

**Subject: Fwd: Please Read Prior to Our Meeting**

**From:**

**Date:**

**To:**

**Attach: Snip20210220\_8.png**  
**IMG\_6142 (1).jpg**  
**Snip20210220\_12.png**  
**Snip20210220\_2.png**  
**Snip20210219\_4 (1).png**  
**IMG\_6140 (2).jpg**  
**151439510\_457730115584578\_1923210491837589644\_n (2).jpg**  
**Snip20210220\_11.png**  
**Snip20210219\_1 (1).png**  
**Snip20210220\_9.png**  
**Snip20210220\_3.png**  
**150171191\_285787309638305\_840002514484650824\_n (1).png**  
**IMG\_6143 (2).jpg**  
**151924797\_463195801380258\_4082242670311325173\_n.jpg**  
**Snip20210220\_10.png**  
**EXHIBIT 5.pdf**  
**EXHIBIT 4.docx**  
**EXHIBIT 2.csv**  
**Exhibit 3.docx**  
**CONTRACT 2.pdf**  
**CONTRACT 1.pdf**  
**Exhibit 1.pptx**

To whom it may concern,

I have cc'd you all in this email because MNGOP Chair Jennifer Carnahan saw fit to include you all in a discussion about sensitive Party financial information - beyond my original hope of having an Executive Committee Meeting strictly in person to have such conversations. I trust you all will keep this information in confidence.

I am disturbed the way MNGOP Chair Jennifer Carnahan has handled this situation. She's displayed prolonged financial negligence, misrepresented the financial impact to the Executive Committee Board, and attempted to intimidate a whistleblower (me). I never expected any Zoom meetings, nor should this have been handled in a way that involves several new parties, and I had hoped to come to new oversight matters in a constitutional manner: bringing this information to the executive committee in a contained executive setting. Chair Carnahan has now made this impossible. She has impugned my character, tarnished my reputation at the highest levels of the Republican National Committee, has told explicit falsehoods, and involved more people than just our Executive Committee --- all the way up to the COO of the RNC and beyond --- creating something extra-constitutional. I did not want it to be this way and attempted to go through every traditional, respectful and constitutional channel available to me.

**Please review all points below. All (EXHIBITS) referenced are attached at the bottom of this email:**

## **PROLONGED FINANCIAL NEGLIGENCE**

The platform WinRed is the Republican donation platform founded in 2019. On the back-end, it allows you to specify "commissions" or "agency fees" as percentages of donations that come in online. When a vendor or agency is part of the process of getting a donation, they charge a fee - which is logged as a "credit card processing fee". This can sometimes lead to abuse, as vendor fees can be hidden away from plain sight even if they did nothing to generate a donation. You'll notice this in places like FEC reports, campaign finance reports, and - in our case - internal party financial reports. Dollars that actually went to fundraising consultants and vendors logged as "Credit Card Processing". **WinRed is a tool: it is morally neutral.** I have attached a powerpoint so you can get a sense for how it has been used, including with local candidates. A severe example I've brought up

before is Lacy Johnson's congressional campaign. (EXHIBIT 1, attached at the bottom of this email)

Since October of 2019, the Republican Party of Minnesota has given over 50% of their online donations to something marked as "WinRed Credit Card Processing Fees" - even if the vendors did not earn that commission through fundraising efforts. This included large dollar online givers, who in some cases had 100% of their donations taken. The gross raised on WinRed since October of 2019 is \$202,125.81. The total fees paid are \$103,606.66. I have attached our WinRed payouts spreadsheet to this email, so you can have full transparency on this (EXHIBIT 2, attached at the bottom of this --- look at gross transactions, fees, and net payout).

**MNGOP got to keep only 48% of the money it generated online, whether the vendor was responsible or not for the donations. Our vendors took large fees on nearly all donations throughout the life of our relationship.**

It appeared the first time Chair Carnahan saw this payout dashboard was when I was granted access and walked her through it myself on Monday, February 15th via Zoom.

Gross	Refunds	Fees	Net Payout	Statement Descriptor	Initiated	Arrival
\$11,824	(\$2,140)	(\$2,867.21)	\$8,536.79	WinRed 02092021	Feb 10, 12:00 AM	Feb 11
\$6,203.52	(\$112)	(\$1,688.93)	\$4,402.59	WinRed 01052021	Jan 6, 3:00 PM	Jan 7
\$125	\$0	(\$30.35)	\$94.65	WinRed 11052020	Nov 6, 12:00 AM	Nov 9
\$150.26	(\$7.12)	(\$68.94)	\$74.20	WinRed 11042020	Nov 5, 12:00 AM	Nov 6

The MNGOP entered into an agreement on October 19th, 2019 where the main vendor IMGE would "front" \$30,000 for setup fees and take 100% of donations to recoup those fees, then go back down to a 12% "placement fee" and a 15% donation commission, along with a \$2500 monthly retainer. As I've spoken to board members who approved this agreement, many do not remember these details - especially the \$30,000 piece. Furthermore, our contract specified that this period would last 3 months from the contract start date (November 1st, 2019). Admittedly, I told Chair Carnahan after reviewing the contract that I thought it was a bad deal, regardless of our own oversight failures. Any legal amendments or contractual changes during this contract were not brought to or approved by the board, to my knowledge.

By July 2nd of 2020, according to the spreadsheet attached (EXHIBIT 2), \$38,000 had been taken in fees - covering the \$30,000 frontage. Even large donors had been subject to these fees and normal donors who just went to our Party's website on their own. The 100% collection went beyond the 3 month timeframe outlined in CONTRACT 1 - taking large chunks from donors who IMGE had not done anything to generate. On our February 15th Zoom call, **Chair Carnahan witnessed \$5,000 donors, \$10,000 donors etc who had nearly all their donations taken in fees (beyond the timeframe of our \$30,000 pay back period).**

Here is one of several examples of donations taken by vendor fees. These donations occurred after the 3 month period specified in our October contract and lasted for months without oversight or inspection.

# Payout: \$49.06

rv\_po\_wKuPj9DKecR9tCYAhqJNeXaz ↓

Back

Gross Donations (2)	\$5,100
Refunds (0)	
Gross Refunds (0)	\$0
Net Refunds	\$0
Fees	
Processing Fees ⓘ	(\$194.40)
Agency Fees	
IMGE	(\$4,856.54)
Total Agency Fees	(\$4,856.54)
Total Fees	(\$5,050.94)
Net Refunds + Total Fees	(\$5,050.94)
Net Payout	\$49.06

Initiated	Apr 29, 12:00 AM	<b>Beyond the 3 month window</b>
Expected Arrival	Apr 30, 2020	
Status	paid	
Statement Descriptor	WinRed 04282020	
Description	Payout to Republican Party of Minnesota – Federal for April 28, 2020	
Delivery Method	Standard	
Account	Republican Party of Minnesota \ ALLIANCE BANK USD	

Type	Date	Name	Gross	Fee	Net	
Charge	4/26/2020 06:46 pm		\$100	\$99.04	\$0.96	ⓘ
Charge	4/26/2020 12:43 pm		\$5,000	\$4,951.90	\$48.10	ⓘ

Small donor who was not generated by vendor

Large Donor Who Gave Online

If there was any change to this agreement, no contractual documentation was provided by IMGE to support it, nor was it presented to the Board to the best of my knowledge. After Chair Carnahan and I got on a call with IMGE February 16th, 2020 to request information, they agreed to send me the contracts. Chair Carnahan texted me on Monday, February 15th that Becky Alery had "managed" the relationship. There were two contracts: one executed October 15th of 2019 by Executive Director Kevin Poindexter and another on August 1st of 2020 by Executive Director Becky Alery. It's not lost on me that the unusually high turnover of our executive directors played a role in this oversight failure, but among every safeguard we've established at the Party, no one corrected it in real time. Instead it took me, only months into my tenure on the Executive Committee, to bring up an over-year-old failure of oversight.

**IMGE's contract was voted for renewal on January 21st, 2021** by the Executive Committee unanimously (EXHIBIT 3). We were not shown the specifications of this new contract. Chair Carnahan was confident in enough in what they were providing that she did not discuss the details of the renewal. It's an indictment on our entire board for allowing these renewals without questions on 3 different occasions. We have not had proper financial or governmental oversight of our Party, which is the main crux of the reason I requested Chair Carnahan to hold an Executive Committee meeting. Subsequently, shortly after the call with IMGE on February 16h, Chair Carnahan informed me she did **not** in fact sign the new contract which she requested approval from the board on. IMGE committed verbally to a refund of the percentage of fees taken from January 2021 and February 2021. Even as late as those last two months, 20% of **all** donations taken through the website, not just the ones IMGE was accountable for - were being taken. This was an issue that persisted throughout the length of this relationship. In IMGE's contracts, they specify percentages on donations IMGE "raised". That does **not** entitle them to every single donation. They have link tracking and other mechanisms to determine which funds came from their efforts. With proper oversight, this could have been questioned. There was no oversight. To the best of my knowledge, there was no clear delineation between what IMGE and other vendors were getting commissions for and what were organic donations that should not have been subject to their fees.

**It is easy to distinguish which donations IMGE and vendors actually raised. They built the party over 300 other pages and still implemented a donation fee on the Party's main generic donation page - which can be used by anyone who comes to our website.** Even if someone came in naturally and was not part of an active marketing effort, IMGE took a % of the donation. This should have been asked earlier in the engagement.

The initial issue came up when former Treasurer Bron Scherer announced his resignation and gave the committee one last financial report (EXHIBIT 4) on February 7th. During this meeting Bron showed several line items and explained to the best of his ability the party's financial situation. Some key numbers stood out to me on Bron's report - the 2020 budget projections and the 2020 actual numbers:

### Online Donation Revenue:

Projected - \$447,100  
Actual - \$125,707.27

### Credit Card Processing Expenses:

Projected - \$41,000  
Actual - \$111,280.38

While we missed our online fundraising projection by 350%, our associated credit card processing fees actually increased 270% over projection. Chair Carnahan had said this was because of EventBrite and digital convention registration. Eventbrite's credit card processing fees are 2.4%-3.5% and we've used them in the past before conventions became digital at a very high rate. I also asked about WinRed commissions and if that could be the cause in the same meeting. I cited some alarming numbers from Lacy Johnson's congressional campaign, where almost 40% of his expenses went to credit card processing fees on the year-end FEC report. Chair Carnahan dismissed this in the meeting and ensured that there were not commissions being run as credit card processing fees. Former treasurer Bron Scherer said, "it's a great point, Max. It does look funky. Give me a couple days to look into it." Had we gone this far over in credit card processing fees, it should have triggered a vote from the board, as I understand it.

Prior to that meeting, Bron Scherer provided CD6 Chair Bobby Benson with a vendor list. Bobby shared it with members of the executive committee, including myself (EXHIBIT 5). **IMGE LLC was listed on it for \$85,852.02 in 2020.** This vendor expense, according to Bron's sheet, was for the time period of May-November 2020. Admittedly, I do not know what fee this is related to, but it's higher than IMGE'S \$2500/month retainer.

It is still not clear to me how much they were compensated by the Party in both fixed costs/commissions, if the board fully knew the commission structure or agreement, and if there was accountability along the way to ensure that timelines were met, 100% commissions were turned off at some point, big dollar donors were not being impacted, etc.. By not having proper oversight, we played fast and loose with our donors. If our large dollar donors or our grassroots donors who have given for years thought 20%, 30%, 50%, 90%, 100% of their money should go to a consulting firm - they may not want to donate again.

I called Former Treasurer Bron Scherer on Tuesday, February 9th to check in. Bron said on the phone, "You were right. It's something to do with 'the WinRed' - but I'm still investigating." I have not reached back out to Bron, in respect to his wishes to be completely done with politics.

Chair Carnahan and I talked on Wednesday, February 10th. She also admitted that something was "not right" with the WinRed fees and requested a call with WinRed. In two subsequent text messages, I informed Chair Carnahan that WinRed wasn't really the issue and this wasn't their fault.

She forwarded an email to me from former Treasurer Bron Scherer on February 10th, indicating that party officials knew about this issue a while ago:  
Snip20210220\_9.png

On Monday, February 15th Chair Carnahan and I had numerous conversations around the issue of IMGE fees and other vendors. She seemed unaware that over half of all donations didn't make it into our party coffers and didn't have knowledge of some of the vendors who were taking commission percentages.



Jennifer >

Got it.

It seems to be a IMGE Jennifer. A call with WinRed might not be all that helpful... but you may want to speak with IMGE, because I'm thinking they owe us money -- even if they fronted \$30,000

All IMGE\*\*

Let me reach out to them. I need to find the contract. Becky managed it, so need to dig it out of the files.

If I can help you at all, let me know.



Yes, I could use your help.

There are also fees from "Conservative Connector". Idk if that has something to do with IMGE.

I don't know what that is

After all of this, I wanted to have a new process for governance and financial oversight. Even with assurances of refunds and subsequent efforts after the fact at getting the money back, I had deep concerns about two things: 1. The lack of awareness that this was happening at all and how that might be impacted with other vendors and 2. that up to this point it had primarily been Jennifer and me trying to figure this out. This is a textbook governmental and financial oversight failure that I wanted to discuss with the Executive Committee. Accountability, chain of command, financial oversight, and just honoring our donors --- all of that was necessary for the board to be briefed on and acted upon. I even allowed Chair Carnahan to call the meeting, trusting that she would honor the request of an in person meeting with the Executive Committee and working to correct something that sat for a year or more, not just financially - but structurally. I attempted to share the blame, as the board should function as a check and balance to the chair. Even now, she is not honoring my request - initially switching to a digital "meeting" which would include the vendor, inviting many of you, not consulting myself in the process, and having the meeting be fully controlled by her after confirming an in person executive meeting. We're a Party with an unfortunate history of mismanagement. It is a POX on all our houses when an oversight failure happens to the tune of tens of thousands of dollars. I attempted to share the blame here because the blame is to be shared. Based on how this has played out, I now wonder if there are serious oversight issues with other vendors.



Jennifer >

Max,

Can we discuss first? I'd like to put forward the governance committee as a motion since it's my idea and something I've been thinking about since January.

I'd also like to resolve and talk to our attorney first the first step with IMGE.

I'd like to call the meeting and then have you and I discuss together.

Plus I have a call with our attorney this morning.

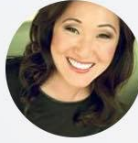
I'm fine with you making the motion Jennifer. I'll leave it to you after I recap what me and you found, and then also avoid getting into any legal conversations.

I think the systemic failure is also with the board members who did not ask about these contracts or even check in along the way with Becky or Kevin. I'd like to understand what they were doing

We have a board, best I can tell, who's disinterested in the health of our party. We've all been asleep at the wheel and have been more than willing to blame you when things go wrong. If we don't discuss this as a board, we're all implicated as a board.

Let me know when you have a few moments to talk. I just woke up. I'm headed to the office in an hour but am free until 10.





Jennifer >

I'll let you know. The morning is crazy. I'm going to move forward with calling the meeting to respect people's flexibility with conventions and also our 24 hour notice with the EC. You can absolutely make the governance motion at the meeting and I will second it.

I promise this will not be a Jennifer bash session and my email will highlight your efforts to successfully get back major donor money.

Jennifer - thanks for the call. I'll look for the email at 10 am.

Wednesday 9:31 AM

Got more info!!!! Do you have 5?

Yep, just about 5 minutes

K, ring me then!

Jennifer, I'm sorry. Im gonna call the meeting by 10:15 if you don't... I will do my best to be fair and discreet about the numbers because I know

I had urgency about calling the meeting because the dollars were real, the conversations with vendors were happening and the problem got to be over a year old. I felt special pressure because of the recent media stories about our financial situation. I thought about what an extra \$30K, \$40K, \$50K, \$60K or more, may have done for our Party's position. I wanted to help ensure 2021 was a year where our Party had better financial controls, more transparency, and more focus on what we were actually paying for.

**To conclude this section:**

- This was not just a "small mistake". It was half the money our online donors gave us. That is not reasonable. Our lack of oversight hurt our grassroots and large-dollar donors. **We could get ALL the money refunded and the fundamental oversight failure should still be addressed.**
- Chair Carnahan's first time analyzing a payout report from WinRed was February 15th, 2020 with me. She could have looked at this data any time since October of 2019. To not realize that 30%-100% of our digital donations were going somewhere else - even when our fundraisers did not generate those donations - is detrimental to our Party.
- Had our board known that we'd be obligated to give all donations up to a specific dollar amount, commit to 20% of **all** online donations along with more placement fee percentages (even if the vendor didn't raise the money for us), and pay a retainer on top of that, I do not believe they would have moved forward. Even in January and February of THIS year, donors were getting 20% of their fees taken out while we renewed the contract via vote. Again, Chair Carnahan informed me after the fact that we did not actually renew the contract - despite us voting for it. This is not reasonable and it's a disservice to our donors. It's been a disservice for well over a year. Either IMGE/other vendors made large mistakes that were not caught by our Party's financial/governmental oversight or the Party did not have proper legal interpretation of the contracts we entered into.
- Chair Carnahan attempted to change the nature of this meeting, dismiss REAL long-term financial negligence as no big deal, and betrayed the trust of concerned board members. The original intent of this meeting was long-term financial and governmental controls, not litigating a situation with the vendor itself. It was highly inappropriate for her to use what was supposed to be a private meeting to now open our Party's financial issues to them (even if they were the ones taking fees).
- I reiterated to Chair Carnahan on several occasions that this was not a political attack. On a call with her on Wednesday, February 17th she asked if I would be willing to sign an NDA. **I said yes to this request** and said I would try to encourage everyone to sign one. I made every accommodation to be reasonable and work towards a unified solution with her, so long as we could involve the board. She has now turned this into something unhelpful and unrecognizable based on what we discussed. Between the RNC involvement (more on that later), CD chairs being pulled in one by one, and the vendor themselves being pulled in (it is not a requirement to be a Republican to work at IMGE), this has become a spectacle. We're inviting the world to watch our family affairs. I never intended for it to be this way.
- With oversight issues such as this one, it rarely ends with just one vendor or situation. I'm **deeply** concerned that Jennifer Carnahan and our Party Oversight let other issues slip through the cracks. Again, as a Party we should be extra cautious given our history.

## MISREPRESENTING THE FINANCIAL IMPACT TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



Jennifer Carnahan

to frank, Gary, Jeff, Patti, Tim, Paul, Bill, Connie, Carleton, David, Barbara, Mark, Ron, Bobby, mike, Ted, Diane, Christine, Craig, me, Jennifer

Thu, Feb 18, 3:31 PM (19 hours ago) ☆ ↶ ⋮

All,

In my opinion after reviewing the data with Mark and Jennifer Larson, it's not as dire as it sounds. There was an error by our vendor with back-end online donation coding related to vendor fees; which impacted some major donor contributions made online. It's been resolved (thanks Max for noticing the discrepancy in Bron's line item Statement of Operations). Money is coming back to the party on Friday in the amount of \$15,347. The vendor apologized for the error and we've resolved the matter within 48-hours of finding the discrepancy.

Between Mark and I, we've spoken to the vendor multiple times this week, have run through spreadsheets, done analysis and are comfortable with where things have landed. We also very much appreciate the vendor's transparency and steps to a swift resolution.

Happy to go into more detail Sunday, but do not believe this warrants an in-person meeting; plus I'm not going to be in town anyway now due to conventions and helping a BPOU in particular in which the chair recently had a heart attack and just had bypass surgery.

See zoom link below. See you online at 4 pm on Sunday.

Register in advance for this meeting:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/join/zoom/register/tZVvdeyqz4tGLJec7HVlKQhJRCO1ph-vs5>

After registering, you will receive a confirmation email containing information about joining the meeting.

Mark and I will walk through everything; we've also invited the vendor to join (they are checking their schedules). We think everyone will be pleased with the good processes we have in place at the party, our great new Treasurer and strong team that worked together with our vendor/RNC to ensure we remain one of the strongest state parties in the country.

Thank you!



Jennifer Carnahan  
Chairwoman, Republican Party of Minnesota


This email sent on Thursday, February 18th is an affront to the effort and care and fact finding I've put into this - along with the careful nature of how I've approached this meeting. Of course I have no reason to distrust Jennifer Larson and Mark Blaxill. I consider them both my friends. I can understand if both of them (or all of you) would find it difficult after this email. As you can see plainly in attachments, the potential loss on donations is much higher than \$15,347. Chair Carnahan may attempt to talk about the money she recouped in January and February, as well as the large dollar donations IMGE said they would refund. None of this is guaranteed. On a call Wednesday at 9:31 am, Chair Carnahan expressed to me that the vendor may "lawyer up" and that "recouping the money would be impossible" if they did, as a way to dissuade me from requesting the meeting. And, while not being a lawyer, I'm confident IMGE has both the financial resources and the contractual protections from errors that we're owed back (Big Dollar Donors, Donors that were charged 100% beyond our 3 month window, and small dollar donors who did not come in from IMGE --- who were charged 20+% over the life of the relationship). Beyond any of the large dollar donations, the 3 month period outlined in CONTRACT 1 ended and we still saw donations with 50%, 60%, 70%, 90%+ commission cuts. In CONTRACT 2 it was again specified money that IMGE "raised" would have fees, however significant fees were also taken from organic donations. Those donations were not "raised" by anyone except the brand of the party. If we were signing up for 20+% cuts of **every** donation on the website for the life of the relationship, then I do not believe previous boards were made aware of that. That is where outstanding donations lie as well. Regardless, this was an issue that did not get addressed for over a year. To act as if this was a one-time mistake and not a series of serious oversight failures is disingenuous. The failures lasted over a year, spanned 3 renewal contracts approved by the board, cost us close to six-figures in donation revenue, and was pressed as an issue ONE TIME: by me - who was told along the way that this wasn't a big deal, nothing is wrong, etc.

Chair Carnahan references \$15,347, which I believe is a combination of January's fees, February's fees, and some of our large dollar donors' fees which should have never happened. However, because IMGE and other vendors were taking percentage cuts of small dollar donors, even the ones they did not raise, I believe the number owed to be much higher than that.

There are several examples, even recently of IMGE taking cuts of donations on our generic donation pages, even when they didn't do anything for it --- as late as 2/2/21:

**Here are examples of what I'm referencing. IMGE uses longer URL codes to track donations from their specific efforts. Our generic donation link is "<https://secure.winred.com/republican-party-of-minnesota/donate>". If you visit the MNGOP website on your own to make a contribution, that's the link you go to. As late as February, 20% or more would go to vendors - without them doing anything for it. This was not money IMGE "raised" and if it was, I do not think the Board was made fully aware of that expense.**


IMGE taken a 20% cut from a generic donation, which came in on its own --- February 2nd, 2021

Donation Details	
Amount	\$100.00
Fee	\$24.10
Net	\$75.90
Status	Succeeded
Date	2/2/2021 04:48 pm
Source URL	secure.winred.com/republican-party-of-minnesota/don...
Donation ID	rv_ccc_01exjey77a5 [REDACTED]
Source Code	Unknown
Payout ID	rv_po_01eveqpgcm9 [REDACTED]
Payment Details	

**Donation Timeline**

- Donation Created: 2/2/2021 04:48 pm

**Donors**

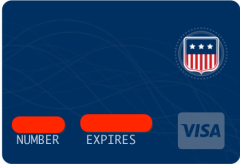
 S [REDACTED] W [REDACTED]  
skw4@paulbunyan.net | rv\_prof\_01exjey62djb2kxnafty3hf0d8

**Commission taken** (arrow points to Fee)

**Generic Donation Page Anyone can use** (arrow points to Source URL)

**Not created by IMGE efforts** (arrow points to Donor info)


IMGE has taken a 20% cut from a generic donation, which came in on its own ---- December 31st, 2020

Donation Details	
Amount	\$500.00
Fee	\$119.30
Net	\$380.70
Status	Succeeded
Date	12/31/2020 11:43 am
Source URL	secure.winred.com/republican-party-of-minnesota/don...
Donation ID	rv_ccc_01etwybyc7b [REDACTED]
Source Code	Unknown
Payout ID	rv_po_01epf8vx [REDACTED]
Payment Details	

**Donation Timeline**

- Donation Created: 12/31/2020 11:43 am


**Donors**

 B [REDACTED] B [REDACTED]  
bbowers@fin-rec.com | rv\_prof\_01etwybxcq1917hp4y3sppjc2h

**IMGE takes 20% cut** (arrow points to Fee)

**Generic Donation Page** (arrow points to Source URL)


Vendor takes a 90% cut of a donation, from a campaign they created ---- 12/29/20

Donation Details	
Amount	\$20.00
Fee	\$18.26 <b>90% cut</b>
Net	\$1.74
Status	Succeeded
Date	12/29/2020 08:31 am
Source URL	secure.winred.com/republican-party-of-minnesota/action-1836014?utm_so...
Donation ID	rv_ccc_01etqejpnfn1s [REDACTED]
Source Code	RS   ELI   Direct   12/18   Walz Lockdowns
Payout ID	rv_po_01epf8vxxhp4 [REDACTED]
Payment Details	


**Donation Timeline**

Donation Created 12/29/2020 08:31 am

**Donors**

 N [REDACTED] P [REDACTED]  
normapeterson@comcast.net | rv\_prof\_01etqejnnsinchy614g1zq63q0


**Subscriptions**

 N [REDACTED] P [REDACTED]  
normapeterson@comcast.net | rv\_sub\_01etqekw2jz0y8wwanpeadwmft

Vendor Created this page

Vendor created this campaign


Vendor takes 90% cut of donation, from a campaign they created ---- 12/24/20

Donation Details	
Amount	\$50.00
Fee	\$45.20 <b>90% fee taken</b>
Net	\$4.80
Status	Succeeded
Date	12/24/2020 12:16 am
Source URL	secure.winred.com/republican-party-of-minnesota/action-1840568?utm_co...
Donation ID	rv_ccc_01et9p83wz5 [REDACTED]
Source Code	RS   ELI   Direct   12/18   Walz Lockdowns
Payout ID	rv_po_01epf8vx [REDACTED]
Payment Details	

**Donation Timeline**

Donation Created 12/24/2020 12:16 am

**Donors**

 A [REDACTED] K [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] | rv\_prof\_2tmzxdywRWq4YcNRwf94Frp

VENDOR CAMPAIGN

There are thousands of examples like this: IMGE and other vendors taking 20-30% of donations they had nothing to do with and 20-100% of donations they said they'd help us get (through digital marketing). There are stretches of time where large dollar donors and generic donors also have 90%-100% taken. All of this happening without oversight or questioning.

\$135,500 came through on our main donate page since joining WinRed:



Default Donate donate

7/11/2019 10:45 am alex@revv.co

Conduit Page WinRed

\$135,5...



Our Main donate Page

← Previous 1 ... 14 15 16 17 Next →

Displaying pages 321 - 323 of 323 in total

IMGE contractually says that they have source codes and link tracking to determine our generic donors and large donors from money they raised. That didn't happen with us. Even if the \$30,000 "pay back fee" wasn't outside of 3 months as I indicated earlier. There are no source codes on our main donate page, so it's impossible to determine IMGE raised any funds that came to that page. Because they built 300 other pages, it's safe to assume the vast majority of those "generic page donations" belong solely to the party:

**Internal name**  
Give your page an internal name. Your donors will not be able to see this.

Internal name  
Default Donate

---

**Slug**  
Give your page a slug to give it a unique URL.

https://secure.winred.com/republican-party-of-minnesota/ donate

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**Title**  
This is the public title of the page.

Title  
Minnesota GOP I Donate

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**Source code**  
Enter a tracking code if you would like to write one to all donations that come from this page.

Source code

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**Description**  
This description will show up on search engines and in the meta tags. We recommend using less than 150 characters.

Description

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**Campaign**  
Associated this Page with a specific Campaign.

Select a Campaign

However, 20%-100% commissions were taken from this page over the life of our engagement with IMGE.

To say, "we got this solved and, in my opinion, we don't need the meeting originally proposed and agreed to" while the other party who requested the meeting disagrees is dishonest. I do not think we should be trying to sweep things financial things under the rug, no matter how small. It's why I had a certain level of urgency to schedule the Executive Committee meeting. To give the option of Zoom and invite new parties into the process, where people can be muted, screens can be shut off, and the entire situation can be controlled by Chair Carnahan betrays the spirit of this meeting - which was meant for accountability, new practices, new control, and an assurance that we have a plan in place. This is a big deal, no matter how much the Chair says it isn't. We have scrutiny from the press, from our activists, from basically everyone about our finances. "In my opinion, we solved this" is an inappropriate response towards someone who had to discover a major oversight error on behalf of our entire party which existed since late 2019. Chair Carnahan thought the issue was solved when she dismissed my initial inquiry during Bron's financial update. This changing of the meeting to include brand new participants, sharing critical documents over digital communication, enlarging our circle to include the vendor --- all of it is unwarranted and changes the nature of the meeting I first asked for.

**To conclude this section:**

- The original meeting as planned was legitimate and necessary for privacy purposes. We've had similar meetings for less. I had even been willing to sign an NDA at Chair Carnahan's request.
- You have seen the deficit created in our donations, the spreadsheet (EXHIBIT 2) can show you the average fees taken from every donation payout. The problem is larger than projected. The MNGOP would have a more comfortable financial position with that revenue in our bank.
- To include brand new people, some totally outside of the executive committee and some totally outside of our party (IMGE is a vendor), to take care of this long-standing issue with serious ramifications indicates to me the Chair is not taking seriously these financial oversight failures. It makes me call into question what other vendor relationships have been mismanaged.

- Between the treasurer position, executive directors, members of financial controls and the Chair, I believe Chair Carnahan and Ronald Huettl are the only common denominators from when we started these vendor engagements. I understand there's been turnover and there's shared accountability that must be had. It's why I've tried to make this less about Chair Carnahan and more about our internal processes.
- The constant changes to this meeting after having an agreed-upon time, date, and location, with limited attendance to just our Executive Board makes me think Chair Carnahan is not interested in a conversation about processes and oversight. This has become chaos.
- It is indeed my fault for not requesting this meeting myself. But it shows until the very end that I was willing to work with the Chair, be discreet and protective of data, and try to work towards a common goal. That goal is shattered with her actions of the past week, as I was given no notice of the meeting changes before her emails and phone calls went out, and was not consulted at all. Chair Carnahan has been willing to involve the vendor in our internal affairs, involve the National Party for a state Party issue, and now this has been made into something perverted beyond recognition. I went through the proper protocols and channels to do what's right.
- I have been told by several members of the board that prior to sending the above email, Chair Carnahan even said the meeting was flat-out cancelled. I did not cancel it and it is a meeting which was worth having in the proposed way we had it.
- Chair Carnahan made the circle bigger. I did not. The circle I intended was one that is constitutional for issues like this: our executive board. I wanted to work with Chair Carnahan and felt the best way to have full transparency would be to bring the issue before the Executive Committee.

## ATTEMPTING TO INTIMIDATE A WHISTLEBLOWER

As I was uncovering this detrimental failure in our party's financial and governance oversight, Chair Carnahan began a campaign that went directly to the highest levels on the Republican National Committee. This was a totally unnecessary and reckless campaign, in which Chair Carnahan attempted to silence me, humiliate me, and intimidate me by mischaracterizing or flat out telling mistruths about my words/motives. On February 17th at 5:51, I received a call from Ronna Mcdaniel, the chair of our National Party and Legal Counsel for the RNC Richard Walters, stating that Chair Carnahan had logged multiple calls, texts, and correspondence with the RNC about my pursuit of this meeting. I received this call while getting my children out of the bath and, to be honest, these were the last two people I ever expected to hear from.

Multiple members of the staff and the Legal Counsel himself all got calls and texts from Chair Carnahan, where she painted the picture I was trying to destroy WinRed and implicate the people who created it. I never communicated that as a motive for me wanting an Executive Committee meeting. I was clear that I would like an Executive Committee meeting to address this financial loss, however temporary, and set up new systems for financial oversight and governance.

Ronna McDaniel and Richard Walters both expressed that Jennifer Carnahan had told senior-level staff that I was planning on "forcing" a meeting for the party to delete WinRed or that I thought it was "Corrupt". She mischaracterized my comments, while even Ronna McDaniel agreed that there were vendor issues with Lacy Johnson's campaign. Both Ronna McDaniel and Legal Counsel Richard Walters knew about the Sunday meeting and Jennifer characterized it as: "Max Rymer hates WinRed and is attempting to 'force' an executive session to say that 'WinRed' is corrupt." These comments are so damaging is because the RNC played a large role in creating the program and it paints me as some unhinged member who is out for blood. There are many people at high levels of the RNC who have devoted their lives to this technology. My intention was never to "destroy" it, call it "corrupt", but it was to bring more transparency to see who was getting donation commissions from it. In my view, this point was clear to Chair McDaniel and RNC Counsel Richard Walters.

Up to that point, Chair Carnahan and I had clear expectations that the meeting was to be about governmental and financial controls. Saying that "WinRed was corrupt" and I was going to "destroy" it at this Executive Committee meeting was never part of our correspondence.

Chair McDaniel wished me well and offered RNC Counsel to listen in on Sunday's meeting. They both indicated that Chair Carnahan has made a habit of coming to them with false claims.

To my knowledge, every call with RNC Counsel Richard Walters is made note of in the RNC's Salesforce database.

When I confronted Chair Carnahan about this at 6:25 pm that night via phone, she stated "I have not talked to anyone at the RNC". This was not true. I recorded this call because I began to sense that Chair Carnahan was attempting to get national leadership to stop me from pursuing this state party issue.

Shortly thereafter, I called Chair Ronna McDaniel back to inform her that Jennifer denied communicating with the RNC about this. She was taken aback by it and cited numerous examples in the past week of it happening.

### **RNC Counsel Richard Walters called me at 8:17 AM on Thursday, February 18th morning at my request to run through Chair Carnahan's communication point.**

-On February 8th, Jennifer Carnahan contacted Richard Walters' office in an effort to inform him I thought WinRed was "corrupt". Please keep in mind that the night prior, during Bron's treasurer report, Chair Carnahan did not think there was a vendor cut/credit card processing fee problem.

-Jennifer Carnahan got a return call from Tinna Jackson, the COO of the RNC, in which she stated "Max Rymer hates WinRed

and says Mike Shields is making a lot of money on the back end." **I had NO IDEA WHO MIKE SHIELDS WAS and had to ask the RNC Legal Counsel.** This was another total fabrication to sully my name at the highest levels of the RNC and discourage me from pursuing further action.





Richard >

Richard - Max Rymer here. You mentioned Tinna Jackson told you that it was "Mike Davis" I was supposedly saying made money on WinRed - according to Chair Carnahan? Thanks.

Mike Shields

Thank you.

No problem.

Who is that, by the way?

He was the chief of staff under Reince in 2013/2014. He owns a digital firm now and there has been speculation that he was making money off of winred. However, winred open up their ownership documents to the New York Times to prove it wasn't true, and Henry Barbour who is the winred chair and signed all of the original contracts has said multiple times it wasn't true.

Thank you.

-On February 17th, Jennifer Carnahan called Kim Jorns on her RNC state party team. Kim is a recognized leader at the RNC. Kim Jorns stated "The National Committeeman has 'forced' her into Executive Session this Sunday and plans to tell the Executive Committee that WinRed is corrupt. He has gone 'balls to the wall'." Another total fabrication. On two separate, documented occasions, I informed Chair Carnahan that WinRed did nothing wrong. I even cancelled a call Chair Carnahan had scheduled with them, because it was not necessary. Richard Walters described the situation as "just crazy."

-Richard Walters once again unequivocally denied Jennifer Carnahan's claim of "I have not talked to anyone at the RNC."

-Richard stated on this call that these interactions were logged in the RNC's salesforce account.

#### **Chair Ronna McDaniel and Counsel Richard Walters called me again at 4:28 PM on Thursday, February 18th.**

-Chair Ronna McDaniel informed me that they both had a "good conversation" with Jennifer Carnahan, in which Jennifer expressed that this entire situation was a "miscommunication"

-I replied to Chair McDaniel that this situation was "not a miscommunication. It's Jennifer Carnahan caught in a lie."

-Both Chair McDaniel and Counsel Richard Walters encouraged me to continue with the Sunday meeting.

#### **On Saturday, February 21st, I requested a call with RNC Counsel Richard Walters**

-I verified that all of these calls are logged via Salesforce.

-Because Chair Carnahan has flat-out denied speaking to RNC leadership - I needed to know that there were records available to recount such conversations.

-RNC Counsel Richard Walters confirmed that there were records of the calls in Salesforce.

-RNC Counsel Richard Waters also informed me that Chair Carnahan had contacted Ronna McDaniel numerous times that very day.

#### **To conclude this section:**

- Even if I were wrong about everything, being treated in this way has been intimidating, humiliating and demoralizing. In every effort I've tried to be discreet, sensitive with data, etc., I have been met with misrepresentation of my motives and mistruths. It makes me have less faith in our Party Processes and the ability for our Chair to steward and protect people who want to make a difference.
- Jennifer Carnahan logged numerous contacts with RNC leadership about me - attempting to paint me as crazy, hateful of WinRed and the people behind it, accusatory that RNC officials were getting rich off it without mention of consultants and that I was trying to use these meetings about financial and governmental controls as a way to get the MNGOP to stop using the platform completely. All things considered, this issue was between IMGE, other vendors, and the MNGOP. WinRed was a neutral conduit and I expressed this to Chair Carnahan. I believe Chair Carnahan attempted to diffuse this situation later by telling the leader of our National Party that this entire situation was a "miscommunication" because she did not expect anyone to follow up on her mistruths.
- I helped Jennifer Carnahan identify an oversight failure she did not pay attention to for over a year, followed respectful and constitutional channels, and requested an Executive Committee meeting so that the board could be included on a solution. She painted me as trying to destroy the party, while I was actively trying to help it.
- The intimidation worked. I was and am still scared. I am scared shitless to send this email, not because I don't have the truth on my side - but because I do not know the depths to which Chair Carnahan would sink to destroy me, to lie about me, to mischaracterize my motives.
- Bringing our dirty laundry to the RNC is an embarrassing black eye for us as a State Party. I didn't make that decision; Chair Carnahan did. My request was to have an executive committee meeting to acknowledge the failure and help set up government/financial control systems to ensure it wouldn't happen again.
- I am fearful of Chair Carnahan's vengeance. I consider myself a confident guy, but this entire experience has rocked me. I have tried to follow the proper channels and do right by the Party. By her opening up involvement to a larger circle, including the vendor in what was supposed to be an internal party process conversation (I agreed to help Chair Carnahan next week to fully flesh out the numbers and potential losses), and involving our National Party into an issue they never meant to get involved with, this has become a spectacle.
- I have experienced total fabrications in an attempt to sully my reputation - all because I am trying to do the right thing by going through our constitutional channels and developing a solution with our board. She's told mistruths about me to the Legal Counsel of the RNC. She's told mistruths to the COO of the RNC. She's told mistruths about me to the Chair of our National Party. And she's probably told mistruths about me to you.
- I don't know why Jennifer Carnahan involved the RNC, why she changed our meeting to include people outside of the executive committee, why she made this circle much larger than it should have been with every correspondence. But she made those decisions. I did not.

I have tried to go about this financial and governmental failure in the right way. I have tried in earnest to bring this issue to the board and bring transparency/accountability. This was a failure which lasted over a year. When you see a failure with the

potential to cost us tens of thousands of dollars and the trust of our donor base, I believe you do what's right in that situation. This problem is real, it could betray the trust of our donors, and instead of pursuing accountability and improving our Party Processes, Chair Carnahan has engaged in a campaign to besmirch my name, ruin my reputation, and have numerous powerful people - from the RNC to many of you reading this - question my character and motives. Already, professional and political relationships I've worked hard to develop are being severed.

I don't know what will come of today's meeting, but it is my hope that you read this email, review the data, and help make our Party better. Our board must reassert itself as a curious, accountable, helpful entity. It was not my intent to lay the blame solely at the feet of Chair Carnahan. I referenced that time and time again; I do not envy the Chair or anyone who has been chair. In terms of the issue at hand, I do believe the buck stops with her - but we had levels of failure in this one instance and it's easy to assume that there are levels of failures in other instances.

Her actions in response to my request for a meeting, however, have been inexcusable. I still seek a solution to have more eyes on our financial processes and governmental oversight.

Sincerely,