

anybodybutnunes.com

Memo

To: All Interested Parties

From: Maureen Erwin for ABN/ New Leadership for 2018

Subject: Devin Nunes' Dark Money

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Our findings compel us to ask the FEC to investigate Devin Nunes' 2018 fundraising practices.

Devin Nunes' Questionable Campaign Finances

What is going on?

Devin Nunes' campaign recently released their latest campaign contribution report to the FEC. **Nunes' amount of unitemized individual contributions is shockingly high.**

This means he either organized one of the most successful House grassroots campaigns to fund his upcoming election or there is something fishy going on.

- **Unitemized individual contributions** = “Small” contributions from individuals who *in total* donate less than \$200 to a campaign. These donors do not need to be reported to the FEC.
- **Itemized individual contributions** = “Large” contributions of \$200 or more from individuals which require the campaign to disclose the donor's name, occupation, employer, and ZIP code. One single contribution or any combination of smaller amounts that, in aggregate, total \$200 or more must be reported.
- **Unitemized contributions/total receipts** = The percentage (%) of total income to a campaign that comes from unitemized individual contributions.

This system can be hijacked and used to funnel illegal contributions. With today's technology, it isn't that hard.

- In order to receive illegal donations directly from a corporation, foreign nation (Russia) or a group/individual **and not report who they are**, a campaign could accept contributions in amounts of less than \$200 **under various names**. By doing so, this allows the campaign to not disclose the donor's information and to hide the fact that all the money came from the same donor.

Is Nunes hiding large donations within unitemized contributions?

We don't know, because he isn't required to disclose information about them. There is no way to know if they are legitimate or not. And since the amount he raised is truly remarkable, we think it is fair to ask.

Is it possible?

Is it possible to use prepaid cards or falsify information to donate small amounts to the Nunes campaign?

→ Yes. We used a prepaid Visa gift card (purchased with cash) to donate to AnybodybutNunes.com. It was easy and quick. All we needed was a name, email, phone number, ZIP code, occupation, and employer. **Information that can be easily falsified.**

Is it hard to believe?

- The FEC began investigating the Nunes' campaign in March 2018 for various campaign fund violations: <http://thehill.com/homenews/house/379599-fec-requests-information-on-possible-nunes-campaign-violations>
 - Nunes used political contributions to pay for almost \$15,000 in tickets for Boston Celtics games, winery tours and trips to Las Vegas:
<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/campaigns/devin-nunes-fundraising-explodes-amid-aggressive-defense-of-trump-from-russia-probe>
https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/devin-nunes-trump-cash-campaign_us_5b509db3e4b0b15aba8c5d87
- **His bookkeeping is sketchy.** The campaign initially reported July 2018 quarterly campaign total errors to be \$4M less than actual. That's not pocket change.
<https://www.fresnobee.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/political-notebook/article214972475.html>
- **His campaign doesn't take campaign finance very seriously.** Nunes' mom, who moonlights as his treasurer, was been warned by the FEC for taking contributions in excessive amounts:
<http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/285/201803200300001285/201803200300001285.pdf>
- **Russia is already meddling in campaign finance and laundering money.** We know that Russia is getting into voter databases and continues to divide our country with propaganda - on August 2, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats explained Russia's has already been found "targeting US officials and other US persons through traditional tradecraft; criminal efforts to suppress voting and provide illegal campaign financing..."

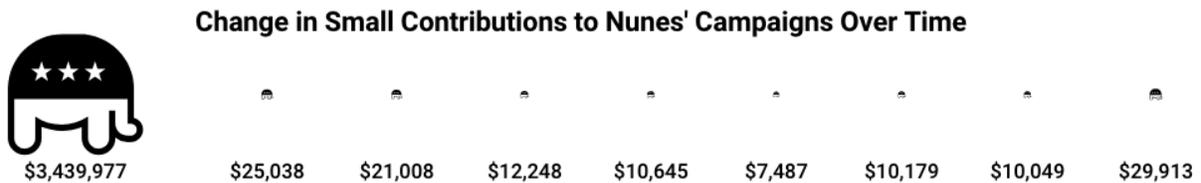
But maybe it's not fraud?

If it is not an error and not campaign finance violations, perhaps Nunes' is simply reaping the benefits of an excited GOP and strong presidential support. While this may account for some increase in contributions, we believe there is a small chance this can account for all \$3.5M in small contributions and \$7.5M total. Even with an increase in popularity, Nunes' staggering increase in unitemized individual contributions does not compare to any House member with other Republican members with similar popularity or similar total receipts.

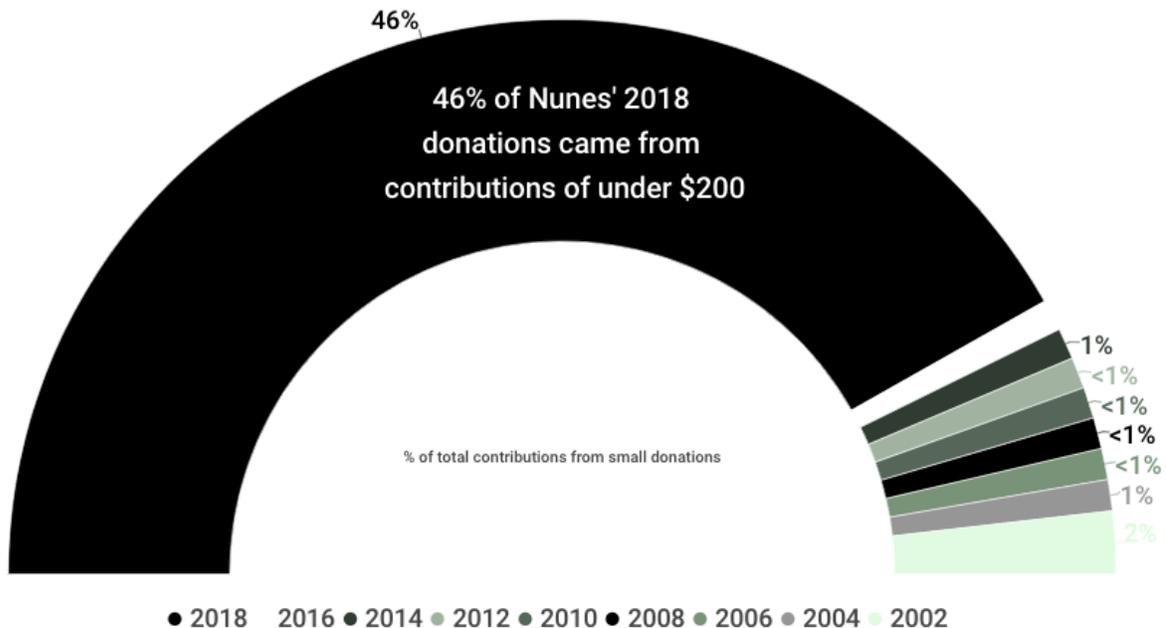
Comparing other House members campaign finances. General takeaways:

Below, we outline unitemized individual contributions for 18 House members. To accurately compare his finances, we chose members with a similar level of new popularity as Nunes, have raised as much as Nunes this cycle, and a random sampling of House Republicans. Here are the general takeaways:

- Nunes' jump from 1% to 46% of his campaign funds coming from unitemized contributions and his increase of \$25,000 in 2016 to \$3M in 2018 is unlike anything seen in the House since 2002.



- Most GOP House members have actually seen a *decrease* in the amounts of unitemized contributions throughout their careers, as in the case of Erik Paulson, Mike Coffman, Mike Turner, Steve Scalise, and Dana Rohrabacher, or stayed steady like Kevin McCarthy and Carlos Curbelo.
- The only House member who had a comparable increase in popularity in the news was (D) Adam Schiff. Although Schiff did see an increase in unitemized contributions, it was similar to what he's raised before (~20% in 2004, 2002), but not even close to Nunes' increase to 46%.

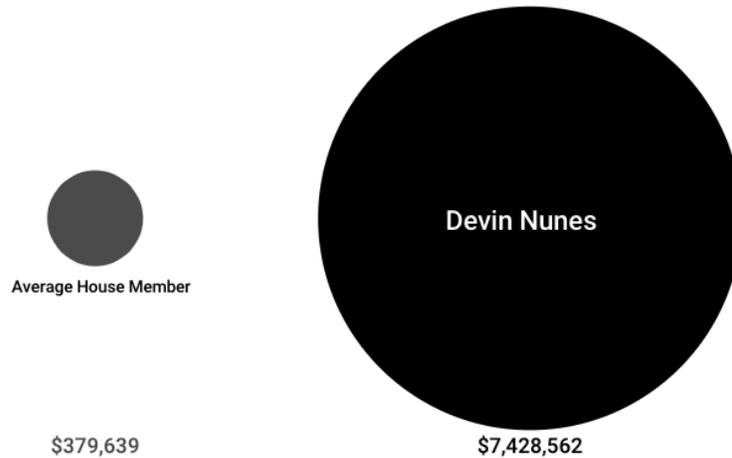


- Nunes' unitemized contributions of \$3,439,977.41 are not too far off from the \$5,626,992 Trump raised in unitemized contributions for his *presidential* campaign. How could someone from CA-

22 raise so much money in small donations when the people in Fresno live at 28% below the poverty line and those in Tulare and Visalia live at 22% below the poverty line?

- Average amount raised per House member in 2018: \$379,639. Total raised by Nunes: \$7.4M.

Amount of Total Political Contributions in 2018



(R) Devin Nunes, CA-22

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$3,439,927.41
2016: \$25,038.01
2014: \$21,008.79
2012: \$14,248.88
2010: \$10,645.00
2008: \$7,487.97
2006: \$10,179.23
2004: \$10,049.33
2002: \$29,913.95

Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 46%
2016: 1%
2014: 1%
2012: <1%
2010: <1%
2008: <1%
2006: <1%
2004: 1.3%
2002: 2.4%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00370056/>

Is it proportional to how much he's raised?

If we look at other House candidates who are close to Nunes' fundraising totals (\$6-7M), we find the majority raise most of their money through large donations/itemized contributions. Most fall well below Nunes' 46% in unitemized contributions. The only candidate who doesn't is Karen Handel, and hers was a unique case (see below). However, Handel's 35% unitemized contributions are still behind Nunes' 46%.

(R) Karen Handel, GA-06

Total raised this cycle: \$7.66M

- Out of all candidates this cycle, Handel comes the closest to Nunes' amount of unitemized contributions. However, this is her first election, which was extremely aggressive against both her DEM and GOP opponents. These races were hotly contested and garnered national attention.
- As observed in other election cycles outlined below, most candidates, as the challenger, start with much stronger grassroots support compared to an incumbent.
- This is most likely due to new candidates creating more excitement, the use of more aggressive campaign styles to unseat an incumbent, and that new candidates often receive less PAC money than established congress members. Nunes never had grassroots donor support, as evidenced by his early fundraising efforts - for example, his first election where only 2% of his total contributions were unitemized.
- This still stands in stark contrast to Nunes' unprecedented – 137% increase – in the 2018 cycle.

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$2,733,988.83

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 35%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H8GA06286/>

(R) Kevin McCarthy, CA-23

Total raised this cycle: \$6.58M

- Although McCarthy raised \$6.58M this cycle, only \$5,555.05 came in small unitemized contributions. The majority of his funds came from other committee contributions (\$2.5M) and transfers from other authorized committees (\$3.5M), both of which must declare who contributed the money. We have no idea where the majority of Nunes' cash came from as it is mostly in small unitemized contributions.

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$5,555.05

2016: \$34,286.52

2014: \$11,885.00

2012: \$48,100.00

2010: \$35,473.51

2008: \$16,757.31

2006: \$22,876.00

Percentage unitemized individual contributions/Total:

2018: <1%

2016: .43%

2014: .19%

2012: 1.03%

2010: 1.69%

2008: 1.61%

2006: 1.98%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H6CA22125/>

(R) Greg Gianforte, MT-01

Total raised this cycle: \$6.93M

- Gianforte rose to fame when he “body slammed” a reporter in 2017 during the special election in which he won. Trump and Pence also threw their support behind him. \$3.8M comes from large itemized contributions and \$1.5M comes from loans made by the candidate.

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$1,073,513

Percentage unitemized individual contributions/Total:

2018: 15.5%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H8MT01182/>

Is it his popularity?

Some of Nunes’ increased unitemized donations could be attributed to an increase in popularity, but can all of it?

(D) Adam Schiff, CA-28

- Schiff, like Nunes, has also seen a recent uptick in popularity; however, his unitemized contributions have held steady year-over-year (2004, 2002) to his current 29%. Conversely, Nunes jumped from a steady 1% to a whopping 46%. Schiff’s total contributions of \$4,638,216.46 is also much lower than Nunes for the 2018 cycle. This is surprising considering Democrats regularly bring in millions more in small unitemized contributions. Unlike many candidates, Schiff actually had a large grassroots fundraising base in his first run in 2002.

[https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?y=2014,2012,2010,2008,2006,2004&f-core=1&f-fc=2&c-exi=1&c-t-p=1.2&d-ccg=16#\[\]|gro=y,c-t-p|1|gro=y](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?y=2014,2012,2010,2008,2006,2004&f-core=1&f-fc=2&c-exi=1&c-t-p=1.2&d-ccg=16#[]|gro=y,c-t-p|1|gro=y)

Unitemized contributions/year

2018: \$1,365,214.72

2016: \$54,232.74

2014: \$60,226.08

2012: \$104,671.54

2010: \$139,205.00

2008: \$94,118.03

2006: \$138,592.74

2004: \$303,336.67

2002: \$242,017.87

Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 29.4%*

2016: 5.6%

2014: 6.6%

2012: 7.9%

2010: 10%

2008: 8%

2006: 11.5%

2004: 20%*

2002: 18.5%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H0CA27085/>

Are other Republicans doing as well in “grassroots funding?”

While 4/14 Republicans sampled were found to have an increase in small donations over the course of their careers, the majority (6/14) either saw a decrease in small donations or stayed level but low (around 2%). Out of the four Republicans found to have an increase in the percentage of small donations, none come close to Nunes’ 137% increase this cycle. From these findings, we can attribute some of Nunes’ success to popular Republicans receiving more small contributions this year. However, the sheer amount of growth seen in Nunes’ finances is not seen anywhere else and is difficult to explain from Republican’s popularity alone.

GOP Reps with an increase in unitemized contributions (4/14)

(R) Trey Gowdy, SC-04

- Gowdy also saw a similar increase in unitemized contributions and had a similar spike from very low % unitemized contributions to nearly half of his campaign contributions coming from small donations.

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$1,219,766.26

2016: \$913,524.62

2014: \$21,439.46

2012: \$31,261.50

2010: \$61,847.00

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 57.4%

2016: 48%

2014: 3.2%

2012: 4.3%

2010: 6.6%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H0SC04257/?cycle=2018>

(R) Steve Scalise, LA-01

- Rep. Scalise has the second highest increase of small donations from <1% to 13%, a large growth in grassroots funding, but nowhere close to Nunes’ jump to 46%. While Scalise started with some

grassroots funding during his first couple elections, Nunes never had small donations account for over 1% of total contributions until this year

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$551,463.22
2016: \$9,338.21
2014: \$4,180.00
2012: \$14,155.30
2010: \$34,323.80
2008: \$81,684.10
2004: \$11,247.00

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 13.2%
2016: <1%
2014: <1%
2012: <1%
2010: 2.5%
2008: 4.5%
2004: 4.5%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H0LA01087/>

(R) Barbara Comstock, VA-10

- Comstock has also seen an increase in unitemized contributions; however, the increase from 8.4% to 15% only totals to a 6% increase and is nowhere near Nunes' jump of 46%. This election is one of the top 10 House races to watch in 2018, according to Politico. A recent poll had Comstock at 39% and Wexton at 49% (ballotpedia).

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$581,137.05
2016: \$445,585.68
2014: \$393,064.25

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 15%
2016: 8.4%
2014: 11%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H4VA10089/>

(R) Mark Meadows, NC-11

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$159,672.04
2016: \$112,807.86
2014: \$48,295.53
2012: \$52,281.22

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=
2018: 18%
2016: 17%
2014: 9%
2012: 4.7%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H2NC11080/>

Reps with a decrease in unitemized contributions (6/14)

(R) Erik Paulson, MN-3

- Elected in 2008. District voted for Obama and Hillary (10 points), challenger is Democrat Dean Phillips, race is “toss-up.”

Unitemized individual contributions per year:
2018: \$89,854.00
2016: \$187,622.74
2014: \$151,975.10
2012: \$188,346.58
2010: \$255,422.40
2008: \$240,251.90

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=
2018: 2.4%
2016: 3.8%
2014: 4.8%
2012: 6%
2010: 9.5%
2008: 8.6%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H8MN03077/>

(R) Mike Coffman, CO-06

- Election: Denver Post says should be a difficult election against Jason Crow.

Unitemized individual contributions per year:
2018: \$130,345.33
2016: \$321,724.25
2014: \$575,638.87
2012: \$362,946.22
2010: \$119,115.71
2008: \$164,066.68

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=
2018: 5.5%
2016: 9%
2014: 12.2%
2012: 10.5%
2010: 13.2%
2008: 11%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H8CO06138/>

(R) Mike Turner, OH-10

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$30,871.09
2016: \$29,313.10
2014: \$24,230.48
2012: \$32,164.22
2010: \$56,815.19
2008: \$94,879.86
2006: \$59,089.34
2004: \$96,768.45
2002: \$111,364.40

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 3.3%
2016: 2.7%
2014: 2.3%
2012: 2.6%
2010: 7.4%
2008: 7.8%
2006: 5.7%
2004: 8.9%
2002: 8.6%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H2OH03067/>

(R) Dana Rohrabacher, CA-48

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$39,961.00
2016: \$17,024.06
2014: \$50.00
2012: \$28,917.00
2010: \$23,235.00
2008: \$46,534.35
2006: \$23,075
2004: \$34,037
2002: \$37,914.20

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 2.3%
2016: 1.9%
2014: < 1%
2012: 5.9%
2010: 5.7%
2008: 6.2%
2006: 7.8%
2004: 4.5%
2002: 9.6%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H8CA42061/?cycle=2018>

(R) Martha Roby, AL-02

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$38,000.54
2016: \$54,373.64
2014: \$46,413.32
2012: \$42,003.43
2010: \$96,482.11

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 1.7%
2016: 3.9%
2014: 4.2%
2012: 4.1%
2010: 7.7%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H0AL02087/?cycle=2018>

(R) Robert Aderholt, AL-04

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$14,365.03
2016: \$33,899.44
2014: \$30,832.10
2012: \$29,879.00
2010: \$44,224.44
2008: \$30,135.50
2006: \$27,520
2004: \$56,788.67
2002: \$38,575.00

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 1.1%
2016: 2.4%
2014: 2.6%
2012: 2.4%
2010: 5.3%
2008: 4.5%
2006: 3.8%
2004: 7.6%
2002: 5.4%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H6AL04098/?cycle=2018>

Reps whose unitemized contributions have stayed the same (4/14)

(R) Carlos Curbelo: FL-26

- Hillary won district by 16 points. Democratic challenger Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, race is a toss-up.

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$20,848.70

2016: \$58,846.05

2014: \$151.00

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: < 1%

2016: 1.5%

2014: < 1%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H4FL26038/>

(R) David Valadao, CA-21

- Election: Valadao is set to win against Dem. T.J. Cox, but CA-21 voted for Hillary. Still, as of June he is beating Cox 63% to 36%

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$71,773.55

2016: \$71,995.02

2014: \$88,989.58

2012: \$10,367.00

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 3.1%

2016: 2.6%

2014: 3.3%

2012: <1%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H2CA20094/>

(R) Jeff Denham, CA-10

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: \$47,906.30

2016: \$40,986.76

2014: \$20,702.74

2012: \$28,557.99

2010: \$33,778.39

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: 1.4%

2016: 1.2%

2014: <1%

2012: 1%

2010: 2.7%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H0CA19173/?cycle=2018>

(R) Marsha Blackburn, TN-07

Unitemized individual contributions per year:

2018: NA
2016: \$91,179.01
2014: \$159,192.48
2012: \$65,606.24
2010: \$83,536.91
2008: \$131,231.95
2006: \$96,023.34
2004: \$67,314.00
2002: \$93,339.00

% Unitemized contributions/total receipts=

2018: NA
2016: 4.2%
2014: 7.6%
2012: 3.6%
2010: 5.3%
2008: 10.5%
2006: 7.9%
2004: 7.8%
2002: 12.9%

<https://www.fec.gov/data/candidate/H2TN06030/?cycle=2016>

Summary Points:

The bottom line is: Rep. Nunes' campaign finances are questionable and deserve a closer look by the FEC.

- Nunes' unitemized contributions increased by 137% from \$25,000 to \$3.4M.
- This increase is not adequately explained by his uptick in popularity or by his overall increase in political contributions.
- His increase in unitemized contributions between 2016 and 2018 is unheard of. Especially because most Republicans have seen a decrease in unitemized contributions in their careers and the average amount raised per House member in 2018 was only \$379,639.
- Nunes' could easily be hiding larger donations within his unitemized donations. It is easy to donate small amounts to a campaign under fake names from the same source.
- Nunes' has a history of misusing and falsely declaring his campaign finances, therefore the FEC needs to do a better job of investigating campaign fund violations in the Nunes' campaign.