancement at Women Winning. We received your letter assessing a $1,000 late fee and $500 penalty and we'd like to formally appeal the fees.

Attached to this email you will find a screenshot of a confirmed filing on the deadline from our database. Additionally, Gabe Combs with NGP/EveryAction has been working with Jeff Sigurdson at the CFB to track down the software glitch.

Given the circumstances, we request that the fine be nullified.

Please let me know if you have questions or need additional information. Thank you for your consideration.

Best,
Liz

--
Liz Young
Director of Advancement
Women Winning

2610 University Avenue West, Suite 325 | Saint Paul, MN 55114
Office: 651-493-1426 | Cell: 651-403-3320

WOMEN WINNING
She runs. We win.
Dear Rep. Dehn,

We will consider your screenshot as your request for a waiver for the late filing fee. The Board will consider your request on November 7, 2018, and we will let you know the Board’s determination after the Board meeting. Thank you.

Megan Engelhardt
Assistant Executive Director
Minnesota State Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board
190 Centennial Building
658 Cedar Street
St. Paul, MN 55155-1603
651-539-1182
Megan.Engelhardt@state.mn.us

Begin forwarded message:

From: Will Blauvelt <willblauvelt@gmail.com>
Date: September 25, 2018 at 12:23:05 PM CDT
To: Raymond Dehn <raymonddehn@gmail.com>
Subject: screenshot of filing record

If I remember correctly, we filed the evening of 7/30 (when it was due), then they told us they hadn't received it, so we filed it again the following afternoon if 7/31. Screenshot attached.
Megan Engelhardt,

Greetings,
I am Antonio Neries the Chair of the Veterans Party of Minnesota (VPorMN).
It is with great regret VPorMN is filing late. The reason is the Treasurer John Gruenfelder Lestmoe. and myself the Chair (Antonio Neries) have been on military orders. It is with great hope that we can appeal to the MN Campaign Finance Board and have are late fees waved? Please review the attached documents for our filings. I have also attached a copy of my military orders as to lay claim of being out of the country and state. VPorMN has also enlisted the services of a CPA to assist with future filings.

If possible, please destroy the copy of my military orders.

If you need further clarification please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very Respectfully
Antonio Neries IV
651-343-0520
info@vpmn.org
anerios13@gmail.com

On Wed, Oct 3, 2018 at 1:38 PM Engelhardt, Megan (CFB) <megan.engelhardt@state.mn.us> wrote:

Mr. Neries,

Here is a link to the registration form. Please click on the form that it is an amendment.

https://cfb.mn.gov/pdf/forms/PCF/PCF_Registration.pdf?t=1538591831

Megan Engelhardt
Ms. Megan Engelhardt, Assistant Executive Director  
Campaign Finance & Public Disclosure Board  
190 Centennial Office Building  
658 Cedar Street  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155-1603  

RE: Late Filing Fee and Civil Penalty assessed on September 21st, 2018  

Dear Ms. Engelhardt,  

We respectfully ask the board to waive our late filing fee and penalty assessed to the AGC PAC on September 21st, 2018.  

In late May, we had a transition of duties from our treasurer to a new person. Due to the timing, we needed to come up to speed quickly to fulfill our reporting responsibilities. We were notified in June that reports were due for the three reports that AGC is required to file. We filed all three reports through the CFB software. It was later determined that one of the reports was late and we were assessed a $50 fine, which we paid immediately. At this time, we believed we were in full compliance with the reporting requirements.  

In order for us to become better acquainted with the systems and processes of the CFB software, we determined that a staff person would attend and complete the software training offered through the board. The training was completed by mid-July. After training, we felt comfortable with the CFB software and the process. We filed all three reports at the end of July and received verification that all had been received. We felt we were making good progress in learning the complexities of the system. Again, we believed we were complying and did not receive communication stating otherwise.  

In September, we filed our reports due by the 25th on the 19th. On September 20th, we received a call from Melissa stating that our reports were not coming through correctly. Our accountant, Ty Bergren, asked if we could submit the reports again on the 21st. She stated yes. We resubmitted them and confirmed on Tuesday, September 25th that reports were received and that we were complying.
On September 25th, we received a mailed letter from the CFB stating our June report for the AGC PAC was never received and we were assessed a fine and penalty. We were never notified during this time of our non-compliant status. After speaking with you, it is unknown at what point or why there was a lapse in communication. Some possible scenarios could be the reports were not received by you due to an internet software glitch or our inexperience with the system in June. Nevertheless, we are asking the board to grant a one-time waiver for the accrued fees and penalties. We believe our efforts to be compliant demonstrate good faith and will prevent this situation from occurring in the future.

Thank you for your guidance and help in this process.

Tim Worke  
CEO, AGC of Minnesota
October 2, 2018

Megan Engelhardt
Assistant Executive Director
Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board
190 Centennial Office Building
658 Cedar Street
Saint Paul, MN 55155

Re: Late Report of Receipts and Expenditures for Senate District 42 DFL

Dear Ms. Engelhardt and Board:

There were three factors that influenced my report for our party unit being a few days late. I'll explain them from least to most impactful.

1. The outgoing treasurer wasn't particularly helpful.

   When I heard that our past treasurer wasn't seeking re-election I decided he job was something I could do, so I ran and was elected. I didn't know at the time all the reporting responsibilities of the role. After election I contacted the Campaign Finance Board (CFB) and heard that a good place to start was getting the electronic files from the outgoing treasurer. I did get paper files from him, but despite several requests I didn't get any electronic files. Because of things going on in my family, communication with him to get the files had competition from other responsibilities.

2. Computer crash in June

   Soon after election I started keeping my own records and building a party unit budget on my desktop computer. In mid-June it had a fatal hard drive crash. Despite having some of the information backed up, it meant reloading the CFB software and reentering information on my laptop.

3. Family challenges and responsibilities

   In late February my mother in law had a bad fall at the house she rented in Arizona which caused a serious concussion. When she was well enough to return to Minnesota the damage from the fall resulted in more falls and injuries. In early May the family decided to invoke power of attorney with her decreased cognition and the effects of pain medications. I was her attorney in fact. The issues of her medical needs and finding a place for her to recover, and live, took priority over the
CFB report in May and June. Of course we hoped for tests to find root causes, and therapies to bring healing, but things only got worse, and ended with her passing on July 29th. Dealing with funeral arrangements and all other matters of her estate have demanded a lot of my time. I've enclosed a copy of the power of attorney form, death certificate, and her will naming me executor of her estate as evidence of my time conflicts.

I've also enclosed a check for $300 to cover the fine if the board decides that is the just outcome.

Please accept my apologies for the late report. The pre-election report will be filed on time.

Sincerely,

William J. Fox
Treasurer, SD 42 DFL
Engelhardt, Megan (CFB)

From: Terry O'Hara <TerryO@mwcoin.com>
Sent: Wednesday, September 26, 2018 8:20 AM
To: Engelhardt, Megan (CFB)
Subject: Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board Late Fee

Dear Megan Engelhardt,

I am with the Minnesota Operators of Music and Amusements PAC Fund and just received a letter with a late fee of $600.00 for the Receipts and Expenditures report that was due on July 30th 2018. I am brand new at this and I now think I have a handle on how to report things and will get things in on time moving forward. I ask that you please waive the fee as I have been dealing with many medical issues over the last year and am still dealing with some. I now have back-up if I am out of the office so things should be done on time from now on.

Respectfully,

Terry O'Hara
Minnesota Operators of Music and Amusements PAC Fund
320-267-7137 cell
888-426-4641 office
Monday, September 24, 2018

Building Trades C1 PAC Fund
Registration Number 30617

Dear Campaign Finance and Disclosure Board,

I am writing you today to ask for a waiver of the fees involved with our failure to file our Receipts & Expenditures report for July 30, 2018. I would first like to apologize for my error and try to explain what I did wrong. I would also like to state that I am new here, and my year anniversary was June 5th.

The Building Trades C1 PAC Fund does not make a lot of donations, and the first one’s for this year were written out in June. Our total expenditures for the last two years to date, as been $2000, and our typical account balance is in the $800 range. Our most common expenditure is roughly $200, with one $500 one since the beginning of 2017.

In July I received two noticed within two days of each other. The first was asking to file the July report, and then the second one asked to file if you contributed over $1000. We hadn’t made any contributions that large, and so I think this is were my error came into play. I am not in the CFR program very often and am still learning how to use it. When I got the large contribution letter, I took that has not needing to file, since we had not made any large...
contributions. I did file in late August, and I did that one because I was in the system trying to update our addresses, I had to call and get help, and since I was in there it popped up a message about filing, so I did.

I understand that the error is mine, and I take full responsibility for it. I know that these filings are crucial to the work that is required of your offices, and that when I do not do my job, it makes your job harder; as well as the campaigns that have received contributions from our office. I apologize for my error and can assure you that I will not make this mistake in the future and have set up reminders in my outlook calendar to remind me to file my reports right away. I hope that you can see my human error and know that it was not done intentionally. I thank you for your time and appreciate it your consideration in this matter.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

Angela Thompson
Office Manager
Saint Paul Building Trades Council
353 W. 7th St., Suite 203
Saint Paul, MN 55102
651-224-9445
athompson@stpaulbt.org
Megan Engelhardt, Assistant Executive Director
Minnesota Campaign Finance Board
Via Email

RE: Notice of Large Contribution

Dear Ms. Engelhardt:

I am the Treasurer of the Messerli & Kramer Political Action Committee (#40786). I am writing to inform you that today I am filing a 24-Hour Notice of Contribution for a contribution to the Messerli & Kramer PAC that was made on July 30, 2018, during the pre-primary filing period. The contribution in question was made by James T. Clark in the amount of $2,000.00. Due to my oversight, the required 24-hour notice was not timely filed with the Campaign Finance Board. I discovered my mistake when preparing the Report of Receipts and Expenditures due September 25, 2018 and promptly contacted CFB staff to notify them. Melissa Stevens informed me that it would be appropriate to notify you via email of the late filing.

As Treasurer, I am aware of the 24-hour pre-primary filing requirement and monitor any contributions made by the Messerli & Kramer PAC to party units or candidates to ensure compliance. Unfortunately, the routine nature of Mr. Clark’s deposit into the PAC did not trigger the filing. Because the deposit was made one week after the July 23, 2018 financial activity period, over one month elapsed between the deposit and the next filing period.

There was no intent by me or the Messerli & Kramer PAC to violate any campaign finance law or rule, and I note that there was no financial or political gain to the PAC by accepting a contribution during the pre-primary filing period. The PAC made no large contributions to party units or candidates during the pre-primary filing period. I understand that a lack of intent does not excuse compliance with the campaign finance rules, but I ask the Board to consider the lack of intent and the prompt steps taken to remedy the mistake when reviewing my actions as Treasurer.

Please let me know if you need any additional information. Thank you.

Sincerely,

/s/

Patrick J. Hynes

Patrick J. Hynes
Attorney
Direct: 651.556.9210
Cell: 612.360.5110

MESSERLI | KRAMER
Here is a new waiver request. I will print it off for you. Thanks!

Megan

-----Original Message-----
From: Terri Thao <territhao1@gmail.com>
Sent: Tuesday, October 02, 2018 9:04 PM
To: Engelhardt, Megan (CFB) <megan.engelhardt@state.mn.us>
Subject: Revised Waiver Request

Dear Campaign Finance Board,

My name is Terri Thao and I am writing this letter on behalf of a political committee, MaivPAC, CFB#41158. I am writing to formally request that the CFB waive the late fee and fine assessed to MaivPAC for failing to file the third report of receipts and expenditures pre-primary election.

MaivPAC is a newer PAC (formed in 2016). We held elections in April of this year and I was elected as the new treasurer. Our former treasurer passed off the files to me in mid-May (along with a quick training) so that I could file the Second Report, which was completed on time. However, during this new transition period, I did not put the third report on the calendar and missed this deadline. Due to this transition in board members and a very busy election year, I apologize for missing the filing of these two items. The third report was completed earlier this month.

Moving forward, I have all of the dates correctly entered into my personal calendar and into our MaivPAC group calendar. I apologize for this oversight and ask that the board waive all the fines and fees given.

Sincerely,

Terri Thao

Best regards,

Terri Thao
October 11, 2018

Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board
Centennial Office Building
658 Cedar Street
Suite 190
St. Paul, MN 55402

RE: Request for waiver of late fees; Reg No: 70017

Dear Board Members;

This is to respectfully ask for the waiver of the late fees of $50.00 that have been assessed to the Minneapolis Downtown Council PAC for late filing of the Report of Receipts and Expenditures that was due on 7/30/2018. The report was filed on 7/31/18.

I was aware that the report was due on Monday, July 30th, however I was not able to have access to my computer on that day and did not realize the due date had passed until it was too late. I did submit the report on the 31st as soon as I returned to the office.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of this waiver request. If you have any further questions or require additionally information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Kathryn M. Reali
Minneapolis Downtown Council PAC
612-656-3820
DATE: October 31, 2018

TO: Board Members

FROM: Andrew Olson, Legal/Management Analyst

TELEPHONE: (651) 539-1190

RE: Prima facie determinations finding no violation

Complaints filed with the Board are subject to a prima facie determination made by the Board chair in consultation with staff. If the Board chair determines that a complaint states a violation of Chapter 10A or the provisions of Chapter 211B under the Board’s jurisdiction, the complaint moves forward to a probable cause determination by the full Board.

If, however, the chair determines that a complaint does not state a prima facie violation, the Chair must dismiss the complaint without prejudice. When a complaint is dismissed, the complaint and the prima facie determination become public data. The following complaints were dismissed by the chair and the prima facie determinations are provided here as an informational item to the other board members. No further action of the Board is required.

Complaint regarding Cindy (Pugh) for Minnesota committee

On October 1, 2018, the Board received a complaint submitted by Julie Westerlund regarding an internet campaign advertisement for Rep. Cindy Pugh, a candidate for Minnesota House of Representatives District 33B. The complaint alleged that the internet advertisement lacked a disclaimer in violation of Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04.

Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04 generally requires that campaign material contain a disclaimer identifying the name and address of the person or committee that caused the campaign material to be prepared or disseminated. However, the disclaimer requirement does not apply to “online banner ads and similar electronic communications that link directly to an online page that includes the disclaimer.” The complaint included a screenshot of the advertisement; however, the complaint did not suggest that the advertisement did not link directly to the website for the Pugh committee that contains the required disclaimer. On October 3, 2018, the chair therefore concluded that the complaint did not state a prima facie violation of Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04, subdivision 1.

Complaint regarding Keith Ellison for Attorney General committee

On October 25, 2018, the Board received a complaint submitted by Bill Holm regarding U.S. Rep. Keith Ellison, a candidate for Minnesota Attorney General. The complaint consists of over 30 pages of allegations regarding U.S. Rep. Ellison and argument as to why he is unfit to serve as Attorney General. The complaint states that contributions have been made by several out-
of-state individuals and groups to Ellison’s principal campaign committee and to independent expenditure political committees supporting U.S. Rep. Ellison’s candidacy.

While difficult to understand, the complaint appears to argue that because of the out-of-state nature and timing of these contributions, it is reasonable to conclude that the contributions were promised in advance of and were conditioned upon U.S. Rep. Ellison announcing his campaign for Attorney General. The complaint appears to argue that such a conditional promise of campaign contributions violates Minnesota Statutes section 211B.10, subdivision 1, which prohibits rewarding or promising to reward someone for becoming, declining to become, or withdrawing as, a candidate. While it is not clear which of the complaint’s many factual assertions are made in support of this claim, the complaint also alleges that U.S. Rep. Ellison is campaigning under false pretenses and has thereby violated Minnesota Statutes section 211B.06, which prohibits false campaign material. Lastly, the complaint contains the assertion that there has been a violation of Minnesota Statutes chapter 211A “regarding campaign contribution limits and campaign finance reporting . . . .” but there are no factual assertions within the complaint that appear to support any alleged violation of contribution limits or reporting requirements.

The Board is authorized to investigate alleged or potential violations of Minnesota Statutes chapter 10A as well as Minnesota Statutes sections 211B.04, 211B.12, and 211B.15. On October 29, 2018, the chair concluded that because the Board does not have jurisdiction over the statutes that might give rise to the violations alleged in the complaint, the complaint did not state a prima facie violation of Chapter 10A or of those sections of Chapter 211B under the Board’s jurisdiction.

Attachments
Pugh Complaint:
  Complaint
  Prima facie determination

Ellison Complaint:
  Complaint
  Prima facie determination
Complaint for Violation of the Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Act

All information on this form is confidential until a decision is issued by the Board. A photocopy of the entire complaint, however, will be sent to the respondent.

Information about complaint filer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of complaint filer</th>
<th>Julie Westerlund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>20425 Manor Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email address</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Julie.westerlund@gmail.com">Julie.westerlund@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City, state, and zip</td>
<td>Shorewood, MN 55331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone (Daytime)</td>
<td>952-500-1203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Identify person/entity you are complaining about

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of person/entity being complained about</th>
<th>Cindy Pugh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>260 Mountain View Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City, state, zip</td>
<td>Chanhassen, MN 55317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of respondent (If applicable)</td>
<td>State Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board/Department/Agency/District # (If legislator)</td>
<td>MN 33B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Signature of person filing complaint

9.27.2018

Date

Send completed form to:
Campaign Finance & Public Disclosure Board
190 Centennial Office Building
658 Cedar Street
St. Paul, MN 55155

If you have questions:
Call 651-539-1190, 800-657-3889, or for TTY/TDD communication contact us through the Minnesota Relay Service at 800-627-3529. Board staff may also be reached by email at cf.board@state.mn.us.

This document is available in alternative formats to individuals with disabilities by calling 651-539-1180, 800-657-3889, or through the Minnesota Relay Service at 800-627-3529.
Give the statutory cite to the section of Chapter 10A, Chapter 211B, or Minnesota Rules you believe has been violated:

You will find the complete text of Chapter 10A, Chapter 211B, and Minnesota Rules chapters 4501 - 4525 on the Board’s website at www.cfboard.state.mn.us.

**Nature of complaint**

Explain in detail why you believe the respondent has violated the campaign finance and public disclosure laws. Attach an extra sheet of paper if necessary. Attach any documents, materials, minutes, resolutions, or other evidence to support your allegations.

A facebook advertisement featuring a picture of Cindy Pugh and with the text "Reelect Cindy Pugh" and "keep her working for you" came up in my facebook feed.

This advertisement does not contain any disclosure information as required by 211B.04.

![Image of ad included in this mailing](image)

Minnesota Statutes section 10A.022, subdivision 3, describes the procedures required for investigating complaints. A full description of the complaint process is available on the Board’s website.

Briefly, the Board will notify you when it has received your complaint. The Board must send a copy of the complaint to the respondent. Complaints and investigations are confidential. Board members and staff cannot talk about an investigation except as required to carry out the investigation or to take action in the matter. After the Board issues a decision, the record of the investigation is public.

The law requires a complaint to go through two stages before the Board can begin an investigation: a prima facie determination and a probable cause decision. If the complaint does not pass one of the stages, it must be dismissed.

The Board has 10 business days after receiving your complaint to determine whether the complaint is sufficient to allege a prima facie violation of the campaign finance laws. If the Board determines that the complaint does allege a prima facie violation, the Board has 45 days to decide whether probable cause exists to believe a violation that warrants a formal investigation has occurred. Both you and the respondent have the right to be heard on the issue of probable cause before the Board makes this decision. The Board will notify you if the complaint moves to the probable cause stage.

If the Board determines that probable cause does not exist, the Board will dismiss the complaint. If the Board determines that probable cause exists, the Board will start an investigation. The Board will send you monthly updates regarding the status of the investigation. At the end of the investigation, the Board will offer you and the respondent the opportunity to be heard before the Board makes a final decision.

In most cases, the Board will issue findings, conclusions, and an order as its decision. For a spending or contribution limits violation, the Board can enter into a conciliation agreement with the respondent instead of issuing findings, conclusions, and an order. The Board’s final decision will be sent to you and posted on the Board’s website.
officers to "escort Archer to the hospital."
But he also worried, telling the dispatcher,
"I fear that SWAT people are gonna go in
and kick the door down and shoot him."

"Somewhat prophetic, right?" Amorosi said
when he saw the transcript.
STATE OF MINNESOTA
CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND PUBLIC DISCLOSURE BOARD

PRIMA FACIE
DETERMINATION

IN THE MATTER OF THE COMPLAINT OF JULIE WESTERLUND REGARDING THE CINDY (PUGH) FOR MINNESOTA COMMITTEE:

On October 1, 2018, the Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board received a complaint submitted by Julie Westerlund regarding an internet campaign advertisement for Rep. Cindy Pugh, a candidate for Minnesota House of Representatives District 33B. Cindy (Pugh) for Minnesota is the principal campaign committee of Rep. Cindy Pugh. The complaint alleges that the internet advertisement lacks a disclaimer in violation of Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04. The complaint includes a screenshot of what appears to be an online banner ad. The complaint states that the advertisement appeared in the complainant’s Facebook feed.

Determination:

Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04 generally requires that campaign material contain a disclaimer identifying the name and address of the person or committee that caused the campaign material to be prepared or disseminated. However, the disclaimer requirement does not apply to "online banner ads and similar electronic communications that link directly to an online page that includes the disclaimer." The complaint does not allege that the banner ad fails to link to a webpage containing the required disclaimer. Nor does the screenshot attached to the complaint suggest that the advertisement does not direct viewers to a website when clicked. In the event that the advertisement does link directly to the website for the Pugh committee (cindyforminnesota.com) that website contains a disclaimer at the bottom of its homepage that satisfies Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04, subdivision 1. The chair therefore concludes that the complaint does not state a prima facie violation of Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04, subdivision 1, by the Cindy (Pugh) for Minnesota committee.

Pursuant to Minnesota Statutes section 10A.022, subdivision 3, this prima facie determination is made by the Board chair and not by any vote of the entire Board. Based on the above analysis, the chair concludes that the complaint does not state a prima facie violation of Minnesota Statutes section 211B.04, subdivision 1, or any other statute or rule under the Board’s jurisdiction. The complaint is dismissed without prejudice.

Carolyn Flynn, Chair
Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board

Date: 10/3/18
Campaign Finance &
Public Disclosure Board
190 Centennial Office Building, 658 Cedar St, St Paul, MN 55155 www.cfboard.state.mn.us

Complaint for Violation of the
Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Act
All information on this form is confidential until a decision is issued by the Board. A photocopy of the entire complaint, however, will be sent to the respondent.

Information about complaint filer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of complaint filer</th>
<th>Bill Holm &amp; Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>P.O. Box 20513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bloomington, MN 55420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email address</td>
<td><a href="mailto:billyholms03@gmail.com">billyholms03@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City, state, and zip</td>
<td>Telephone (Daytime) 952-831-1352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Identify person/entity you are complaining about

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of person/entity being complained about</th>
<th>Keith Ellison, Candidate for Attorney General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Keith Ellison for Attorney General committee, PO Box 80824,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minneapolis, MN 55408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City, state, zip</td>
<td>Title of respondent (If applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board/Department/Agency/District # (If legislator)</td>
<td>U.S. House of Representatives, Fifth Congressional District</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Signature of person filing complaint: Bill Holm & Friends
Date: October 19, 2018

Send completed form to:
Campaign Finance & Public Disclosure Board
190 Centennial Office Building
658 Cedar Street
St. Paul, MN 55155

If you have questions:
Call 651-539-1190, 800-657-3889, or for TTY/TDD communication contact us through the Minnesota Relay Service at 800-627-3529. Board staff may also be reached by email at cf.board@state.mn.us.

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Dear Director Sigurdson:

Please find attached an Affidavit of Charges against Representative and Candidate Keith Ellison.

Preface-

We are writing as private citizens on behalf of a significant number of Minnesota’s residents who feel that Mr. Keith Ellison’s behavior both as a U.S. Representative and as a private attorney have been reprehensible and far beneath the standards of candidates or public officials established by your Office. The eminent possibility of Mr. Ellison’s election as Minnesota’s Attorney General makes this ethics complaint all the more crucial and urgent.

Introduction-

We have compiled a list of civil and criminal offenses committed by Mr. Ellison from numerous public sources. They are arranged topically and then chronologically within each section. We present this list below as proof of Mr. Ellison’s egregious behavior and his unworthiness to serve the State of Minnesota in any public capacity.

Summary of Complaint-

Violations of the Campaign Fair Practices Law= That Mr. Keith Ellison filed for Candidacy at the last minute, was not properly vetted by the State Democratic (DFL) Party, did not earn their endorsement at the DFL State Convention, has filed for Minnesota Attorney General under false pretenses, and has accepted substantial funds from out of state radical groups as a condition for running for office.

Applicable State Statutes-

1) Violations of Minnesota Statutes Chapter 211B-Fair Campaign Practices
2) Accepting Outside Political Contributions as a Condition for Candidacy: Violation of Minnesota Statutes Chapter 211A- Chapter 211A- regarding campaign contribution limits and campaign finance reporting, and committees acting to influence the nomination, election or defeat of a candidate; in particular “Influencing a person’s candidacy. M.S. 211B.10, subd. 1 forbids the use of any promise or reward to induce a person to become a candidate, refrain from being a candidate or cease being a candidate.”
3.) Campaigning Under False Pretenses= Chap 211.B False Political & Campaign Material
Subd-1.

Remedy Sought-
Removal from the November 2018 ballot for Attorney General, fines, and punitive sanctions.

Addendum-
Even though this matter is currently under review by the U.S. House Ethics Committee and Minnesota Law Enforcement Agencies and is an evolving story, we feel that due to its time-sensitive nature that filing this Affidavit as a Class Action Complaint is still a necessity. We believe that looking at all of the offenses en-toto and not just one offense is the proper course of action.
Formal Complaint Letter

-Affidavit of Charges Against Representative Keith Ellison-

Body-

Categories: A. Misuse of Power/Authority, B. Campaign Law Violations, C. Aiding & Abetting the Enemy, D. Obstruction of Justice, E. Hate-Speech, F. Threats, Assaults, & Other Offensive Behavior, G. On-Going Investigations

A. Misuse of Power/Authority/Public Trust

1.) The obligation to tell the truth is most germane to this entire presentation. The principle of telling the truth is the bedrock of our laws and the foundation of our all of our institutions. However, as the following presentation shows, Mr. Keith Ellison has not adhered to this fundamental principle. As Dr. Don Boys points out in his 2004 article, "Islam Permits Lying to Deceive Unbelievers and Bring World Domination!" "Muslims lie when it is in their interest to do so and "Allah" will not hold them accountable for lying when it is beneficial to the cause of Islam. They can lie without any guilt or fear of accountability or retribution. A lie in the defense of Islam is approved even applauded in their "holy" books." This principle is called, "Al-taqiyya." This alone should disqualify him from holding any public office. Nevertheless, we continue with our compendium of offenses to illustrate the depths of his deception.

2.) The Brutal Murder of Officer Haaf by A Street Gang-

a.) In the late 1970s, the gangs arrived in Minneapolis. Instead of fighting the gang problem with good aggressive police work, the leaders of this city decided to embrace these disenfranchised youths. In the meantime, the leader of the Vice Lords, Sharif Willis, was convicted of murder but released from prison after serving only six years.

b.) Mr. Ellison obtained his lawyer's license on October 26th, 1990. His licensed expired on January 8th, 2018. During that time, he was obligated to adhere to the

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2 (Note: We understand that Mr. Ellison is near completion of his recertification as a licensed attorney in Minnesota. However, that does not obviate or preclude violations of the Code of Professional Ethics during, after, or pending the reinstatement of his license.)
Minnesota Rules of Professional Conduct. According to the ABA, Model Rules of Professional Conduct, lawyers are required to uphold the law and adhere to approved legal processes.

"A lawyer, as a member of the legal profession, is a representative of clients, an officer of the legal system and a public citizen having special responsibility for the quality of justice." A lawyer should demonstrate respect for the legal system and for those who serve it, including judges, other lawyers and public officials. As a public citizen, a lawyer should seek improvement of the law, access to the legal system, the administration of justice and the quality of service rendered by the legal profession.

"A lawyer should strive to attain the highest level of skill, to improve the law and the legal profession and to exemplify the legal profession's ideals of public service. A lawyer should further the public's understanding of and confidence in the rule of law and the justice system because legal institutions in a constitutional democracy depend on popular participation and support to maintain their authority. Every lawyer is responsible for observance of the Rules of Professional Conduct. The ultimate authority over the legal profession is vested largely in the courts. Failure to comply with an obligation or prohibition imposed by a Rule is a basis for invoking the disciplinary process."

c.) In 1992, Willis was able to sell a bogus program called "United for Peace" to the city. On September 26, 1992, Officer Jerry Haaf was killed in a premeditated cold-blooded execution style murder. At the time, Ellison was a Minneapolis criminal attorney in private practice. The four Vice Lords members who murdered Haaf met and planned the murder at Willis's house. Afterward, two of the initial arrests in the Haaf killing were made at the home of United for Peace founder Sharif Willis; including his nephew Monterey Willis. In October 1992, Ellison helped organize a demonstration against Minneapolis police that included "United for Peace" gangsters. "United for Peace" subsequently was renamed The City, Inc."

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d.) Ellison publicly supported the Haaf murder defendants. In February 1993, he spoke at a demonstration for them in supporting Officer Haaf’s killers during the trial of Willis. Ellison led the crowd assembled at the courthouse in a chant that was ominous in the context of Haaf’s cold-blooded murder: “We don’t get no justice, you don’t get no peace!” Shortly before that convicted killer Willis had spoken at a demonstration in which he charged, “We’re going to get rid of (police officers),” Willis said. “They’ve got to go.” Ellison concurred. Under the circumstances it is very difficult to believe that Ellison did not know of the gang, its violent history, and its convicted leader before he defended them in court and in public.

3.) Mr. Ellison has a record of not paying child support and alimony payments. He fell afoul of the IRS after failing to pay over $20,000 in income taxes; he ignored fines that he had incurred for parking tickets and moving violations so numerous that his driver’s license was suspended more times than he can remember. Ellison had also failed to pay all or part of his income taxes in five separate years between 1992 and 2000, forcing the state and Internal Revenue Service to put liens on his home. Consequently, the IRS filed liens against him and he eventually was forced to pay some $25,000 in back taxes.

4.) In a February 2000 speech Keith Ellison publicly defended former Symbionese Liberation Army terrorist Kathleen Soliah. Ellison hailed Soliah/Olson as a “black gang member” and portrayed her as a victim of government persecution. According to Ellison, Soliah/Olson was a social justice warrior fighting the good fight. The case had nothing to do with the attempted murder of police officers; that was but a pretext. To Ellison it was more about the class struggle and the war against blacks. Ellison then described some of the clients he defended as a trial lawyer “This person is a Blood, they’re a Vice Lord, or they’re a Gangster Disciple.” Then he compared the shooting of police officers to the political power struggle for “social justice.” Scott W. Johnson writing for the Weekly Standard comments, “it reveals Ellison to be hostile to impartial enforcement of the law

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5 (source: https://www.weeklystandard.com/scott-w-johnson/louis-farrakhans-br-first-congressman/)
6 (source: https://www.weeklystandard.com/scott-w-johnson/louis-farrakhans-br-first-congressman/)
7 (source: http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/individualProfile.asp?indId=2158/)
8 (source: https://www.powerlineblog.com/archives/2006/06/014383.php)
and indifferent to the lives of police officers. It is a shocking speech that betrays his unfitness for any public office, let alone attorney general.\(^9\)

5.) Keith Ellison has been under investigation more than once for his alleged misuse of power and other ethics violations. Among the many allegations is a 2005 charge that Amy Alexander, a former lover, had threatened Ellison, Amy in turn reported that Ellison had threatened her. On Oct 19, 2006, MPRNews ran a story entitled “Ellison accuses woman of blackmailing his congressional campaign,” in which charges and countercharges were level against each other. Each sought a restraining order against the other.\(^10\) At the time, Ellison’s campaign manager, Dave Colling stated, “he didn’t bring the matter to authorities because ”it was near the end of the (primary election) campaign” and he ”just wanted her to go away,” despite the seriousness of the allegations against Ellison.” (See below)

6.) In 2005, Ellison spoke favorably of cop killers Mumia Abu-Jamal and Assata Shakur. Assata Shakur” (Joanne Chesimard), was wanted for the murder of New Jersey state trooper Werner Foerster in 1973. Chesimard was convicted of that murder but escaped from prison in 1979. (Shakur has been on the lam in Cuba since 1984; last year she was placed on the FBI’s domestic terrorists list with a one million dollar reward for her capture.)

7.) In 2006, Ellison’s election was controversial, sparking some extreme reactions to the fact that he was a Muslim and was sworn into office on a Qur’an. “When he was sworn into office, Ellison refused to be sworn in with a Bible, and instead demanded that a Quran be used as a way to emphasize “religious tolerance.”\(^11\)

8.) On January 4, 2007, Keith Ellison was sworn in as a U.S. Representative. He ostensibly recited the oath cited below. His insistence on using the Quran, instead of the Bible, practically nullifies the veracity of his oath.

a.) U.S. House of Representatives Oath of Office
“I, (name of Member), do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will

\(^9\) (source: https://www.weeklystandard.com/scott-w-johnson/keith-ellison-is-running-for-attorney-general-in-minnesota-after-defending-cop-killers/)

\(^10\) (source: https://www.mprnews.org/story/2006/10/19/ellisonapstory/.

bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So, help me God” (5 U.S.C. §3331).

Ellison has violated this oath, especially the clause “I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic...” on a number of occasions.

Under normal circumstances, whenever a U.S Congress person violates his/her Oath of Office, either the U.S. House of Representatives Ethics Committee or the U.S. Congressional Office of Ethics would investigate. However, due to the political polarity of Congress, and the Democrats’ obsession with investigating President Trump, both of these bodies have been negligent in policing its own members. Both sections 5 U.S.C. §3331-Oath of Office, and 2 USC §194-Contempt of Congress would apply to Mr. Ellison.12 (See endnote on page 25 for more information)

9.) The House Ethics Committee investigated Ellison for failing to disclose a trip he took in 2008 to Mecca. According to the Daily Caller, “Ellison failed to disclose that a group with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood paid for him to embark on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 2008, eventually leading the House Ethics Committee to open an investigation into the matter. Ellison’s secretive trip to the Islamic holy site, resurfaced Monday by the Washington Free Beacon, was first reported back in 2009 but has taken on renewed significance as Ellison jockeys for the top spot in a Democratic party reeling from a disastrous election.” The costs of the trip — totaling $13,500 — were covered by the Muslim American Society. Federal prosecutors said in a 2008 court filing that the group “was founded as the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in America.” A House Ethics Committee investigation later concluded that the trip had to be disclosed as a gift to a public official.13

10.) On April 27, 2009, five members of Congress, including Minnesota Rep. Keith Ellison, were arrested Monday while protesting the expulsion of aid groups from Darfur in front of the Sudanese Embassy in Washington14. By using his official status as a U.S.

Representative to protest against U.S. foreign policy he abused the public's trust, and misused the authority of his office.

11.) In 2010, Ellison was one of 20 Congressional Black Caucus members to co-sponsor a bill that would have severely restricted OCE's investigative capabilities because the OCE had opened (numerous) investigations into Congressional Black Caucus members. However, in 2017, Ellison criticized his Republican House colleagues over a proposal to scrap the Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE), an independent congressional watchdog.\(^\text{15}\)

12.) On October 8\(^{\text{th}}\), 2013, Keith Ellison and seven other U. S. Congressmen were arrested after blocking the streets and entryways to the United State Capitol Building. By using his official status as a U.S. Representative to protest against U.S. immigration laws he not only abused the public's trust, misused the power of his office, he also brought discredit to the House of Representatives.\(^\text{16}\)

13.) OOA November 15, 2015, Representative Ellison went on record to support the Black Lives Matters Movement shortly after it shut down the 4\(^{\text{th}}\) Precinct of the Minneapolis Police Department during the violence over Jamar Clark's death. Although he did not condone the violence, Ellison's support of BLM while a U.S. Representative is highly inappropriate, prejudicial, and without cause.\(^\text{17}\)

14.) In a sign flagrant hypocrisy, on May 9\(^{\text{th}}\), 2017, Ellison first publicly lambasted the FBI over the investigations of its former chief James Comey, then took a cheap shot over the FBI's investigation of Russian election meddling. A Twitter follower commented, "The article he posted today is unfavorable to FBI (an op-ed) and is not factual. This is not the time to disparage a law enforcement agency investigating Russian collusion.\(^\text{18}\)"

15.) In at least two instances, Ellison broke House Ethics rules and misused the power of his office. OOA January 26\(^{\text{th}}\), 2018, while campaigning for Chair of the National

\(^{15}\text{source: https://dailycaller.com/2017/01/04/keith-ellison-hypocritically-chastises-house-gop-over-ethics-office-proposal/}\)

\(^{16}\text{source: https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/democratic-lawmakers-arrested-during-immigration-protest-frica8C11360069/}\)

\(^{17}\text{source: https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/keith-ellison-fbi-director-comey-s-dismissal-a-constitutional-crisis-1.5470488/}\)

\(^{18}\text{source: https://twitter.com/sundayschild22/status/950818115528593408/}\)
Democratic Committee and later for Deputy Chair of the DNC, Ellison violated House Ethics rules by using his official House Twitter accounts to advance his candidacy. According to The Washington-based Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust, Mr. Ellison violated rules by promoting his candidacy for DNC chair on several occasions by using his official Twitter account. On June 20, 2018, he once again misused his official power by promoting his candidacy for MN Attorney General on his House Twitter account. According to the Washington Examiner, "It appears that Rep. Keith Ellison (once again) has used official House resources for political purposes, which is strictly prohibited," Charles Spies, counsel to the Republican Attorneys General Association, wrote to the Office of Congressional Ethics in an official complaint obtained by the Washington Examiner. “Therefore,” Spies concluded, “we respectfully request that OCE immediately open an investigation into this violation to determine the scope of Ellison’s improper use of House resources and refer the matter to the House Committee on Ethics so that it may impose whatever sanctions it finds appropriate.”

16.) While campaigning this year for Attorney General, Mr. Ellison has indicated that he will spend a great deal of time filing lawsuits against the Trump Administration for its enforcement of federal immigration laws. Nearly all of his campaign stops focus on advocating for a broad array of social programs. If elected, this would be a direct misuse of the Office of the State Attorney General whose primary function is to enforce state and federal laws.

16a.) On June 8, 2018, Deena Zaru reporting for ABC News emphasized that Ellison was leaving Congress to take his battle against the Trump administration policies to the state level. Ellison admitted that he was running for AG to fight for the peoples’ rights on a number of issues including immigrant rights, environmental rights, and citizen rights. As an indication of abject dishonesty, Ellison said he will keep his leadership role at the DNC and said that “he will continue to participate in the national dialogue and will have a public role in “offering a vision for Minnesotans on a regular basis.” About his last minute

22. (source: https://twitter.com/keithellison/status/1034499562881331206?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Esrerp%7Ctwgr%5Etweet/)
decision to run for AG, he remarked that did not expect to have to make the decision so abruptly. "Honestly, (leaving Congress) was one of the hardest decisions I've ever made in my life because I've always kind of wanted to run for attorney general ... but I didn't want to do it in a sudden, abrupt way in a course of 24 or 48 hours." This suggests a midnight call by a co-conspirator who pressured Ellison to switch courses.

17.) Mr. Ellison's association with Islamist radicals indicates that he is a fifth columnist, someone whose status within the House of Representatives provides cover for anti-American discourse and, possibly, anti-American actions.

18.) Summary of Legal Charges:

a.) Violations of Oath of Office- 5 USC § 3331

b.) Lying as a Duly Sworn Officer 2 USC § 194

c.) Misuse of Position= Federal Statute 5 C.F.R. § 2635.702

d.) Misuse of Public Title= Federal Statutes 5 C.F.R. § 2635.807(b), 5 C.F.R. § 2635.808(c),

e.) Personal Use of Government Property: Federal Statute 5 C.F.R. § 2635.704 through .705

f.) Misuse of Official Time=Federal Statute 5 C.F.R. § 2635.705


h.) Driver's License Revocation= Minnesota Statutes 171.01 Subsections: 171.04 Person's Not Eligible for Driver's Licenses 171.14 Cancellation, 171.16 Court Recommends Suspension 171.166 Review of Disqualification 171.17 REVOCATION, Revocation 171.18 Suspension 171.182 Suspension; Uninsured Vehicle, 171.24 Violations; Driving Without A Valid License, 171.241 Chapter Violations; Misdemeanors, and 171.30 Limited License.


24 (source: https://www.meforum.org/articles/2010/keith-ellison-s-stealth-jihad/)
i.) Providing Counsel and Support for a Known Criminal= Minnesota Statute-609.495 Aiding An Offender; Subd. 3.Obstructing an investigation,

j.) Failure to Pay Alimony/Child Support= Minnesota Statute 518.68, Subd. 2, item 3, Criminal Penalties section 609.375, item 10, civil judgement for unpaid support, section 548.091, and unpaid spousal support (alimony) section 548.091.25

k.) Violations of Minnesota Court Rules, Minnesota Rules of Professional Conduct, Rule 8.1-Bar Admission and Disciplinary Matters, Rule 8.3 Reporting Professional Misconduct, and Rule 8.4-Misconduct.

B. Campaign Law Violations or Irregularities-

1.) According to Wikipedia, In early 2006, the Minnesota State Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board reprimanded Ellison for unreported campaign contributions, discrepancies in cash balances, and misclassified disbursements during his campaigns for the Minnesota House of Representatives. These transgressions occurred in 2002–04. In 2005, the board opened an investigation, and Ellison was subpoenaed and fined. Ellison was repeatedly fined for late filings, was sued twice by the Attorney General of Minnesota and was warned about absent or incomplete disclosures.

2.) In 2006, Ellison received major funds to help finance his imminent election campaign from several Muslim organizations and individuals, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). The donated money included thousands of dollars raised by Nihad Awad, CAIR's executive director (a man with a history of support for movements including Hamas). (Nihad Awad, executive director of the Washington-based Council on American-Islamic Relations, flew to Minneapolis for an

25 (source: https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/cite/518.68/.
Aug. 25th, 2006 fundraiser for Ellison; who was able to collect about $400,000 from the attendees.)

3.) On February 16, 2017 the Daily Caller reported that "Keith Ellison is the single largest recipient of campaign donations in the Islamic Money in Politics database—having received nearly $200,000 dollars from prominent Islamists over his career." Many the contributions have come from known terrorists, or public supporters of terrorists.27

4.) According to OpenSecrets.org, in this latest funding cycle (2017-2018) Mr. Ellison has received $2,461,797 mostly from out-of-state contributors and independent expenditure committees.28

5.) OOA June 4th, 2018, Ellison announced that he would not seek reelection to a seventh term in Congress in 2018 but would instead run for Minnesota Attorney General.

6.) On July 13, 2018 Bernie Sanders campaigned in Minnesota on behalf of Keith Ellison. As Peter Callaghan reports for MinnPost, the tone of the AG’s race was to oppose everything that President Trump stood for. Ellison blasted out that "Attorneys general all over this country led the fight against the Muslim ban," "That fight was attorneys general, it was Hawaii vs. Trump." "There are pending legal battles over family separations at the southern border. "As attorney general, I will fight this, I promise you," he said. Regarding banks, Ellison quipped, "We’re going to sue the shit out of them."

7.) Some Observations- Five Very Recent Irregularities-

a. As the campaign progresses into late September, Ellison continues to spout a socialist platform replete with social justice epithets. We unequivocally assert that the purpose of the Attorney General’s office is not to write laws or change laws, but to enforce the laws. Mr. Ellison has not/will not abandon his legislative role, but instead will subvert the true purpose of the AG’s office to advance his own socialistic agenda.

b. Mr. Ellison was not endorsed by the DFL Party during its convention. Matt Pelikan was endorsed. In bypassing the DFL Convention he side-stepped any inquiries about his background or true allegiances.

27 (source: https://dailycaller.com/2017/02/16/keith-ellisons-questionable-ties/)
28 (source: https://www.opensecrets.org/members-of-congress/summary?cid=N00028257/)
c. Mr. Ellison barely squeaked under the wire for filing for candidacy. According to MPR News, Keith Ellison was the first person to show up on Jun 5, 2018 at the Secretary of State’s Office, the last day to file for candidacy.

d. When Ellison was finally endorsed by a special DFL Convention, no speeches were allowed, and the voting was done in secret.29

e. Mr. Ellison received $100,000 from Alexander Soros and nearly $100,000 from other left-wing groups in May of 2017, less than a year before his impulsive AG announcement. This was in return for Ellison’s praise of the Center for Popular Democracy, a subsidiary of Soro’s Democracy Alliance. At that time, he pledged to take the struggle working class people of color and immigrants to the streets and to combat oppression.30 More to the point, the mission of the Center for Popular Democracy is to promote radical candidates throughout the country.

f. Considerable additional funding had been raised by the Progressive Action PAC, the Collective PAC, and the Minnesota chapter of the far-left National Lawyers Guild, of which Ellison is the co-founder. We contend that it was these outside gifts among others that influenced Mr. Ellison’s rash decision to run for the AG spot.

8.) More Irregularities= On August 25th, 2018 a brief CFB search of recent political contributions to the Ellison Campaign revealed several individual gifts from wealthy Muslims living in several different states. (Nearly all of Keith Ellison’s individual contributors are Muslims living in either Florida, Texas, and Ohio.) We contend that many of these out-of-state Muslims are members of major Islamic groups.31 For example, seven individual contributors are from Texas and Florida. Coincidentally, the Muslim American Society’s National Headquarters is in Richardson, TX. In addition, the Dallas-Fort Worth CAIR is urging Muslims across the nation to vote for the Muslim candidates in their locale. They officially welcomed Keith Ellison’s win in the Minnesota primary elections.32 The equally powerful CAIR of Florida has

30 (source: https://freebeacon.com/issues/soros-funded-anti-trump-network-has-aocn-ties/).
32 (source: https://www.cair.com/cair_joins_mymuslimvote_campaign_urges_participation_in_national_muslim_voter_registration_day_aug_24/)
launched Muslims.Vote promoting Muslim candidates throughout the nation. Interestingly, on August 1st, 2018, Keith Ellison attended a rally in southern Florida sponsored by CAIR-Florida.


10.) Suspicious= The Ellison for Attorney General Committee's account is with Bridgewater Bank in St. Louis Park. Coincidentally, Bridgewater Associates is the world's largest hedge fund. They are located in Westport, Connecticut.

11.) In light of the above, it is reasonable to assume that Mr. Ellison derives his support, his political motivations, and his campaign funding from out-of-state sources.

12.) **Summary of Legal Charges:**

a.) Violations of Minnesota Statutes Chapter 211B-Fair Campaign Practices= RE: threats against Monahan by Ellison should she release the video are a violation of Fair Campaign Practices.

b.) Accepting Outside Political Contributions as a Condition for Candidacy: Violation of Minnesota Statutes Chapter 211A- Chapter 211A- regarding campaign contribution limits and campaign finance reporting, and committees acting to influence the nomination, election or defeat of a candidate; in particular "Influencing a person's candidacy. M.S. 211B.10, subd. 1 forbids the use of any promise or reward to induce a person to become a candidate, refrain from being a candidate or cease being a candidate."


C. **Aiding & Abetting the Enemy=**

1.) According to the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Ellison has a long history of "unfairly demonizing" Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. Since the United States officially supports Israel, it logically follows that Palestine is our enemy.

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2.) Beginning during his college days and up to the present, Mr. Ellison has expressed support for both the American Communist Party and the Democratic Socialist Alliance.  

3.) Mr. Ellison has a long relationship with various Minneapolis street gangs. In 1992, Ellison defended the planned execution of Police Officer Jerry Haaf by hitmen hired by Vice-Lords leader Sharif Willis. Mr. Ellison's decision to defend the mastermind Sharif Willis was because he thought Willis was working with local police to broker a gang peace. Willis actually was operating a gang front called United for Peace.  

4.) Mr. Ellison is a close friend of Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad, who are members of the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee. Omar Ahmad is perhaps best known for a statement he made before a crowd of Californian Muslims in 1998 and reported in the San Ramon Valley Herald: "Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faith, but to become dominant. The Koran, the Muslim book of scripture, should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on earth."  

5.) Mr. Ellison has openly supported the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the Clarion Project, the Muslim Brotherhood is a bona fide terrorist group. Money raised by the Muslim Brotherhood has gone to funding Hamas, ISIS, and Al-Quadi in the Middle East. By funding these overseas groups, U.S. forces who are fighting against them have come under deadly attacks.  

6.) Mr. Ellison has met with and supported the Muslim American Society, CAIR, and the Nation of Islam. All three groups have been linked to planned terrorist attacks in the United States and elsewhere. One source states that he had been a "local leader" of the Nation of Islam and accused him of "involvement" in anti-Semitism.

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38 (source: https://www.mprnews.org/story/2006/06/22/ellisonprofile/)
7.) In 2003, U.S. Senator Charles Schumer stated that CAIR co-founders Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad have "intimate links with Hamas." He later remarked that "we know [CAIR] has ties to terrorism. In November 2006 Nihad Awad the Chair of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) hosted their annual banquet in Arlington, Va. One of the keynote speakers was Keith Ellison, the first Muslim in Congress.\footnote{42} Ellison later invited Awad to Minneapolis to attend a fund-raiser on his behalf. (See above)

8.) In 2004 Abdallah Bin Bayyah had issued a fatwa urging "jihad" against U.S. troops in Iraq and supported the Palestinians' Second Intifada against Israel. "In 2008, Mr. Ellison went to Saudi Arabia met with a radical Muslim cleric, Sheikh Abdallah Bin Bayyah, who endorsed killing U.S. soldiers. He also met with Dr. Ahmad Mohamed Ali, the president of a Saudi Arabia-based bank that funnels millions of dollars to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers in Israel. Both the Islamic Development Bank and the Al-Aqsa Fund were funded to support Palestinian terrorism and to provide money to the families of Palestinian "martyrs.\footnote{43} Despite denying his relationship with Bin Bayyah and Mohammed Ali, photographs discovered by the Washington Free Beacon show that Ellison had met with these controversial figures during the trip.

9.) Keith Ellison spoke at the November 19, 2006 North American Imams Federation conference in Minneapolis. Its chairman Jaafar Sheikh regards democracy as "the antithesis of Islam," arguing that human beings have no right to make their own laws. "No one," he claims, "can be a Muslim who makes or freely accepts or believes that anyone has the right to make or accept legislation that is contrary to the divine law." He also declared that no Muslim elected to Congress can swear to uphold the U.S. Constitution and remain a Muslim "for in order to pledge loyalty to the Constitution, a Muslim would have to abandon part of his belief and embrace the belief of secularism—which is practically another religion."\footnote{44} Denis MacEoin, editor of The Middle East Quarterly comments, "that Keith Ellison supports an institution linked to someone who holds views in such deep conflict with normative American values is (cause for real alarm)."

\footnote{42}{source: \url{https://keywiki.org/Nihad_Awad#Defending_radicals/}.}
\footnote{43}{source: \url{https://townhall.com/tipsheet/katiepavlich/2018/01/04/man-who-ran-for-dnc-chair-proudly-displays-antifa-playbook-n2429804/}.}
\footnote{44}{source: \url{https://www.meforum.org/articles/2010/keith-ellison-s-stealth-jihad/}.}
10.) Ellison has spoken at Islamic Society of North America’s 2007, 2008, and 2009 conventions, events estimated to be the largest annual Muslim gatherings in the Western hemisphere. In 2008, Ellison spoke on “mobilizing the Muslim political machine.” This group calls America a terrorist organization and urges the destruction of our country and Israel. Their literature calls for “killing innocent men, women, and children in American [sic] who did not believe in an Islamic Ummah (Nation) worldwide and under Sharia law. …”

11.) In March 2008, Ellison was the keynote speaker at the MAS-Minnesota convention, appearing alongside Siraj Wahhaj who, in 1995, was included by prosecutors on a list of “unindicted persons who may be alleged as co-conspirators,” during a terrorism trial related to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

12.) In late 2008, Ellison appeared as the keynote speaker at a closed-door meeting of CAIR in Pembroke Pines, Florida. He urged Floridians to support Professor Sami al-Arian for Congress. Professor Arian had confessed two years earlier to conspiring to supply goods and services to Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a terrorist organization responsible for numerous suicide attacks on Israel. Professor Arian was later deported to Turkey.

13.) In 2013, Mr. Ellison attended a formal dinner where Both Louis Farrakhan and Iranian President Hassan Rohani were present. Later, Ellison’s office claimed that “he didn’t have dinner.” Not only did Ellison dine with Farrakhan, but he also posed for several pictures with the renowned anti-Semite, who he claimed he has no personal association with. Upon further investigation, it is evident that Ellison does in fact have a personal connection and fond admiration for Farrakhan.

14.) In 2014, the National Review reported, “At least seven board members or staff at CAIR have been arrested, denied entry to the U.S., or were indicted on or pled guilty to (or were convicted of) terrorist charges. In addition, On November 24, 2008, jurors in Dallas convicted the Holy Land Foundation defendants on 108 counts tied to its Hamas support. In handing down lengthy sentences to each defendant, U.S.

45 (source: meforum.org, op.cite)
47 (source: https://www.nationalreview.com/2014/11/cair-terror-group-daniel-pipes/.)
District Judge Jorge Solis said it was clear "the purpose of creating the Holy Land Foundation was as a fundraising arm for Hamas." Nihad Awad, was one of those indicted. He had repeatedly defended the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, which was accused of illegally funneling millions of dollars to Hamas.

15.) On January 4th, 2018, Mr. Ellison proudly endorsed the Antifa. The Antifa has publicly stated its goal of violently overthrowing the United States government. According to the FBI this group is under investigation for fomenting riots and terrorist attacks here and abroad. "Antifa is often present at those rallies Ellison and his DNC colleagues have called for and organized. There are countless instances, many of which have been caught on camera, of ANTIFA members violently assaulting Trump supporters and journalists in public."

   a. In 2017, it was revealed that the FBI has been investigating members of ANTIFA who they say have been traveling to the Middle East to train with ISIS in an effort to plan for the destruction of President Trump.49"

16.) On November 16, 2016, Mr. Ellison announced his bid for the DNC Chair. On December 7th, 2016, in a sign of radically changing alliances, Keith Ellison said he would resign immediately from the House of Representatives if he was chosen as DNC Chair. On February 25, 2017, Ellison was chosen as the Deputy Co-Chair for the DNC. Shortly thereafter he attended a union rally in Alabama.

   a. To date, he has not resigned from either position.

17.) On January 5th, 2018, Mr. Ellison posted a Twitter Tweet which supported the use of violence against President Trump50.

18.) Just before Palestinian activist Linda Sarsour called for Jihad (Islamic terrorism) to be carried out against President Trump, Ellison tweeted, "Silencing Linda Sarsour is wrong". Sarsour then openly declared her support for implementing Sharia law in the United States, and officially endorsed Ellison for DNC Chair.

48 (source: https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/113/nihad-awad/.
49 (source: bigleaguepolitics.com, op. cite)

16
19.) On February 28, 2018, Congressman and DNC Co-Chair Ellison spoke at a gala fund-raiser for the New York Chapter of CAIR. The New York chapter of CAIR is one of the most extremist-connected entities of a national organization that positions itself as a civil rights group. The current CAIR-NY legal director, Albert Cahn, recently provided legal representation to the ISIS truck terrorist who killed eight people in Manhattan late last year.

20.) On July 6th, 2018, Bernie Sanders’ Our Revolution endorsed the full slate of DFL candidates and has campaigned for Keith Ellison. This infamous group has advanced a radical socialist agenda with the aim of overthrowing capitalism.

21.) Despite repeated denials of knowing many Muslim radicals, when the evidence is presented to Ellison he continues to lie. Sam Nunberg, an American public affairs consultant said of Ellison, “He’s a radical, he’s a hypocrite.” It is evident he flip-flops on the issues just to appeal to his immediate crowd. What’s more, on December 7th, 2016, the Nation of Islam publicly rebuked Ellison for his lying and deception. They accused Ellison of being a “hypocrite” and sought to embarrass him for what it called his “cowardly and baseless repudiation” of the controversial Louis Farrakhan. In short, he’s a man not to be trusted.

22.) On June 26th, 2018, Keith Ellison repeatedly denied knowing Louis Farrakhan on the Jack Tapper show; and when pressed on the subject, Ellison exploded and exclaimed, “I was in no such meeting!” Here are some outtakes, Ellison: “Jake, they were wrong,” Ellison said. "It is untrue, Jake, I'm sorry." Tapper: “Obviously, you used to follow somebody who continually expressed sexist anti-LGBTQ and anti-Semitic bigotry, Louis Farrakhan," Ellison interrupted: "I would disagree with that," Tapper: “Let me play for you some Farrakhan quotes.” Ellison: I came on here to talk about the Muslim ban & now you're putting me on the spot. Tapper: “But you met with Farrakhan in 2016.” Ellison: “That's untrue. I was in no such meeting!” Notably, Ellison wanted to talk about Trump’s bigotry in signing a Muslim ban; but he evaded any questions related to his own bigotry or the bigotry of Farrakhan.

52 (source: https://counterjihadreport.com/tag/cair-ny/.
23.) Other sources clearly illustrate his blatant hypocrisy: Mr. Ellison has been a longtime admirer of Louis Farrakhan, the radical leader of the Nation of Islam; however, over the past 10 years, Mr. Ellison has continually discounted his relationship with the Nation of Islam and Farrakhan. Surprisingly, on July 13, 2018, he avowed to Kevin Featherly of MNLaywer.com, "I would do it again today."56

24.) The evidence suggests that Ellison is a pathological liar and a psychopath.57 We believe that Ellison makes use of the Islamic doctrine of Al-taqiyya, the principle that it is permissible for a Muslim to lie in order to protect Islam and its reputation from harm, or to do so as part of waging jihad with nonbelievers. From CAIR to ISNA to MPAC, Muslim groups in the United States claim to be victims of discrimination or outright persecution at the hands of state agencies or individuals in order to receive special government benefits. In addition, Ellison has been known to break with Muslim law and tradition in order to support more liberal policies; thus, gaining him the broad support of the Democratic Party. His deft policy changes can only be interpreted as veiled attempts to acquire more power within the Party.

Professor Robert Hare, a criminal psychologist, states that a psychopath has the following characteristics: glibness and superficial charm, grandiose sense of self-worth, pathological lying, cunning/manipulative, lack of remorse, emotional shallowness, callousness and lack of empathy, unwillingness to accept responsibility for actions, a tendency to boredom, a parasitic lifestyle, a lack of realistic long-term goals, impulsivity, irresponsibility, lack of behavioral control, behavioral problems in early life," and (an obsession for power)58.

25.) Over the years, Ellison has consistently sought to redefine/mischaracterize his past affiliations with radical terrorist groups. His deception continues. . . . meanwhile his friends and acquaintances include a long roster of known terrorists and criminals. Meanwhile, the lives of those people living in Ellison’s district haven’t improved much either.

56 (source: https://minnlawyer.com/2018/07/13/keith-ellison-thinks-its-the-right-moment/)
57 (op. cite)
58 (source: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/books/non-fiction/spot-psychopath/)
26.) Laura Loomer comments, "Attorney Generals are elected to uphold and enforce laws of the land, and it is unclear how Ellison, who has himself called for violent riots composed of Islamists and ANTIFA to "stop Trump" is in any what whatsoever qualified to be Minnesota's Attorney General."

24.) Summary of Legal Charges:


d. Making Terroristic Threats-Federal Statute 18 U.S. Code § 2332b;

e. Lying While in An Official Capacity: 18 U.S. Code § 1621, Perjury, United States Code, Title 18, section 1001, making a material statement that is false, or fraudulent.

D. Obstruction of Justice

1.) In October 2009, he rebuked four House of Representatives Republican members who called for an investigation of CAIR for infiltration of government committees. Although the congressmen were focused on the question of CAIR's role, Ellison cast the inquiry as a modern-day witch hunt, declaring: "The idea that we should investigate Muslim interns as spies is a blow to the very principle of religious freedom that our Founding Fathers cherished so dearly." Soon afterwards, he attended a CAIR fundraising event in Washington and called for CAIR supporters to apply for jobs in the incoming Obama administration.

2.) Summary of Legal Charges:

61 (source: https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2332b/)
62 (source: https://blogs.findlaw.com/biotter/2017/03/what-are-the-penalties-for-lying-to-congress.html/)

b. Obstruction of Justice= According to MN Statute 609.50, a person is guilty of obstruction of justice when they "obstruct, hinder, or prevent the lawful execution of any legal process, civil or criminal, or apprehension of another on a charge or conviction of a criminal offense." There are many ways a person can obstruct justice, from attempting to flee, hiding a suspect, and to lying to a law enforcement official.

c. Minnesota Statute 609.495- Aiding & Abetting A Criminal- "Whoever harbors, conceals, aids, or assists by word or acts another whom the actor knows or has reason to know has committed a crime under the laws of this or another state or of the United States with intent that such offender shall avoid or escape from arrest, trial, conviction, or punishment, may be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than three years or to payment of a fine of not more than $5,000, or both if the crime committed or attempted by the other person is a felony."

d. Aiding & Abetting A Known Criminal = 18 U.S. Code § 2; Federal Criminal Resource Manual 2401-2499; esp. § 2474. Criminal Charges Relating to Aiding And Abetting."\(^ {64}\)

E. Hate Speech-

1.) Mr. Ellison has appeared on the same platform with radical Islamic Muslims who support terrorist groups that have murdered Jewish citizens.

2.) In 1995, Mr. Ellison stood alongside NOI's Khalid Abdul Muhammad, who, according to the Minneapolis Star Tribune proclaimed, "If words were swords, the chests of Jews, gays and whites would be pierced." Muhammad was already infamous by the time of the Million Man March; indeed, by the 1970s and 1980s, his hate speech and Holocaust denials were well known and continued into the 1990s. Just two years before the rally in a 1993 Kean College, New Jersey speech, Abdul Muhammad had described Jews as

\(^{63}\) source: https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/part-I/chapter-73/

a speech that elicited a 1994 resolution of censure from both houses of the U.S. Congress.\(^65\)

3.) In 1997, two years after the Million Man March, Ellison continued to defend the Nation of Islam while displaying further tolerance for hate speech\(^66\).

4.) Since announcing his AG candidacy Ellison, who claims to be an anti-discrimination advocate has not been transparent about his own support of individuals who spew hatred, bigotry, and anti-Semitism.

4.) **Summary of Legal Charges:**

   a. Hate Crimes (Use of Violence)= Federal Statute- 18 U.S. Code § 249


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**F. Threats, Assaults, & Other Offensive Behavior**

1.) From 1987 to the present, Keith Ellison has been married and has had at least 2 long-termed romantic relationships. His marriage ended in divorce, and his romantic relations have ended with either harassment or assault charges leveled against him.

2.) Most of Ellison's vitriolic anti-white, anti-American rhetoric can be found in several Minnesota Daily newspaper articles he wrote as a law student at the University of Minnesota. He wrote under three (3) different aliases. Keith E. Hakim, Keith X Ellison, and Keith Ellison Muhammad. In a November 1989 Mn Daily piece, Daily columnist Johnny Hazard wrote that Hakim nee Ellison had improperly made inflamed calls for violence. In later articles, Ellison argued for a "separate nation for blacks and whites, assessing white Americans a huge "repairs" penalty, and the ogre of white supremacy nee white privilege. The battle between blacks and whites was cast in the socialistic class warfare theme; Ellison called for the immediate end to slavery and racism."\(^67\) Further he identified with "freedom heroes" such as Yasser Arafat, Muammar

\(^{65}\) (source: https://www.meforum.org/articles/2010/keith-ellison-s-stealth-jihad/)

\(^{66}\) (source: op.cite.)

\(^{67}\) (source: http://www.mndaily.com/article/2016/11/ellisons-push-for-dnc-chair-brings-to-light-old-columns/)
Mohammed Gaddafi, and Qubilah Shabazz, daughter of Malcolm X. (Interestingly, most of the readers' responses to these articles was sharply critical of Mr. Ellison.)

3.) In 1995, Ellison appeared onstage with Khalid Abdul Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, who boasted, "If words were swords, the chests of Jews, gays and whites would be pierced."  

4.) In May 2005, Ellison came to Amy Louise Alexander's house uninvited and assaulted her, leading Alexander to call the police. According to Alexander, “His anger kicked in. He berated me. He grabbed me and pushed me out of the way. I was terrified. I called the police. As he fled he broke my screen door. I have never been so scared.” A 911 phone call made by Alexander on May 16, 2005 stated that Ellison was assaulting her; however, "Ellison denies even having a relationship with her." Ms. Alexander also stated that their relationship started in 1993, while Ellison was married to Kim Ellison, and continued through to 2005.  

5.) In an article later written by Amy Alexander on October 11, 2006 for the Wright County Republican, she explained, “It was the harassment from Ellison’s attorney that caused my fear to reignite,” Alexander wrote. “Ellison is a man on a quest for power and national prominence; A man with deep ties to some pretty scary people. I feared for my life and for the safety of my daughter.”

6.) In a December 4th, 2017 interview with Amy Goodman for Democracy Now, Representative and DNC Co-Chair Ellison did a masterful job of flip-flopping and obfuscation regarding Sen Franken and Congressman Conyers’ sexual harassment charges. Amy Goodman asked Rep. Ellison four times whether Franken and Conyers should resign. Ellison responded: I heard your question. I heard your question. I heard your question.” Amy Goodman: So, you’re not willing to say that? Rep. Keith Ellison: I’m going to say that I’m going to ask them both to examine their conscience and do the right

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68 (source: https://www.weeklystandard.com/scott-w-johnson/louis-farrakhans-br-first-congressman/)
70 (source: https://www.lauraloomer.us/blog/911-record-documents-claim-of-keith-ellison-s-domestic-assault/)
thing for all of us.” It seems that all Ellison wanted to do was to push the newly proposed #MeToo bill, feinting it off with the glib comment,” Well, you know, they might. I think this is a very—see, here’s the thing. The answer to your question is this.72

7.) On August 12, 2018, Austin Aslim Monahan posted on Facebook that he had found 100 text and twitter messages and video almost 2 minutes detailing the progressively abusive relationship between Ellison and his mother, Karen Monahan. “

a.) “In the middle of 2017, I was using my mom’s computer trying to download something and I clicked on a file, I found over 100 text and twitters messages and video almost 2 min long that showed Keith Ellison dragging my mama off the bed by her feet, screaming and calling her a ‘fucking bitch’ and telling her to get the fuck out of his house.” The messages I found, were mixed with him consistently telling my mom he wanted her back, he missed her, he knew he fucked up and we wished he could do things different,” Mr. Monahan wrote on Facebook that his mother experienced “pure hell” during the relationship with Mr. Ellison. He also claimed he found messages from Ellison that would “victim shame, bully her, and threaten her if she went public.” Of Ellison, he said: “I have no reason to tear down this man.”73

8.) On August 12th, 2018, Monahan tweeted, “That is my son who bravely shared that post. He isn’t lying about anything. This has nothing to do with trump or politics to us. It is about abuse and the person just so happens to be a politician.” On August 13, 2018, Karen Monahan took to Twitter again to back up her son’s accusations. “What my son said is true,” she wrote. “Every statement he made was true. Keith Ellison, you know you did that to me.”

9) In her public statement, Karen Monahan described Mr. Ellison’s philandering behavior. According to Ms. Monahan’s statement, “I got up in the middle of the night, found one of the ladies scarf and a grocery bag with her name on it. I looked at his text and saw a mountain of lies after lies. Not just to me, but to each of the females. He

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72 (source: https://www.democracynow.org/2017/12/4/rep_keith_ellison_says_franken_convoy)
74 (source: https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/keith-ellisons-domestic-abuse-allegations-heres-what-you-need-to-know/)
would send us all the same text in a row. He would lie to one of the women about why he couldn’t see her or go to a movie."

10.) Ms. Monahan’s public statement details a long history of violent and explosive behavior by Ellison. "I saw him morph into a totally different person and was still worried about him. I told him I would go with him if he wanted to get help. The behavior became more irrational and I was truly worried. I was in shock. (He) was a totally different person. I told him he was lying to not only me but these other women. There was no remorse. In fact, he continued the lies. (Later,) I would receive heartless, mean messages or long periods of silence. (My kids) were in shock to watch friends and people who they knew who were part of the political world, sit back and be silent. They watched people who were aware, never reach out, ask if it was true, there were even people willing to find dirt and smear me, all to protect him. That is cruel to do to any human." (Ms. Monahan, an Equal Justice Advocate with the Sierra Club, reports that she is still suffering from PTSD as a result of Ellison’s abuse).

11.) On Aug 13, 2018, Ms. Monahan mentioned that she had discreetly videotaped a sexual assault occurring in late December. (“he goes ‘Bitch, get the f-k out of my house,’ and he started to try to drag me off the bed,” Monahan said. “That’s when I put my camera on to video him [and saved it to a thumb drive].” MPR reports that in one particular screenshot of a text message from December 2017, Monahan confronts Ellison for the first time that a video exists of the alleged abuse. ‘We never discussed — the video I have of you trying to drag me off the bed,’ Monahan wrote to Ellison, quoting abusive language he allegedly shouted at her.” After Ms. Monahan went public, Ellison responded, ‘This video does not exist because I have never behaved in this way, and any characterization otherwise is false.’ First, she said she won’t release it because "It’s humiliating, it’s traumatizing, for everyone’s family involved, and for me," she told Minnesota Public Radio. Then Monahan told CNN that she uploaded the video to a flash drive but misplaced it during a move and cannot currently find it. Ellison warned her not to (release the tape), "calling it a 'horrible attack on my privacy.'"

76 (source: https://nymag.com/2018/08/16/keith-ellisons-ex-claims-he-called-her-a-bitch-during-assault/)
We think that Ms. Monahan's reluctance to produce the video may hinge on two factors. First, under Muslim law, the woman is to submit totally to her man. If she displeases him, the man may beat her.\textsuperscript{78} Second, given Ellison's friends in dubious political circles, if Monahan produces the tape, other retributions against her may be levied. Ellison is hell-bent on becoming Attorney General so, he will do his best to quiet her.

12.) On \textbf{August 20, 2018} former Ramsey County Attorney and third-runner up for the DFL endorsement for Attorney General candidacy Tom Foley revealed more details which substantiate Ms. Monahan's claims. He writes, \"A CNN reporter also confirmed with three of Karen Monahan's friends that she described the physical violence incident shortly after it allegedly occurred. In a recent television interview, Karen Monahan recounted that at her meeting with Ellison on the night before he filed his candidacy for attorney general, he expressed his concern that she might reveal events during their relationship that might affect his political career.\" In closing, Mr. Foley argues, \"Will the integrity of the attorney general's office be undermined if led by an accused domestic abuser? How this case is handled also will send a clear message to past and future victims if Monahan is treated differently because her alleged abuser enjoys a certain kind of political power and national prestige.\textsuperscript{79}\"  

13.) On \textbf{August 30, 2018} Ms. Monahan elaborated on this event. \"He kept trying to pull me and pull me and pull me off the bed, she told The New York Times. \"And I just laid dead. Because I was scared.\" According to The New York Times, Monahan also called the police shortly after she made allegations against Ellison, claiming that her computer had been hacked and \"that email conversations between her and Ellison have been randomly deleted off of her laptop,\" according to the police report.\textsuperscript{80}\"  

14.) On \textbf{Sep 19, 2018}, various news sources reported that Karen Monahan had posted her \textquote{encounter} records of November 17\textsuperscript{th}, 2017 with Dr. Jodi Milburn, of Park Nicollet Clinics. Dr. Milburn's report clearly indicates that Keith Ellison had

\textsuperscript{78} (See; Zina honor killing and blood revenge under Muslim law.)

\textsuperscript{79} (source: \url{http://www.startribune.com/tom-foley-domestic-abuse-allegations-against-keith-ellison-demand-investigation/491307041/})

\textsuperscript{80} (source: \url{http://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/404407-keith-ellison-abuse-allegations-detailed-in-ny-times-report-called/})
emotionally and physically abused Ms. Monahan. On or about the same day, the Free Beacon revealed that Monahan has faced threats and isolation from members of her own party, despite her evidence against Ellison. Monahan tweeted, "I've been smeared, threatened, isolated from my own party. I provided medical records from 2017, stating on two different Dr. Visits, I told them about the abuse and who did it," "My therapist released records stating I have been dealing and healing from the abuse." "Four people, including my supervisor at the time, stated that I came to them after and shared the exact story I shared publicly, I shared multiple text between me and Keith, where I discuss the abuse with him and much more," she added. "I knew I wouldn't be believed."

a. Shortly thereafter, on Friday September 21st, 2018 Keith Ellison once again denied the sexual assault and derided the medical report, alleging that it had been "cooked up." He added that his accuser fabricated the story. Under close questioning by Doug Wardlow, GOP candidate for AG and the MPR moderator regarding Amy Alexander and Karen Monahan, Ellison retorted, "So this is not multiple cases." Ellison stumbled to find words when the moderator continued to quiz him on Monahan and asked why he declined the offer to meet her together with the investigator. "Well, because I -- we broke up two years ago for a reason," Ellison said. "I didn't want to be in the relationship and therefore, I left the relationship. And to get back in touch with her again is not something that I am interested in doing."

15.) On September 23rd, 2018 the DailyCaller.com published a long chronology of tweets by Keith Ellison that cast much doubt on his denials of his relationship with Karen Monahan and on his denials of abusing her. In a tweet dated February 22, 2017, Ellison states, "I read and watched all of the video you sent me. I don't see how the narcissism thing fits me, but its something to seriously consider."

16.) So, on the one hand, we have Mr. Ellison's remarks "Karen and I were in a long-term relationship which ended in 2016, and I still care deeply for her well-being," but,
on the other hand, we have Monahan’s statement that Mr. Ellison threw her out of his house, and his continual denial of abusing her.

17.) On October 4, 2018, Rollcall.com reported that Mr. Ellison has admitted to calling his woman “a bitch;” but without the video and Monahan’s filing of an official complaint, no formal criminal charges can be leveled against Ellison84.

18.) Both Alexander and Monahan described Ellison as losing his temper and using threats, verbal harassment, and violence85. Essentially their two stories corroborate each other regarding Ellison’s assaults and denials.

19.) Summary of Legal Charges:
   b. Sexual Assault= 609.3451 Criminal Sexual Conduct in the Fifth Degree, Subd. 3. Felony. (a) A person is guilty of a felony and may be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than seven years or to payment of a fine of not more than $14,000, or both, if the person violates this section within seven years. . .87
   c. Domestic Abuse= Minnesota Statute 609.02, Subd. 16. Qualified domestic violence-related offense; 609.2245, subdivision 1; criminal sexual conduct, within the meaning of section 609.342, 609.343, 609.344, 609.345, or 609.3451, and 518B.01 Domestic Abuse Act.
   d. Child Endangerment= Minnesota Statute 626.556, subdivision 10 (a).

G. On-Going Investigations=

1.) On November 26, 2017, House Democratic Leader Pelosi said, “Zero tolerance means consequences,” “Any credible accusation must be reviewed by the Ethics Committee expeditiously. We are at a watershed moment on this issue, and no matter how great an individual’s legacy, it is not a license for harassment.” This was

84 (source: https://www.rollcall.com/news/politics/keith-ellison-called-ex-girlfriend-bitch-thats-says/)
86 (source: https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/2016/cite/609.713/)
87 (source: https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/cite/609.3451/).
in response to Rep. John Conyers stepping aside as the top Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee.88

2.) On August 14, 2018, MoveOn, a progressive policy advocacy group released a statement regarding Ellison which said in part, “our society must have absolutely no tolerance for domestic violence and hold everyone to the same standard. We will closely monitor this situation as more facts come to light."89

3.) On August 15, 2018 the Democratic National Committee reported that it is reviewing allegations of domestic abuse against U.S. Rep. Keith Ellison. DNC Chairman Tom Perez told reporters . . . on Wednesday that the party is “absolutely taking a careful look” at the allegations.90

4.) Although U.S. Sen. Amy Klobuchar said in a statement on August 16th: “I know this is being reviewed, as it should be,” and despite calls from the National Organization of Women and UltraViolet for Ellison to withdraw from the election race, so far, Congressional Democrats have not called for a House Ethics Committee investigation into Ellison; preferring to rely on the vaguely worded DNC review. This stands in sharp contrast to the immediate Senate Ethics Committee investigation of Sen. Al Franken. On the one hand, U.S. Senator Kamala Harris recently stated, “Sexual harassment and misconduct, should not be allowed by anyone, and should not occur anywhere against anyone;” but on the other hand, the Minnesota’s top Democrats are fearful of a backlash in how they handled questions about Franken, and this will probably affect how they handle the Ellison issue. This ambiguity/inconsistency is best summed up by Washington Post writer Paul Kane, “with another prominent Minnesota liberal under fire, other Democrats have decided to largely keep their powder dry, unsure of what the right approach is.”91 Needless to

89 (source: https://www.newsweek.com/keith-ellison-primary-election-controversies-1072323/).
state, the Democratic Party’s uncertainty toward Ellison is a direct contraction of previous public statements.

5.) Somewhat belatedly, the DNC said they were considering suspending Ellison from his position as Vice-Chair of the DNC. “The party has no choice but to suspend him at a minimum until they figure out what’s going on,” former DNC communications director Luis Miranda told NPR. “Frankly, it would be malpractice not to. We’ve made it clear we’re going to take these accusations seriously, at a minimum. We set too high a standard not to take this seriously.”

6.) Somewhat expectantly, on August 25th, 2018 DNC Chair Tom Perez stated that there would not be an investigation of Keith Ellison by the DNC. Mr. Perez’s comments as well as his past record of supporting “revolutionaries” clearly puts the Democratic Party in the same camp as socialists and communists. Numerous recent articles point to the hypocrisy of the DNC and the abeyance of laws, statues, common conventions, and current standards of acceptable behavior by the Democratic Party and its leaders.

7.) On September 26, 2018, Fox News reported that Keith Ellison has requested the U.S. House Ethics Committee to investigate Monahan’s charges against him. Ellison stated, “Today I am announcing that I will submit a request for a House Ethics Committee investigation into allegations against me raised by a former partner. I am taking this step now because I am innocent and eager to see this entire matter resolved,” Ellison said. “In addition to any House Ethics investigation, an independent investigation has been conducted by an independent attorney. I have complied fully with that investigation, the results of which should be made public.

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Ellison also repeated his promise to step down as DNC Co-Chair and as U.S. Representative; however, to date has not done either.

8.) On September 26, 2016 BuzzFeed reported that, "The Minnesota Democratic Party and the Democratic National Committee have already said they are looking into the allegations, but some Democrats have said that the House Ethics Committee needs to open its own probe, prior to Ellison announcing his request Wednesday." The state party chair reportedly said Monday that he expected a report of the review would be issued soon. According to Lissandra Villa of BuzzFeed, "But given that Monahan says this happened while Ellison was a Member of Congress and that he is still a member," (this presents multiple instances of conflict of interest.) At this point we note that two investigations were supposedly underway with DFL Party Chair saying that the investigations would be concluded "soon."

9.) On September 27, 2018 MPRNews.com reported that "Minneapolis lawyer Susan Ellingstad took over the Ellison investigation from the state party’s attorney following Ellison’s primary victory in August, the Associated Press reported Tuesday. Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Chairman Ken Martin told the AP they hired Ellingstad to make sure the investigation “wouldn’t be colored by people with associations with the party.” Ellingstad is a legal partner with the state party’s attorney, Charlie Nauen, who the AP reported handled the early stages of the investigation. Ellingstad and Nauen are partners at Lockridge Grindal Nauen P.L.L.P., which bears the DFL attorney’s name. This presents a clear conflict of interest on the part of Susan Ellingstad, who should have refused to take the case due to her law firm’s association with the DFL.

10.) Curiously, on September 23rd, 2018, Karen Monahan stated that “Minnesota Democrats’ investigation into Ellison’s alleged domestic abuse ended two weeks ago, contradicting Ellison’s claim that the investigation is “ongoing.” and on September 26th, 2018 Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Chairman Ken

Martin said, he believes that the investigation has concluded, and that a final report should be issued in the coming day. The timing of these statements is puzzling because they were made before or at the same time as the announcements of the investigations.

11.) On October 1st, 2018 NBC News reported that, "Minneapolis's state Democratic Party, the Minnesota DFL, issued a statement saying its outside investigation wasn't able to "substantiate" accusations of physical abuse against Rep. Keith Ellison, D-Minn., by an ex-girlfriend." However, the sham continued when DFL Chair Ken Martin stated, "The investigation report, which was released today without our knowledge by someone outside of our organization, was unable to substantiate the claim of physical abuse made by Ms. Monahan," but as Doug Wardlow points out, the "'investigation' led by the DFL party attorney's legal partner has concluded in favor of the party's Attorney General candidate. But the publicly available evidence contradicts that conclusion."

12.) Since that time, the legal investigation has been referred to the Dakota County Attorney and the Minneapolis Police Department. So far, neither department is willing to launch a full-scale criminal investigation into Monahan's charges; the MPD cites a conflict of interest on this matter.

13.) As of October 2, 2018, both the U.S. House Ethics Committee investigation and the Minnesota DFL investigation are stalled with neither body proceeding with their full investigations. A KSTP News report acknowledges the obfuscation by both the National DNC and the local MN State DFL to essentially run out the clock in coming forward with a final report. "It's been one month since Minnesota DFL Chairman Ken Martin announced their lawyers were investigating Ellison after his ex-girlfriend Karen Monahan stepped forward days before the primary election." U of M Political Science Professor, Larry Jacobs advised KSTP News, "Democrats investigating a Democratic attorney general nominee, I wouldn't expect much." "(They are merely) going through the steps of conducting an investigation but I don't think we should be holding our breath."

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97 (source: Fox News, op cite.
98 (source: https://www.nbcnews.com/card/minnesota-democratic-farmer-labor-party-can-t-substantiate-ellison-abuse-n915551/.
14.) On October 8th, 2018, Andrew Parker, Karen Monahan’s new attorney told FoxNews.com that there is sufficient corroborating evidence to move ahead in the criminal investigation of Keith Ellison.100

15.) In a sense Keith Ellison’s misuse of power and sexual assault claims mirror those of former NY Attorney General Eric T. Schneiderman and Sen. Al Franken who resigned after charges surfaced that they had physically assaulted 4 and 8 women respectively. Ellison, Franken, and Schneiderman were strong proponents of the #MeToo Movement, which has been buffeted by negative publicity.

16.) SUMMARY: The evidence is overwhelming. One thing is certain, and that is the fact that Keith Ellison is a danger to society. Along with being an ardent supporter of Jihad, an enabler and supporter of anti-Semites such as Louis Farrakhan and Linda Sarsour, a supporter of ANTIFA, a designated domestic terrorist organization, a member of an anti-white Islamic Center, a sexual offender, ally of cop killers, a master at deception and manipulation, and an unlicensed attorney, Ellison is in no way whatsoever fit to serve as Minnesota’s next Attorney General.101

(End of Legal Charges Against Keith Ellison)

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100 (source: https://www.foxnews.com/transcript/how-the-left-lost-the-kavanaugh-fight-new-attorney-for-keith-ellisons-accuser-speaks-out/)

Conclusions-
The Office of Minnesota State Attorney General is the highest law enforcement office in the state. The MN Attorney General has broad authority to investigate, prosecute, and bring to trial anyone he suspects of wrong doing. Due to the immense power the Attorney General can bring to bear against anyone living in Minnesota, the Attorney General should have impeccable credentials, a character above reproach, and a long record of unquestioned public service. Regrettably, over the past 10 years, the reputation of our current and former Attorney Generals have been sullied by partisan politics and personal vendettas. We cannot let the debasement of this high state office continue by blindly turning our eyes away from further misconduct and improprieties.

In light of the above, we strongly feel that Mr. Ellison has violated the terms of his office and no longer deserves the public’s trust that was vested in him when he became an (Attorney/U.S. Representative). His continual acceptance of out-of-state contributions, continual denial of sexual assaults, and his false pretenses for public office are the most egregious displays of dishonesty and deceit.

Therefore, we urge the Minnesota Campaign Finance and Public Disclosures Board to undertake a full investigation of the charges incurred, while as an attorney, as a candidate, and while serving in other public offices, and if warranted institute punitive disciplinary measures against him.

Respectfully submitted,
The Undersigned.

Bill C. Holm
on behalf of Bill Holm & Friends

Date

October 23, 2018
STATE OF MINNESOTA
CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND PUBLIC DISCLOSURE BOARD

PRIMA FACIE
DETERMINATION

IN THE MATTER OF THE COMPLAINT OF BILL HOLM REGARDING THE KEITH ELLISON FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL COMMITTEE:


The complaint alleges that multiple organizations and individuals outside Minnesota have made contributions to U.S. Rep. Ellison’s principal campaign committee or to independent expenditure political committees supporting U.S. Rep. Ellison’s candidacy. The complaint appears to allege that the out-of-state nature of these contributors and the timing of the contributions indicate violations of Minnesota Statutes sections 211B.06 and 211B.10. The complaint alleges, without explanation, a violation of Minnesota Statutes chapter 211A "regarding campaign contribution limits and campaign finance reporting . . . ." The complaint also alleges violations of a variety of federal statutes and regulations and Minnesota Statutes chapters 171 (pertaining to drivers’ licenses), 609 (criminal code), and 516B (domestic abuse act).

Determination

Minnesota Statutes section 10A.022, subdivision 3, authorizes the Board to investigate alleged or potential violations of Minnesota Statutes chapter 10A as well as Minnesota Statutes sections 211B.04, 211B.12, and 211B.15. Because the Board does not have jurisdiction over the statutes that might give rise to the violations alleged in the complaint, the chair concludes that the complaint does not state a prima facie violation of Chapter 10A or of those sections of Chapter 211B under the Board’s jurisdiction.

Pursuant to Minnesota Statutes section 10A.022, subdivision 3, this prima facie determination is made by the Board chair and not by any vote of the entire Board. The complaint is dismissed without prejudice.

Carolyn Flynn, Chair
Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board

Date: 10/29/2018