



**From:** Jeff Smith <jeffsmith2006@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 8, 2018 9:00 PM  
**To:** boxa@stlouiscao.org  
**Subject:** docs  
**Attachments:** IRS Complaint The Mission Continues.pdf; LG PAC Info 3.2.docx

Tony, see the two attached docs. Let me know if you have questions. Thanks.

## Tax-Exempt Organization Complaint (Referral) Form

1. NAME OF REFERRED ORGANIZATION: The Mission Continues

Street Address: 1141 S 7th St.

City/State/Zip Code: St. Louis, MO 63104

Date of Referral: 11/2/2016

2. ORGANIZATION'S EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (EIN): #20-8742553

3. NATURE OF VIOLATION:

- Directors/officers/persons are using income/assets for personal gain
- Organization is engaged in commercial, for-profit business activities
- Income/assets are being used to support illegal or terrorist activities
- Organization is involved in a political campaign
- Organization is engaged in excessive lobbying activities
- Organization refused to disclose or provide a copy of Form 990
- Organization failed to report employment, income, or excise tax liability property
- Organization failed to file required federal tax returns and forms
- Organization engaged in deceptive or improper fundraising practices
- Other (describe): See attached document.

4. DETAILS OF VIOLATION:

Name(s) of Person(s) Involved: Eric Greitens

Organizational Title(s): Founder & CEO

Date(s): Multiple, 2008-2015

Dollar Amount(s) (if known): Unknown

Description of activities: See attached document.

5. SUBMITTER INFORMATION:

Name: Anonymous

Occupation or Business: \_\_\_\_\_

Street Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_

- I am concerned that I might face retaliation or retribution if my identity is disclosed.

6. SUBMISSION AND DOCUMENTATION: The completed form, along with any supporting documentation, may be mailed to IRS EO Classification, Mail Code 4910DAL, 1100 Commerce Street Dallas, TX 75242-1198, faxed to 214-413-5415 or emailed to [eoclass@irs.gov](mailto:eoclass@irs.gov).

**Complaint Against The Mission Continues & CEO Eric Greitens**

**IRS Form 13909**

**Referred: 11/2/2016**

It is my belief that Eric Greitens has intermingled his personal, business, and non-profit interests in violation of I.R.S. laws. This intermingling has reached its apex as Mr. Greitens began to plot a run for public office in Missouri. Whether or not Mr. Greitens is elected, I believe the following abuses of law need to be reported and addressed.

Most of the concern stems from Mr. Greitens' charity, The Mission Continues, and his business, the Greitens Group. Both institutions have been used to push Mr. Greitens as a candidate for Governor in Missouri, and from what I can gather, in an illegal fashion. Though, not all violations are tied to Mr. Greitens' run for office.

Beginning with The Mission Continues (TMC), it appears that Mr. Greitens was compensated at a level that exceeds that of similar charities. In 2013 alone, Mr. Greitens drew an annual salary of \$186,507 according to The Mission Continues' Form 990. For the sake of comparison, the President and CEO of Hope for Warriors made \$99,349 in 2013, Team Rubicon's President made \$98,000 in 2013, and The Navy SEAL Foundation's CEO made \$137,019 in 2013. Mr. Greitens' salary seems particularly excessive when one takes into account that much of the donations received by TMC came in the form of "in-kind" contributions, which means that he received an abnormally large salary when compared to actual monetary receipts. While this may not violate law, it sets a standard for further complaints.

As Mr. Greitens moved toward running for office in Missouri, the misuse of TMC became more egregious. Since registering his Missouri Ethics Commission campaign committee, as required by Missouri law, Mr. Greitens has received well in excess of \$1 million in donations from individuals who also donated to TMC. While not I.R.S. codes, this seems to violate MoRS 355.416 (Nonprofit Corporation Law – Director's Conflict of Interest) and MoRS 355.841 (Nonprofit Corporation Law – Use of Membership Lists). Individuals that Mr. Greitens had associated with through both TMC, Missouri Boy's State, and other organizations that have no affiliation with Mr. Greitens' campaign have claimed to receive emails and mailings on behalf of the campaign, which indicates that the campaign has utilized lists from charitable organizations, including TMC, for political purposes.

In reviewing I.R.S. Form 990s, I saw that in 2011, TMC stated that Mr. Greitens worked 50 hours per week for his \$203,801 salary that year. However, during that year, Mr. Greitens was also teaching at the University of Missouri and receiving \$36,000 in compensation through a fellowship, planning an August 2011 wedding, completing his book *The Heart and the Fist*, recording the audio version of his book, and doing an extensive publicity tour for his book. In 2012, his book tour grew more extensive in appearances, but the same 50 hour per week claim exists from TMC. If Mr. Greitens did not work 50 hours per week at TMC, he has perjured himself in the submission of this I.R.S. form. I was also not able to find a Form-1023, which may have shown that some of Mr. Greitens' activities would have been in conflict with the purpose and goals of TMC.

As *The Heart and the Fist* was released, TMC promoted it aggressively. In a self-enrichment scheme, TMC continues bought large volumes of the book from the Greitens Group, which helped to put the book on the New York Times Best Seller List. A portion of the book's proceeds were to be designated for TMC, but there is no record in TMC reporting that a contribution was made from either the Greitens Group or Mr. Greitens' publisher.

TMC became a publicity arm for Mr. Greitens and his brand, which is managed by the Greitens Group. In 2013, TMC spent \$305,382 for the services of Fleishman Hillard for public relations for TMC. TMC's website used its website to promote Mr. Greitens' books and book tours – even though they financially benefitted Mr. Greitens personally and the Greitens Group. During Mr. Greitens' tenure at TMC, the organization spent over \$800,000 in advertising expenses, and that does not even include fees for public relations.

When comparing all of the previous with the legal scrutiny that befell The Wounded Warrior Project, there are striking similarities. Mr. Greitens drew a significant salary, likely falsely reported his working hours with TMC, TMC spent lavishly to benefit Mr. Greitens, and a tremendous amount of money intended to serve veterans in need was spent on promoting Mr. Greitens while he readied for a run for office.

The facts also compare to the scandal that beset Greg Mortenson and his Central Asia Institute (CAI). In that case, Mortenson signed an agreement with publisher Viking Penguin to write a book, which became "Three Cups of Tea." The book became CAI's main outreach tool, and the charity paid over \$350,000 to produce the book. In the following years, CAI bought and gave away thousands of copies to libraries, schools, places of worship, and other institutions and organizations. Mortenson made hundreds of public appearances promoting his book, his story, and CAI's mission. The travel costs and promotion of the book were paid for by CAI for nearly seven years. The Montana Attorney General, Steve Bullock investigated and reached a settlement agreement with Mortenson and the CAI concluding that the CAI's board of directors failed to fulfill some of their responsibilities as board members of a non-profit charity and that Mortenson failed to fulfill many of his responsibilities as executive director of the organization.

A general concern underlying much of the troubling actions is the overlap in interests between Mr. Greitens' business, charity, and his campaign. The Greitens Group shared office space with TMC. According to the LinkedIn profile of a Ms. Rachel Wald, she worked as both the Staff Director for TMC while serving as a Senior Associate for the for-profit Greitens Group. This would be in direct conflict with 'Note G' on TMC's annual audited financial reports, which states, "Although Greitens Group employees may volunteer for the Organization, at no point is any Organization staff member or intern permitted to assist with any Greitens Group activities."

Early in 2016, a complaint was filed with the Missouri Ethics Commission against Greitens for Missouri (Mr. Greitens' campaign committee) for paying two campaign staffers through the Greitens Group; the complaint was filed due to non-disclosure of the amounts of work each had provided to his campaign. Although the complaint was eventually dropped, the reason for concern still exists.

One of the most troubling and apparent misuses of TMC funds came before the August 2016 primary for Governor, involving Mr. Greitens. Just before that time, there was a dramatic spike in advertising at high profile events, such as St. Louis Blues playoff games and at Wehrenberg movie theaters. The clear intent of this advertisement spike was to promote TMC, Mr. Greitens, and his newest book *Charlie Mike* in a way that would reach Missourians before the election. Instead of helping veterans, donated dollars to TMC were being used to promote their former CEO's status in the Missouri Governor's race. Although TMC is a national charity, it appears that a disproportionate amount of money was spent advertising to the 2% of the country's citizens living in Missouri.

## October 2016 AP Article

<https://apnews.com/e7e6479b83a545bdafa0cd20a1a63174>:

**From article:** *Federal law bars 501(c)(3) charities such as The Mission Continues from intervening in political campaigns on behalf of candidates. The Internal Revenue Service has ruled charities cannot give donor lists to politicians but can rent them at fair market value if made available to all candidates...It's unclear exactly how Greitens' campaign staffer came into possession of the list...Mission Continues spokeswoman Laura L'Esperance said Monday that the St. Louis-based charity Greitens founded in 2007 did not share its donor list with Greitens or his campaign and, as a general practice, does not share, sell or rent the list to external parties.*

**Truth:** The list was NOT made available to any other campaigns at the time, and most certainly has not been made available to any other campaigns since then. TMC specifically said they did not make it available to any campaign. Greitens' personal assistant from Greitens Group had the list and supplied it directly to multiple members of the campaign, and likely supplied it on more than one occasion. Both the campaign and Greitens Group had access to the list. The only thing that remains unclear at this point is how Greitens' personal assistant received the list, but it is presumably either from Greitens himself, or from someone at TMC at the request of Greitens.

**From article:** *Greitens denied using the charity's donor database for his campaign*

**Truth:** The Greitens campaign developed fundraising plans and call lists for Greitens, directly based off the TMC donor list.

**From article:** *"No, we were not working off of a Mission Continues donor list," Greitens told The Associated Press. But Greitens acknowledged soliciting contributions for his campaign from some of the same people who supported his charity.*

**Truth:** Greitens and his staff went through the TMC donor list name-by-name and selected donor prospects for Greitens to reach out to. Donor prospects were selected solely on their financial worth/ability to give, and at the levels they could contribute - both of which were indicated on the TMC donor list.

**From article:** *"We were calling people who had become friends and gotten to know me over the course of seven years, who invested in The Mission Continues, and got to know me as a leader," said Greitens, a former Navy SEAL officer, author and motivational speaker who is making his political debut.*

**Truth:** It is true many donors from TMC could have been friends with Eric. There were also TMC donors who were Greitens' family members, had served with him, or were business associates, however, the TMC donor list had specific contact information listed as well as donor amounts. The donor list would not have been needed for individuals who were strictly "friends" of Eric Greitens.

From April 29, 2017 AP Article

<https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2017/04/29/us/politics/ap-us-missouri-governor-donors.html? r=0>

*From article: A consent order dated Friday between the Ethics Commission and Greitens said the commission found probable cause to believe a violation of law occurred. "This isn't a major ethics violation," Greitens campaign adviser Austin Chambers said Saturday. "This is a clerical error where a minor contribution wasn't reported on a campaign finance report." Greitens denied in an interview at that time that he had worked off The Mission Continues donor list but acknowledged soliciting campaign contributions from some people who supported the charity, which he founded in 2007.*

**Truth:** There was not a clerical error. The campaign had a strict set of accounting and MEC reporting guidelines, put in place by Eric Greitens' Campaign Treasurer - Jeff Sturman, a former Edward Jones executive. Furthermore, Danny Laub most likely did not even request the list from TMC and he most likely was not the staffer who received the list from TMC. The list was provided to the campaign by a Greitens Group staffer. According to the October 2016 AP article, TMC "did not share its donor list with Greitens or his campaign". Someone from TMC had to supply either Greitens or his personal assistant with the list.

*From article: Greitens campaign filed amended campaign finance reports Friday valuing the charity's donor list as a \$600 in-kind contribution received March 1, 2015, from Danny Laub, who was listed as Greitens' campaign manager at the time.*

**Truth:** The list was received by the campaign well before March 1, as campaign staff was provided the list in early January.

*From article: The donor list appears to have produced a campaign windfall many times that amount. But Chambers said it wouldn't have been as valuable in the hands of anyone besides Greitens. "The list is simply the information. The relationship that Eric has built over years with these people, who then decided they wanted to be a part of his mission in Missouri, is why the money was then given to the campaign," Chambers said.*

**Truth:** Any TMC donors who Greitens had a personal relationship with should have already been in Eric's personal contacts, thus rendering the TMC donor list completely irrelevant. The TMC donor list was used to build a fundraising plan and call lists for Eric to solicit large campaign contributions. Regardless, the TMC donor list was NOT made available to any other campaigns, which it should have been in accordance with the law.

## LG PAC

### Expenditures and Background

LG PAC was organized as a Federal Super PAC (FEC ID C00617340), but was involved only in buying ads opposed to John Brunner during the 2016 Missouri gubernatorial primary. It raised a total of \$4,395,004 during 2016 and spent \$4,394,997.70.

Only four firms received money from the PAC:

- Clark Hill PLC, a DC law firm, received \$32,565.60
- Chain Bridge Bank, a small Virginia-based bank that has become the bank of choice for Super PACs, Presidential candidates, and other political organizations, received \$404 in bank fees
- Main Street Media Group, a behind-the-scenes media firm often tied to efforts led by Karl Rove's American Crossroads network, was paid \$4,320,327.50 for media purchases.
- Outlaw Media, which has a history of working on independent expenditure efforts, was paid \$41,500 for media production.

The entirety of LG PAC's funding (less \$4) came from Freedom Frontier, a Texas-based group whose only other 2016 cycle contributions included \$275,000 to the Security is Strength PAC (which supported Lindsey Graham's presidential campaign before ultimately becoming involved in US Senate races) and \$5,000 to The Palmetto PAC. Because Freedom Frontier is organized as a nonprofit organization, it is impossible to determine where the \$4.395 million they donated to LG PAC came from.

### Ties to Greitens

After the PAC began spending money attacking the Brunner and Hanaway campaigns, some asserted that it was named "LG PAC" and emphasized "strong conservatives who have a proven track record and accomplishments in government" to create the assumption that it was tied to then-Lt. Gov. Peter Kinder.

However, many press outlets noted that it was likely tied to the Greitens campaign rather than to Kinder, which became clearer after the committee began defending Greitens when committee treasurer Hank Monsees was spotted attending a Greitens for Governor event and making calls for the campaign.

Monsees denied that the PAC was supporting any particular candidate and instead said that its "singular focus is helping to ensure that we elect a conservative that can win in November." Monsees dismissed the picture of him at a phone bank, claiming he "may have played with the phones or something" but did not make any calls for the campaign, though the denial was taken with a grain of salt by the press given the substantial evidence of ties between the two.

The ties became harder to deny after Nick Ayers – general consultant to Greitens and now Chief of Staff to VP Mike Pence – filed his federal financial disclosure, it was revealed that he received



at least \$5,000 from Freedom Frontier (the sole source of LG PAC's funds) through his firm, C5 Creative Consulting – the same firm paid by the Greitens campaign. Working for an independent expenditure effort and the campaign at the same time could be seen as evidence of coordination and makes it much harder to deny that LG PAC was not somehow involved in supporting the Greitens campaign.

### **What Makes This Situation Odd**

Hank Monsees, while he has been active in Missouri politics for a long time, would not have the political ties to reach out to a national nonprofit like Freedom Frontier, nor to convince them to give 94% of their political expenditures for the cycle to a PAC he ran.

Moreover, it seems unlikely that Mr. Monsees – who is based in Kansas City – would choose to bank at an institution that has only one branch (located in McLean, VA) when there are certainly other Missouri-based options that would have been more convenient to him.

In reality, it seems far more likely that Mr. Monsees was simply a local face to put on a committee that was run by others.

### **Seals for Truth**

As stated by **the St. Louis Post-Dispatch**, Eric Greitens' campaign received, at that time, the **single largest political contribution in Missouri history** to an individual candidate. Knowledge of where this money came from is not publicly available other than it came from "Seals for Truth". When Seals for Truth disclosed their donors, all of the group's money came from a Washington, D.C.,-based nonprofit called the American Policy Coalition Inc.

The American Policy Coalition website contains no information about the group at all, and it appears to have filed no paperwork with either the FEC or the Missouri Ethics Commission. But the group is connected to an Ohio attorney, David Langdon, who the Center for Public Integrity labeled the "nexus of one of the nation's most mysterious networks pouring secret money into elections."

### **Suggested Questions**

Should Hank Monsees be brought in for questioning, it would be interesting to know the following:

- Who approached him to be the treasurer for LG PAC?
- Did he form the PAC himself, or did someone else form the PAC? If he claims to have formed the PAC himself, why did he choose to set up the bank account at Chain Bridge Bank, which has only one location – its main office in McLean, VA?
- How did he hear about Freedom Frontier? Is he familiar with their leadership?

- Who solicited the donations from Freedom Frontier? If him, did someone instruct him to do so?
- Who determined messaging for the committee's ads? Was it Hank alone, or were others involved in the process? Can he provide proof that he directed the creativity and placement himself? Does he have any experience in ad placement?
- As the treasurer for a Super PAC involved in the gubernatorial race, why did he attend a campaign event for one of the candidates?
- Why was he pictured holding a campaign phone at the Greitens for Governor office? He denied making a phone call, but was he posing specifically for the campaign to use the picture? That would still indicate support for the Greitens campaign.
- Did you solicit money for Freedom Frontier? Do you know who are any of the donors to Freedom Frontier?
- Do you know Nick Ayers? How often have you communicated?
- Do you know Austin Chambers? How often have you communicated?

Should Austin Chambers be brought in for questioning, it would be interesting to hear his answers to the following:

- Did you have any involvement with LG PAC?
- Have you ever been in contact with Freedom Frontier?
- Your employer, Nick Ayers, was paid by Freedom Frontier through C5 Creative. Do you know what they paid him to work on?
- Have you ever spoken, met, or communicated with Hank Monsees? How often?
- Did you or anyone with the Greitens campaign solicit monies for Freedom Frontier?
- Do you know who donated money to Freedom Frontier?
- A significant amount of money was spent by LG PAC on the gubernatorial election. If claiming not to know anything about LG PAC, did you ever inquire about who was behind this large expenditure of money that could have changed the course of the election? If no, why not? If you claim not to know anything about this group, what would have stopped them from running ads against your candidate, Greitens? Wouldn't a prudent campaign manager at least have investigated who this group was?
- Have you communicated with a group called Seals for Truth? If so who?
- Do you know why they gave nearly \$2 million to the Greitens campaign?
- Do you know who the American Policy Coalition is? Have you ever spoken with anyone at the American Policy Coalition?
- Did you solicit money from the American Policy Coalition?
- Did you or any campaign staff solicit money to be given to the American Policy Coalition?
- Do you know or have you ever communicated with David Langdon?
- Do you know who BlugrassVotes.org is?
- If you did not ever communicate with the American Policy Coalition or David Langdon, were you surprised when a nearly \$2 million contribution arrived?
- Did you ever speak with anyone in the campaign about this contribution? Did you ask where it came from? If so, who gave the money to the American Policy Coalition?
- Did you speak with Nick Ayers about this contribution?