

A REPORT FOR THE PEOPLE OF MISSOURI

# OUT-OF-STATE INFLUENCE IN MISSOURI:



## MONEY, POWER, AND KENTUCKY

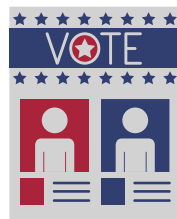
---

PREPARED BY  
ELAD GROSS

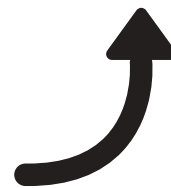
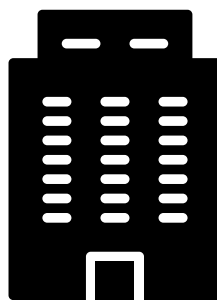


# Where does dark money come from?

THERE IS NO WAY FOR US TO KNOW.



Unlike contributors to political campaigns, donors to 501(c)(4) nonprofit organizations do not have to be disclosed to the public. But just like political campaigns, 501(c)(4)s can influence government and policies.



Although donors to 501(c)(4)s are hidden, we can sometimes see who runs 501(c)(4) organizations and who donates to the same causes.

# Michael G. Adams

## Incorporator and Board Member of A New Missouri, Inc.



Michael G. Adams incorporated A New Missouri, Inc., the dark money organization affiliated with former Missouri Governor Eric Greitens. He is currently the organization's treasurer, overseeing the flow of millions of dollars into Missouri to influence state policy.

Adams is a Washington, DC attorney at Chalmers Burch and Adams, LLC. He is general counsel for the Republican Governor's Association. He is legal counsel for the Great America Committee, Vice President Mike Pence's PAC. And he is a candidate for Kentucky Secretary of State.

Adams' involvement in Missouri is not limited to A New Missouri, Inc. Despite not being authorized to practice law in Missouri, Adams was an attorney for Greitens and his campaign. On April 28, 2017, Greitens and his campaign entered into a consent order with the Missouri Ethics Commission, agreeing that there was probable cause to believe that the Greitens team had violated campaign finance law. Three different names appear on the signature pages: Greitens and Adams for Greitens himself, and Adams and Jeff Stuerman, another board member of A New Missouri, Inc., for the campaign.

RESPONDENT HON. ERIC GREITENS

By: [Signature] 24 April 2017  
Hon. Eric Greitens Date

By: Michael G. Adams April 26, 2017  
Michael G. Adams Date  
Attorney for Respondent

RESPONDENT GREITENS FOR MISSOURI

By: \_\_\_\_\_  
Jeff Stuerman Date  
Treasurer

By: \_\_\_\_\_  
Michael G. Adams Date  
Attorney for Respondent

# Nick Ayers

## Consultant for A New Missouri, Inc. and Chief of Staff to Vice President Mike Pence



Nick Ayers worked for the Greitens campaign and A New Missouri, Inc. He owns or is associated with several political businesses which received substantial amounts of money from the Greitens campaign. They also received money from a political committee supporting Right to Work in Missouri that was heavily funded by A New Missouri, Inc.

Nick Ayers and his associated companies received over \$23 million in Missouri, the vast majority from the Greitens campaign, which raised \$32 million.

Nick Ayers currently serves as the Chief of Staff to Vice President Mike Pence. He also runs the Great America Committee PAC for the Vice President. Previously, he was the executive director of the Republican Governors Association, a dark money organization that contributed \$13 million to Greitens' campaign.

#### 4. Filer's Sources of Compensation Exceeding \$5,000 in a Year

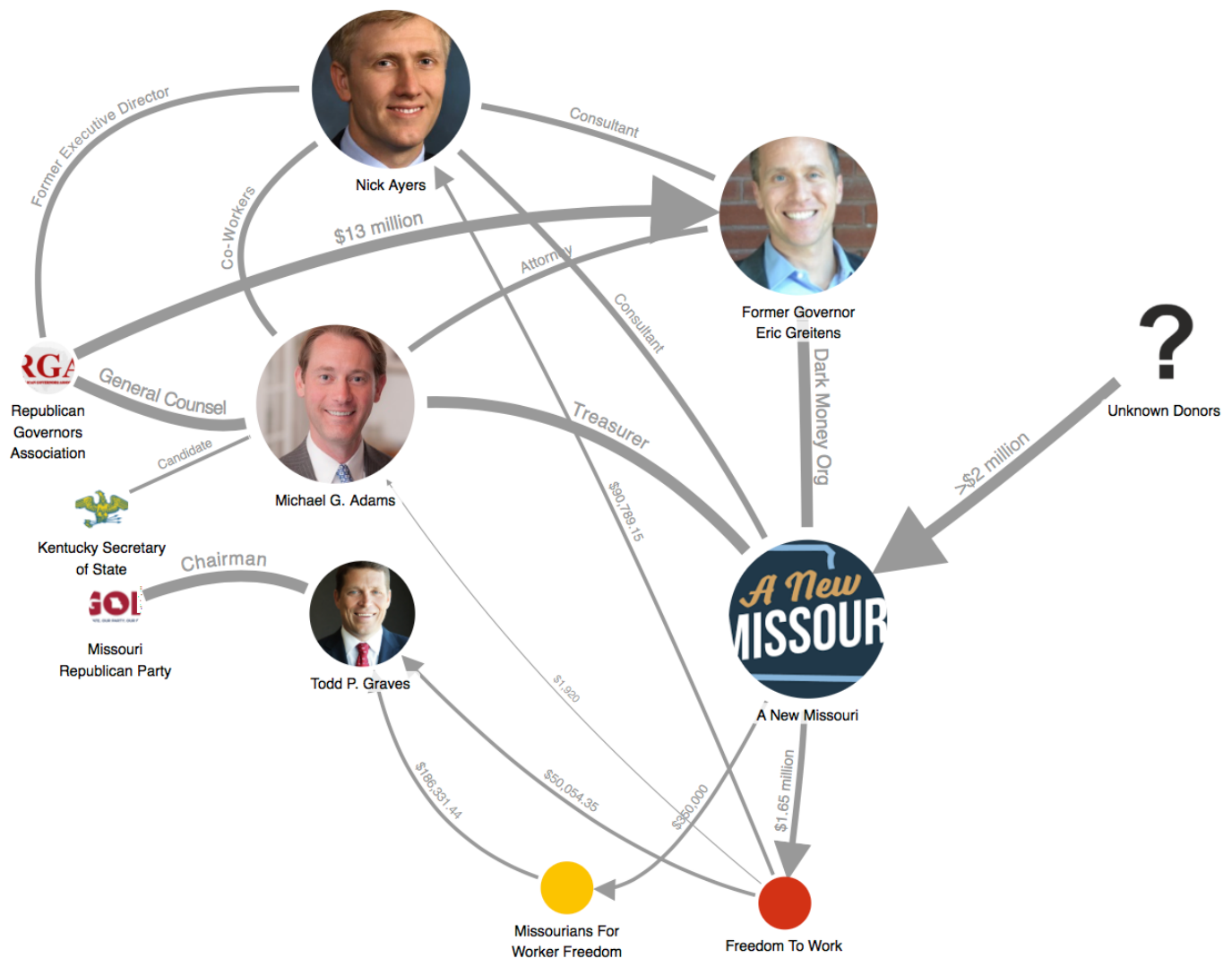
#	SOURCE NAME	CITY, STATE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF DUTIES
1	Bruce Rauner Transition Committee, Inc.	Chicago, Illinois	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
2	Citizens for Rauner, Inc.	Chicago, Illinois	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
3	Turnaround Illinois, Inc.	Washington, District of Columbia	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
4	Aflac, Inc.	Columbus, Georgia	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
5	Mike Pence for Indiana	Indianapolis, Indiana	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
6	Paces Direct, LLC	Atlanta, Georgia	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
7	IMGE, LLC	Alexandria, Virginia	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
8	Target Enterprises, Inc.	Sherman Oaks, California	Business partnership (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
9	ConnectSouth Public Affairs	Atlanta, Georgia	Sublease rent (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
10	A New Missouri, Inc.	Jefferson City, Missouri	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
11	Something Else Strategies, LLC	Easley, South Carolina	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
12	NextEra Energy, Inc.	Juno Beach, Florida	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
13	New Frontier Strategy, LLC	Alexandria, Virginia	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
14	Centene Management Company, LLC	Saint Louis, Missouri	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)
15	Greitens for Missouri	Saint Louis, Missouri	Consulting Services (C5 Creative Consulting, Inc.)

Nick Ayers listed associations with several political companies on his federal disclosures. They collected millions of dollars in Missouri.



# The Dark Money Sieve

The dark money pipeline operates in many ways like a sieve, with money falling out of the pipeline every step of the way. Along dark money’s path, significant amounts of money went to pay those involved in the scheme.



## Supporting Prop A: Right to Work

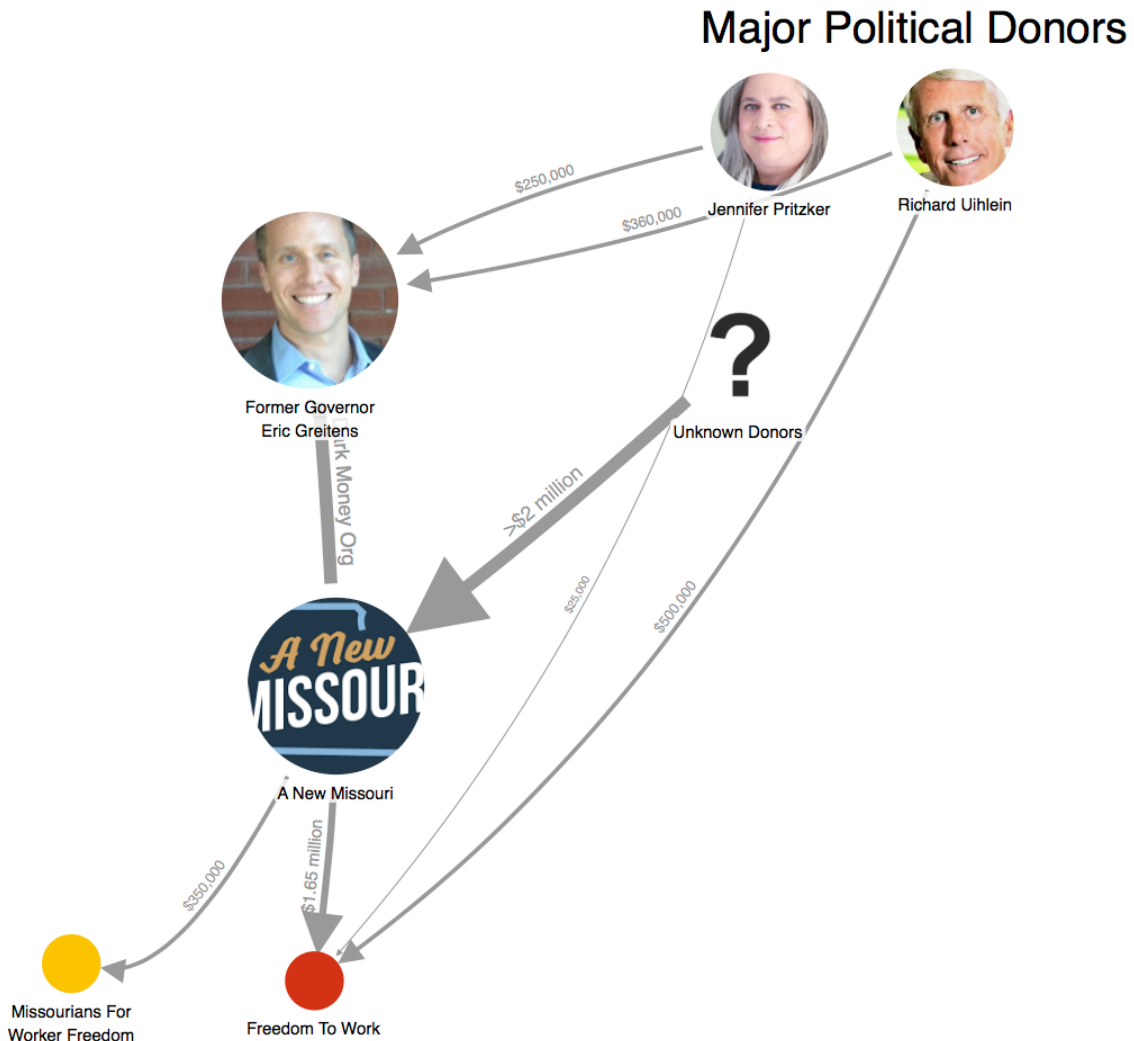
Adams worked for Governor Greitens. Adams and Ayers worked for the Greitens campaign. Adams and Ayers also worked for A New Missouri, Inc. And Adams and Ayers took money from the organizations A New Missouri, Inc. spent its money on.

The law firm of Todd P. Graves, the head of the Missouri Republican Party, also received substantial legal fees from the Right to Work political committees funded by A New Missouri, Inc.

# Out-of-State Interests

The organizers of A New Missouri, Inc. are not the only people from outside of Missouri involved in dark money operations in Missouri.

Jennifer Pritzker, an Illinois billionaire, contributed \$250,000 to a Right to Work committee in Missouri. Richard Uihlein, another Illinois billionaire, contributed \$500,000 to the same committee. A New Missouri, Inc. contributed \$1.65 million to that committee and \$350,000 to another. Both billionaires also contributed to the Greitens campaign.



Supporting Prop A: Right to Work



---

WHY IS

# OUT-OF-STATE INFLUENCE IMPORTANT?

The people who are involved in dark money schemes are not from Missouri. They create elaborate mechanisms to hide donors and influence state policy, but they are not subject to those policies. Elections are meant to select representatives for voters, not for powerful people who do not live in the state.

Out-of-state influence - and the large amount of campaign money involved - compromises Missouri's government. It enriches professional operatives, and it enables them to replicate these schemes in states throughout the country.

Missouri's motto is "salus populi supreme lex esto": The welfare of the people shall be the supreme law. All people, not just the powerful, and not just those who do not live here.

---

**THE USE OF DARK MONEY HAS  
COMPROMISED MISSOURI. IT'S UP TO  
MISSOURIANS TO FIX IT.**



---

# WHAT YOU CAN DO

Dark money avoids transparency, and it is most effective when no one pays attention. You can help just by getting involved and making your voice heard. There is nothing more powerful than a united, determined people.

You can demand change from our elected officials.

Find your elected representatives at:

[http://www.senate.mo.gov/LegisLookup/default.aspx/leg\\_lookup.aspx](http://www.senate.mo.gov/LegisLookup/default.aspx/leg_lookup.aspx)

Ask Attorney General Josh Hawley to investigate A New Missouri, Inc. at 573-751-3321.

And if you want to get involved in reforming Missouri government, sign up at [www.NoMODarkMoney.org](http://www.NoMODarkMoney.org).

---

# ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report was written by Elad Gross, a constitutional attorney and former Assistant Attorney General of Missouri. He began investigating dark money in Missouri in 2017.

Several volunteers helped design and edit the final report. These volunteers, from different backgrounds and with different perspectives, gave many hours to help Missourians see the impact dark money is having on their state. No one was paid for any of the time they spent on this report.

Their work stands as a testament to what Missourians can do when they work together.

We hope that our work inspires others to get even more involved in making Missouri better.