



Mississippi: A Case Study in Republican Race-Baiting

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Executive Summary

Henry Barbour, Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, repeatedly claims in public that he had nothing to do with the race-baiting flyers and robocalls that were deployed against Republican State Senator Chris McDaniel during the June 3, 2014 Mississippi Republican U.S. Senate primary election and the June 24, 2014 Mississippi Republican U.S. Senate runoff election.

Henry Barbour is not telling the truth.

Henry Barbour directed a PAC that provided the funding that produced and disseminated vile racial slurs against REPUBLICAN state senator Chris McDaniel and his REPUBLICAN and conservative supporters. The Mississippi Conservatives PAC, under Barbour's direction, funded (through illegal means) various operatives and organizations of dubious background to implement a deliberate and premeditated strategy of vicious race-baiting and fear mongering over issues of race during the runoff election between incumbent Thad Cochran and challenger Chris McDaniel. Henry Barbour deliberately chose to use well-known Democrat operatives and organizations in a character assassination scheme – the kind that the professional Left has perfected, and which Republicans abhor -- in order to destroy the reputation of a loyal, fellow Republican, a current Mississippi state legislator in good standing and a Republican Party member since the age of 13, whose only offense was to announce and run for a Senate seat held by an incumbent Republican. (NOTE: Sen. Chris McDaniel announced for the U.S. Senate seat well before incumbent Sen. Thad Cochran had announced – and at a time when most observers believed that Sen. Cochran was not seeking reelection.)

The evidence presented raises serious and troubling questions about RNC Committeeman Henry Barbour, his behavior during the primary and the runoff campaign, and his evasions and downright falsehoods to the RNC afterwards.

Every day, Republican Party officials demand that President Obama and the Democrats act responsibly and with the consent of the American people. We think this is a perfect opportunity for the leaders of the Grand Old Party to demonstrate to their base and to all Americans that they will enthusiastically live up to the same standards that they demand of the President and his Party.

Therefore we demand that the Republican National Committee:

- Issue a statement that the RNC denounces the accusations of racism leveled against Chris McDaniel and his supporters.
- Censure Henry Barbour, the Republican National Committeeman for the State of Mississippi, for engaging in race-baiting tactics.

The Narrative: How Henry Barbour Funded Race-Baiting Attacks Against a Fellow Republican

According to press accounts, former Mississippi Gov. Haley Barbour established Mississippi Conservatives PAC on January 13, 2014.¹ Henry Barbour – Republican National Committeeman from Mississippi, brother of Thad Cochran for Senate senior strategist Austin Barbour, and nephew of former Mississippi Gov. Haley Barbour – serves as strategist and spokesman for the Mississippi Conservatives PAC.

On January 29th, 2014, Mississippi Conservatives PAC received an illegal contribution in the form of an unsecured \$250,000 loan from Trustmark Bank.² This illegal contribution in the form of an unsecured loan was reported on the PAC's FEC filing dated April 15, 2014.³

When presented with a complaint filed with the FEC regarding the illegal \$250,000.00 unsecured loan that paid for the initial attack ads against Sen. Chris McDaniel Mississippi Conservatives PAC responded by amending its FEC filing to claim that the loan was “secured” – but Treasurer Brian Perry refused to reveal the owner of the funds that ostensibly secured the loan. This is illegal under federal law. By not revealing the owner of the collateral that allegedly secured the loan, Mississippi Conservatives PAC violates federal law – then and now. Supplements to the original FEC complaint have been filed against the PAC and will continue to be filed as long as the PAC is in violation of federal law. To date, Henry Barbour has stubbornly refused to identify the source of the funds used by the PAC to launch the attack ads against Chris McDaniel. The PAC continues to violate federal law. And Henry Barbour knows it.

On June 3, challenger Chris McDaniel won the primary with 155,040 votes, receiving 1,386 more than incumbent Thad Cochran.⁴ But because there was a third candidate in the race, and Mississippi election law requires 50-percent-plus-one votes for victory in a primary election, McDaniel's raw vote plurality was not sufficient to claim victory and the nomination. McDaniel and Cochran would compete against one another in a runoff slated for June 24.

In the days immediately following the June 3 primary election, pro-Cochran forces inside the Mississippi GOP and its allies scrambled to find a new strategy. Given the results of the June 3 primary, it was clear that Cochran could not win a majority of REPUBLICAN votes in the June 24 runoff -- so the strategist began to develop a plan NOT to rely only on the votes of Republican primary voters.

Henry Barbour and his allies determined to go outside the GOP voters in Mississippi and to rely on a provision of Mississippi law that allows any voter – including Democrats – who do not vote in the Democratic primary to vote in the REPUBLICAN runoff election. Mississippi law does not require voters to state a party preference when they register to vote, so any registered voter who had not cast a ballot in the Democratic primary on June 3 was eligible to vote in the June 24 GOP Senate runoff.

¹ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?C00554774>

¹ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2672565/The-worst-race-baiting-ads-Ive-seen-Radio-ads-Mississippi-senate-race-accused-tea-party-candidate-Ku-Klux-Klan-links-drove-black-Democrats-vote-against-REPUBLICAN-primary.html>

² <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2014/06/22/Cochran-Enjoys-Long-And-Profitable-Relationship-With-Trustmark-Bank>

³ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?C00554774>

⁴

This quirk in Mississippi election law became the basis for the Henry Barbour/pro-Cochran forces' strategy: Flood the June 24 electorate with ... *Democrats!* And, in particular, with Democrats who could be frightened into supporting Thad Cochran ... based on leftist, Democratic race baiting, rather than time-honored Republican principles. And that is exactly what they did.

Mississippi Conservatives PAC, under the direction of Henry Barbour, raised funds from the national GOP establishment to then fund the efforts of All Citizens for Mississippi PAC – a new PAC established by Bishop Ronnie Crudup Sr. of the New Horizon Church International just before the Mississippi primary on June 3. This new PAC shares its street address and Treasurer with the church. This new PAC violated federal campaign finance law by not filing required FEC reports until well after the close the June 24 runoff election.

All Citizens for Mississippi PAC essentially became a cut-out for Mississippi Conservatives PAC, taking the anti-McDaniel message into Democratic neighborhoods with funding from Henry Barbour and a clear directive:

- All Citizens for Mississippi PAC produced and disseminated at least one flyer that claimed, “The tea party intends to prevent you from voting.”⁵
- All Citizens for Mississippi PAC also produced and aired radio ads. One said, “A victory by tea party candidate Chris McDaniel is a loss for the state of Mississippi. It is a loss for public education ... It is a loss for the citizens of this state in a time of natural disaster, for our public universities and particularly our historically black universities. A victory for Chris McDaniel is a loss for the reputation of this state for race, for race relationships between blacks and whites and other ethnic groups. Mississippi can't afford Chris McDaniel.”⁶
- A second radio ad produced and aired by All Citizens for Mississippi PAC said, “I'm Pastor Siggers, Pastor of the Mt. Olive Baptist Church. These are some tough times ... And tough times call for tough decisions. A time when there is an effort to roll back the hand of time. I'm talking about the race for the U.S. Senate between Thad Cochran and tea-party candidate Chris McDaniels [sic]. I know that traditionally we as a community don't vote Republican, but for this special election, we need to turn out in record numbers to push back against this tea party effort ... “

Though Crudup said he raised funds for All Citizens for Mississippi PAC from a variety of sources, FEC filings reported after the June 24 runoff reveal that virtually ALL of the PAC's funds came from contributions from Mississippi Conservatives PAC ... from Henry Barbour.⁷

In addition to paying to produce and air radio advertisements and flyers slurring McDaniel and his supporters as racists, All Citizens for Mississippi PAC also engaged in voter “turnout” efforts with money from ... somewhere. As reported by the Clarion-Ledger on June 17,⁸ All Citizens for Mississippi PAC contracted with James “Scooby Doo” Warren to direct a GOTV drive among Mississippi Democrats. All

⁵ <http://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2014/06/establishment-gop-finds-35k-dems-to-carry-cochran/>

⁶ http://gotnews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=153:nrsc-accused-of-illicit-ly-funding-black-church-super-pac&catid=92:politics&Itemid=1768&highlight=WyJucnNjliwibnJzYydzll0#sthash.Ts6HaASQ.dpuf

⁷ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00564351/940147/sa/ALL>

⁸ <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/17/democrat-black-gotv-cochran/10675595/>

Citizens for Mississippi PAC reported a \$16,000 expenditure to James Warren between June 12 and June 1.⁹

Thereafter, flyers appeared in heavily Democratic areas of the state, claiming that a victory by McDaniel would be a step backwards for the state of Mississippi because his tea party supporters “INTEND[S] TO PREVENT YOU FROM VOTING.”¹⁰ The flyers bore a disclaimer saying they were paid for by “All Citizens for Mississippi PAC.”

Clearly, All Citizens for Mississippi PAC – through its use of radio advertisements and printed literature – engaged in race-baiting in its effort to slur Chris McDaniel and his supporters.

MORE THAN 92% OF THE FUNDING FOR THESE RACIAL SLURS AND RACE BAITING ATTACKS CAME DIRECTLY FROM HENRY BARBOUR’S MISSISSIPPI CONSERVATIVES PAC.

One of two things is true: Either Henry Barbour knew and approved in advance of the race-baiting advertisements produced and paid for with the money he had directed his Mississippi Conservatives PAC to contribute to All Citizens for Mississippi PAC ... or he did not.

If he knew and approved in advance, he is guilty of race-baiting himself, and he deliberately lied when, in the wake of the controversy, he repeatedly denied having anything to do with the race-baiting ads.

If he did not know or approve in advance, he should have immediately denounced the racist smear campaign and apologized to both McDaniel and his supporters for having inadvertently funded such a communications effort. That he has not done so more than a month after the end of the runoff campaign speaks volumes.

⁹ <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0>

¹⁰ <http://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2014/06/establishment-gop-finds-35k-dems-to-carry-cochran/>

Listing of Questionable Ads, Flyers and Robocalls with Transcripts

- **Robocall with no disclaimer group given; however, it is [confirmed](#) that Mississippi Conservatives PAC hired Mitzi Bickers “to make paid calls to potential Cochran supporters.”**
Transcript: “Hello, Neighbors. The time has come to make a stand and say no to the tea party, no to their obstruction, no to their disrespectful treatment of the first African-American president. Next Tuesday, June 24th, tea-party candidate Chris McDaniel is in a runoff against Senator Thad Cochran. If we do nothing, tea-party candidate Chris McDaniel wins and causes even more problems for President Obama. It pushes the damaging cuts of funding to our public education system. With your help, we can stop this. Please commit to voting against tea-party candidate Chris McDaniel next Tuesday. Say no to the tea party.” [\[audio: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cp6cYZrccs\]](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cp6cYZrccs)
<http://patterico.com/2014/06/30/yes-there-were-flyers-and-robocalls-that-accused-the-tea-party-of-racism/>
- **Radio ad from All Citizens for Mississippi PAC that was placed with ad buys from Jon Ferrell, who also took money from the NRSC for pro-Cochran “media.”**
Transcript: “This is Bishop Ronnie Crudup of All Citizens for Mississippi encouraging every registered voter to go out and vote on June 24. We're in critical time which means we must make tough decisions. The issues do not just affect Republicans but they affect every citizen. A victory by tea party candidate Chris McDaniel is a loss for the state of Mississippi. It is a loss for public education. It is a loss for the health care industry of this state, for the farm families and agriculture. It is a loss for Ingalls and the ship industry, for our military bases. It is a loss for the citizens of this state in a time of natural disaster, for our public universities and particularly our historically black universities. A victory for Chris McDaniel is a loss for the reputation of this state for race, for race relationships between blacks and whites and other ethnic groups. Mississippi can't afford Chris McDaniel. We cannot afford the price of inexperienced, untested, disconnected leadership. Billions are at stake. On June the 24th go out and vote for Senator Thad Cochran. This ad was paid for by political action committee All Citizens for Mississippi.” [\[audio: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=notnsfEg0KU\]](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=notnsfEg0KU)
http://gotnews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=153:nrsc-accused-of-illicitly-funding-black-church-super-pac&catid=92:politics&Itemid=1768&highlight=WyJucnNjIiwibnJzYydzII0#sthash.Ts6HaASQ.dpuf
- **Radio ad from All Citizens for Mississippi PAC, featuring Pastor Siggers**
Transcript: “I'm Pastor Siggers, Pastor of the Mt. Olive Baptist Church. These are some tough times, tough times socially, tough times spiritually, tough times economically, and yes, tough times politically. And tough times call for tough decisions. A time when there is an effort to roll back the hand of time. I'm talking about the race for the U.S. Senate between Thad Cochran and tea-party candidate Chris McDaniels. [sic] I know that traditionally we as a community don't vote Republican, but for this special election, we need to turn out in record numbers to push back against this tea party effort. Thad Cochran's record speak [sic] for itself - from hiring the first black staff member in the 70s, to supporting the Martin Luther King Memorial, to supporting the Martin Luther King federal holiday, to supporting black farmers, to supporting Alcorn, Jackson State, Valley State, Tougaloo, and the list goes on and on. I urge you to vote Thad Cochran June 24th. He's been good for Mississippi. He's been good for black folk.” [\[audio: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLI-IX8jmwU\]](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLI-IX8jmwU)
- **Flyer from All Citizens for Mississippi PAC**
“The tea party intends to prevent you from voting.”
<http://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2014/06/establishment-gop-finds-35k-dems-to-carry-cochran/>

- **Newspaper ad from All Citizens for Mississippi PAC featured in *Mississippi Link*, a paper dedicated to the African-American community**

“The decision on who is going to be our next senator is going to be made in the republican primary,” the text at the bottom of the ad reads, keeping the names of the political parties in lowercase. “We’re asking democrats to cross over and vote in the republican primary to ensure our community’s interest is heard.”

<http://themississippilink.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/May-29-2014.pdf>

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/17/upshot/a-church-pac-link-raises-questions-in-mississippi.html>

- **Flyer from unknown source, which was distributed at various places (parking lots, etc.)**

“The tea party intends to prevent blacks from voting on Tuesday.”

<https://www.facebook.com/pam.p.davis.1/posts/776988048989016>

<http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/381187/flyer-got-thad-cochran-elected-john-fund>

<http://patterico.com/2014/06/30/yes-there-were-flyers-and-robocalls-that-accused-the-tea-party-of-racism/>

Copies of the flyers can be found in Appendix A.

The Characters

- **Haley Barbour** - Former Governor of Mississippi; former RNC Chairman; established the Mississippi Conservatives PAC and subsequently turned it over to his nephew Henry Barbour to run; donated personally to the Mississippi Conservatives PAC; his lobbying firm, the Washington-BRG Group, held a fundraiser for Thad Cochran and five senior officers from his lobbying firm wrote checks to Cochran's campaign; presides over a large network of closely affiliated operatives and lobbyists that funnels major-donor dollars from K Street to friends in Mississippi, and through national groups like the Chamber of Commerce.
- **Henry Barbour** - Haley Barbour's nephew; Chairman of Mississippi Conservatives PAC; Mississippi RNC National Committeeman; helped run RNC Chairman Reince Priebus' campaign for RNC chairman; partner at multi-state lobbying firm Capitol Resources, which is the "top lobbying firm in Mississippi,"¹¹ with 2014 lobbying income totaling \$691,500¹² so far; "recognized as one of the top strategic political operatives in the country... His experience provides clients with unique insight into Republican administrations across the country; and his campaign experience helps drive the strategies he crafts to ensure results for Capitol Resources' clients."¹³
- **Austin Barbour** - Haley Barbour's nephew; senior strategist for the Thad Cochran campaign; founder and partner at Clearwater Group, a multi-state lobbying firm that vies for government contracts and increased spending.
- **Mitzi Bickers** - Runs The Bickers Group and Pirouette Strategies -- both groups that received money from the Barbour-led Mississippi Conservatives PAC; Atlanta-based Democratic consultant; scandal ridden; known for dirty tactics.
- **James "Scooby Doo" Warren** - Democrat political operative who was paid by the Mississippi Conservatives PAC to put in place a statewide get-out-the-vote (GOTV) plan for Cochran; said "he was working closely with Bishop Ronnie Crudup Sr., a clergyman whose church created a separate political action committee called 'All Citizens for Mississippi.'"¹⁴
- **Bishop Ronnie Crudup Sr.** - Pastor at New Horizon Church International; founded, runs, and raises money for the All Citizens for Mississippi PAC; paid by the Barbour-led Mississippi Conservatives PAC for get-out-the-vote work; "group paid to produce and distribute pro-Cochran flyers in African-American neighborhoods, including one that claimed 'the tea party intends to prevent you from voting.'"¹⁵
- **Jon Ferrell** - CPA with National Media Research, Planning & Placement and also works with the sister company, American Media & Advocacy Group; buyer for pro-Cochran ads and other Republican Senate candidates from other states on behalf of the NRSC.
- **Jaqueline Vann** - Treasurer for All Citizens for Mississippi PAC; Chief Financial Officer for New Horizon Church International.

¹¹ <http://capitolresourcesllc.com/mississippi.htm>

¹² <http://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/firmsum.php?id=D000032312&year=2014%20>

¹³ http://capitolresourcesllc.com/profiles/h_barbour.htm

¹⁴ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2672565/The-worst-race-baiting-ads-Ive-seen-Radio-ads-Mississippi-senate-race-accused-tea-party-candidate-Ku-Klux-Klan-links-drove-black-Democrats-vote-against-REPUBLICAN-primary.html>

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

- **Brian Perry** - Treasurer for Mississippi Conservatives PAC per FEC;¹⁶ *Clarion Ledger* also identifies Perry as “Brian Perry, director of Mississippi Conservatives PAC,”¹⁷ while *Daily Press* states “Brian Perry, a GOP strategist at the Mississippi Conservatives PAC.”¹⁸
- **Pete Perry** - Chairman of the Hinds County, Mississippi Republican Executive Committee that oversees primary elections; per media reports, his company was paid \$60,000 by Barbour-led Mississippi Conservatives PAC for get-out-the-vote work supporting Cochran,¹⁹ but the PAC FEC report shows it was actually \$111,000; his company paid James “Scooby Doo” Warren²⁰ and Bishop Ronnie Crudup Sr.²¹ thousands of dollars (at least “five-figure range”) to funnel to African-American preachers and others for get-out-the-vote efforts for Cochran.
- **Ruth Harris** - Democrat activist; claims that she and five other women funded the three Citizens for Progress ads; claims “group prefers that Harris speaks for them and they be known only as Citizens for Progress,”²² which is only now in the process of becoming “registered as a PAC in Mississippi.” Note that “Citizens for Progress” is also the name of Mitzi Bickers’ defunct and scandal-ridden PAC.

¹⁶ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?C00554774>

¹⁷ <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/13/mississippi-conservatives-pac-loan/10409985/>

¹⁸ <http://www.dailypress.com/news/nationworld/la-na-nn-mississippi-cochran-mcdaniel-20140603,0,3732089.story>

¹⁹ <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2014/06/16/hinds-gop-chair-paid-cochran-pac/10593963/>

²⁰ <https://twitter.com/tonysmithms47/status/478935378486099968>

²¹ http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/us/politics/cochran-asking-blacks-to-rescue-him-in-republican-primary.html?_r=1

²² <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/08/04/democrat-kkk-radio-ads/13584097/>

Key Organizations Involved in the Scandal

- **Mississippi Conservatives PAC** - “The Mississippi Conservatives PAC is the subject of multiple FEC complaints regarding a \$250,000.00 illegal contribution in the form of a ‘loan’ from Trustmark Bank and the refusal to disclose the owner of the certificate of deposit that allegedly serves as the loan's collateral,” the conservative coalition letter reads. “The FEC currently has the matter under investigation.” Received contributions from the leadership PACs of Republican Sens. Mitch McConnell (KY), Rob Portman (OH), Bob Corker (Tenn.), Richard Burr (NC), Mike Crapo (ID), Roy Blunt (MO) and Orrin Hatch (UT).
- **The Bickers [Consulting] Group, LLC** - Per media reports, the Georgia Secretary of State (GA SOS) website shows that the group dissolved in 2012; does not have an operative website. Bicker Group is now Bicker Consulting Group, which is active per GA SOS.²³ GA SOS and FEC²⁴ report list “3625 Cumberland Blvd SE, Ste. 950 Atlanta, Georgia 30339” as address. Bicker Consulting Group is a family wealth preservation / beverage consultant company²⁵ paid for “GOTV phone services.”
- **Pirouette Strategies** - Per media reports, does not have an operative website; received \$25,000 from Mississippi Conservatives PAC for GOTV robocalls; like Brickers [Consulting] Group, Pirouette Strategies has changed names. The address listed for Pirouette Strategies on FEC²⁶ is “1266 West Paces Ferry Rd., Ste. 217 Atlanta, Georgia 30327,” which is the same address for Pirouette Companies, LLC, according to GA SOS.²⁷
- **National Media Research, Planning & Placement** - Same address as American Media, apparent sister company; preferred company for ad buying for the NRSC; paid \$175,000 by the NRSC for pro-Cochran phone calls, media, and media production.
- **American Media & Advocacy Group** - Same address as National Media, apparent sister company; paid \$20,577.81 for radio ad placement by All Citizens for Mississippi PAC.
- **All Citizens for Mississippi PAC** - Jacqueline Vann is the treasurer; received 92% of its funding - \$142,000 - from the Barbour-led Mississippi Conservatives PAC;²⁸ had not registered with the FEC yet when pro-Cochran flyers were published,²⁹ and had not filed an independent expenditure report at the time of the flyer either; paid American Media and Advocacy Group \$20,577.81 for radio ads on June 21;³⁰ paid James “Scooby Doo” Warren \$16,000 according to FEC report,³¹ and possibly \$35,000 according to *Huffington Post*.³²
- **NRSC** - Donated \$45,400 to Citizens for Cochran;³³ spent \$175,000 against fellow Republican Chris McDaniel;³⁴ states that it is the only national organization solely devoted to electing Republicans to the U.S. Senate and previously vowed to stay out of primaries; raised over \$800,000 for Thad Cochran.

²³ <https://cgov.sos.state.ga.us/Account.aspx/ViewEntityData?entityId=308619>

²⁴ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00554774/933139/se>

²⁵ <http://bickersgroup.com>

²⁶ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00554774/933139/se>

²⁷ <https://cgov.sos.state.ga.us/Account.aspx/ViewEntityData?entityId=2230041>

²⁸ <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0>

²⁹ <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/01/mississippi-link-ad-for-thad-cochran/9842467/>

³⁰ http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?_14942380919+0

³¹ <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0%20>

³² http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/15/thad-cochran-african-american_n_5589944.html

³³ <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?14020423438>

³⁴ <http://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/recips.php?cmte=C00027466&cycle=2014>

- **New Horizon Church International** - Jacqueline Vann is the Chief Financial Officer, shares an address in Jackson, a phone number, and the CFO with All Citizens for Mississippi,³⁵ a Super PAC that ran print ads supporting Thad Cochran.
- **Thad Cochran campaign** - Shares an office building with the Mississippi Conservatives PAC, one floor apart, at 210 E. Capitol St. in Jackson, MS.
- **Winning Connections** - A Democrat firm hired by the Barbour-led Mississippi Conservatives PAC and paid \$130,000 for get-out-the-vote work; has worked for Democratic politicians, including Barack Obama, and liberal groups like Planned Parenthood, the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence and billionaire environmentalist Tom Steyer's NextGen Climate Action Committee.
- **Paradigm Government Solutions** - Per media reports, Pete Perry's company that was paid \$60,000 by the Barbour-led Mississippi Conservatives PAC for get-out-the-vote efforts; however, Mississippi Conservatives' FEC report shows \$111,000 was given to Paradigm in two installments: \$50,000 on June 10 and \$61,000 on June 20 - both for canvassing/door-to-door efforts.
- **Citizens for Progress PAC** - A defunct, scandal-ridden PAC that was used to pay for race-baiting radio ads and is associated with Mitzi Bickers and Ruth Harris; Harris claims she speaks for Citizens for Progress in Mississippi, which is "supposedly" not related to Bickers' PAC in Georgia;³⁶ Bickers used the same PAC or PAC name, 'Citizens for Progress,'³⁷ in a 2013 campaign for a local sales tax proposal.³⁸
- **Best Solved Solutions** - Industrial cleaning and lawn care company; paid \$19,000 by All Citizens for Mississippi PAC; has a recorded address identical to that of James "Scooby Doo" Warren; registered with the Mississippi Secretary of State to Mary Jackson and Cleo Ratliff, with a different address than recorded with the FEC.

³⁵ <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/16/pro-cochran-super-pac-new-horizon/10648667/>

³⁶ <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/08/04/democrat-kkk-radio-ads/13584097/>

³⁷ <http://www.slideshare.net/malcolmking/splost-citizens-for-progress-6713159>

³⁸ <http://romefloydcitizensforprogress.com/about/>

APPENDIX A

Flyers from All Citizens for Mississippi



THE TEA PARTY INTENDS TO PREVENT YOU FROM VOTING

If challenged, demand your right to vote!

**Don't let Tea Party representatives
discourage you from voting in the
Senate run-off on Tuesday, June 24.**

This election is much greater
than political parties and affiliations.
It's time for all of us to send the Tea Party
a message of strength and unity.



***We need to vote
Thad Cochran
on Tuesday, June 24th***

**Chris McDaniel in Washington, D.C.
is a step backwards for the state of Mississippi.
*We've come this far, we can't go back now!***

PAID FOR BY ALL CITIZENS FOR MISSISSIPPI

The Tea Party intends to prevent blacks from voting on Tuesday.

According to the Clarion-Ledger, Chris McDaniel & the Tea Party plan to prevent "Democrats" voting in the Senate run-off on Tuesday between Thad Cochran and Tea Party candidate Chris McDaniel. We know the Tea Party uses "Democrats" as code for "African Americans".

Don't be intimidated by the Tea Party. Let's turn out for ALL Mississippians and **vote for Thad Cochran**. Thad Cochran works for all Mississippians.

Mississippi cannot and will not return to the bygone era of intimidating black Mississippians from voting. We must rise up on Tuesday to have our voices heard on who will represent Mississippi in the U.S. Senate. **VOTE THAD COCHRAN.**



Thad Cochran

Supported MLK Memorial
Supports Public Schools
Supports Jackson Medical Mall
Supports All Mississippians
Supports Farm Bill



Chris McDaniel – Tea Party

Voted against MS Civil Rights Museum
Opposes federal funding of public schools
Nursing Home Photo Scandal
Made racist comments on his radio show
Opposes SNAP funding in Farm Bill

MS law is clear. Anyone who did not vote in the June 3rd Democratic Primary may vote in this Senate Run-off on Tuesday, June 24. If anyone asks you who you are voting for now or in November, tell them it's a secret ballot and you don't have to answer them.

VOTE THAD COCHRAN- VOTE THAD COCHRAN- VOTE THAD COCHRAN- VOTE THAD COCHRAN

APPENDIX B

1. Haley Barbour

“The political 'Super PAC' that paid her to run the robocalls is called Mississippi Conservatives, according to *National Review*. Haley Barbour, the former governor, founded the PAC, which is now run by Henry Barbour, his nephew.

Daily Mail: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2672565/The-worst-race-baiting-ads-Ive-seen-Radio-ads-Mississippi-senate-race-accused-tea-party-candidate-Ku-Klux-Klan-links-drove-black-Democrats-vote-against-REPUBLICAN-primary.html>

“In the current Senate race here, Mississippi Conservatives—a Super PAC created by Haley Barbour and run by his nephew, Henry Barbour—...”

Jackson Free Press: <http://www.jacksonfreepress.com/news/2014/jul/16/pac-trouble-horizon/>

“He has donated personally to Mississippi Conservatives PAC and signed fundraising appeals for the group.”

Politico: http://www.politico.com/story/2014/03/haley-barbour-thad-cochran-republicans-104791_Page2.html

“Haley Barbour has raised money for both the Cochran campaign and the Super PAC, and the campaign expects him to return to the stump later in the race. Many of Cochran’s chief benefactors and advisers are alumni of Barbour’s campaigns and administration, including the senator’s pollster, TV admaker and finance chairman.”

Politico: <http://www.politico.com/story/2014/03/haley-barbour-thad-cochran-republicans-104791.html>

2. Henry Barbour

“Barbour’s nephews, Henry and Austin Barbour, and Barbour himself, Burns wrote, are all an “integral part of the sophisticated political operation seeking to quash Cochran’s primary opponent from the GOP’s right flank.” Henry and Austin Barbour both serve in key roles for the Cochran re-election effort; Henry is the head of the pro-Cochran Super PAC Mississippi Conservatives PAC while Austin is a senior Cochran campaign strategist.”

Breitbart: <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2014/03/19/Mississippi-Bloodbath>

3. Austin Barbour

“Barbour’s nephews, Henry and Austin Barbour, and Barbour himself, Burns wrote, are all an “integral part of the sophisticated political operation seeking to quash Cochran’s primary opponent from the GOP’s right flank.” Henry and Austin Barbour both serve in key roles for the Cochran re-election effort; Henry is the head of the pro-Cochran Super PAC Mississippi Conservatives PAC while Austin is a senior Cochran campaign strategist.”

Breitbart: <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2014/03/19/Mississippi-Bloodbath>

4. Paradigm Government Relations, Pete Perry and Hinds County GOP

“The canvassing effort is drawing all kinds of allegations of impropriety from McDaniel supporters and even from the head of the Democratic Party in Mississippi. The trail seems to start with one Pete Perry. Perry is chairman of the Hinds County Republican Executive Committee. The Executive Committee oversees GOP primary elections in the state, the Ledger notes. Perry's consulting firm [Paradigm Government Relations] has also been hired by the Barbour-supported Mississippi Conservatives PAC,

which is leading the fight outside of Cochran's campaign to re-elect the 76-year-old senator to a seventh term, the Ledger reports.”

News Max: <http://www.newsmax.com/Politics/Thad-Cochran-Haley-Barbour-Chris-McDaniel-PAC/2014/06/17/id/577667/>

5. Paradigm Government Relations, Pete Perry and Mississippi Conservatives PAC

“A consulting firm owned by Hinds County GOP Chairman Pete Perry, who helps oversee primary elections, has been paid \$60,000 by a Super PAC that supports incumbent Sen. Thad Cochran... Perry said his firm, Paradigm Government Relations, is doing get-out-the-vote work for the Super PAC. He wouldn't specify what that work is "because I don't want the McDaniel campaign to know what we're doing." In their July FEC report, it shows Mississippi Conservatives PAC actually donated \$111,000 to Paradigm in two installments: \$50,000 on June 10 and \$61,000 on June 20.

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2014/06/16/hinds-gop-chair-paid-cochran-pac/10593963/>

FEC report: <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/410/14961630410/14961630410.pdf#navpanes=0>

Paradigm Government Relations: <http://www.pgrms.com/Bio.html>

6. Mississippi Conservatives PAC and Thad Cochran's Campaign

“When Mississippi Sen. Thad Cochran filed papers to run for another term, the snowy-haired Republican listed the address of his campaign as a P.O. box in Tupelo, a town best known as the birthplace of Elvis Presley and a hub of the state's conservative, northeast corner. But the focal point of Cochran's reelection effort might be more accurately placed in an office tower nearly 200 miles away, at a building in downtown Jackson — 210 E. Capitol St. is the address — where a pair of brothers, in suites separated by just one floor, work overtime to defend Mississippi's elder statesman. They are Henry and Austin Barbour, the nephews of Haley Barbour, the former Mississippi governor who is himself an integral part of the sophisticated political operation seeking to quash Cochran's primary opponent from the GOP's right flank... Austin, 38, is a senior strategist for Cochran's campaign. Henry, a 49-year-old member of the Republican National Committee, leads the pro-Cochran Mississippi Conservatives PAC. The outside group has already spent nearly \$400,000 so far going after Cochran's challenger in the June 3 primary, state Sen. Chris McDaniel.

Politico: <http://www.politico.com/story/2014/03/haley-barbour-thad-cochran-republicans-104791.html>

7. National Republican Senatorial Committee

National Republican Senatorial Committee donated \$45,400 to Citizens for Cochran.

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?14020423438>

“The National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) will host a "Thank You Reception Tuesday for donors who forked over nearly a million dollars to help Sen. Thad Cochran (R-MS) defeat state Senator Chris McDaniel in a June 24 runoff... During the runoff election, an NRSC fundraiser reportedly raised "more than \$800,000 for Cochran." Attendees at the event, which Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) attended, ran away from Breitbart News reporter Matthew Boyle. The NRSC also reportedly deployed "45 staff members and volunteers" to help the Cochran campaign in the runoff.”

Breitbart: <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2014/07/08/NRSC-Hosts-Thank-You-Reception-for-Generous-Thad-Cochran-Donors>

“The NRSC gave its field staff a weekend off – and then redeployed them back to the state. Before the primary, the committee had several dozen campaign workers on the ground knocking on doors for Cochran. For the runoff, 45 staff members and volunteers returned. Targeting high-propensity Republican voters, they knocked on 50,000 doors between the two votes. From the basement of the NRSC, campaign workers placed 18,000 calls into Mississippi.” In Washington, a gang of senators dived back into the race. Just a week after the primary, Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell headlined a fundraiser that raised

more than \$800,000 for Cochran. He told assembled supporters in no uncertain terms: “We are going to win it.” Senators fired off big PAC checks to Cochran. Some worked the phones for him themselves, Wicker chief among them. NRSC senior staff, including executive director Rob Collins and finance director Heather Larison, squeezed every penny they could out of Washington for their embattled colleague. Haley Barbour, the former Mississippi governor, was dialing for runoff dollars as soon as the June 3 vote ended in a deadlock.

Politico: <http://www.politico.com/story/2014/06/how-thad-cochrans-campaign-pulled-it-off-108276.html#ixzz36ttPRWKe>

8. Winning Connections

“Beyond funding the efforts of All Citizens for Mississippi, the Mississippi Conservatives Super PAC paid the Democratic firm Winning Connections \$130,000 for get-out-the-vote phone banks. Winning Connections previously worked for Democratic politicians, including Barack Obama, and liberal groups like Planned Parenthood, the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence and billionaire environmentalist Tom Steyer's NextGen Climate Action Committee.”

Huffington Post: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/15/thad-cochran-african-american_n_5589944.html

9. The Bickers Group, Now Bickers Consulting Group

“Henry Barbour, the head of Mississippi Conservatives PAC and the nephew of former Miss. Gov. Haley Barbour, confirmed for *TheDC* that the PAC paid Mitzi Bickers “to make paid calls to potential Cochran supporters.” Records compiled by the Sunlight Foundation, which tracks political spending, show that Mississippi Conservatives PAC paid two groups operated by Bickers — the Bickers Group and Pirouette Strategies. Pirouette Strategies received \$25,000 from the PAC on June 20; the Bickers Group received \$19,660 on June 23, according to the Sunlight Foundation’s records. Both expenditures went towards “GOTV (get-out-the-vote) phone services... Barbour said he was not sure about the contents of Bickers’ calls but denied that she was involved in those particular robo calls. “She and I talked message for calls, but I never heard them,” Barbour told *TheDC*. While Barbour initially told *TheDC* that he thought that the robo calls were created by Bickers, he later said that she told him that she was not. “Frankly, I thought it sounded like her voice, but she says not so,” Barbour told *TheDC*.”

Yahoo: <http://news.yahoo.com/pro-cochran-pac-paid-embattled-consultant-vote-calls-034805334.html; ylt=A0LEVy70EeBTzGEABPRXNyoA; ylu=X3oDMTEzNWNmcnRqBHNIYwNzcgRwb3MDNgRjb2xvA2JmMQR2dGikA1ZJUDM4NF8x>

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00554774/933139/>

YouTube, audio of call: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cpp6cYZracs>

10. Mitzi Bickers, Ruth Harris and Citizens for Progress

"Ruth Harris, 65, of Jackson, Miss., said she and five other like-minded Democratic women pooled their resources to fund three radio spots urging voters to support Sen. Thad Cochran over McDaniel, a state senator, in Mississippi's contentious June 24 GOP primary runoff... Harris would not reveal the name of the treasurer, saying the group prefers that Harris speak for them and they be known only as Citizens for Progress."

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/08/04/democrat-klk-radio-ads/13584097/>

Washington Examiner: <http://washingtonexaminer.com/democratic-activists-were-behind-controversial-klan-ads-in-mississippi/article/2551630>

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/08/05/jerry-lousteau-greg-brand-radio-ads/13617219/>

“The PAC name Citizens for Progress is also the same one used by Mitzi Bickers, who received nearly \$45,000 from the pro-Cochran group Mississippi Conservatives PAC to do phone banking to turn out

votes in the June 24 primary. As was reported by *Daily Mail*, three days after the primary runoff, Bickers used the same PAC that Harris said paid for the ads — Citizens for Progress — in a 2013 local sales tax campaign in Atlanta. Harris said she does not know Bickers and said that the name is a generic one. She said if Bickers has that group name in Mississippi, then they will change it. No Citizens for Progress PAC is listed with the Mississippi Secretary of State office.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/08/04/democrat-kkk-radio-ads/13584097/>

“*MailOnline* has learned that 'Citizens for Progress' is tied to a longtime Democratic political operative who was paid \$44,000 to run racially explosive 'robocalls' in the same race. A political action committee founded by former Republican National Committee chair and former Republican Gov. Haley Barbour made those payments. The calls were placed in predominantly black and Democratic regions of the state during the final days before Tuesday's runoff, according to a political operative in Mississippi. Mitzi Bickers, an Atlanta pastor and former president of the Atlanta school board, used the same nonexistent group name — 'Citizens for Progress' — in a 2013 campaign for a local sales tax proposal.”

Daily Mail: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2672565/The-worst-race-baiting-ads-Ive-seen-Radio-ads-Mississippi-senate-race-accused-tea-party-candidate-Ku-Klux-Klan-links-drove-black-Democrats-vote-against-REPUBLICAN-primary.html>

11. All Citizens for Mississippi PAC

“As it turns out, Crudup raised all of the \$144,685 his PAC took in from exactly one source: Haley Barbour’s political machine. A report filed with the Federal Election Commission reveals that Mississippi Conservatives, the political-action committee founded by the former Mississippi governor and Republican National Committee chairman and run by his nephew, Henry, provided that money to Crudup’s group in four installments. The first, in the amount of \$62,685, came on June 10, a week after the race was thrown into a runoff. Cochran and his allies were looking to increase voter turnout across the state, particularly among African-Americans and Democrats who had not voted in the June 3 primary... Crudup did not return phone calls to his church seeking comment about the discrepancy between what he told the *Clarion-Ledger* and the FEC report. The group’s treasurer, Jacqueline Vann, who is also the treasurer of New Horizon Church, did not return an e-mail seeking comment.”

National Review: <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/383087/barbour-machines-mississippi-ad-war-eliana-johnson>

“As if the lack of honesty wasn't enough, it looks like an amended FEC report is in the future for one of these two PACs. What All Citizens reported as contributions from Mississippi Conservatives PAC does not match up with what Mississippi Conservatives reported as expenditures. On their report, Mississippi Conservatives PAC reported giving only \$142,000 in four separate contributions to All Citizens. The \$2,685 discrepancy comes in the first contribution made June 10. While Mississippi Conservatives PAC reported giving \$60,000, All Citizens reported receiving \$62,685.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

July 15th FEC report for PAC (\$144,685):

<http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/073/14961619073/14961619073.pdf#navpanes=0>

July 29th Amended FEC report for PAC (\$144,000):

<http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0>

12. Pirouette Strategies, Now Pirouette Companies

“Henry Barbour, the head of Mississippi Conservatives PAC and the nephew of former Miss. Gov. Haley Barbour, confirmed for *TheDC* that the PAC paid Mitzi Bickers “to make paid calls to potential Cochran supporters.” Records compiled by the Sunlight Foundation, which tracks political spending, show that Mississippi Conservatives PAC paid two groups operated by Bickers — the Bickers Group and Pirouette

Strategies. Pirouette Strategies received \$25,000 from the PAC on June 20; the Bickers Group received \$19,660 on June 23, according to the Sunlight Foundation's records. Both expenditures went towards "GOTV (get-out-the-vote) phone services... Barbour said he was not sure about the contents of Bickers' calls but denied that she was involved in those particular robo calls. "She and I talked message for calls, but I never heard them," Barbour told *TheDC*. While Barbour initially told *TheDC* that he thought that the robo calls were created by Bickers, he later said that she told him that she was not. "Frankly, I thought it sounded like her voice, but she says not so," Barbour told *TheDC*."

Yahoo: <http://news.yahoo.com/pro-cochran-pac-paid-embattled-consultant-vote-calls-034805334.html>; [y!t=A0LEVy70EeBTzGEABPRXNyoA; ylu=X3oDMTEzNWNmcnRqBHNIYwNzcgRwb3MDNgRjb2xvA2JmMQR2dGlkA1ZJUDM4NF8x](http://www.yahoo.com/y!t=A0LEVy70EeBTzGEABPRXNyoA; ylu=X3oDMTEzNWNmcnRqBHNIYwNzcgRwb3MDNgRjb2xvA2JmMQR2dGlkA1ZJUDM4NF8x)

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00554774/933139/>

YouTube, audio of call: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cpp6cYZrcs>

13. James "Scooby Doo" Warren

"James "Scooby Doo" Warren said he has put together a get-out-the-vote (GOTV) plan and is "putting it in place across the whole state." Warren said he is not working with the Cochran campaign itself but for the PAC and Bishop Ronnie Crudup Sr."

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/17/democrat-black-gotv-cochran/10675595/>

Warren was paid \$16,000 in three installments: 6/12 (\$3,000), 6/16 (\$7,000) and 6/16 (\$6,000).

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0>

According to *The Huffington Post*, Warren was paid \$35,000.

Huffington Post: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/15/thad-cochran-african-american_n_5589944.html

14. Best Solved Solutions, LLC

"Here's the notable GOTV expenditures, all of which were expended for the runoff:

Best Solved Solutions: \$19,000 / State Rep. Credell Calhoun, D-Jackson: \$5,000 / Roosevelt Daniels: \$20,000 / James "Scooby Doo" Warren: \$16,000 / Bill Washington: \$34,000."

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0>

15. American Media and Advocacy Group

According to June 29th FEC report, All Citizens for Mississippi PAC paid \$20,577.81 to American Media and Advocacy Group.

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/932/14942380932/14942380932.pdf#navpanes=0>

"A receipt from WKXI-FM, an urban adult contemporary radio station in Jackson, shows All Citizens for Mississippi PAC purchased 52 spots for \$5,200 that were scheduled to run June 21-24. The receipt, which is dated June 20, shows the buy was placed by American Media and Advocacy Group out of Alexandria, Virginia. The check was signed by Jon Ferrell, who also works with National Media Research, Planning and Placement — a sister company to American Media."

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

16. Best Solved Solutions, LLC and James "Scooby Doo" Warren

"For those who don't remember, Warren made headlines as the first known Democratic operative to be working to elect Cochran during the runoff. What's more interesting here is that Best Solved Solutions

[which received \$19,000 from All Citizens for Mississippi PAC] and Warren share the same address. However, according to LLC filings with the Mississippi Secretary of State, Best Solved Solutions lists a Jackson address. The filings list Mary L. Jackson and Cleo Ratliff, both of Jackson, as officers. Warren is not shown as being associated with Best Solved Solutions.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

17. James “Scooby Doo” Warren

“Large sums of cash are being passed around,” Cole said in the Facebook message. “These guys are old-school ‘walking around money’ vote buyers. It is happening in Hinds County, but they are trying to move black voters in the Delta, adams (sic), jefferson (sic), and claiborne (sic) too.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/17/democrat-black-gotv-cochran/10675595/>

“Pete Pery” (sic) – the chairman of the Hinds County Republican Party – “is paying James ‘Scooby Doo’ Warren thousands of dollars to funnel to black preachers and others to get-out-the-vote for Cochran,” Cole wrote in a Facebook message sent to a top aide of state Sen. Chris McDaniel’s campaign, Ric McCluskey, just after midnight Tuesday. “Large sums of cash are being passed around. These guys are old school ‘walking around money’ vote buyers,” Cole wrote in the message, obtained by Breitbart News, adding, “Need some out of state media to put some heavy scrutiny on Pete asap... In a phone interview, Cole confirmed he made the allegations and that he thinks there should be an investigation. “I can’t prove any of it yet,” Cole said. “This is just what I had heard. It think it warrants investigating, because I don’t know all of the details on it I just got word that James [‘Scooby Doo’ Warren] was bragging that he got money.”

Breitbart: <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Government/2014/06/17/Rumors-Of-Impropriety-Swirl-About-Cochran-Allies-Entreaties-To-Democratic-Voters>

18. Bishop Ronnie Crudup, Sr.

“Crudup is the pastor at New Horizon Church, which shares an address and chief financial officer with a newly formed Super PAC [All Citizens for Mississippi PAC] that ran print advertising in the primary supporting Cochran.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/17/democrat-black-gotv-cochran/10675595/>

“Warren also said he was working closely with Bishop Ronnie Crudup Sr., a clergyman whose church created a separate political action committee called ‘All Citizens for Mississippi.’ That group paid to produce and distribute pro-Cochran fliers in African-American neighborhoods, including one that claimed ‘the tea party intends to prevent you from voting.’ A full-page ad the group ran in a black community newspaper in Mississippi stated that ‘we’re asking Democrats to cross over and vote in the Republican primary.’”

Daily Mail: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2672565/The-worst-race-baiting-ads-Ive-seen-Radio-ads-Mississippi-senate-race-accused-tea-party-candidate-Ku-Klux-Klan-links-drove-black-Democrats-vote-against-REPUBLICAN-primary.html>

Flyer stating, “the tea party intends to prevent you from voting.”

Gateway Pundit: <http://www.thegatewaypundit.com/2014/06/establishment-gop-finds-35k-dems-to-carry-cochran/>

“The full-page advertisement in Mississippi Link, a weekly newspaper aimed at black residents of Jackson, the state’s capital, urged readers to vote for Senator Thad Cochran in the June 3 Republican primary. That might be unremarkable except for one thing: The political action committee that paid for

the ad shares an address and leadership with a local church. “All Citizens for Mississippi” did not appear to exist at the time of the ad’s publication. Its registration as a Super PAC with the Federal Election Commission was posted online last week and contains one important clue about its origins... The ad, with a big picture of a smiling Mr. Cochran, asked Democrats to vote for him. It cited the senator as having received praise from Democrats and Republicans alike for providing more than \$18 million to Mississippi’s historically black colleges and universities. “The decision on who is going to be our next senator is going to be made in the republican primary,” the text at the bottom of the ad reads, keeping the names of the political parties in lowercase. “We’re asking democrats to cross over and vote in the republican primary to ensure our community’s interest is heard.””

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/17/upshot/a-church-pac-link-raises-questions-in-mississippi.html>

Mississippi Link: <http://themiississippiilink.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/May-29-2014.pdf>

Radio ad

YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=notnsfEg0KU>

19. New Horizon Church International and All Citizens for Mississippi PAC

“All Citizens for Mississippi shares an address with New Horizon Church International in Jackson...”

New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/17/upshot/a-church-pac-link-raises-questions-in-mississippi.html>

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/06/16/pro-cochran-super-pac-new-horizon/10648667/>

Church address: <http://www.nhcms.org/contact-us/>

FEC file: <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?C00564351>

“The political-action committee [All Citizens for Mississippi PAC] that aired the ads raised eyebrows from the outset. For one thing, it had the same address, phone number, e-mail domain, and leader — the bishop Ronnie Crudup — as the Jackson-based New Horizon Church International. Crudup told Mississippi’s Clarion-Ledger earlier this month that he founded the PAC and raised \$200,000: “Some money from the Republicans,” some from African-Americans. “I raised money from a number of sources,” he said.”

National Review Online: <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/383087/barbour-machines-mississippi-ad-war-eliana-johnson>

20. Jacqueline Vann

“All Citizens for Mississippi...also names Jacqueline Vann, the church’s chief financial officer, as its treasurer.”

New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/17/upshot/a-church-pac-link-raises-questions-in-mississippi.html>

21. Jon Ferrell

“A receipt from WKXI-FM, an urban adult contemporary radio station in Jackson, shows All Citizens for Mississippi PAC purchased 52 spots for \$5,200 that were scheduled to run June 21-24. The receipt, which is dated June 20, shows the buy was placed by American Media and Advocacy Group out of Alexandria, Virginia. The check was signed by Jon Ferrell, who also works with National Media Research, Planning and Placement — a sister company to American Media.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

22. Jon Ferrell and American Media & Advocacy Group

“...the buy was placed by American Media and Advocacy Group out of Alexandria, Virginia. The check was signed by Jon Ferrell, who also works with National Media Research, Planning and Placement — a sister company to American Media.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

23. American Media & Advocacy Group and National Media

“...the buy was placed by American Media and Advocacy Group out of Alexandria, Virginia. The check was signed by Jon Ferrell, who also works with National Media Research, Planning and Placement — a sister company to American Media.”

Clarion Ledger: <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/dailyledes/2014/07/16/all-citizens-for-mississippi-fec-report/12718801/>

24. Jon Ferrell and National Media Research, Planning and Placement (NMRPP)

“Jon has 19 years of experience as a CPA, 10 of which he has spent managing the financial details of political campaigns. Jon ensures that every penny allocated for media is spent according to election laws, as well as delivering on-time payments to vendors to guarantee seamless implementation of media buys. He also completes thorough post-election analysis of every account to substantiate and reconcile media buys. His efforts help NMRPP provide optimal financial stewardship of campaign media budgets.”

National Media Research, Planning and Placement (NMRPP): <http://www.natmedia.com/our-firm/>

25. NRSC and Jon Ferrell

“A conservative media consultant is accusing the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) of laundering money through a political consulting firm to a shadowy Super PAC that ran racist negative ads attacking the Tea Party and Chris McDaniel in the Mississippi runoff election. A filing with the Federal Election Commission (FEC) shows that the NRSC paid National Media Research, Planning & Placement of Alexandria, Virginia \$13,000 for media production and \$69,000 for media on June 20. But Rick Shaftan of Mountaintop Media, whose firm has bought media extensively in the South, calls this a false disclosure and says no ad ever aired in Mississippi that was paid for by the NRSC. Shaftan alleges that National Media instead used these funds to purchase racially-charged radio ads on behalf of a group called 'All Citizens for Mississippi,' which has not filed any required FEC reports other than its Statement of Organization. 'I called enough TV and Radio stations in Mississippi and personally examined records from the Memphis TV market that serves much of North Mississippi and there's no record anywhere of even one ad airing from the NRSC,' Shaftan said. 'I've also reached out to hundreds of conservatives to ask everyone if they know about these mysterious ads. Nobody ever saw or heard anything that carried a 'Paid for by the National Republican Senatorial Committee' tag.' Shaftan has provided exclusive documents to GotNews showing that the same day the NRSC reported sending funds to National Media, a buyer at National Media named Jon Ferrell placed multiple orders on black radio stations on behalf of All Citizens for Mississippi. "There's lots of political orders for 'All Citizens for Mississippi' placed by the exact same media buyer who places ads for the NRSC, as well as a Haley Barbour-linked Super PAC called 'Mississippi Conservatives'. But unlike Barbour's Super PAC, 'All Citizens for Mississippi' criminally refuses to file any contribution or expenditure reports with the FEC. Most of these orders list 'American Media & Advocacy Group' on the invoices -- some list 'National Media' -- and all are signed off on by Jon Ferrell of National Media. If they have paperwork at all.”

http://gotnews.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=153:nrsc-accused-of-illicitly-funding-black-church-super-pac&catid=92:politics&Itemid=1768&highlight=WyJucnNjliwibnJzYydzIl0

26. NRSC

“Serious allegations are cropping up against the National Republican Senatorial Committee. The NRSC paid an Alexandria, VA company [National Media] \$13,000.00 for media production and \$69,000 for media on June 20, 2014. On the same day that same company placed media buys for “All Citizens of

Mississippi,” a campaign group that has failed to file any documentation with the FEC other than its statement of organization. Here’s the problem. No one can seem to find any evidence that any ads ran in Mississippi after June 20th paid for an authorized by the National Republican Senatorial Committee. In fact, Rick Shaftan, a political consultant, has searched for NRSC ads and cannot find them.” National Republican Senatorial Committee also paid \$93,000 for phone calls.

Red State: <http://www.redstate.com/2014/07/07/the-nrsc-may-have-improperly-funded-third-party-ads-in-mississippi/>

FEC: <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00027466/933177/se>