#### IN THE

# Supreme Court of the United States

Americans for Prosperity Foundation,

Petitioner,

v.

XAVIER BECERRA, IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CALIFORNIA,

Respondent.

On Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit

BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE OF FREEDOM FOUNDATION IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONER

JAMES G. ABERNATHY
Counsel of Record
TIMOTHY R. SNOWBALL
FREEDOM FOUNDATION
P.O. Box 552
Olympia, WA, 98507
(360) 956-3482
JAbernathy@
FreedomFoundation.com
TSnowball@
FreedomFoundation.com
Counsel for Amicus Curiae

March 1, 2021

#### **QUESTION PRESENTED**

Whether the exacting scrutiny this Court has long required of laws that abridge the freedoms of speech and association outside the election context—as called for by *NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson*, 357 U.S. 449 (1958), and its progeny—can be satisfied absent any showing that a blanket governmental demand for the individual identities and addresses of major donors to private nonprofit organizations is narrowly tailored to an asserted law-enforcement interest.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
QUESTION PRESENTED	i
TABLE OF AUTHORITIES	v
INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE	1
INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT	2
ARGUMENT	3
I. DISCLOSURE WILL RESULT IN HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION, AND RETALIATION AGAINST DISCLOSED DONORS	3
II. THE PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF GOVERNMENT-HELD CONFIDENTIAL DONOR INFORMATION IS HIGHLY LIKELY	6
III. MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICAL POLARIZATION MAKE DISCLOSURE PROTECTIONS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER	9
CONCLUSION	11
APPENDIX	
APPENDIX A: Flyer: The Dark Secret of Connor Homes (2018)	1a
APPENDIX B: Survey letter to Connor Homes neighborhood (January 8, 2020)	5a
APPENDIX C: Connor Homes Alert, Connor Homes and the divisive Freedom Foundation	
(May 4, 2016)	10a

## iv

# TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

	Page
APPENDIX D: Notice: Steve Neighbors & Freedom Foundation: BAD NEIGHBORS	13a
APPENDIX E: Letter to Michael Appleby tenants	15a
APPENDIX F: International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Letter to Wells Fargo Chairman & CEO John Stumpf (February 3, 2016)	17a
APPENDIX G: AFSCME. Letter to Wells Fargo Chairman & CEO John Stumpt (February 9, 2016)	19a
APPENDIX H: Mailer: Tom McCabe, A Record of Failure and Right-Wing Extremism	22a
APPENDIX I: Letter to Brian Minnich, Freedom Foundation Executive Vice President (August 15, 2018)	25a
APPENDIX J: Letter to Maxford Nelsen, Freedom Foundation Director of Labor Policy (October 6, 2020)	30a
APPENDIX K: Flyer: Warning: One of Your Neighbors is Working with White Nationalist (September 16, 2019)	33a

#### $\mathbf{v}$

## TABLE OF AUTHORITIES

CASES	ge(s)
Americans for Prosperity Found. v. Becerra, 903 F.3d 1000 (9th Cir. 2018)3	, 6, 8
Americans for Prosperity Found. v. Becerra, 919 F.3d 1177 (9th Cir. 2019)	6
Bierman v. Walz, 139 S. Ct. 2043 (2019)	1
Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee, 459 U.S. 87 (1982)	9-10
Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976)	9
California Bankers Ass'n v. Shultz, 416 U.S. 21 (1974)	10
Citizens United v. Fed. Election Comm'n, 558 U.S. 310 (2010)	10
Doe v. Reed, 561 U.S. 186 (2010)	10
Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association, 136 S. Ct. 1083 (2016)	1
In re Office of Personnel Management Data Security Breach Litigation, 928 F.3d 42 (D.C. Cir. 2019)	7

# vi TABLE OF AUTHORITIES—Continued

Pag	ge(s)
In re Science Applications International Corp. Backup Tape Data Theft Litigation, 45 F. Supp. 3d 14 (D.D.C. 2014)	7-8
Janus v. AFSCME, 138 S. Ct. 2448 (2018)	1
McCulloch v. Maryland, 17 U.S. 316 (1819)	11
NAACP v. v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449 (1958)	3, 9
National Org. for Marriage, Inc. v. United States, 24 F. Supp. 3d 518 (E.D. Va. 2014)	8
Reisman v. Associated Faculties of Univ. of Maine, 141 S. Ct. 445 (2020)	1
Uradnik v. Inter Faculty Org., 139 S. Ct. 1618 (2019)	1
CONSTITUTION	
U.S. Const. amend. I	, 11
OTHER AUTHORITIES	
An Introduction to John Stuart Mill's On Liberty, Libertarianism. Org, Mar. 20, 2020, https://www.libertarianism.org/columns/introduction-john-stuart-mills-liberty	11

## vii

# TABLE OF AUTHORITIES—Continued

I	Page(s)
Daniel Suhr, Justice Ginsburg and the Value of Anonymity, WSJ, Oct 15, 2020 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021), available at https://www.wsj.com/articles/justice-gins burg-and-the-value-of-anonymity-116027 97350	)
David Keating, Courts come to defense of free speech in New Jersey, New York, App. USA Today, Nov. 14, 2020 (last visited Feb 23, 2021), available at https://www.app.com/story/opinion/columnists/2019/11/14/courts-come-defense-free-speech-new-jersey-new-york/4178483002/	-
Josh Fruhlinger, What is doxing? Weapon izing personal information, CSO, Aug. 31 2020, https://www.csoonline.com/article.3572910/what-is-doxing-weaponizing-personal-information.html	, /
Karen L. Sorrell, <i>The unique risk to non-profits of a targeted cyber attack</i> , Property Causality, Jan. 12, 2018, https://www.propertycasualty360.com/2018/01/12/the-unique-risk-to-nonprofits-of-a-targeted-cyber-attack/?slre turn=20210108145331	7 <b>)</b>

## viii

# TABLE OF AUTHORITIES—Continued

	Page(s)
Max Blau, Behind the #PeachBreach: How the Secretary of State's office compromised the personal data of Georgia's voter, Atlant Magazine, Dec. 15, 2015 (last visited Feb. 8, 2021), available at https://www.atlantmagazine.com/news-culture-articles/behind the-peachbreach-how-the-secretary-of-states-office-compromised-the-personal-data-of-georgias-registered-voters/	d a o. a -
Michael Dimock & Richard Wike, America is exceptional in the nature of its political divide, Pew Research Center, Nov. 13, 2020 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021), https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/11/13/america-is-exceptional-in-the-nature-of-its-political-divide/	el 0 7.
Monica Youn, The Chilling Effect and the Problem of Private Action, 66 VNLR 147 (2013)	
Peggy Fikac, Texas AG releases voters Social Security numbers in mix-up, Houston Chron., April 25, 2012 (last visited Feb. 8 2021), available at https://www.chron.comnews/houston-texas/article/Texas-AG-releases-voters-Social-Security-numbers-	n 3, n/
3510642. php	7

# TABLE OF AUTHORITIES—Continued

P	age(s)
Robert Stacy McCain, N.Y. Times Doxxes Scott Alexander Because They Hate Free Speech, The Other McCain, Feb. 14, 2021 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021), https://theother mccain.com/2021/02/14/n-y-times-doxxes-scott-alexander-because-they-hate-free-speech/	2
Ruth C., Number of leaked government records increases by 278% in Q1, Apr. 14, 2020 (last visited Feb. 3, 2021), https://atlas vpn.com/blog/number-of-leaked-governme nt-records-increases-by-278-percent-in-q1-2020	6, 7
The Federalist Papers, Library of Congress, available at https://guides.loc.gov/federal ist-papers/full-text (last visited Feb. 25, 2021)	12
Theodore Schleifer, Anti-abortion group claims credit for Planned Parenthood hacking, CNN Politics, July 27, 2015 (last visited Feb. 8, 2021), https://www.cnn.com/2015/07/27/politics/planned-parenthood-hacked/index. html	8
Thomas Jefferson, Letter to William Hamilton (April 22, 1800), available at https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/i-never-considered-difference-opinion-politicsquotation	12

## TABLE OF AUTHORITIES—Continued

8

Why Nonprofits and Associations Are at a Higher Risk of Cyber-Attacks, OSI Beyond, Aug. 18, 2020 (lasted visited Feb. 8, 2021), https://www.osibeyond.com/blog/whynonprofits-and-associations-are-at-a-higher-risk-of-cyber-attacks/.....

#### INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE<sup>1</sup>

The Freedom Foundation (the Foundation) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, nonpartisan organization working to advance individual liberty, free enterprise, and limited, accountable government. To advance this mission, the Foundation regularly files *amicus curiae* briefs with this Court. *See*, *e.g.*, *Janus v. AFSCME*, 138 S. Ct. 2448 (2018) (affirming the First Amendment right to refrain from subsidizing the political speech of public sector unions); *Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association*, 136 S. Ct. 1083 (2016); *Reisman v. Associated Faculties of Univ. of Maine*, 141 S. Ct. 445 (2020) (cert denied); *Uradnik v. Inter Faculty Org.*, 139 S. Ct. 1618 (2019) (cert denied); *Bierman v. Walz*, 139 S. Ct. 2043 (2019) (cert denied).

As a non-profit, the Foundation is entirely dependent on the generosity and courage of donors to fund its important public interest work. Additionally, the Foundation is required to submit Form 990 Schedule Bs, and in order to operate in California must disclose donor information for the purposes of the state registry. Thus, the Foundation has the very same concerns as to donor privacy as the Appellants in the instant case and can offer the Court a unique perspective that will be helpful in rendering its decision on the merits.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Pursuant to this Court's Rule 37.3(a), all parties have consented to the filing of this brief. Pursuant to Rule 37.6,  $Amicus\ Curiae$  affirm that no counsel for any party authored this brief in whole or in part, and no counsel or party made a monetary contribution intended to fund the preparation or submission of this brief. No person other than  $Amicus\ Curiae$ , its members, or its counsel made a monetary contribution to its preparation or submission.

# INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

Since 1991, the Foundation has worked to promote reform to make public collective bargaining more transparent and accountable, give public employees meaningful choices, and prohibit taxpayer's money from being unwillingly used to influence the political system. But as copious concrete examples demonstrate, even work in the public interest is not beyond the repercussions of America's current political divide and resulting hostility.

In recent years supporters and staff of the Foundation have become the targets of coordinated McCarthyite harassment campaigns through the socalled "links-and-ties" smear method. See Robert Stacy McCain, N.Y. Times Doxxes Scott Alexander Because They Hate Free Speech, The Other McCain, Feb. 14, 2021 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021).2 Links and ties attacks attempt to discredit individuals and groups based on their association with other groups through common funding sources, no matter how tangential the association or baseless the accusation. *Id.* Supporters and staff of the Foundation have thus been unjustly labelled as white supremacists, anti-environment, anti-working families, and anti-education, among other accusations. Those wishing to harass Foundation staff have even revealed their home addresses and encouraged members of the public to confront them at their homes. Not only do such attacks endanger individual reputations and personal safety but, they exemplify the potential devastating consequences if California's Schedule B disclosure requirement is allowed to stand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://theothermccain.com/2021/02/14/n-y-times-doxxes-scott -alexander-because-they-hate-free-speech/.

Additionally, in the decision below the Ninth Circuit found that the risk of inadvertent disclosure of sensitive Schedule B information by California is unlikely, since "[n]othing is perfectly secure on the internet in 2018." Americans for Prosperity Found. v. Becerra, 903 F.3d 1000, 1018 (9th Cir. 2018). This conclusion, as further demonstrated below, ignores the very real threats faced by charitable donors given that the leak of supposedly confidential information retained by the government is a regular occurrence in the modern era, and charitable organizations like the Foundation have proven to be one of the primary targets of these efforts.

Finally, current political polarization in the United States, combined with unprecedented access to technology has made the kind of pernicious activity the Court has repeatedly sought to prevent in *NAACP v. v. Alabama*, 357 U.S. 449 (1958), and its progeny all the more likely. The result should be more protection for confidential donors, not less.

The ruling of the Ninth Circuit should be reversed.

#### **ARGUMENT**

#### I. DISCLOSURE WILL RESULT IN HARASS-MENT, INTIMIDATION, AND RETALIA-TION AGAINST DISCLOSED DONORS

In the past several years, supporters and staff of the Foundation have become the targets of harassment campaigns designed to damage their careers, personal reputations, and hinder the ability of the Foundation to continue its public interest work. Carried out through the links and ties method, the resulting accusations are extreme and outrageous.

For example, Foundation Board Members Bill and Charlie Connor, owners, and operators of one of Washington State's most successful home construction companies, were the subject of a 2018 flyer widely distributed to their potential customers accusing them of being white supremacists. App. A. A similar message was delivered in a letter sent to already existing Connor customers on January 8, 2020, which implied that the customers were likely victims of discrimination by the Connors. App. B. Links and ties detractors even went so far as to set up a website encouraging potential buyers to refrain from giving their business to the Connors. App. C.

Other Foundation supporters have met with equally venomous harassment. Steve Neighbors, Chairman of Terra Staffing Group, and a former member of the Board of the Foundation, was the subject of a public demonstration outside his company headquarters. App. D. Neighbors was accused of being anti-environment, anti-working families, and anti-education. See id. A similar invective was issued to the tenants of Michael Appleby, a property owner and another of the Foundation's board members. App. E. Specifically, Appleby was accused of being associated with "Stand Your Ground" laws that supposedly protect "criminals" from prosecution. *Id.* Finally, Wells Fargo Executive Vice President Jeffrey Grubb was the target of a coordinated 2016 effort by the management of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, App. F, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, App. G, demanding he be fired from his position. The reason: his association with a charitable trust that helps to fund the work of the Foundation. Id.

Members of the Foundation's staff have also suffered negative repercussions from links and ties attacks. The Foundation's CEO, Tom McCabe, was the subject of a targeted mailer to residents in the Foundation's headquarters of Olympia, Washington, accusing him of being associated with Neo-Nazis and antienvironmentalist extremists. App. H. Brian Minnich, the Foundation's Executive Vice President, had his home neighborhood papered with flyers encouraging individuals to approach him on the street and demand answers to equally salacious accusations. App. I. Maxford Nelsen, the Foundation's Director of Labor Policy, has had at least four letters sent to his neighbors accusing him of supporting white supremacy and attacking front-line workers battling the COVID-19 pandemic. E.g., App. J. Jeff Rhodes, Vice President for News and Information at the Foundation, was also labeled a white supremacist, and his home address was even provided. App. K. Not only do these attacks threaten these individuals' personal and professional reputations in their own communities, but also their own physical safety, and the physical safety of their families.

These examples show the types of personal and professional attacks likely to befall charitable donors in California if the Ninth Circuit's opinion below is allowed to stand. In California, charitable donors have only two choices: remain silent, or risk being harassed or attacked simply for engaging in constitutionally protected speech. Neither is justifiable based on California's asserted interest in combating corruption.

#### II. THE PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF GOVERNMENT-HELD CONFIDENTIAL DONOR INFORMATION IS HIGHLY LIKELY

In the decision below, the Ninth Circuit fails to acknowledge the high likelihood that donor information collected by California will become public. See Ams. for Prosperity Found., 903 F.3d at 1006. Specifically, it rejects the fact that disclosed supporters of Americans for Prosperity Foundation have already experienced harassment in the form of online threats and actual threats of physical violence. Ams. for Prosperity Found. v. Becerra, 919 F.3d 1177, 1178 (9th Cir. 2019) (Ikuta, J., dissenting from denial of rehearing en banc). This conclusion not only absolves California of the responsibility for the potentially disastrous consequences of such disclosures, but also ignores the high likelihood that Schedule B information will become public.

Recent government data breaches have violated the privacy of millions of citizens. In 2020, Atlas VPN's report, a new virtual private network organized in 2020, indicated the number of exposed government records increased 278% from 4.5 million breaches of records in the first quarter of 2019, to 17 million breaches in the first quarter of 2020. Ruth C., Number of leaked government records increases by 278% in Q1, Apr. 14, 2020 (last visited Feb. 3, 2021). This report asserted, contrary to the lower court's explanation, that the risk of public disclosure of sensitive donor information is anything but slight. *Id.* Indeed, "[g]overnments do not seem to invest in protecting their networks the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://atlasvpn.com/blog/number-of-leaked-government-records-increases-by-278-percent-in-q1-2020.

best they can, and hackers are already exploiting it." *Id.* This vulnerability exists at both the state and national levels.

Other state governments besides California have proven themselves equally susceptible to data breaches. For example, in April 2012, the Texas attorney general inadvertently handed over the Social Security numbers of 13 million Lone Star State voters during discovery in a voting-rights case. Peggy Fikac, *Texas AG releases voters' Social Security numbers in mix-up*, Houston Chron., April 25, 2012 (last visited Feb 8, 2021). The infamous Peach Breach resulted from the inadvertent release by the Georgia Secretary of State of 6.1 million voter files, including voters' Social Security numbers, to various media outlets. Max Blau, *Behind the #PeachBreach: How the Secretary of State's office compromised the personal data of Georgia's voter*, Atlanta Magazine, Dec. 15, 2015 (last visited Feb. 8, 2021).

The federal government has also repeatedly proved itself incapable of securing sensitive personal data. See, e.g., In re Office of Personnel Management Data Security Breach Litigation, 928 F.3d 42, 49 (D.C. Cir. 2019) (cyber attackers breached multiple databases of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management stealing sensitive personal information of more than twenty-one million past, present, and prospective government workers); In re Science Applications International Corp. Backup Tape Data Theft Litigation, 45 F. Supp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Texas-AG-releases-voters-Social-Security-numbers-3510642.php.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.atlantamagazine.com/news-culture-articles/behind-the-peachbreach-how-the-secretary-of-states-office-compromised-the-personal-data-of-georgias-registered-voters/. The additional leaked information included voters' names, addresses, race, gender, birth dates, and driver's license numbers.

3d 14, 20 (D.D.C. 2014) (government data breach involving 4.7 million members of the United States military and their families); *National Org. for Marriage, Inc. v. United States*, 24 F. Supp. 3d 518 (E.D. Va. 2014) (IRS improperly disclosed traditional marriage advocacy group's confidential tax return information).

Cyber criminals particularly seek the private information of supporters of charitable organizations with potentially controversial viewpoints. See, e.g., Theodore Schleifer, Anti-abortion group claims credit for Planned Parenthood hacking, CNN Politics, July 27, 2015 (last visited Feb. 8, 2021); Why Nonprofits and Associations Are at a Higher Risk of Cyber-Attacks, OSI Beyond, Aug. 18, 2020 (lasted visited Feb. 8, 2021). There is no indication that these kinds of attacks will lessen in the future. To the contrary, they are only expected to increase. See Karen L. Sorrell, The unique risk to nonprofits of a targeted cyber attack, Property Causality.

The Ninth Circuit assures charitable organizations that California can be trusted with their sensitive personal information. *Becerra*, 903 F.3d at 1019. But regardless of this assurance, California is not only ill-prepared to stop the spread of sensitive donor information, but it may also be powerless to stop it given that politically motivated cyber criminals have

 $<sup>^6\,</sup>$  https://www.cnn.com/2015/07/27/politics/planned-parenthood-hacked/index.html.

 $<sup>^7\,</sup>https://www.osibeyond.com/blog/why-nonprofits-and-associat ions-are-at-a-higher-risk-of-cyber-attacks/.$ 

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  https://www.propertycasualty360.com/2018/01/12/the-uniquerisk-to-nonprofits-of-a-targeted-cyber-attack/?slreturn=20210108 145331.

the knowledge, ability, and opportunity to expose this information to the public.

# III. MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICAL POLARIZATION MAKE DISCLOSURE PROTECTIONS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER

The concerns that previously animated this Court's recognition of the so-called "harassment exemption" for groups at risk of being targeted because of their views have only increased with the advent of new technologies and current political polarization in the United States. See generally Monica Youn, The Chilling Effect and the Problem of Private Action, 66 VNLR 1473 (2013). As recent political controversies demonstrate, the populace of the United States is more ideologically divided now than perhaps at any time since the American Civil War. Michael Dimock & Richard Wike, America is exceptional in the nature of its political divide, Pew Research Center, Nov. 13, 2020 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021). For these reasons, protection from public disclosure is just as important now as it was in the 1950s and 60s.

In NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449 (1958), NAACP members identities were protected from public disclosure because of showing a likelihood of "economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion, and other manifestations of public hostility." *Id.* at 463. This principle was again recognized in *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), where the Court found that "[i]t is undoubtedly true that public disclosure of contributions . . . will deter some individuals who otherwise might contribute," *id.* at 68. *See also Brown* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/11/13/america-is-exceptional-in-the-nature-of-its-political-divide/.

v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee, 459 U.S. 87, 101-02 (1982) (granting disclosure exemption to minor political party subject to harassment).

In *Doe v. Reed*, 561 U.S. 186 (2010), this Court found that disclosure would be unconstitutional if a group's members would face threats, harassment, or reprisals if their names were disclosed. *Id.* at 201 (quoting *Citizens United v. Fed. Election Comm'n*, 558 U.S. 310, 367 (2010)). The threats facing individuals in the above cases are even more likely now, when a government worker's sloppy handling of sensitive records, or a few keystrokes by a talented computer hacker, are sufficient to render Schedule B donor information public, and open those individuals to professional and personal attack.

Concerns over public disclosure in the modern era are not cabined only to organizations like the Foundation. After all, Justice Marshall used the example of the American Civil Liberties Union when he wrote that government cannot run "roughshod over the First Amendment rights of the hundreds of lawful yet controversial organizations . . ." California Bankers Ass'n v. Shultz, 416 U.S. 21, 99 (1974) (Marshall, J., dissenting). No one understood the need to keep principled financial supporters of potentially controversial positions anonymous better than the late Justice Ginsberg, who spent the better part of her career as an attorney fighting on behalf of women's rights. See Daniel Suhr, Justice Ginsburg and the Value of Anonymity, WSJ, Oct 15, 2020 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021).<sup>10</sup> No matter their unique perspectives, groups from across the ideological spectrum understand that

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  https://www.wsj.com/articles/justice-ginsburg-and-the-value-of-anonymity-11602797350.

their ability to continue their work depends on maintaining the anonymity of their financial supporters. See David Keating, Courts come to defense of free speech in New Jersey, New York, App.-USA Today, Nov. 14, 2020 (last visited Feb. 23, 2021).<sup>11</sup>

Given the high likelihood of public disclosure and the resulting harassment, this Court should be skeptical of California's assurances that Schedule B information will remain confidential. Rather than the classical liberal ideal of maximizing free discussion in a marketplace of ideas, see An Introduction to John Stuart Mill's On Liberty, Libertarianism. Org, 12 all too often individuals and groups are now committed to silencing the speech of those with contrary viewpoints; by any means necessary, see, e.g., Josh Fruhlinger, What is doxing? Weaponizing personal information, CSO.<sup>13</sup> Supporters of the Foundation, and charitable donors from across the ideological spectrum, should be protected from the negative repercussions of public disclosure. Rather than ruined reputations, damaged careers, social intimidation, or worse, donors should be free to exercise their First Amendment rights without threat of reprisal.

#### CONCLUSION

As Chief Justice Marshall recognized in the 18th century, the power to tax is the power to destroy. *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 17 U.S. 316, 431 (1819). Similarly, the power to dampen or destroy the flow of

 $<sup>^{11}\</sup> https://www.app.com/story/opinion/columnists/2019/11/14/courts-come-defense-free-speech-new-jersey-new-york/4178483002/.$ 

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 12}$  https://www.libertarianism.org/columns/introduction-john-stu art-mills-liberty.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 13}$  https://www.csoonline.com/article/3572910/what-is-doxing-we aponizing-personal-information.html.

financial support for non-profits like the Foundation is the power to threaten their future efficacy and survival. Such action does not lend itself to the promotion of good policies or a more robust marketplace of ideas. It leads to oppression and intellectual stagnation. The Framers of the Constitution well understood the reasons why it is often necessary to remain anonymous in the arena of political participation. *See, e.g., The Federalist Papers*, Library of Congress. While differences of opinion are inevitable (and even beneficial) in a robust and thriving democracy, the Founding generation believed that such divisions were not "cause for withdrawing from a friend." Letter, Thomas Jefferson to William Hamilton (April 22, 1800). 15

While this ideal has yet to achieve full realization, it should not be abandoned in favor of silencing the conversation through coerced disclosure of public participation.

The ruling of the Ninth Circuit should be reversed.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES G. ABERNATHY

Counsel of Record

TIMOTHY R. SNOWBALL

FREEDOM FOUNDATION

P.O. Box 552

Olympia, WA, 98507

(360) 956-3482

JAbernathy@FreedomFoundation.com

TSnowball@FreedomFoundation.com

Counsel for Amicus Curiae

#### March 1, 2021

14 https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/full-text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/i-ne ver-considered-difference-opinion-politicsquotation.



#### APPENDIX A

#### NWACCOUNTABILITYPROJECT.COM

2018

#### THE DARK SECRET OF CONNER HOMES

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW BEFORE YOU BUY



Here in the Northwest, we are leading the nation in protecting the environment, honoring the rights of women, supporting working families and resisting Trump's agenda of hate and division.

These are the values of Washingtonians and Oregonians and the values that we expect from our business community. That's why it's shocking to learn that Conner Homes, builder of the homes you are visiting, is trying to undermine all of our hard work.

How is it happening? Charlie Conner, the sole owner and president of Conner Homes, was a long-term board member of the Freedom Foundation, a right wing extremist group funded by the Koch Brothers. Charlie is not merely a supporter of the Freedom Foundation, his family name sits proudly on the front door of the Freedom Foundation's office, with the ironic moniker: "Conner Freedom Center."

# DOES THIS SOUND LIKE SOMEONE YOU'D BUY A HOUSE FROM?

# CONNER HOMES AND THE FREEDOM FOUNDATION:

**Attacking Working Families:** 

The Freedom Foundation has repeatedly opposed increases in the minimum wage, and paid sick leave, Calling a \$15 minimum wage "an idea so stupid only liberals can believe it."

Attacking the Environment:

The Freedom Foundation filed a lawsuit to block policies that would combat climate change and protect the environment.

Attacking the LGBTQ Community & Women:

They share funding with anti-LGBTQ hate groups and a group that practiced gay conversion therapy. That same funder has given millions to so-called Crisis Pregnancy Centers, fake health clinics that deceive women about abortion services.

Aligning with groups that fuel White Supremacy:

The Freedom Foundation belongs to a national network which shares connections with groups that attack the LGBTQ community, communities of color, women's rights and fuel white supremacy in our country.

DO YOU SHARE HIS VALUES?

3a CHARLIE CONNER OF CONNER HOMES





THE CONNER FREEDOM CENTER

#### PROTECT YOUR NEIGHBORS

The Freedom Foundation poses as a non-partisan think tank, but in reality, they are members of a national network of ultra-conservative millionaires and billionaires including the Koch brothers. They support policies that gut workplace safety, strip environmental laws, and eliminate taxes on the wealthy. . . . anything in the way of their benefactors' profit margins. They also work closely with white supremacist organizations and groups that seek to undermine LGBTQ rights.

It's time for local wealthy businessmen like Charlie Conner to stop taking our money while guiding right-wing extremist organizations. Unsuspecting home shoppers need to know the true damage Charlie Conner and The Freedom Foundation are doing to our community. It's time to #cleanupconnerhomes!

This message produced by The Northwest Accountability Project. Learn how you can help at nwaccount abilityproject.com

#### APPENDIX B

January 8, 2020

Dear Neighbor,

We are writing to inform you the company that likely built your home, Conner Homes, has an alarming history of environmental negligence, health violations, financial missteps and has been the subject of several lawsuits brought by homeowners. Conner Homes has built homes on lands poisoned by arsenic, exposing families to risk of serious health problems and has been the subject of legal complaints by homeowners for substantial defects. As one of the leading watchdog organizations in the Northwest we are concerned about Conner Homes and are investigating the experience of purchasers such as yourself. We hope you will help us by answering a few questions about your experience.

While this survey is entirely voluntary, your answers will be of great benefit to our goals in helping the community. Thank you. Also - You may find it easier to complete the survey online instead, here: https://nwaccountabilityproject.com/conner-survey/

#### **Environment and Health**

Conner Homes has built homes on land poisoned by years of industrial arsenic use, admitting that arsenic levels were still at 300 parts per billion at the time of construction, which scientists have determined can result in a range of ailments, including skin discoloration, stomachache and diarrhea. Conner Homes has also stunned communities by clearcutting acres of woods and flooded sensitive wetlands with construction debris. What has your experience been?

Yes	No	My family has experienced health issues we think may be related to our home or building site.
Yes	No	I have noticed negative environmental impacts around our neighborhood caused by the builder.
Yes	No	I would like to offer more detail about my answers, or another concern I have:
Safe	ety a	and Quality
nis defic Hom Cons resu	own cienc nes ner lt of	records search shows a string of lawsuits from customers, alleging substantial defects and cies in construction. Homeowners at a Conner development in Kirkland, WA alleged that had failed to address problems, and that as a f the damage "some or all of the units may be pitable." Have you had any similar issues?
Yes	No	I have experienced faulty or defective construction in a house purchased from Conner Homes.
Yes	No	I had/have a safety concern about my home sold to me by Conner Homes.
Yes	No	I would like to offer more detail about my answers, or another concern I have:

#### **Financial and Warranty**

Conner Homes has fallen into foreclosure on several of its housing projects. Bank of America foreclosed on an incomplete Conner property in Bothell, leaving the other half to the families that had already moved in. Venture Bank foreclosed on another property when Conner fell behind \$300,000 on the \$6.3 million loan. A few months later, Venture Bank was seized by state regulators for lack of capital caused by large loan and investment losses. Did you experience any financial concerns working with Conner Homes during your transaction?

 	My purchasing experience from Conner Homes was financially confusing and/or frustrating.
	I experienced frustration working with Conner Homes during a warranty claim.
	I would like to offer more detail about my answers, or another concern I have:

#### **Civil Rights**

The owner of Conner Homes, Charlie Conner, is also chairman of the board for an extremist group called the Freedom Foundation. It has been discovered that this group has multiple ties with the white supremacy movement. Did you experience any discomfort or violations of your civil rights during your purchase experience?

Yes	_	I experienced discomfort due to my race, gender, religion or sexual orientation during the purchase.
Yes		I believe my civil rights may have been violated by a Conner Homes employee due to my race, gender, religion or sexual orientation during the purchase.
Yes	No	I would like to offer more detail about my answers, or another concern I have:
		formation (optional)
<b>You</b> Nan		formation (optional)
	ne:	
Nan Add	ne: ress	
Nan Add Pho	ne: ress ne o	:
Nan Add Pho	ne: ress ne o No	:

#### **About Us:**

your community and beyond.

The Northwest Accountability Project is a watchdog organization dedicated to educating the public on the issues that enhance the well-being of middle-class families and workers while shining a light on

extremism and the moneyed special interests that attempt to bring an agenda of hate and division to Washington and Oregon.

#### **Contact:**

The Northwest Accountability Project Portland, OR info@nwaccountabilityproject.com (509) 309-8071



#### **References:**

 $^{\rm i}$  https://www.bizjournals.com/seattle/stories/2006/06/26/story 4.html

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm ii}$  http://www.issaquahreporter.com/news/stacks-of-trees-draw-the-eye-on-issaquah-pine-lake-road-city-says-development-meets-code/

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm iii}$  https://nwaccountabilityproject.com/front-page/public-records-reveal-shocking-pattern-of-environmental-recklessness-byhome builder-conner-homes/

iv https://www.seattletimes.com/business/seattle-area-home builder-losing-projects-to-foreclosure/

v https://www.theolympian.com/news/local/article25239295.html

vi https://nwaccountabilityproject.com/facts/

## 10a **APPENDIX C**

Welcome to Conner Homes Alert Lawsuits from Homeowners Ties to Extreme Politics

# Conner Homes and the divisive Freedom Foundation

Posted on May 4, 2016 by connerhomesalert

We believe it is important for those who have purchased or are considering purchasing a Conner Homes home to understand the connections between the company and the Freedom Foundation a divisive, heavily-funded effort to bring an extreme agenda to the Northwest.



What Conner Homes customers deserve to know:

- Both Bill and Charlie Conner are members of the Board of Directors of the divisive Freedom Foundation.
- Under the Conners leadership, the Freedom Foundation has become a highly polarizing force in Washington and Oregon politics.
- Complaints have been filed against the Freedom Foundation with State and Federal authorities. Recently, the Freedom Foundation was the target of a complaint to the internal Revenue Service, which argued that the Freedom Foundation is engaged in political activity and should have its nonprofit. 501c3 tax status revoked.
- The Freedom Foundation has regularly attacked women's right to choose and has consistently attacked Planned Parenthood. The Freedom Foundation's Oregon Coordinator has called Planned Parenthood, "a baby-killing, bodypart brokering, government money wasting machine."
- The Freedom Foundation shares financial ties with groups that have a history of anti-LGBT rhetoric and action, including support for gay conversion therapy. The Foundation itself has criticized pro-same-sex marriage court decisions as a "threat to personal freedom: The Freedom Foundation has called legislation legalizing same-sex marriage as a "distraction" and a "cynical ploy" by Gov. Gregoire.

- The Freedom Foundation has criticized schools for a program it believes 'promotes homosexuality: has criticized WEA funding of LGBT advocacy, and opposed a collective bargaining agreement that prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation.
- The Freedom Foundation filed a lawsuit to block policies that would combat climate change and protect the environment. The Foundation called Washington's greenhouse gas regulations "a catastrophe: and questioned whether the concept of climate change was settled science.

Some current and potential buyers of Conner Homes may find the connections between the company and the increasingly controversial and polarizing Freedom Foundation disturbing and worthy of a second look.

Do you have questions? Email us at info@connerhomesalert.com

Bookmark the *permalink*.

← Conner Homes has been repeatedly sued for "defects and deficiencies" by Homeowners at Conner-developed Communities



Connor Homes Alert, 2016

info@connorhomesalert.com

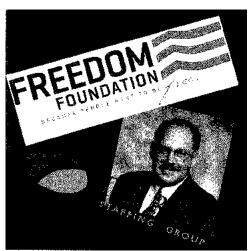
#### 13a

#### APPENDIX D

# Steve Neighbors & the Freedom Foundation: BAD NEIGHBORS

Today, we are demonstrating outside the Terra Staffing Group offices, because company chairman Steve Neighbors is a leading figure in an effort to promote an extremist agenda in the Pacific Northwest.

Steve Neighbors is the Chair of the Board of Directors of the Washington-based Freedom Foundation, which is pushing a far right agenda that's out-of-step with the values of our community. The Freedom Foundation is a radical group fueled by major right-wing foundations and networks with ties to the Koch brothers.



Steve Neighbors and The Freedom Foundation have a record of right-wing extremism:

• The Freedom Foundation is funded by out of state billionaires who want to keep wages low, eliminate paid sick leave and slash crucial funding for quality education.

- The Freedom Foundation shares financial ties with extremist groups who target environmentalists, working families, LGBT rights and women's health.
- The Freedom Foundation is a member of the right-wing State Policy Network and has close ties with the controversial American Legislative Exchange Council. ALEC has been playing a key role in promoting a host of anti-worker, anti-environment, anti-immigrant legislation in states around the nation.
- Steve Neighbors has spoken in opposition to raising the minimum wage, claiming that it could destabilize the economy. Further he said, "If I have to pay \$15 an hour for a worker, I'm not going to be looking at unskilled, first-job type people."
- Steve Neighbors opposed HB 1457, a Washington State bill that would have added funding and expanded coverage for family and medical leave stating, "it's just another tax, another labor expense."

Does this sound like Steve Neighbors and The Freedom Foundation represent our values? It is time for an end to the extremist policies that the Freedom Foundation and Steve Neighbors are pushing on our communities.

The Freedom Foundation and Steve Neighbors: Bad for Our Communities



www.NWAccountabilityProject.com

#### APPENDIX E

Dear Ms. Cariker

You are receiving this letter because you are a tenant at Cedar Professional Center which is owned and operated by Michael Appleby, a new board member of the controversial *Freedom Foundation*.

The *Freedom Foundation* is heavily funded by out-ofstate billionaires, part of a broad network of "dark money" groups like the Donor's Trust which have deep ties to the Koch Brothers and big corporate interests, These groups are working to bring an extreme agenda to Washington and the entire Northwest.

- The *Freedom Foundation* has sourced three of its lawyers from the anti-LGBT hate group, the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF). The ADF pushes extreme anti-LGBT legislation in states throughout the country including North Carolina's notorious "bathroom bill." Their founder, James Dobson once suggested that AIDS was one way God punishes the LGBT community. The Southern Poverty Law Center recently designated ADF as a "hate group."
- The Freedom Foundation works with ALEC and the State Policy Network to advance corporate, cookie cutter policies. ALEC is a corporate "bill mill" that secretively brings together corporate interests and state policymakers to weaken environmental regulations, voter protections and laws that protect workers. They were behind the "Stand your ground" laws in Florida that allowed George Zimmerman to be acquitted for the murder of Trayvon Martin.

- The Freedom Foundation filed a lawsuit in Washington that would block policies to combat climate change and protect the environment,
- The *Freedom Foundation* shares financial ties with groups that have a history of anti-LGBT rhetoric and action, including support for gay conversion therapy.

As a small business owner in the Pacific Northwest, we know that you are invested in the community's diversity and ability to thrive. *The Freedom Foundation* has a long history of not respecting those values and Michael Appleby, your landlord, as a *Freedom Foundation* board member, now represents this same anti-worker, anti-LGBT and climate change denying agenda.

We would love to talk with you further about Michael Appleby and the Freedom Foundation. Please feel free to contact us at info@nwaccountabilltyproject.com

Sincerely,

Peter Starzynski Executive Director Northwest Accountability Project

#### APPENDIX F

# INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

JAMES P. HOFFA General President 25 Louisiana Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20001



KEN HALL General Secretary-Treasurer 202.624.6800 www.teamster.org

February 3, 2016

Mr. John Stumpf Chairman and CEO Wells Fargo 420 Montgomery Street San Francisco, CA 94104

Dear Mr. Stumpf:

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, as well as many Teamster local unions and benefit funds around the country, have long relied upon Wells Fargo for financial services. We have entrusted Wells Fargo with the hard earned assets of Teamster members that have been secured through years of collective bargaining.

That is why I was shocked to learn that Wells Fargo's Executive Vice President, Jeffrey Grubb, through his leadership role on the M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust, has helped finance the extremist Washington State-based "Freedom Foundation" and supports its agenda to undermine the rights of workers and all citizens.

Mr. Grubb serves as one of three Trustees at the M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust—the largest public donor to the Freedom Foundation. The Freedom Foundation is, in its own words, engaged in a highly focused campaign to destroy labor unions and "defend the political left." It has been a primary proponent of passing so-called "Right to Work" laws in Washington State and Oregon. As I'm sure you are aware, these laws are specifically designed to drain the resources unions need to protect the interests of working people.

The Wells Fargo Team Member Handbook makes clear to all employees that "your professional and personal conduct can positively or negatively affect Wells Fargo's reputation." Unfortunately, Mr. Grubb's decision to align himself with these extreme groups exposes Wells Fargo to unnecessary reputational and financial risk, and undermines the values I believe we share.

We expect you to do all in your power to distance Wells Fargo from these kinds of organizations. I ask that you keep me informed of the steps you plan to take in this matter.

Sincerely,

/s/ Ken Hall Ken Hall

General Secretary-Treasurer

## 19a **APPENDIX G**



February 9, 2016

John Stumpf, Chairman and CEO Wells Fargo Bank 420 Montgomery Street San Francisco, CA 94104

Dear Mr. Stumpf:

As President of the 1.6 million member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), I know that our union, at headquarters in D.C. and through our state affiliates, has had long-standing business relationships with Wells Fargo as have many AFSCME members across the country. In fact, many union members rely upon the deposit and loan services of your bank to help them live the American dream that we have all fought so hard through collective action to build for ourselves and for all working families.

I am writing to express my concern and displeasure that one of your top executives has decided to attack the very foundations of the system of employment law that has allowed AFSCME to help the American middle class grow and prosper over decades past. Wells Fargo's Executive Vice President Jeffrey Grubb is one of only three Trustees at the M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust. Murdock has recently been identified as the largest public donor to the Freedom

Foundation, a radical organization that has dedicated itself to undermining the gains of workers across the country through dishonest campaigns against our rights.

The Freedom Foundation is in their own words, engaged in a highly focused campaign to destroy labor unions. In the past, the organization has been behind efforts to pass so-called "Right to Work" laws in Washington State and Oregon. Currently, they are engaged in direct action designed to undermine union members' collective power to negotiate contracts that help sustain middle class families. That they attack workers under the guise of being a pro-worker organization makes their actions even more morally reprehensible.

Labor unions are not the only targets of Mr. Grubb's foundation. The Murdock Trust also provides resources to a number of extremist organizations that work directly to undermine the rights and freedoms of the LGBT community such as the Alliance Defending Freedom, whose co-founder James Dobson has suggested that AIDS is one way that God punishes the LGBT community for immorality.

The Wells Fargo Team Member Handbook makes clear to all employees, ". . . your professional and personal conduct can positively or negatively affect Wells Fargo's reputation." Unfortunately, Mr. Grubb's decision to align himself with a fonder of these extreme groups exposes Wells Fargo to unnecessary reputational and financial risk and undermines the values I believe we share.

I would hope that you will do all in your power to distance Wells Fargo from these kinds of organizations. I ask that you keep me informed of the steps you plan to take in this matter.

Sincerely,
/s/ Lee Saunders
LEE SAUNDERS
President

LS/SJ: sh

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

TEL (202) 429-1000 FAX (202) 429-1293 TDD (202) 659-0446 WEB www.afscme.org 1625 L Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036-5687 This page intentionally left blank.

PRSRT STD

US POSTAGE PAID

# Important Issue Report for Olympia Residents

# TOM McCABE: A RECORD OF FAILURE AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM



# MEET YOUR NEIGHBOR, OLYMPIA RESIDENT TOM McCABE, CEO OF THE FREEDOM FOUNDATION.

The Freedom Foundation calls itself a "think tank" but it's really an extremist group fueled by major right-wing foundations. Before joining the Freedom Foundation, Tom McCabe was the Director of the Building Industry Association of Washington (BIAW). Under McCabe, the BIAW was sued by the Attorney General and forced to pay nearly \$250,000 in fines for campaign finance violations. McCabe took a settlement to leave the BIAW, and the issues that surfaced are continuing at the Freedom Foundation.



Northwest Accountability Project 1037 NE 65th Street #331

Seattle, WA 98115



\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*AUTO\*\*5-DIGIT 98501 BRIAN K MINNICH

<u> Պինստակոիկի Մերևգուհին օկոլի Որհիկի Ու</u>

# **INSIDE:**

LEARN MORE ABOUT OLYMPIA'S

TOM McCABE,

THE FREEDOM FOUNDATION AND THEIR EXTREME POLICIES





Paid for by Northwest Accountability Project.

Learn more at www.NWAccountabilityProject.com

# THE RADICAL RIGHT IN WASHINGTON STATE

# TOM McCabe and the freedom foundation

# **⇒** EXTREME, RIGHT-WING AGENDA

Tom McCabe and the Freedom Foundation have long pushed a far right agenda that's out-of-step with the views of most Olympia-area citizens. The Freedom Foundation is funded by out-of-state billionaires who want to keep wages low, eliminate paid sick leave and slash crucial funding for quality education. The Freedom Foundation also shares financial ties with extremist groups who target environmentalists, LGBT rights and women's health.



Conservative Transparency, accessed 11/9/2105; Center for Media and Democracy, Power Players Behind the Corporate Takeover of Pennsylvania Schools, 10/2014; Washington Post, 1/1/2014; State Policy Network, SPN State Labor Policy Exchange, 5/10/2007; Commonwealth Foundation, accessed 8/19/2015; IRS via The National Center for Charitable Statistics, accessed 9/9/2015; Murdock Charitable Trust, accessed 9/9/2015; Dr. James Dobson's Family Talk, accessed 6/9/2015; Americans United for Life, accessed 9/9/2015; "Nature Policy Network, accessed 10/26/2015; IRS via Guidestar, accessed 10/26/2015; "State Policy Network," Center for Media and Democracy, accessed 10/26/2015; PR Watch, 7/27/2011

# HISTORY OF OPPOSING LGBT RIGHTS

The Freedom Foundation shares financial connections to groups and individuals that have a long history of anti-LGBT rhetoric and action:

- McCabe's Freedom Foundation is funded by groups who seek to limit LGBT rights.
- X The Murdock Charitable Trust, a major Freedom Foundation funder, has also donated to a Portland group that tries to turn gay people straight with gay conversion therapy.
- X The Freedom Foundation shares ties to a group whose co-founder suggests that AIDS is one way God punishes the LGBT community for immorality.



The Murdock Foundation and the Portland Fellowship encourage an anti-LGBT agenda that includes attempts to turn gay people straight.

IRS via The National Center for Charitable Statistics, accessed 9/9/2015; Murdock Charitable trust, accessed 9/9/2015; Portland Fellowship, accessed 9/9/2015; IRS via The National Center for Charitable Statistics, accessed 9/14/2015; Portland Fellowship, accessed 9/9/2015; FUSE Washington, 2/5/2015; Dr. James Dobson's Family Talk, accessed 6/3/2015

# **COMPARING ENVIRONMENTALISTS TO NAZIS**

McCabe has a long record of opposing environmental causes and he is Treasurer of a church whose pastor claims that the Nazis held views that closely align with today's environmentalists.

- X McCabe is the Treasurer of Grace Redeemer Bible Church, where his friend and former coworker Mark Musser is Pastor.
- Musser has been described as the "authoritative source of information about how the Nazis were inextricably linked to what we would call the environmental movement."
- Musser even said that "environmentalists offer today... an amalgam of Nazism and communism."
- McCabe has defended Musser, saying his views on Nazis and environmentalists are a "history lesson."

Nazionale Control Cont

Tom McCabe ally and friend Mark Musser, who has compared environmental activists to Nazis and wrote the book Nazi Oaks.

Port Orchard Independent, 4/26/2008; Washington Secretary of State, UBI Number 602586234, accessed 9/9/2015; Grace Redeemer Bible Church, accessed 9/9/2015; Spokesman Review, 6/22/2008; Seattle Times, 4/3/2008; YouTube, 1/16/2015

# RECORD OF FAILURE AND ABUSE OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS UNDER HIS WATCH

McCabe's BIAW and Freedom Foundation have frequently found themselves in hot water over spending and legal issues:

- X The BIAW was sued by the Attorney General and forced to pay nearly \$250,000 in fines for campaign finance violations. Shortly after this incident, *The Olympian* newspaper reported that McCabe took a settlement to leave the organization.
- X Under McCabe's leadership, the BIAW spent \$11 million on divisive political candidates and causes.
- X The Freedom Foundation claims to be a non-profit organization, but complaints have been filed against them with the state and federal authorities.

Seattle Times, 9/5/2011; The Olympian, 1/5/2011; The Olympian, 2/14/2011; Seattle Times, 10/14/2015; Committee for Transparency in Elections via The Stand, 2/19/2015

#### APPENDIX I

August 15, 2018

Dear Brian K Minnich,

This is an important letter about one of your neighbors, Brian Minnich, who is Vice President for an extremist anti-worker group based in Olympia.

Here in the Northwest, we are leading the nation in protecting the environment, honoring the rights of women and supporting working families. The rest of our nation looks to Washington as a beacon of economic growth and social justice. That's why it's shocking to learn that your neighbor, Brian Minnich, Vice President at the Freedom Foundation, is trying to undermine all of our hard work.

The Freedom Foundation poses as a non-partisan think tank, but in reality, they are members of a national network of ultra-conservative millionaires and billionaires including the Koch brothers. They support policies that strip environmental laws and eliminate taxes on the wealthy...anything in the way of their benefactors' profit margins. They also work closely with white supremacist organizations and groups that seek to undermine LGBTQ rights.

If our neighbor was perpetrating this harm on fellow citizens, we would be alarmed. Are you? Like wolves in sheep's clothing, the Freedom Foundation looks friendly enough on the outside, but a clear look at their actions reveals a much darker mission:

Brian Minnich and the Freedom Foundation trying to attack working families:

The Freedom Foundation has repeatedly opposed increases in the minimum wage, paid sick leave for all

and fair scheduling. They have attacked striking educators and one staffer even said that a \$15 minimum wage is "an idea so stupid only liberals can believe it."

Brian Minnich and the Freedom Foundation against the environment:

The Freedom Foundation filed a lawsuit to block policies that would combat climate change and protect the environment.

Brian Minnich and the Freedom Foundation against women's rights:

The Freedom Foundation's staff consistently attacks Planned Parenthood, an organization that is dedicated to providing women's health services, calling them a "radical social organization"

Brian Minnich and the Freedom Foundation attacking LGBTQ rights:

They share a funder with anti-LGBTQ hate groups and a group that practiced gay conversion therapy.

Brian Minnich and the Freedom Foundation tolerating bigoted staff:

A key Freedom Foundation staffer regularly posted racist and misogynistic content including jokes about battered women's shelters and called for the deportation of all Muslims. Another staffer compared the emotions of putting down a family dog to what slave owners felt when slaves died, saying: "We all know there were good and bad slave owners, just like there are good and bad dog owners."

Perhaps you know Brian Minnich, or maybe you will meet him in the future. Either way, we wanted you to know that he is working very hard with the Freedom Foundation, leading an assault on Washington's working families, the environment and equal rights. Next time you see him, we hope you'll ask him why.

Sincerely,

The concerned staff of The Northwest Accountability Project

The Northwest Accountability Project is a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization dedicated to educating the public on the issues that enhance the well-being of middle-class families and workers while shining a light on extremism and the moneyed special interests that attempt to bring an agenda of hate and division to Washington and Oregon.

Find out how you can help at nwaccountabilityproject.com

# DO YOU REALIZE WHO LIVES DOWN THE STREET?

# FACTS FOR NEIGHBORS OF THE FREEDOM FOUNDATION

Undermining the Middle Class	The Freedom Foundation has repeatedly opposed increases in the minimum wage. (1) The Freedom Foundation has argued against paid sick days. (2)
Environmental Protections	Freedom Foundation filed a lawsuit to block policies that would combat climate change and protect our environment. (3)
Against Women's Rights	The Freedom Foundation's staff consistently attacks Planned Parenthood, calling them a "radical social organization" (4)
Against LGBTQ Community	Freedom Foundation staff publicly opposed the Supreme Court ruling that legalized same- sex marriage. (5)
Against Immigrant Rights	The Freedom Foundation is allied with the American Legislative Exchange Council, who have promoted anti-immigrant and voter suppression bills across the nation. (6,7)
Has Ties with White Supremacists	The Freedom Foundation is an affiliate of the State Policy Network, a national network of organizations with ties to antiimmigrant and white supremacist groups. (8)

(1) Rally for \$15 Minimum Wage to Be Held at Yakima McDonald's" Yakima Herald-Republic. April 15. 2015 (2) "Nearly 9,000 Hospitalized for Flu in Ohio: Many Didn't Have Paid Sick Days° Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 30, 2015 (3) Governor Overstepped Bounds With Climate- Change Executive Order, Says Lawsuit" Washington State Wire, 7/23/2010 (4) "Freedom Foundation Again Assists An Employee Whose Civil Rights Were Violated By SEIU 775," July 31, 2015 (5) Freedom Daily Podcast. June 29, 2015 (6) http://alecexposed.org/w/images/2/2d/7K5-No Sanctu ary\_Cities for Illegal Immigrants Act Exposed.pdf (7) http://www.prwatch.org/files/spn national report fin al.pdf Center for Media and Democracy, accessed May 26, 2015 (8) Conservative Transparency, Freedom Foundation, accessed 8/6/2018 and GuideStar. Sarah Scaife Foundation. 2013 Form 990 Received from the IRS, accessed 8/6/2018: Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed 8/6/2018



### APPENDIX J

Northwest Accountability Project P.O. Box 42561 Portland, OR 97242

Maxford Nelsen



October 6, 2020

To Maxford Nelsen,

If you're like us, you're moving through this pandemic with uncertainty and caution. You are focused on your family, co-workers, and friends' safety, using the simple methods available to slow down viral transmission, like wearing masks and socially distancing.

The purpose of this letter is to advise you that the extremist "Freedom" Foundation, where your neighbor Maxford Nelsen is the Director of Labor Policy, is spending money in an entirely different and more dangerous direction. Worse, the Freedom Foundation staff has been open about not taking proper safety precautions to avoid spreading the virus. They've joined the chorus of COVID-deniers and anti-maskers, spending their millions on lawsuits that endanger school children and frontline workers.

They deny that there even *is* a pandemic. An attorney representing the organization said: "I'll tell you that in the state of Washington, this is not a serious issue. There's just not *been* a real pandemic here." This in the face of our state's more than 86,000 infected and 2137 deaths so far.

They're endangering our children with lawsuits that force kids back into school before they're safe. One staffer proclaimed, "kids are more in danger from perhaps the flu than this virus," a point even Trump suggested is false. While the wildfires were ravaging California and the entire West Coast, their organization sued *against* state health measures that protect children, eating up badly needed state resources.

Perhaps most dangerous to you and your community, they're fighting against common sense protections from the virus. They've called wearing masks "junk science" and said people who wear masks look like "sheep." Many of their leaders have talked on social media about not wearing masks and not complying with social distancing requirements.

They've shown total disregard about protecting themselves, their neighbors, or frontline workers from the deadly coronavirus pandemic, which has taken the lives of more than 200,000 Americans. We've already filed multiple complaints against the anti-masker "Freedom" Foundation for not following public health guidelines in their own office or with their own staff.

We've watched this dismal group fight for years against working families, get the financial support of white supremacist groups, disparage the LGBTQ community, and dismiss climate science. We are outraged at the level of self-serving and dangerous moves they're making now.

Our organization will continue to hold groups like the Freedom Foundation accountable for their attacks on workers and public safety. Please visit our website www.nwaccountabilityproject.com to learn more.

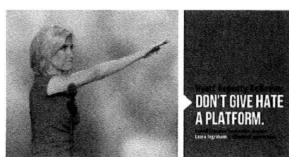
Sincerely,

The team at the Northwest Accountability Project info@nwaccountabilityproject.com
NWAccountabilityproject.com

#### APPENDIX K

# WARNING: ONE OF YOUR NEIGHBORS IS WORKING WITH A WHITE NATIONALIST

September 16, 2019



American families are still grieving and coming to terms with a wave of mass shootings, including the white supremacist in El Paso that murdered 22 people. We believe strongly that we need to call out and expose hate in our communities whenever it rears its ugly head. That Is why we are alerting you that one of your neighbors is working to promote white nationalism and white supremacy.

Your neighbor Jeff Rhodes who lives at is working with an extremist group called the "Freedom" Foundation, and they are importing a dangerous fringe ideology into the Northwest.

Rhodes is the Managing Editor at the "Freedom" Foundation, and they've invited white nationalist and Fox News pundit Laura Ingraham to be the keynote speaker at their annual high-dollar fundraising banquet. Many of us in the community are outraged that the Freedom Foundation Is providing a platform for Ingraham to spread her racist ideologies. But given the Freedom Foundation's funders and activities it is

no surprise that they would support someone like Ingraham.

The dark money "Freedom" Foundation is a secretive organization that won't disclose their funders, but our research has uncovered a list of their extremist funders that promote discrimination and bigotry. This includes the anti-immigrant Sarah Scaife foundation out of Pennsylvania, the Wisconsin based Bradley Foundation which funds one the country's leading white supremacists and Washington state's very own Murdock Trust which has given millions of dollars to anti-LGBTQ organizations including an anti-LGBTQ hate group and groups that practiced so-called "gay conversion therapy." In total these groups have collectively given the Freedom Foundation nearly half a million dollars over the past five years. Now, the "Freedom" Foundation is attempting to raise money off of Ingraham's deadly brand of white supremacy.

Ingraham has made a profitable career of promoting antisemitism, homophobia, and white supremacy all while echoing the divisive and hateful rhetoric of Donald Trump. She has said that immigrants are coming to replace "old America with new America," and that Mexican immigrants "have come here to murder and rape our people." She said immigration is pushing "western civilization" to "tipping over a cliff." This particular brand of white supremacist rhetoric inspired the recent mass shooting terrorist attack in El Paso that killed 22 people.

Ingraham is mainstreaming "white supremacy" not only through her own speech but also by elevating the voices of other white nationalists, such as Paul Nehlen. Nehlen is a known anti-Semite who was seen in a T-shirt that celebrated the shooter of the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, where 11 people were murdered. Ingraham gave national attention to Nehlen by listing him as one of the "prominent voices censored on social media." Ingraham's record on LGBTQ issues is also abysmal, and she has compared same-sex marriage rights to state-validated incest and polygamy.

There is no denying that the "Freedom" Foundation's embrace of toxic white supremacy could do lasting damage in the Northwest. We encourage you to visit the website below to learn more and contact the Hyatt Regency in Bellevue to tell them to cancel Ingraham's appearance.

Learn more at: https://nwaccountabilityproiect.com/cancel-ingraham/

Sincerely,

The Staff of the Northwest Accountability Project P.O. Box 42561 Portland, OR 97242 info@nwaccountabilityproject.com

The Northwest Accountability Project is a 501 (c) (4) social welfare organization dedicated to educating the public on the issues that enhance the well-being of middle-class families and workers while shining a light on extremism and the moneyed special interests that attempt to bring an agenda of hate and division to Washington and Oregon.