

Google Transparency Project

Google's Support for Hillary Clinton

November 28, 2016



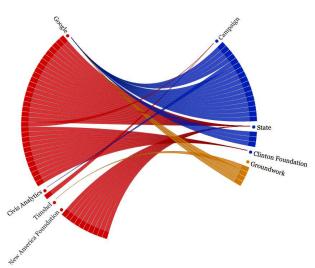
What We Can Learn from Google's Support for Hillary Clinton

Google executives and employees bet heavily on a Clinton victory, hoping to extend the company's influence on the Obama White House. They lost that bet, and are left scrambling to find an entrée to the Trump Administration. Google's playbook with Clinton reveals how the company most likely will seek to influence the new administration. There already are signs of that influence: Joshua Wright, who co-wrote a Google-funded paper while on the faculty of George Mason University and currently works at Google's main antitrust law firm, was named to the Trump transition team on competition issues. Alex Pollock, of the Google-funded R Street Institute, has also been named to oversee the transition at the FTC, which oversees Google's conduct.

Introduction

Google's extraordinarily close relationship with President Obama's administration led to a long list of policy victories of incalculable value to its business.¹ An in-depth examination of the company's efforts to extend that special relationship into the next administration, which it wrongly predicted would be led by Hillary Clinton, reveal what we might expect from Google for the incoming Trump administration.

Google's executives and employees employed a variety of strategies to elect Hillary Clinton and defeat Donald Trump. Google permeated Clinton's sphere of influence on a broad scale, rivaling the influence it exerted over the Obama administration. A review found at least 57 people were affiliated with both Clinton—in her presidential campaign, in her State Department, at her family foundation—and with Google or related entities. In addition, 10 people who worked under Clinton at the State Department later joined the New America Foundation, a Google-friendly think tank where Google's Eric Schmidt served as chairman and was one of its top donors.



57 people were affiliated with both Google and related groups and Clinton's campaign, her State Department or foundation

¹ Examples include rulings on net neutrality, set-top boxes, self-driving cars, privacy and antitrust. For more examples, see: <u>www.googletransparencyproject.org</u>.

Although the company and its chairman, Eric Schmidt, were ultimately unsuccessful in electing Clinton, their efforts underscore the profound and novel ways a corporation can influence our democracy beyond simple financial donations.

The Clinton campaign's chief technology officer, Stephanie Hannon, came from Google,² as did the campaign's chief product officer, Osi Imeokparia.³ At least two other key Clinton campaign staffers, Derek Parham⁴ and Jason Rosenbaum, ⁵ also previously worked at Google.

Several outside firms connected to Google also worked on the Clinton 2016 campaign. Those included Civis Analytics and The Groundwork, two companies that compiled data and polling on voters for the campaign and that were funded by

Google's Schmidt.⁶ Hillary for America spent more than \$590,000 on services from The Groundwork and at least \$48,000 on Civis Analytics in this campaign cycle.^{7 8} Clinton's primary super PAC, Priorities USA, has spent more than \$800,000 with Civis Analytics this cycle.⁹

Had she won the election, Clinton would have been significantly indebted to Google and Schmidt, whom she has referred to as her "longtime friend."¹⁰ For comparison, Schmidt's future team at Civis Analytics was credited with helping produce his five million vote margin of victory during Obama's 2012 election,¹¹ and Schmidt subsequently enjoyed extensive access at the Obama White House.¹² ¹³

Schmidt took on a similarly active role from the earliest days of the Clinton 2016 campaign, helping design, finance, and implement its digital voter-targeting operation. Internal campaign emails released by WikiLeaks show that Schmidt met with the

Eric Schmidt at Clinton's election night rally in New York, wearing a staff badge



An enlargement of Schmidt's staff badge on election night



² <u>https://www.linkedin.com/in/skhannon.</u>

³ https://www.linkedin.com/in/oimeokparia

⁴ https://www.linkedin.com/in/derek-parham-b7b5504.

⁵ https://www.linkedin.com/in/jasonrosenbaum.

⁶ http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-05-19/clinton-bets-on-tech-strategy-to-defeat-trump;

https://civisanalytics.com/team/eric-schmidt/

⁷ <u>https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&recipient_name=the+groundwork&min_date=</u> 01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=10%2F12%2F2016.

⁸ <u>https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&committee_id=C00575795&recipient_name=civis&min_date=01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=10%2F12%2F2016.</u>

⁹ <u>https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&committee_id=C00495861&recipient_name=</u> civis&min_date=01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=10%2F12%2F2016.

¹⁰ http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702303665904577449562114786378

¹¹ http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-05-30/googles-eric-schmidt-invests-in-obamas-big-data-brains.

¹² http://www.wsj.com/articles/google-makes-most-of-close-ties-to-white-house-1427242076;

https://theintercept.com/2016/04/22/googles-remarkably-close-relationship-with-the-obama-white-house-in-two-charts/

¹³ http://www.googletransparencyproject.org/articles/eric-schmidt-obamas-chief-corporate-ally. http://www.googletransparencyproject.org/articles/eric-schmidt-obamas-chief-corporate-ally

team working on Clinton's incipient campaign on April 2 and 3, 2014, before it was even announced.^{14 15} Just three months after the meetings, with future campaign chairman John Podesta and former Clinton State Department aide Cheryl Mills, The Groundwork was incorporated and housed near the Clinton campaign headquarters to work on her voter-targeting effort. ^{16 17 18}

Schmidt met regularly with Clinton advisors during the campaign to discuss issues such as where the voter-targeting operation should be located and how to compile all accessible information about voters in a single file.^{19 20} After meeting with Schmidt in April 2014, the future Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta reported: "he's ready to fund, advise, recruit talent, etc.

Google's support of Clinton extended beyond Eric Schmidt: the company over which he presides was a significant source of funds for both her campaign and her family foundation. Google is the Clinton campaign's largest corporate contributor. Google employees, including at least six high-ranking executives, donated more than \$1.3 million to Clinton's 2016 campaign.²¹

Google also is an annual financial supporter of the Clinton Global Initiative, a project of the Clinton Foundation. It has donated at least \$9.6 million in grants to the foundation's charitable initiatives and nonprofit members.^{22 23 24}

Had Clinton won the election, Google would have been able to capitalize on a close working relationship stretching back to her tenure as US Secretary of State. State Department officials travelled to Silicon Valley for meetings at Google's headquarters attended by Schmidt, where they brainstormed how new technologies could be used to address diplomatic, development, and security concerns.²⁵

In recent years, Google has hired at least 19 officials from the Clinton State Department, including Jared Cohen, a member of Clinton's policy planning staff. At Google, Cohen and Schmidt built a foreign policy think-tank, originally called Google Ideas and since renamed Jigsaw, that has carried out a wide range of missions, some in coordination with the State Department. As a Google executive, Cohen travelled to several conflict areas, raising suspicions that he was acting as an unofficial backchannel for the State Department.²⁶ He reportedly narrowly avoided arrest during a

¹⁴ <u>https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/3740</u>.

¹⁵ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/36828.

¹⁶ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/3740.

¹⁷ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/2790.

¹⁸ New York Department of State's Division of Corporations website, available at <u>https://appext20.dos.ny.gov/corp_public/</u> <u>CORPSEARCH.ENTITY_SEARCH_ENTRY</u>.

¹⁹ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/36828.

²⁰ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/37262.

²¹ https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/contributors?cycle=2016&id=N00000019&src=c&type=f.

²² https://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/09/our-clinton-global-initiative.html.

²³ https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/commitments/google-grants-cgi-nonprofits.

²⁴ https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/commitments/google-crisis-response.

²⁵ http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html.

²⁶ https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/11/1113596 re-movements-org-founder-cohen-.html.

2011 trip to Egypt, where he met with a Google Middle East executive hours before the executive was detained for allegedly helping to incite the country's revolution.²⁷

Had Clinton won the election, Google would have benefitted in current and new ventures from its extensive ties to her presidential campaign, her foundation, and the Clinton State Department. Several of those ventures rely on government funding or would be subject to regulatory scrutiny.²⁸

Beyond leaving its mark with Hillary Clinton, Google has proved highly adept during the past eight years at securing favorable decisions from federal agencies like the Federal Communications Commission, Federal Trade Commission, and the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.²⁹ It remains to be seen if the company can continue its influence under a Trump administration, but the role it recently assigned former FTC Commission Joshua Wright suggests the answer is yes.

Having failed to back the wining presidential candidate, Google is now seeking to soften its opposition to Trump. Schmidt congratulated Trump following his win, calling it an "amazing story." He also praised Trump-backer Peter Thiel, calling himself a fan of the Silicon Valley investor and entrepreneur.³⁰

Google has spent heavily to woo Republicans in recent years and counter its image among conservatives as an arm of the Obama administration.³¹ Despite its support of Trump's opponent, the company may benefit from a Trump administration if it is able to get friendly regulators appointed to his government. Joshua Wright, a former FTC commissioner, could return as chairman, for example. Wright is currently at Google's main antitrust law firm, Wilson Sonsini, and previously wrote Google-funded papers arguing the company should not face antitrust action.³²

Alex Pollock, of the Google-funded R Street Institute, has also been named to oversee the FTC transition.³³ The R Street Institute has produced a steady stream of Google-friendly policy papers and articles in recent years.³⁴ Another possible FTC chair would be current FTC Commissioner Maureen Ohlhausen, who dissented from taking any action against Google in 2013, and has opposed taking aggressive action to increase

http://www.politico.com/story/2015/02/fcc-chairman-tom-wheeler-net-neutrality-plan-google-115502; https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-06-22/fcc-may-budge-on-cable-box-after-hearing-from-google-and-at-t; http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/04/technology/google-agrees-to-changes-in-search-ending-us-antitrust-inquiry.html; http://www.recode.net/2016/2/9/11587714/federal-government-will-treat-googles-driverless-car-system-as-a. ³⁰ http://fortune.com/2016/11/10/google-eric-schmidt-peter-thiel/.

²⁷ https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/11/1111729 re-goggle-shitstorm-moving-to-gaza-internal-use-only-.html.

²⁸ https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-02-12/google-ventures-seeks-to-make-name-as-farsighted-health-investor.
²⁹ https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-06-14/fcc-s-net-neutrality-rules-upheld-by-u-s-court-of-appeals.
Https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-06-14/fcc-s-net-neutrality-rules-upheld-by-u-s-court-of-appeals.

³¹ http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304856504579339031332776594.

³² https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1577556.

³³ https://www.google.com/publicpolicy/transparency.html; https://www.greatagain.gov/news/president-elect-trump-announcesadditional-agency-landing-team-members-0.html.

³⁴ <u>http://www.rstreet.org/2014/12/12/gone-google-europe-is-pushing-to-limit-internet-companies/; http://www.rstreet.org/2016/05/19/google-to-france-we-cant-pick-this-bonaparte/; http://www.slate.com/blogs/future_tense/2015/09/22/right_to_be_forgotten_france_s_privacy_regulators_want_to_dictate_what_you.html.</u>

competition or more aggressively protect privacy rights.^{35 36} It would be ironic if Google—having tried and failed to get Clinton elected—continued to benefit from officials at the FTC that have proven to be staunch defenders of the company in the past.

1) Google and Hillary Clinton's 2016 Campaign

Former Googlers Helped Run Presidential Campaign

Google, its executives and employees were deeply involved in Hillary Clinton's 2016 White House bid, as they were with Barack Obama's two presidential campaigns. Fifteen Hillary for America staff members were former Google employees or received fellowships, including two chief campaign officers who had served as directors and longtime staffers at Google.



CTO Stephanie Hannon was one of 12 former Googlers on the Clinton campaign

The campaign's chief technology officer, Stephanie Hannon,

was a Google product manager from 2004 to 2011, and later served as its director of product management from 2013 to 2015.³⁷ The campaign's chief product officer, **Osi Imeokparia**, spent a decade at Google from 2005 to 2015 as a product management director.³⁸

Other key staffers on the campaign who worked at Google included **Derek Parham** and **Jason Rosenbaum**. Parham, the campaign's deputy chief technology officer, was the founder of Google Apps for Work and worked at the company from 2005 to 2011.³⁹ Rosenbaum was the director of digital advertising on the campaign and served as Google's director of elections and advocacy from 2013 to 2015.⁴⁰

Other former Googlers, or Google fellowship recipients, who worked for Hillary for America include:⁴¹

- Benjamin Cole, product strategist and management consultant
- Nathaniel Welch, senior site reliability engineer
- Henry Bridge, director of product
- James Plummer, senior product designer

³⁵ <u>https://www.ftc.gov/sites/default/files/documents/public_statements/statement-commissioner-maureen-ohlhausen/130103googlemotorolaohlhausenstmt.pdf</u>.

³⁶ <u>https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/documents/public_statements/982433/ohlhausen - does_the_us_economy_lack_competition_8-30-16.pdf</u>.

³⁷ https://www.linkedin.com/in/skhannon.

³⁸ https://www.linkedin.com/in/oimeokparia.

³⁹ https://www.linkedin.com/in/derek-parham-b7b5504

⁴⁰ https://www.linkedin.com/in/jasonrosenbaum

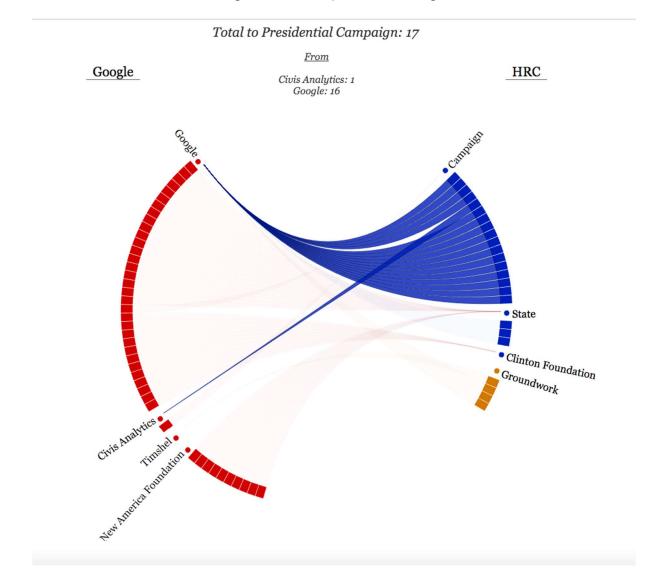
⁴¹ <u>https://angel.co/benjamin-cole-1; https://www.linkedin.com/in/natwelch; https://www.linkedin.com/in/hbridge;</u>

https://www.linkedin.com/in/james-plummer-0321ba72; https://www.linkedin.com/in/andrea-frome-9b0377110;

https://www.linkedin.com/in/fredwulff; https://www.linkedin.com/in/dbowman123; https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/5480; https://www.linkedin.com/in/emmyruiz; https://www.linkedin.com/in/maxwell-nunes-4211031b; https://www.linkedin.com/in/decause; https://www.linkedin.com/in/divinavidena.

- Andrea Frome, senior software engineer
- Fred Wulff, software engineer and manager
- Danny Bowman, software engineer
- Per Anderson, tech team
- Emmy Ruiz, Nevada state director
- Maxwell Nunes, digital staffer
- Remy DeCausemaker, open source community manager

One Hillary for America data analyst, **Dina Lamdany**, left the campaign in December of 2015 and later became a Google associate product manager.⁴²



⁴² https://www.linkedin.com/in/dina-lamdany-4552302b.

Eric Schmidt Funded Campaign's Big-Data Brains

Google's Eric Schmidt personally funded several start-up companies that helped Clinton use big data to try to win elections, providing them money, advice, staff and office space. Emails released by WikiLeaks show Schmidt sought a meeting with the close-knit group pulling



together Clinton's campaign in April 2014, including **John Podesta**, her campaign chairman, **Robby Mook**, her campaign manager, and **Cheryl Mills**, her longtime aide.⁴³

this cryptic symbol

Shortly after that meeting, Schmidt backed a new "under-the-radar" startup called **The Groundwork**, comprised of alumni from Barack Obama's 2008 and 2012 campaigns as well as former Google data and software engineers. The company was incorporated in New York exactly three months after Schmidt's meeting with Clinton's unofficial campaign team.⁴⁴

The Groundwork was responsible for building the data, analytics tools, and infrastructure to target voters for fundraising, advertising, outreach, and get-out-the-vote efforts. ⁴⁵ The importance of the new Schmidt-backed company to the Clinton campaign was underscored by its location—less than a half mile from Hillary Clinton's Brooklyn campaign headquarters. Hillary for America paid the company more than \$590,000 for "technology services" from July 2015 to September 12, 2016 according to FEC disclosure records.⁴⁶

Another Schmidt-backed startup, Civis Analytics, was also deployed on behalf of Clinton's campaign, according to FEC records. Civis, which grew out of an election night conversation between Eric Schmidt and Dan Wagner, became the destination for data whiz kids after Obama's 2012 campaign.⁴⁷



Civis reportedly used a technology developed for the Obama campaign called the "Optimizer" to deploy targeted television ads by accessing TV set-top box data to find the best ways to reach voters.⁴⁸

⁴³ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/2790.

⁴⁴ New York Department of State's Division of Corporations website, available at

https://appext20.dos.ny.gov/corp_public/CORPSEARCH.ENTITY_SEARCH_ENTRY_

 ⁴⁵ <u>http://www.govexec.com/technology/2016/05/eric-schmidt-backed-startup-working-put-hillary-clinton-white-house/128056/</u>.
 ⁴⁶ <u>https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&committee_id=C00575795&recipient_name=the+gr_oundwork&min_date=01-01-2015&max_date=09-12-2016</u>.

⁴⁷ https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-05-30/googles-eric-schmidt-invests-in-obamas-big-data-brains.

⁴⁸ http://gz.com/<u>520652/groundwork-eric-schmidt-startup-working-for-hillary-clinton-campaign/</u>.

Civis was pressed into service soon after Obama's 2012 victory, working on President Obama's top policy priorities including healthcare reform, federal technology acquisition reform and even national security matters. According to data compiled by the Campaign for Accountability, at least 28 government employees and Obama campaign staffers went on to work for Civis, where they enjoyed extraordinary access to the White House. An analysis of visitor logs show Civis employees attended at least 51 meetings with White House officials during the first three years of President Obama's second term.⁴⁹

Clinton's team began to consider Schmidt's data firm Civis Analytics as a campaign vendor no later than January 17, 2015, when a Mook memo sent to Podesta listed Civis and its CEO Dan Wagner as possible consultants.⁵⁰ Hillary for America made its first and only payment to Civis on August 27, 2015.⁵¹

Civis' client then switched from the campaign to Priorities USA, and the firm received its first payment from the PAC on March 10, 2016.⁵² A campaign lawyer wrote in a November 29, 2015 email that Civis likely could not legally work for both groups at the same time.⁵³

Civis data helped inform media articles arguing that Trump's polling support was overstated. In August of 2015, Civis Analytics conducted a survey of more than 3,000 adults in the U.S. to gauge support for candidates in the Republican Party primary.⁵⁴ The Civis polling results were highlighted in an August 26, 2015 *New York Times* story that concluded Trump's support skewed towards voters who had little history of voting in elections.⁵⁵

FEC records show the day after Civis published a blog post about the data, the Hillary for America campaign paid \$48,000 to Civis.

There was a close and fluid relationship between the Clinton campaign and Civis analytics, with staff members moving between them. Those included Clinton's voter analytics director, **Matt Dover**, who previously served as Civis' director of campaigns;⁵⁶ and Civis's former director of data research, **Justin Burchard**, a staffer on Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ <u>http://googletransparencyproject.org/articles/civis-analytics</u>.

⁵⁰ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/32316.

https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/fileid/32316/9158.

⁵¹ https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&committee_id=C00575795&recipient_name= civis&min_date=01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=11%2F02%2F2016.

⁵² <u>https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&committee_id=C00495861&recipient_name=civis&min_date=01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=11%2F10%2F2016</u>.

⁵³ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/10792.

⁵⁴ https://civisanalytics.com/blog/data-science/2015/08/26/republican-primary-poll-august2015/.

⁵⁵ http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/27/upshot/theres-evidence-that-trumps-polling-support-is-overstated.html.

⁵⁶ https://www.linkedin.com/in/matt-dover-24a77374.

⁵⁷ <u>https://www.linkedin.com/in/justin-burchard-559810b2</u>.

https://www.gwu.edu/~action/2008/obama/obamagenpa.html.

http://docquery.fec.gov/pres/2008/M3/C00431569/B_PAYEE_C00431569.html.

Eric Schmidt's Deep Involvement in the Clinton Campaign

Emails released by WikiLeaks show that Eric Schmidt worked hand-in-hand with the Clinton campaign to create its digital and voter-targeting operation. Two startups in which he invested, Civis Analytics and The Groundwork, built tools for the campaign's website. He met regularly met with Clinton advisors to discuss issues such as where the voter-targeting operation should be located and how to compile all accessible information about voters in a single place. ^{58 59} Schmidt explicitly told Podesta in April 2014 that he wanted to be involved in recruiting and hiring talent.⁶⁰

Beginning Stages

Documents show, Schmidt reached out to the campaign to offer his services from its earliest moments and played a key role in designing, staffing, and financing the votertargeting operations, just as he had during Obama's 2012 re-election campaign. On April 2, 2014, Schmidt met with John Podesta to discuss preliminary thoughts on campaign strategy.⁶¹ Podesta reported back in an email to future Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook that Schmidt wanted to take on a robust advisory role that would allow him to help fund and staff the campaign. Podesta wrote: "he's ready to fund, advise recruit talent, etc. He was more deferential on structure than I expected. Wasn't pushing to run through one of his existing firms. Clearly wants to be head outside advisor, but didn't seem like he wanted to push others out. Clearly wants to get going."62 The day after the meeting with Podesta, Schmidt arranged a meeting with Hillary Clinton confidant Cheryl Mills, who had served as Clinton's chief of staff at the State Department.⁶³

Strategy Memo

On April 15, 2014, Schmidt sent a 1,300-word strategy memo to Cheryl Mills that outlined his insights and suggestions on what shape the campaign's infrastructure should take.⁶⁴ The memo included Schmidt's thoughts on the campaign's location, field operations, voter outreach methods, digital operations, media tools, and data analytics methods.⁶⁵ Mills shared Schmidt's email with Podesta, Mook, and David Plouffe.⁶⁶

Schmidt wrote about plans to build software that would gather digital identities and match them with actual voter files in ways that could raise significant privacy concerns. "In the case where we can't identify the specific human, we can still have a partial digital voter id, for a person or "probable-person" with attributes that we can identify and use to target," he wrote. "As they respond we can eventually match to a registered voter in the

- ⁶¹ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/36828.
- 62 Id.

⁵⁸ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/36828.

⁵⁹ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/37262. ⁶⁰ *Id*.

⁶³ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/38935.

⁶⁴ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/37262 ⁶⁵ Id.

⁶⁶ Id.

main file. This digital key is eventually matched to a real person."

The memo discussed developing new tools to measure the reach and impact of paid media, news coverage and social media. "Tools can tell us about the origin of stories and the impact of any venue, person or theme," Schmidt wrote.

Schmidt sought to measure "the rate and spread of stories and rumors, and model how it works and who has the biggest impact." TV effectiveness in particular, he believed, could be measured through various types of surveys. He expressed an interest in integrating polling into these tools, and wanted to find a way to shift polling from phones to the internet. He also wanted to link the campaign's voter records to databases from companies like Comcast and others for media measurement purposes.

Schmidt's detailed roadmap delved into how the campaign should approach data analytics and modeling and highlights the central role he played. He suggested Clinton's team compute a score for each voter that would rank that person's probability of voting for Hillary Clinton. Media reports on the Bernie Sanders breach of DNC voter files in December 2015 reveal that the Clinton campaign ended up using a voter scoring approach like the one Schmidt outlined.⁶⁷

Implementing New Tools

Efforts to build The Groundwork were well underway during the summer of 2014, even before the company was registered in New York on July 3, 2014.⁶⁸ Schmidt had direct contact with Hillary Clinton on at least two occasions during this period. The first was on May 16, 2014 when he introduced her at the New America Foundation's Big Ideas Conference.⁶⁹ The second was on July 21, 2014 when she appeared with him at Google headquarters to promote her book Hard Choices.⁷⁰

In October 2014, Mook prepared an update for Clinton on the state-of-play on campaign technology.⁷¹ Mook's write-up outlined The Groundwork's role in developing two tools for her website. The first tool allowed her team to better optimize sign-up pages, which would allow them simultaneously test versions of sign up pages against each other to see if one generates more sign ups than the other.

The second tool was a "quick donate" feature that would allow the campaign to save someone's credit card information so that future donations could be made in one click. Mook wrote that this capability would be "obviously a huge revenue booster."72

⁶⁷ http://www.politico.com/story/2015/12/bernie-sanders-clinton-data-breach-216926.

⁶⁸ New York Department of State's Division of Corporations website, available at

https://appext20.dos.ny.gov/corp_public/CORPSEARCH_ENTITY_SEARCH_ENTRY. ⁹ https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/clinton-embraces-populist-themes-in-policy-speech/2014/05/16/2f2814b6-dd20-11e3-

⁸⁰⁰⁹⁻⁷¹de85b9c527 story.html https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/20962; https://wikileaks.org/podestaemails/fileid/20962/5723.

https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/40707.

⁷¹ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/39107.

⁷² Id.

The campaign was keen to have Schmidt involved in a central role. In January 2015, Mook included Schmidt on a list of proposed names for the campaign steering committee, though it is not clear if Schmidt accepted this formal role or if the committee ever materialized.⁷³ Still, Schmidt remained involved, and in February 2015, he requested and received a meeting with Bill Clinton about business he proposed to do with the campaign.⁷⁴ The campaign also held a conference call with Schmidt on August 4, 2015, emails show.⁷⁵

Hillary for America did not make its first payment to The Groundwork until June 30, 2015, a full year after the company registered and eight months after Mook's email detailing The Groundwork's efforts on behalf of the campaign.⁷⁶

Google Donations to Hillary for America

Google's support for Clinton's campaign wasn't limited to Eric Schmidt. Google employees and executives donated more than \$1.3 million as of October 28, 2016, making the company the largest corporate contributor.⁷⁷

Google's chief financial officer, **Ruth Porat**, regularly raised money for Clinton using her Wall Street connections. Porat hosted a fundraiser for Clinton's 2016 presidential run at her New York apartment, and the campaign also hosted a talk with Porat at the Ritz-Carlton in Half Moon Bay, California.⁷⁸ Porat hosted a New York fundraiser for Clinton in 2008, when she still worked at Morgan Stanley.⁷⁹ The 2016 Clinton campaign even designated her as one of its official intermediaries to reach out to the business community for support.⁸⁰



Google CFO Ruth Porat has used extensive Wall Street connections to raise money for Clinton's campaign

Other Google executives who donated to Clinton's campaign included vice presidents **Pavni Diwanji**, **Anjali Joshi**, **Anna Patterson**, **Bogomil Balkansky** and **Vinton Cerf**.

Google's former head of Advanced Technology and Projects **Regina Dugan** also donated to Clinton during her time at the company. Before joining Google, Dugan headed the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), a Department of

⁷³ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/6520

⁷⁴ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/37184.

⁷⁵ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/58814.

⁷⁶ https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails//fileid/6520/1792;

https://beta.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two year transaction period=2016&recipient name=the+groundwork&min date=01%2F0 1%2F2015&max date=11%2F10%2F2016.

⁷⁷ https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/contributors?cycle=2016&id=N00000019&src=c&type=f.

⁷⁸ http://fusion.net/story/287040/this-climate-activist-just-made-hillary-clinton-very-upset/.

https://www.willhillarywin.com/events/half-moon-bay-california-conversation-with-ruth-porat/

 ⁷⁹ <u>http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/02/19/a morning at the dakota 1.html</u>.
 ⁸⁰ http://www.politico.com/story/<u>2016/08/hillary-clinton-recruiting-republicans-226843</u>

Defense agency responsible for the development of emerging technologies for use by the military.⁸¹

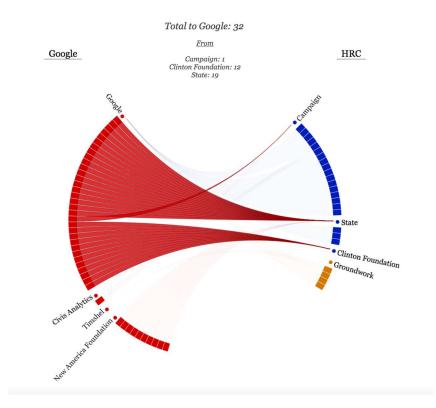
Mary Grove, the director of Google for Entrepreneurs, was a founding member of a group of Silicon Valley fundraisers for Clinton called **Nerdz 4 Hillary**.⁸²

2) Google's Partnerships with the Clinton State Department

During Secretary Clinton's tenure at the State Department, Google and its chairman Eric Schmidt assumed an increasingly active and unprecedented role in foreign affairs, collaborating with the State Department on "digital diplomacy" projects.

Google was highly active in many U.S. initiatives relating to technology,⁸³ which allowed Google to get a head-start on competitors in countries that were opening up to digital services for the first time. These included Cuba, Tunisia, Iran, North Korea, Egypt, and Somalia.

Google hired heavily from the Clinton State Department. According to CfA's analysis, 19 State Department officials who served under Hillary Clinton while Secretary of State later took jobs at Google.



⁸¹ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/project-on-government-oversight/regina-dugan-google_b_1345291.html.

⁸² https://www.politicopro.com/tech/whiteboard/2016/09/tech-backers-launch-new-clinton-group-077713.

⁸³ https://googletransparencyproject.org/articles/google-pulled-white-house-strings-kill-telecom-treaty.

The relationship between Secretary Clinton and Google grew in part out of a foreign event that brought the two together. Over time, their rapport evolved into a partnership that both U.S. foreign policy goals and Google. On January 12, 2010, Google announced that Chinese hackers had attempted to break into the Gmail accounts of human rights activists and dissidents in the country.⁸⁴ Google responded by temporarily refusing to comply with China's censorship laws and redirected the country's users to its Hong Kong search engine.⁸⁵

Secretary Clinton had met with Eric Schmidt and several technology executives at a

private dinner five days before the hacking news became public. The purpose of the dinner was to foster closer ties between the State Department and the technology sector.⁸⁶

A week after the hacking incident, Clinton delivered a 45-minute speech on internet freedom that criticized Chinese censorship and explicitly called for China to investigate and transparently release its findings.⁸⁷ The speech led to a State Department-sponsored diplomatic mission to Silicon Valley that brought State Department planning officials Jared Cohen and Alec Ross to Google's headquarters for meetings with Eric Schmidt.⁸⁸

Clinton called on China to investigate the hacking of Gmail accounts during a speech on internet freedom in 2010

Clinton's State Department also worked with Google to help achieve its foreign policy objectives. According to internal emails, in 2012 State Department officials reached out to Google about a controversial anti-Islamic YouTube video titled "Innocence of Muslims." YouTube had blocked the video in several Muslim countries in response to a request from the White House, in apparent violation of the company's own guidelines.⁸⁹ Google executives apparently confirmed to the State Department officials that they intended to continue blocking the video.⁹⁰

Jared Cohen and Google Ideas

Google's internal think-tank, originally called **Google Ideas** and now **Jigsaw**, is a

leading example of the way Google exercised its foreign policy influence while



⁸⁴ http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html.

⁸⁵ http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html.

⁸⁶ http://allthingsd.com/20100107/guess-whos-coming-to-dinner-eric-schmidt-and-the-technorati-visit-the-state-department/

⁸⁷ http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html; https://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/

rm/2010/01/135519.htm.

⁸⁸ http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html.

⁸⁹ <u>http://freebeacon.com/politics/emails-show-hillarys-state-department-communicating-with-google-about-blocked-benghazi-video/;</u> http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/09/13/237659.html

⁹⁰ https://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/09/19/238987.html; http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/09/13/237659.html.

Secretary Clinton led the State Department. Google Ideas was modeled after the State Department's internal think tank, the Policy Planning Staff,⁹¹ which provides recommendations to the Secretary about longer term global trends.⁹²

In 2010, Schmidt personally recruited a 29-year-old member of Clinton's policy staff, Jared Cohen, who the Google executive had previously called one of "our representatives to the government" and one of the "best friends of Google" in the government.⁹³

Cohen and Schmidt launched the "think/do tank" that year with the mission of exploring "how technology can enable people to confront threats in the face of conflict, instability and repression."⁹⁴ The initiative carried out a wide range of projects, some in coordination with the State Department, aiding U.S.



Jared Cohen has acted as a liaison between Google and the State Department

public messaging efforts abroad and carrying out advocacy projects that could be kept at arms' length from official U.S. government policymaking.

"There are things the private sector can do that the U.S. government can't do," Cohen explained when he joined Google. "On some topics, it's very sensitive for government to be the one doing this."⁹⁵



Over the next year, Schmidt and Cohen traveled to more than 30 countries as they developed a book-length treatise about technology's impact on the future of government and business.⁹⁶ In visits

to North Korea, Burma, and elsewhere, many began to suspect Cohen was conducting his own back-channel diplomacy on behalf of the Obama administration, even pushing technology as a means to foment civil unrest. In 2011, Cohen narrowly avoided arrest in Egypt when he reportedly met with Google Middle East marketing executive **Wael Ghonim** hours before Ghonim was detained on suspicion of secretly fomenting the country's popular revolution.⁹⁷⁹⁸

Even senior executives at Google began to suspect Cohen was working on behalf of the administration, an executive with global intelligence firm Stratfor wrote in leaked emails. "Google believes he's on a specific mission of 'regime change' on the part of leftist fools inside the WH who are using him for their agendas," the executive wrote.⁹⁹ He later identified his sources as Eric Schmidt and Marty Lev, Google's security director.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/09/07/state-department-innovator-goes-to-google/.

⁹² http://www.state.gov/s/p/.

⁹³ <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4C6_uRGSqtM#t=1767</u>

⁹⁴ http://valleywag.gawker.com/google-execs-arrived-at-sxsw-on-private-jet-with-androi-1538767864.

⁹⁵ http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/09/07/state-department-innovator-goes-to-google/.

⁹⁶ http://nymag.com/news/intelligencer/google-eric-schmidt-jared-cohen-2013-6/.

⁹⁷ http://blogs.wsj.com/corporate-intelligence/2013/02/01/exclusive-eric-schmidt-unloads-on-china-in-new-book/.

⁹⁸ http://www.newsweek.com/how-wael-ghonim-sparked-egypts-uprising-68727.

⁹⁹ https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/11/1113596_re-movements-org-founder-cohen-.html.

¹⁰⁰ https://search.wikileaks.org/gifiles/emailid/398679; https://search.wikileaks.org/gifiles/emailid/1121800.



Department consent

Cohen's work at Google Ideas has included a number of projects that appear to advance State Department policy interests:¹⁰¹ a database of global arms-sales; a tool to engage Somali citizens in drafting a new constitution through cloud-based surveys;¹⁰² a tool to track global Denial of Service (DDoS) attacks; a hotline for victims of human trafficking; and a tool for tracking Syrian defectors.¹⁰³

In the case of the Syria tool, Cohen directly sought input from Clinton's team at the State Department before launching it. "Let me know if there is anything eke [sic] you think we need to account for or think about before we launch," he wrote in a July 2012 e-mail. "We believe this can have an important impact."¹⁰⁴ But Google Ideas' effortsand its lofty rhetoric-often obscured the clear business objective behind many of its activities: to identify and open new global markets for Google. Tellingly, Google Ideas resided not in Google.org, the company's philanthropic arm, but in Google's Business Operations and Strategy department.¹⁰⁵

While not part of Google Ideas, other international Google efforts to reach unconnected communities include experiments providing low-cost internet using drones, weather balloons and other means. For the company, the benefits are clear: access to the personal data of millions more people, and giving advertisers a way to target them.

¹⁰¹ <u>https://www.wired.com/2016/09/inside-googles-internet-justice-league-ai-powered-war-trolls/</u>

¹⁰² https://opensource.googleblog.com/2012/06/google-ideas-develops-citizen.html.

¹⁰³ http://www.google.com/ideas/.

¹⁰⁴ http://english.alarabiya.net/en/media/digital/2016/03/23/Google-planned-to-help-Syrian-regime-defectors-leaked-Clinton-emailsshow.html. ¹⁰⁵ https://web.archive.org/web/20151004194537/http://www.google.com/intl/en_us/about/careers/teams/business-strategy/.

Jared Cohen and the Alliance for Youth Movements: An early collaboration with Google

Google and the Condoleezza **Rice State Department** collaborated closely in setting up an organization to advance U.S. interests. In late 2008. while he was still part of Secretary Rice's policy planning staff, Cohen and his colleague James Glassman, an undersecretary of state for public diplomacy, launched the Alliance for Youth Movements, a State Department-sponsored nonprofit clearinghouse for young activists around the

The hosts of the event included Cohen; **Jason Liebman**, the CEO of Howcast.com and a former Google executive; and **Roman Tsunder**, the CEO of 360 Media, Inc., a media network

world.¹⁰⁶

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From: Sullivan, Jacob J [r Sent: Wednesday, July 2: To: H Subject: FW: Syria	mailto:SullivanJJ@state.gov] 5, 2012 06:20 PM		
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Thanks, Jared			
Jared Cohen Direc	tor of Google Ideas Go gie !	Tel:	
Follow are on Google+ Follow me on Twitter			

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that specializes in targeting young consumers.¹⁰⁷ The program was launched at a December 2008 Summit in New York that brought together young activists from Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Turkey, Sudan, Iraq and other developing countries.¹⁰⁸

Google was a sponsor of the event and Google executives from its New Business Development Team including **Megan Smith** (Obama's CTO), **Gisel Hiscock** and **Katie Stanton**, were among the attendees.¹⁰⁹

During Jared Cohen's years as an advisor to Secretary Clinton, he assiduously courted Google. In July 2009, Cohen met with Google's Latin America team and tweeted about the "endless possibilities for partnership."¹¹⁰



¹⁰⁶ <u>http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/us/2008/112310.htm</u>.

¹⁰⁷ http://info.howcast.com/press/releases/facebook-google-youtube-mtv-howcast-columbia.

¹⁰⁸ https://allyoumov.3cdn.net/f734ac45131b2bbcdb_w6m6idptn.pdf.

https://allyoumov.3cdn.net/f734ac45131b2bbcdb_w6m6idptn.pdf.

¹¹⁰ https://twitter.com/JaredCohen/status/2393712099.

http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/10/21/google-sends-a-lifeline-to-internet-users-in-iran-and-china.html.
 http://www.businessinsider.com/can-an-israeli-tech-startup-outsmart-irans-internet-censors-2014-1.

¹¹¹ https://www.hitpages.com/doc/5484301990756352/1#pageTop.

https://twitter.com/JaredCohen/status/1831074757.
 allyoumov.3cdn.net/19124626e19bfe0755_5vm6bqh4w.doc.
 https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/141166.pdf.

In 2010, the State Department partnered with venture capital firm **The Innovators Fund** to provide financing and mentorship to young entrepreneurs in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey, Russia and Malaysia. TomorrowVentures is one of the partners of The

uProxy and Lantern

Innovators Fund.¹¹⁴

Limvirak Chea.¹¹³

Google Ideas collaborated with a State Department-funded startup on the development of a VPN proxy network called **uProxy** that masks the identities of internet users in oppressive countries by swapping their IP addresses with users in the West.

Jared Cohen unveiled uProxy at the 2013 *Conflict in a Connected World* conference hosted by the Gen Next Foundation and the Council on Foreign Relations.¹¹⁵ The company that developed the tool, **Brave New Software**, had previously created a similar product known as **Lantern** that received \$526,000 in funding from Clinton's State Department.¹¹⁶ Brave New Software founder **Adam Fisk** wrote that Lantern "collaborated extensively with Google on their uProxy work."¹¹⁷

Under Secretary Clinton's leadership, the State Department also worked with Eric Schmidt's venture capital arm, TomorrowVentures, collaborating on

projects to support some of its economic development initiatives, mainly in the Middle East.

State Department Collaboration with TomorrowVentures

two executives from Google's New Business Development team: Morrissey and

Those opportunities came to fruition that fall when, in October 2009, Google sponsored AYM's second summit in Mexico City. **Kristen Morrissey**, Google's Principal for New Business Development, was featured as a speaker at the event. State Department attendees included **Alec Ross**, a senior advisor for innovation to Clinton and close associate of Cohen.¹¹¹

In March 2010, AYM held a third summit in London with young activists from around the world, where Cohen spoke about "citizen politics."¹¹² Once again, the employees that Google chose to send to the conference hinted at its business purpose. They included





¹¹⁶ http://www.businessinsider.com/can-an-israeli-tech-startup-outsmart-irans-internet-censors-2014-1; https://www.usaspending.gov/transparency/Pages/RecipientProfile.aspx?DUNSNumber=966332491&FiscalYear=2012.

¹¹⁷ https://productforums.google.com/forum/#!topic/webmasters/lznNWFvQ0EQ.

Lantern forces users to connect with each other through Google Talk accounts.¹¹⁸ The requirement created skepticism among privacy-minded software communities concerned that Google might share user information with government entities like the NSA.¹¹⁹ Fisk himself admitted that he would have preferred not to have integrated Google Talk with Lantern, but claimed that not doing so would have made the project more difficult.¹²⁰

Emails published on WikiLeaks show that Jared Cohen was in contact with John Podesta about how the government could give private companies like Google incentives to help accomplish U.S. foreign policy goals. Following an Aspen Strategy Group meeting in August 2015 where Cohen and Podesta first met, Cohen emailed Podesta to answer a question he had asked about how the government can implement a "digital counter-insurgency" against ISIS.¹²¹

"A lot of this will be done outside government, which means we need to really think about the right incentives for enlisting the private sector," Cohen wrote. ¹²² "The current approach has put the companies on the defensive, which means they have not been as willing to proactively help." ¹²³

Cohen offered to meet with Podesta to discuss the topic further.¹²⁴ Hillary For America campaign staffer Milia Fisher scheduled a meeting for the pair in late September 2015 in New York.¹²⁵

3) Google's Support of Clinton Foundation Initiatives

Google has also provided funding for several Clinton Foundation initiatives. In 2010 the company committed to donate an estimated \$8.5 million over five years to Clinton Global Initiative crisis response efforts.¹²⁶ As part of this yearly foundation commitment, in 2010 it provided \$1 million in charitable grants and technology support to Pakistanis recover



charitable grants and technology support to Pakistanis recovering from flooding.¹²⁷

Google also provides yearly advertising grants of \$10,000 to nonprofits affiliated with the Clinton Global Initiative.¹²⁸ Google began offering the grants in 2006, and as of March 2007 had issued 107 of them, worth a total of nearly \$1.1 million.¹²⁹

- ¹²⁰https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?g=cache%3Ahttps%3A//techpresident.com/news/wegov/24444/statedepartment-funded-lantern-next-bigger-better-tor&cad=h.
- 121 https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/38247.

¹¹⁸ <u>https://pando.com/2013/10/22/heres-an-anti-internet-censorship-program-for-activists-by-activists/</u>.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ Id. ¹²⁴ Id.

¹²⁵ <u>https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/47542</u>.

¹²⁶ https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/commitments/google-crisis-response.

¹²⁷ https://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/09/our-clinton-global-initiative.html.

¹²⁸ https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/commitments/google-grants-cgi-nonprofits.

¹²⁹ *Id*.

Google donated use of a private jet to the Clinton Foundation in April 2015 for a nineday trip to Africa by Bill Clinton, Chelsea Clinton, and 20 wealthy foundation supporters.¹³⁰ The group included boosters for Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign and others who were expected to donate large sums to Clinton.¹³¹

In 2010, Google's Schmidt attended the opening plenary session at the Clinton Global Initiative, participating on a panel with Bill Clinton about how corporate, government and nonprofit stakeholders can collaborate to solve social and environmental issues.¹³²

There has been a significant revolving door between Google and the Clinton Foundation. Eleven former Clinton Foundation staffers later worked for Google according to CfA's analysis. Three of those worked on the **Clinton Health Access Initiative** during their time at the foundation, while four others worked for the **Clinton Global Initiative**.



John Lyman

The latter group includes **John Lyman**, who helped launch the CGI in 2005.¹³³ Lyman left the initiative to join Google in 2007 and has worked there for nearly a decade, now as a partner at **Google Ventures**.¹³⁴

What to Watch For In The Coming Months

Having failed to back the winning presidential candidate, Google likely will explore ways it can ingratiate itself into the Trump administration. Things to look out for are new appointees and their connections, if any, to Google and Google-affiliated and funded projects. Google also is likely to throw its support behind efforts to deregulate and effectively neuter agencies like the FCC, FTC, and the Justice Department's Antitrust Division. And while the Trump campaign may have relied on traditional polling and data monitoring less than its opponent, an emerging interest in technology could signal Google once again has found a seat at the table.

¹³⁰ <u>https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/38211</u>.

http://www.politico.com/story/2015/04/bill-clintons-africa-entourage-117445

¹³¹ http://www.politico.com/story/2015/04/bill-clintons-africa-entourage-117445.

¹³² http://press.clintonglobalinitiative.org/press_releases/president-bill-clinton-opens-sixth-annual-meeting-of-the-clinton-global-

initiative/.

¹³³ https://www.linkedin.com/in/john-lyman-240a431.

¹³⁴ https://www.linkedin.com/in/john-lyman-240a431.