

2020

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More Perfect Union



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“With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.”

Abraham Lincoln
Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865

“The life of the nation is secure only while the nation is honest, truthful, and virtuous.”

Frederick Douglass
Speech on the 23rd anniversary of Emancipation
in the District of Columbia, April 1885

“We will work with urgency and humility and when we succeed together, we will have made America work for its people, repaired disenfranchisement and divisiveness among the American citizenry, protected and rejuvenated liberal democracy for ourselves and our descendants, and restored America as a beacon of hope for the world.”

More Perfect Union

Introduction

America was born as a bold, revolutionary idea – a nation that balanced self-governance with equal rights and opportunities to all who wear the identity of American citizen.

It has never been perfect, but ideas are allowed to grow and change, to innovate and re-create. This is central to our identity as a nation. America is an idea in transformation – sometimes getting it very wrong but almost always coming back from those dark places with illuminating light for the better idea of America and what it means to its citizens and to the world. We are now in one of those dark places.

More Perfect Union believes that America, a common enterprise of citizens with equal rights and obligations regardless of the circumstances of their birth, is the greatest experiment in the history of humanity, but it is in critical danger of failing – perhaps in greater danger than ever before in our history.

“We are now in one of those dark places.”

We stand at a crossroads. We are a nation nominally governed by the same Constitution and values, principles and traditions that have always guided us, but the attachment to, respect for, and understanding of the reasons behind them is frayed. Further, the manifestation of those values and what it means for America to lead in our world today has changed. America has never been truly great—too few enjoyed the full benefits of its promise—but we are one of the few nations in the world whose framework, institutional logic and rhetoric were designed to produce a truly great country for all of us willing to throw in with the American way and a beacon of hope for the rest of the world. The time has come for us now to deliver on that promise of America.

A new generation of leaders and ideas born of the new, rapidly changing world we now live in is needed to deliver on the promise that America can offer the world. The two-party system that has become an entrenched duopoly and the industry that supports it have disenfranchised our citizenry. This disenfranchisement and growing inequality have led to an unprecedented moment in American history. Public approval ratings for, participation in, and engagement with government are at an all-time low.

The American political system is broken. It no longer serves its primary customer – the American citizen. Americans have no real voice or ability to change their situation for the better. They face real problems with no hope of solving those problems. There is broad consensus on the need for reform and concrete solutions, but current conditions make it impossible to accomplish what a majority of Americans want.

We face rapidly spreading fear and divisiveness among the American citizenry fueled by harmful partisanship that defines a political system which no longer places the best interests of the country ahead of party interests, the alarming increase of economic inequality, and the growing problem of misinformation and echo chambers that now define how most of us consume information about the world around us on a daily basis.

The alarming spread of COVID-19 has transformed what normal life means for Americans. The unprecedented nationwide economic crisis the virus has created has heightened the desperation American’s feel as they worry daily about how they will make their next rent payment, pay their water bill or afford to even buy groceries for the week. In the midst of this dual crisis of epic proportions, America watched in eight minutes of horror as an unarmed black man was killed slowly by a white, indifferent police officer ignoring the pleas of those standing by. This unthinkable act of a uniformed officer sworn to equally protect and defend the innocent served to awaken the giant as America finally begins to come to grips

with the deep systemic racism lying as a dark shadow across our social fabric – sparking social unrest in every corner of the nation.

This triple crisis has shown a revealing light on the brokenness of our system and on the power of the forces that threaten to tear us apart.

Fear grows. The divide widens. Across the nation, we have forgotten what unites us. We've forgotten what it means to be Americans.

Our journey to healing and greatness as a nation requires that we look at our past with authenticity and integrity. There have always been parts of American society unable to drink from the fountain of promise. They were denied the inalienable rights that the framers promised in the Declaration of Independence because others viewed their equality and access to the same rights as a zero-sum game and a threat. The good news is that the virtues, founding principles, and the Constitution—the animating principles of America—present a bold idea to the world and an opportunity to us as Americans. If we re-animate these principles, we can produce a truly great nation for all American citizens and a beacon of hope to the rest of the world.

WE ARE LIVING IN A MOMENT...ONE OF HISTORIC IMPLICATIONS FOR GENERATIONS TO COME. WE MUST ACT.

The need is urgent and the stakes could not be higher. We live in a time when the checks and balances that the founders designed are being stressed and thwarted by ideological extremism, bad faith subversion of democratic norms and bad incentives.

We are not the first to observe these historic challenges, and it is a testament to Americans' faith in our country, and our ingenuity and earnestness, that millions of citizens have turned their intellect, time, energy and money into diagnosis, organization, litigation, legislation, activism and reform. Hundreds of organizations are pursuing important work across a newly energized Democracy Reform industry.

But it is not enough. These organizations are making progress, but that progress is hindered by the temporary nature of their gains or by the fact that the painstakingly slow pace of their hardfought wins does not meet the true urgency of the moment we find ourselves in.

SO, WHAT EXACTLY ARE WE PROPOSING HERE?

More Perfect Union is an entity stood up to restore and protect American Democracy. The entity will implement a meta-level, coordinated and systemic ten-year strategy that will break the harmful duopoly that dominates the American political system and build a smart plan that delivers real solutions and lasting impact both at home and abroad.

MORE PERFECT UNION STANDS FOR THE PROPOSITION THAT WE NEED A DISCIPLINED NATIONAL ORGANIZATION THAT CAN:

- 1** Create the political conditions that will allow for substantive, lasting political reform
- 2** Pass federal political reform legislation and select, scale and coordinate comprehensive, nationwide Democracy Reform efforts
- 3** Create and enact policy and legislation that deliver meaningful results for a disgruntled American citizenry that has lost all faith in their leaders to do the important job of governing

With your help, More Perfect Union (MPU) will be this national organization, and will provide professional, experienced, visionary infrastructure and support to incentivize citizen movements to act in the best interest of the country as a whole. Without MPU, the harmful duopoly dominating the political industry will continue to hinder substantive reform efforts and prevent the passage of meaningful solutions that meet the basic needs of the American people. Without MPU, the nascent Democracy Reform industry will remain fragmented, separately running into the high walls of structural disfunction. MPU is designed to effect structural, systemic reform – not isolated, short-term wins.

We will work with urgency and humility, understanding the severity of our problems while knowing we are intent on accomplishing multi-generational change over the next 10-plus years, regardless of what happens in 2020.

When we succeed together, we will have made America work for its people, repaired disenfranchisement and divisiveness among the American citizenry, protected and rejuvenated liberal democracy for ourselves and our descendants, and restored America as a beacon of hope for the world.

And then, we will wind down More Perfect Union, satisfied with its work as a temporary, restorative pillar of our democracy.

Executive Summary

1

WE FACE AN URGENT PROBLEM:

- The American Democratic experiment is in danger of failing
- America and Democracy at large is losing its leadership position in the world
- Our country is deeply divided by fear and ignorance
- The American people have lost our ability to govern
- And the American political system has been hijacked by a harmful duopoly of increasing extremism and is systemically broken

2

MORE PERFECT UNION IS A TEMPORARY PILLAR OF DEMOCRACY WITH A VISION OF:

- Bringing unity and commonality to the American identity
- Making the government work for the people
- Restoring America as THE global leader and beacon of hope to the rest of the world for what can be

3

TO REALIZE THIS VISION, OUR MISSION IS TO:

Break the harmful duopoly and build a smart plan that delivers real solutions and lasting impact both at home and abroad.

4

OUR STRATEGY HAS THREE CORE PILLARS BUILT ON A FIRM FOUNDATION:

- A political pillar that secures a 5-seat fulcrum in the Senate and shapes the battlefield making reform possible
- A reform pillar that brings necessary fixes and repairs to the political system which allow for meaningful change to take place
- A policy pillar that delivers real solutions to Americans at the kitchen table and restores American leadership abroad
- A nationwide movement for unity and reform that supports and strengthens all three pillars

The Problem

The great American experiment is teetering on the precipice of failure.

We frequently witness a borderline Constitutional crisis as the current Administration routinely pushes the boundaries of Executive power and other co-equal branches abdicate their Constitutionally assigned roles as checks and balances.

Legislators are incapable of solving, and often unwilling to solve, basic, sometimes urgent problems that the nation faces, captured in the gridlock of deeply entrenched partisan politics. Media outlets—from large multi-nationals to individual influencers—are atomized and have put aside objectivity, the pursuit of truth and their vital roles of truth-telling and transparency as the Fourth Estate of American democracy, to pursue a biased, sensationalistic war for eyeballs and clicks. Exponential advances in technology and the rise in power and influence of social media have created isolation bubbles in every corner of American society that act as echo chambers, undermining the idea of objectivity and reinforcing our worst inclinations and beliefs. For the first time in American history, a large swath of the nation does not believe that their children are going to have it better than they did, and for the first time, they indeed won't. Each day, the country becomes more divided. We have leaders who stoke fear and hatred by telling us that extending freedom and equality to all is a zero-sum game.

We were founded as a new type of nation—a liberal democracy—a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and one that ensures that every American citizen enjoys equal rights, freedom and opportunity. The idea of America is a nation that stands for the freedom of lasting and meaningful choices for everyone, everywhere. The belief that this bold idea—an idea that, to be clear, we have to

varying degrees worked to realize but never achieved—was worth our collective effort, forbearance and compromise is now being threatened.



America is a nation that stands for the freedom of lasting and meaningful choices for everyone, everywhere.

HOW DID WE GET HERE?

The problem is rooted in one word: agency. Americans are experiencing a pandemic loss of agency. Many Americans now feel that they have no control over their lives or the ability to shape their futures, and they don't see any practical reason to believe that things will get better. The American political system is no longer even notionally serving the American people. As Katherine Gehl and Michael Porter highlight in their work, *Why Competition in the Politics industry is Failing America*, the harmful duopoly of the two-party system that now controls every aspect of our electoral and governance process actually destroys value to the main customer of the United States government, the American citizen.¹ Though political parties once acted as gatekeepers, they have become captive to increasingly extreme, fringe forces uninterested in the commonweal and have abdicated this critically important political responsibility.

¹ Katherine M. Gehl and Michael E. Porter, *Why Competition in the Politics Industry is Failing America*, (Harvard Business School, 2017).

This reality shows up in, e.g., the historically low approval ratings of Congress. Due to power asymmetry in the political system, Americans are powerless to change the system. This powerlessness and disenfranchisement have led to the rise of populism and an increasing appetite for autocratic forms of government unfettered by other checks to power in the hopes that this new “stronger” form of government could finally lead to real results and change in the daily lives of all Americans.

Democracy is under siege throughout the free world today – not just here at home. We live in historic times, and we cannot afford to lie in complacent, willfully ignorant bliss assuming that American Democracy will survive this current crisis simply because it always has in previous times of trouble. We must be students of history and heed the warning signs of the past. In *The People vs. Democracy*, Yascha Mounk points to the examples of Athenian Democracy which lasted over 200 years, the Roman Republic which lasted over 500 years, and the Republic of Venice which thrived for over 1,000 years. He writes that anyone who would have warned of impending doom fifty years prior to the demise of these democratic societies would have been mocked in both elite and popular circles, and yet each of these democracies eventually self-destructed.² The events we see unfolding in this chapter of American Democracy is a scene the world has seen play out many times before, and it has typically not ended well. America is special, and this crisis need not end in autocratic annihilation of the idea of America, but to avoid the loss of our Democracy and the hope and light it could represent to the rest of the world during this historic moment in time, we the people – all of us – must act now to save it.

This crisis is not the fault of any one person or a certain class of people. It’s important to understand that the predicament we find ourselves in will not change simply by replacing a President. This is not about what happens in 2020. It is deeper than that. Choosing a leader who believes in and exemplifies our founding virtues, principles, and Constitution is certainly a step in the right direction, but the problem has become much larger than that. The entire system, and its surrounding ecosystem, is broken, and only a truly systemic solution endorsed by the American people will win the day.



It’s important to understand that the predicament we find ourselves in will not change simply by replacing a President.

This is not a partisan issue. It’s an American issue, and it’s going to take all of us to pull the nation back from the brink and become the beacon of hope to the world that we were created to be. The good news is that we are Americans, and nothing is impossible for us. If we come together, we are inherently capable of healing our wounds and leading the country into a new era full of possibility as we pursue a more perfect union.

² Yascha Mounk, *The People vs. Democracy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

Mission, Vision & Values

MISSION

Break the harmful duopoly and build a smart plan that delivers real solutions and lasting impact both at home and abroad.

VISION

Bring unity and commonality to the American identity, make the government work for the people, and restore America as the global leader and beacon of hope to the rest of the world for what can be.

CORE VALUES

More Perfect Union will be founded, guided, and driven by core values as our North Star in alignment with what we see to be a greater set of core values that define the idea of America. The values of the nation listed below are derived from the American Creed as recounted in Jon Meacham's, *The Soul of America: The Battle for Our Better Angels* – a nation devoted to the principles of liberty, self-government, and of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, gender, or nation of origin.³ Our national values will define the progress we make; our organizational values will define the culture of More Perfect Union as a workplace and the cultures we will expect and nurture in our partner organizations. Both are outlined to the right and neither makes sense without the other.

NATIONAL VALUES

Freedom	One person, one vote
Self-government	Justice
Hope	Innovation
Equality and Equity	Responsibility and ownership
Virtue	Transparency
Boldness and courage	Service
Rule of law	Industriousness
Compassion	Basic rights for all
Humility	Integrity
Balance of power	

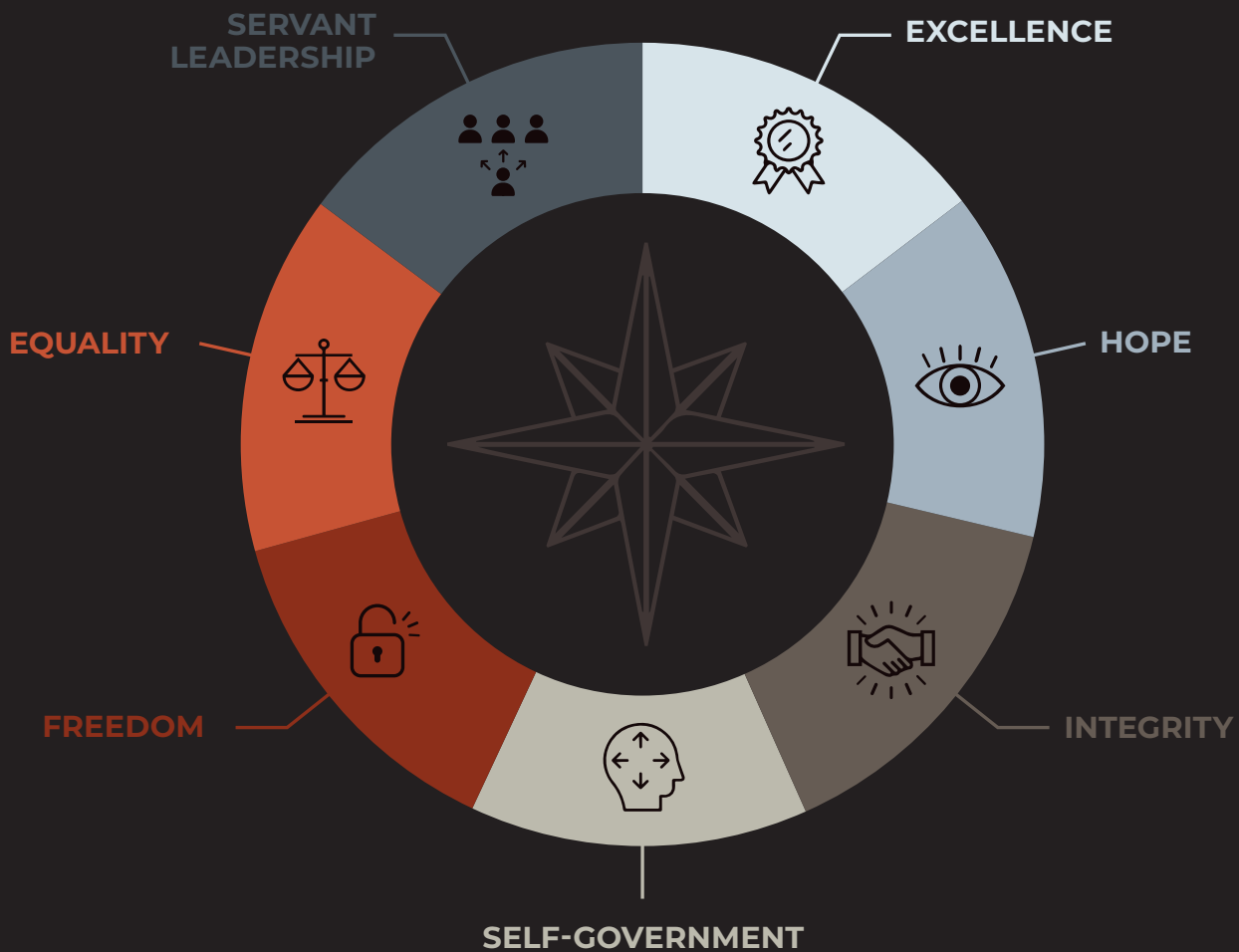
ORGANIZATIONAL VALUES

Team	Efficient communication
Accountability	Patience / long game
Work smart	Innovation
Not entitled	Ownership
People-focused	Respect
Country-first	Fail fast, learn fast
Bold / Risk-taking	Feedback culture
No ego / humility	Hopeful
"Can do"	Results-focused
Fairness and equality	Action-oriented
Excellence (A+ players)	Highest integrity
Humor not sarcasm	

³ Jon Meacham, *The Soul of America: The Battle For Our Better Angels*, (New York: Random House, 2018).

North Star Values

These core values are further distilled down into seven North Star Values that will guide every More Perfect Union decision and action:



Intended Outcome

What does success look like?

It's critical to define what long-term success looks like. In many ways, when More Perfect Union has succeeded, it will be a launch point—the beginning of a new era for America to truly step into its own and become the nation we are destined to become.

It's important to understand that there will be key early milestones that must be met along the way, and the plan that follows in this document will focus most of its energy and detail on those early milestones that must be met to enable the larger vision to come to fruition. Specific outcomes for these early milestones will be described in later sections; however, this

section focuses on the state of the nation after the long-term vision of More Perfect Union has been fully realized.

The fight to preserve American Democracy will be a lengthy engagement – not a singular battle. The early phases of that engagement will be described in more detail in this document – knowing full-well that no plan (no matter how well-researched and war-gamed) survives first contact. The More Perfect Union strategy (particularly the later phases of the strategy) will undoubtedly shift as we begin implementation, but the destination – the long-term indicators of success – will remain the same.

IN OUR SUCCESS CASE, WE WILL SEE THE FOLLOWING:

- Either a radically reformed two-party system where extremists and demagogues are filtered out and competition can be introduced regularly into the system is in place, or a viable Third Party has been established at the state and national levels.
- A powerful, effective fulcrum of MPU-minded leaders has been established in the Senate. The group is delivering results to the American people: passing legislation and enacting policy that they really care about.
- Candidates that represent the core North Star, fundamentally American values, is favored for election to the Presidency, on the promise of governing with a strong, experienced bipartisan team and a powerful plan / platform in place ready to execute and lead America with strength and humility (not fear and hubris) into an era of true promise.
- The American government works for the American people in a true liberal democracy. A healthy balance has been struck between authentic self-government and the protection of equal rights for all American citizens. The principle of one citizen, one vote is a reality.
- The American Dream is alive and well not just for the few, but for all citizens regardless of where you come from or what family you are born into. Americans see a path to a better life for their children.
- A common American identity has been established and owned across all pockets of American society. Civic engagement is at an all-time high with a surge of engagement from Millennials and Generation Z.
- Our elected officials are not agents of division but are leveraging the good will and good sense of Americans to agree on solutions to shared problems. Lines of divide from the local level to the national level are not as important as a new, unifying patriotism. Our differences are ever-present, and will spark heated, passionate debate, but those differences breed strength, not fear.

The Plan: Strategic Pillars

The More Perfect Union strategy has three main pillars.

We believe that all three of these pillars must be implemented in order to ensure long-term success of this plan and ensure a reinvigorated, more stable American Democracy. The success of each pillar depends on the success of the other two, and they must be implemented deliberately in sequence in order

to work effectively. The political landscape must be changed first in order to enable successful reform and effective policy change. Lasting reform cannot happen without the buy-in of the American people. The American people will not buy-in to a plan unless they can see meaningful change in their lives.

01.

Political

Establish a country-first, reform-minded 5-member Senate fulcrum to shape the political landscape and make lasting, systemic political reform possible

02.

Reform

Pass a national reform bill that establishes key wins and accelerates the pace of reform and then execute a partner or build plan to scale or build winning solutions addressing six key weaknesses in the system that we believe work together to create the quagmire that is our current political system..

03.

Policy

Create and help implement practical plans that address the most pressing challenges/issues that a majority of Americans care about and foreign policy plans to restore American leadership and reliability abroad.

The Foundation

Build a nationwide movement for unity and reform

THE ► Foundation

It's crucial to note at the outset that we cannot drive solutions to the problems our nation faces exclusively from the coasts. Any strategy that fails to include the American people — regardless of good intentions and even some tactical wins — is an arrogant, condescending exercise in elitism doomed for failure.

A blocking and tackling strategy is critical — one that includes town hall meetings, focus groups, and interviews in every corner of America.

To engage the American people in the process of restoring our Democracy, we must start a nationwide movement. To build this movement, we will utilize a combined — public education, grassroots, grass tops, and digital strategy.

The genesis of the movement will be a fifty-city listening tour designed to learn about and better understand the major pain points for a diverse cross-section of lower and middle income families across the country. The primary target for the tour will be cities in the top ten candidate states for the Senate Fulcrum races of Pillar 1. The listening tour will enable us to hit multiple key early targets at once:

- **Shatter misperceptions and increase understanding** by gaining a true pulse of everyday America — across a diverse set of voices — by humbly listening and learning with openness and authenticity

- **Gain credibility** as a movement of Americans seeking nationwide political reform
- **Build a database of supporters** across America that will form the foundation for information dissemination, mobilization, calls to action, social media, and small dollar donations

The movement will be the common thread that weaves all three pillars together to create lasting, meaningful change:

- **The movement will form a base of support** for and inform the policy and communications strategies for the five Senate Fulcrum races.
- **The movement will form the popular support** and mobilization base to support and give teeth to the Reform agenda in Pillar 2.
- **The movement will be used to inform and hone** both the selection of the issues the domestic policy team will tackle as well as the content of the policy and plans created to address said issues.

More Perfect Union will partner with organizations and efforts that engage citizens in conversations in order to learn from and build empathy with Americans across all demographics, educate citizens on the facts of issues and attempt to begin healing wounds of divisiveness. We will aggregate this feedback to inform our larger strategy. Incorporation of authentic grassroots engagement and participation will be a necessary condition of any candidate or organization backed by More Perfect Union.

PILLAR 1

► Political

The Senate Fulcrum

The Senate Fulcrum pillar is the main strategy component that will be focused on in some detail in this document.

The Senate Fulcrum makes the remaining components of the More Perfect Union strategy possible, and it will be the primary focus for MPU leadership over the next three years. In short, the goal of the Senate Fulcrum pillar is to unseat five incumbent Senators in 2022 with five country-first, reform-minded candidates.

The concept of a “swing caucus” or “center caucus” is not new, but it is important to recognize that this is not a caucus strategy. A caucus is started and run from within the 2-party duopoly with very few resources outside of the two parties. The Fulcrum is a strategy that supports five candidates that will run as either Republicans or Democrats, but will be executed from outside the party infrastructure. The Senate Fulcrum will break up the gridlock in the Senate and allow for both political reform legislation and critical domestic policy initiatives to pass through Congress to catalyze nationwide political reform and help deliver meaningful results to Americans at the kitchen table. Running on a political reform platform may seem counterintuitive, but polling conducted in the wake of the 2018 election indicates that a reform agenda is actually a very popular one – particularly in battleground states. As an example, a 2018 poll by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research in congressional swing districts indicates that “ending the culture of corruption in Washington” is the number one concern for Americans – even ahead of protecting Social Security and Medicare and growing the economy and creating jobs.⁴ A poll from the same firm in April 2020 reveals that even in the current COVID environment, political corruption still ranks as a top concern for Americans – behind only healthcare and the economy.

This strategy makes sense in a time of unprecedented gridlock and partisanship in Congress. Currently, basic legislation that most Americans on both the right and left care about and would support cannot be passed because even proposing bipartisan legislation, i.e., backing ideas without putting the party’s political considerations first, threatens the power of party bosses who

keep Members in line through the power of party funding and committee assignments. The Senate Fulcrum would be a group of leaders who stand for and promote legislation that represents a practical platform of political reform and solutions addressing the problems that a majority of Americans (specifically the working class) care about the most. The Fulcrum would stand up for and work to pass legislation that supports this platform regardless of the stance of the Member’s party. As the Senate Fulcrum begins to secure legislative wins, we expect to see two outcomes: the American people will begin to associate the Fulcrum with the leaders in Congress that can break the gridlock and get things done — increasing the power and effectiveness of the group; and more moderate incumbent Senators (including the 23 members of the Common Sense Coalition) will move to join the Fulcrum, thus increasing the power and influence of the Fulcrum even further.

A Fulcrum-type approach is a good idea in theory, but difficult to put into practice in a meaningful way. Other groups have attempted similar strategies – predominantly in the House – with varying levels of success. No Labels started the Problem Solvers Caucus. With Honor has attempted a similar strategy through their cross-partisan caucus, Country First Caucus. Both strategies have been focused on the House and have seen some success, particularly the Problem Solvers Caucus; however, concrete, game-changing legislation sponsored by a swing caucus that helps break the gridlock of Congress and directly solve problems that Americans care most about hasn’t happened. House strategies are more common because the races are much less expensive, but a Senate strategy is a six-year play vs. a two-year strategy in the House. Senators can make substantive change from a more powerful, more long-lasting position – even if the Member ends up being a one-term Senator. Put simply, Members of the Senate have more time and more authority to get things done more quickly.

The greatest obstacle to an effective central group like the Senate Fulcrum lies in the threat to a candidate of losing access to party funds, being exiled to unimportant committees and, in the extreme, being “primaried” by the party. To neutralize these tools, a Member must know that they will have the resources to get their message across and take on any primary competitor, and must have similarly situated colleagues with whom they can work to get things done if their party will not cooperate. At the same time, a failure to support the country-first principles and reform agenda that the candidate ran on and that are promoted by More Perfect Union must result in negative consequences for the Member – specifically an MPU-sponsored primary challenger.

⁴ Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, “First Agenda Item for Congressional Majority: Ending the Culture of Corruption in Washington,” End Citizens United, November 19, 2018, <https://endcitizensunited.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/01/ECU-Post-Elect-Public-Memo-FINAL-112018.pdf>

The More Perfect Union Senate Fulcrum strategy will identify and support principled, country-first leaders from any party who will stand for our North Star Values and commit to supporting our political reform agenda and practical domestic platform that addresses the greatest challenges facing the American working class. The candidates may include Republicans and/or Democrats. In 2022, More Perfect Union will only support candidates who will be new to the Senate, but will support incumbents in later races who migrate to the Fulcrum. A key element of success for this initial strategy is that victory must strike fear in both parties and in sitting Members of the Senate – sending a message that no seat is safe, no matter how much the party tries to convince its Members otherwise. After the 2022 elections, More Perfect Union must be recognized as a political force to reckon with in order to establish a foundation of strength from which MPU can carry out Pillars Two and Three of this strategy.

What follows below is the plan to choose the five races, identify critical issues that the MPU Senate candidates will address, recruit new candidates to the group, and build a winning campaign to help ensure they get elected and can fill their role as members of the Fulcrum.

CHOOSING THE FIVE RACES – IDENTIFYING SWING STATES AND SWING CONSTITUENCIES WITHIN THOSE STATES:

There are 34 Senate seats in play in 2022. In addition, there are two seats TBD due to 2020 Special Elections – Arizona and Georgia. (see diagram below)

In choosing the five races, we will be guided by three primary criteria: 1) Which races do we have the highest probability of winning, 2) Which races can a victory be directly attributed to the intervention of More Perfect Union, and 3) Which races can we present a distinct difference between the MPU candidate and the opposition. The selection process will start with the fifty-city listening tour that begins to build the nationwide MPU movement. We will target cities in the ten most likely states for our five races and build a strong database of potential supporters and work to identify the hopes and desires of a broad spectrum of citizens across those states. The data from the listening tour combined with an analysis done by a team with significant historical political depth and judgment will form the basis for selecting the five races. The objective will be to identify both the five states and the key constituencies within those states that comprised the swing vote. The effort will move beyond theoretical group identification to databases of specific voters based on historical voting activity and a wide variety of demographic factors.

Choosing the five races

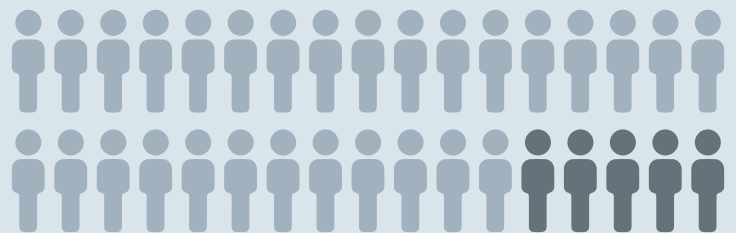
Primary criteria in choosing the five races:

01. Which races can we definitely win

02. Which races can a victory be directly attributed to the intervention of More Perfect Union.

03. Which races can we present a distinct difference between the MPU candidate and the opposition.

THERE ARE 34 SENATE SEATS IN PLAY IN 2022:



REPUBLICAN

Richard Shelby, AL	Jerry Moran, KS	James Lankford, OK
Lisa Murkowski, AK	Rand Paul, KY	Pat Toomey, PA
John Boozman, AR	John Neely Kennedy, LA	Tim Scott, SC
Marco Rubio, FL	Roy Blunt, MO	John Thune, SD
Mike Crapo, ID	Richard Burr, NC	Mike Lee, UT
Todd Young, IN	John Hoeven, ND	Ron Johnson, WI
Chuck Grassley, IO	Rob Portman, OH	

DEMOCRAT

Kamala Harris, CA	Tammy Duckworth, IL	Chuck Schumer, NY
Michael Bennet, CO	Chris Van Hollen, MD	Ron Wyden, OR
Richard Blumenthal, CT	Catherine Cortez Masto, NV	Patrick Leahy, VT
Brian Schatz, HI	Maggie Hassan, NH	Patty Murray, WA

*** In addition, there are two seats TBD due to 2020 Special Elections – Arizona and Georgia.**

DEVELOPING AND TESTING MESSAGES THAT REACH THOSE SWING CONSTITUENCIES

The next step will be a very thorough polling and focus group effort to understand the key issues that are most important to the working class and likely to influence that constituency. Once themes are established, the effort would include writers, marketing experts, and focus groups to ascertain what “sells” to that targeted constituency with very concrete deliverables: television and radio advertising, speech drafts, and an internet and social media strategy to support the candidates’ campaign teams.

BUILDING AND TRAINING TEAMS TO PROVIDE CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT AND FIELD SUPPORT

Campaign management makes a tremendous difference, but campaign staffing is often homegrown, with people from a given state who lack the professional skills that represent best industry

practices. Fortunately, there are many leaders who are very eager to be involved in changing the political landscape who don’t know how to find a meaningful engagement. What a difference it would make if five groups of roughly ten people were formed and trained by the best practitioners in each of the essential building blocks of campaign management — voter identification, fund raising, advertising, polling, scheduling, volunteer management, voter turnout, press relations, financial administration, etc. — to be ready to deploy and bring ready-made campaign expertise to the five selected races. MPU will also provide field support to candidates for voter registration, voter turnout, and door to door persuasion.

SECURING EARLY FINANCIAL COMMITMENT BLOCKS

The campaign finance laws make it very difficult for challengers to get in the game. The campaign finance component of the strategy will include both direct funding and independent expenditures for the five candidates – via a bundling strategy and a Super PAC strategy. Bundled funding raised will go directly to the

5 Candidates



Direct Funding



candidates and their teams to run their campaigns and win. Super PAC funding will be utilized by the More Perfect Union Action Fund to support the five candidates via independent expenditures with advertising across numerous media. More Perfect Union will support each candidate with \$1M in direct funding and \$15M in independent expenditures (for a total of \$5M in direct and \$75M in independent expenditures). Our research indicates that this would make MPU the major contributor and influence in a campaign. The best way to offer a potential candidate an even footing against an incumbent is to have stand-by commitments from individual sources who are willing to deploy that capital when requested into target states. Raising \$1M in bundled funding per candidate is an aggressive target. Even some of the best individual bundlers peak at \$250k, but we think this goal is doable using a diversified bundling strategy. To hit our target, we will need to identify 180 households who will commit to the maximum campaign contribution (\$2,800 x 2 = \$5,600) for five MPU candidates for a total of \$28,000 per household. Each household will make the \$28,000 in aggregate commitments, to be divided in \$5,600 chunks in five races, giving the challengers certainty they'll have the capital to go toe-to-toe with incumbents. That funding would make an enormous difference in recruiting candidates. While \$75M in aggregate Super PAC money will not be easy to raise, it will be far less difficult than the bundling strategy.



More Perfect Union will support each candidate with \$1M in direct funding and \$15M in independent expenditures (for a total of \$5M in direct and \$75M in independent expenditures).

RECRUITING, SCREENING, TRAINING CANDIDATES

Finally, the product has to be best in class. The candidate recruiting process would look a lot different if the key principled people in a state could be approached with an offer that carried a business-like campaign plan and target, first-rate messaging and media training, a well-trained staff formed as a group with the requisite skills, and plenty of money to be competitive. Those conditions would create real competition. To protect and make good use of these resources, the screening process should be extensive, something like the combination of a background check for a White House job and intensive media training. Key criteria sought in candidates include name recognition, viable chance of winning statewide, moderate political views, public record of true liberal democracy building, extensive tested leadership experience, willingness to include political reform as a primary goal of their candidacy, and demonstrated history of exhibiting the North Star values. Some will have political experience while others will not, but it is imperative that candidates are not deeply beholden to either major political party.

The focus of this document will be Pillar 1 – the Senate Fulcrum. A brief overview of both Pillar 2 and Pillar 3 can be found in the following sections to highlight that these two pillars are critical to the realization of the long-term vision of More Perfect Union, but will not be present in early phases of the project. Additional detail on MPU's six verticals of reform can be found in the appendix.

PILLAR 2

► Reform

Reform Bill + "Partner or Build"

The Senate Fulcrum strategy gets country-first leaders in to serve and helps change the way Congress works.

One of the first pieces of legislation for the Fulcrum to promote and pass is nationwide political reform that will act as a catalyst and enabler for Democracy Reform efforts that are already in place.

PILLAR 2 HAS TWO PRIMARY FOCAL POINTS:

- 1 Pass a federal Reform Bill and that will catalyze follow-on political reform that makes necessary systemic changes to the American political system.
- 2 Partner and enable existing stand-out Democracy Reform efforts across six verticals of reform and help them scale to have nationwide, systemic impact.

In order to get government working for the people again and get meaningful legislation passed and policy enacted, the American political system itself must be repaired. The harmful duopoly that has formed in the current two-party system must be broken up to allow for competition, new ideas, and a return to a basic functionality that allows elected officials to authentically represent those who elected them.

To accomplish this, More Perfect Union will focus on six verticals of reform centered around the six key weaknesses that we currently see in the American political system.

01.



VOTING ACCESS AND ELECTORAL REFORM

Ensure one citizen = one vote

02.



THE LEADERSHIP PIPELINE

Get a strong pipeline of the best emerging leaders to run for office and win

03.



GOVERNANCE REFORM

Change the rules and norms of Congress to increase functionality and effectiveness

04.



THE ROLE OF MONEY IN POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE

Decrease the influence of special interest groups & the ultrawealthy on political leaders

05.



CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Get civics back in schools and incentivize one year of national service post-high school

06.



INFORMATION CONSUMPTION & THE MEDIA

Restore truth & objective reporting to the news industry & address the challenge of misinformation in social media

There are numerous organizations in the Democracy Reform space that are addressing one or more of these verticals. The industry is currently fragmented and lacks overall organization and focus that would allow for national, systemic reform of the political system. Step one in Pillar 2 will be to pass a nationwide Reform Bill that will greatly enhance and accelerate the Democracy Reform work across these six verticals already being done around the country. Step two will be to organize, align and catalyze the efforts of the Democracy Reform industry to introduce real competition into the political industry and create systemic change.

Reform Bill will be based on an existing piece of legislation that has made some gains toward passage in Congress, H.R. 1 (For The People Act of 2019). In March of 2019, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 1, new legislation introduced by Congressman John Sarbanes of Maryland. The MPU Reform Bill will be a more non-partisan version of the existing piece of legislation.

H.R. 1 HAS THREE PRIMARY FOCAL POINTS

- **Clean and fair elections** – increase access to voters, end gerrymandering, prohibit voter roll purges, and ensure the physical and cyber-security of elections.
- **End the dominance of big money in our politics** – this section of the bill shines a light on dark money in politics by increasing disclosure requirements, creates matching systems for small donations to put the power of elections back in the hands of the people, pushes back on Supreme Court *Citizens United* and *Buckley* decisions by reaffirming Congress's authority to regulate money in politics, tightens the rules on Super PACs, and restructures the Federal Electoral Commission.

- **Ensure public officials work for the public interest** – breaks the influence economy in Washington by preventing members of Congress from serving on corporate boards and requiring Presidents to disclose their tax returns and gives teeth to federal ethics oversight by overhauling the Office of Government Ethics, closing loopholes for lobbyists and foreign agents, ensuring watchdogs have sufficient resources to enforce the law and creating a code of ethics for the Supreme Court.

Even with the Senate Fulcrum in place, H.R. 1 (in its current form) stands very little chance of becoming law. Republicans view H.R. 1 strictly as a power grab by the Democratic party as it doesn't include any reform components supported by more conservative Members of Congress. More Perfect Union will work with lawmakers to create a revised Reform Bill in order to increase its chances of passing – to include adding reform components (such as term limits) that speak to more conservative Members as well.

Upon successful passage of the Reform Bill, MPU will begin work on the second step of Pillar 2 – partnering with and supporting existing successful efforts in the Democracy Reform space across all six verticals to scale their impact nationwide and bring about systemic reform in the political system in all verticals.

This component of Pillar 2 is a “partner or build strategy.” Great innovation and key wins have already been happening in each of these verticals. We want to build on that success — not reinvent the wheel. If one of the gaps we identify in one of our six verticals is already being covered with a high-impact solution and organization, MPU will seek to strategically partner with that organization and include it in the MPU umbrella strategy of reform. To do this well, MPU must present a very clear value proposition to the potential partner organizations. Where there is a true gap in working solutions, MPU will build a solution to plug that gap.

More detail can be found in the appendix on the six verticals of reform, high-performing Democracy Reform organizations that MPU may target for partnership, and More Perfect Union's unique value proposition to those organizations.

PILLAR 3

► Policy

Action Plans that Deliver Results

While the Pillar 2 component of the strategy is working to fix the system, Pillar 3 is about building a plan to address the most critical domestic and foreign policy issues America faces today as we achieve system-wide Democracy Reform.

This section of the strategy will be the lightest in early drafts of the plan. That is intentional and due to the fact that we need to focus on securing the Senate Fulcrum first and then we want the process of Democracy Reform to inform the key issues that will be addressed. But we do feel strongly that work should begin on Pillar 3 sooner rather than later: fixing the system as outlined in Pillar 2 without forming concrete ideas of what we intend the system to accomplish would consign More Perfect Union to a list of well-meaning but unfinished initiatives.

The Pillar 3 Team will act as an action-oriented, focused strategy team that builds a series of dynamic solutions that addresses the domestic challenges that Americans care most about and the most forward-looking foreign challenges that threaten our freedom and freedom-loving people around the world. The Pillar 3 Team will be held to the same North Star values as the rest of MPU, including in particular driving ideas and plans from a process of broad civic engagement. Pillar 3 will provide for solutions that are grounded in these North Star values which drive all aspects of this effort.

The Pillar 3 Team will produce actionable plans — not just create white papers that highlight the problems and data behind those problems or simply offer recommendations. These plans will be used to inform legislation that will have an increased chance of passing with the Senate Fulcrum in place. They will also be used to inform the platforms for MPU-minded candidates running for office and policy and plans of the Administration.

The following description of the domestic and foreign challenges the Pillar 3 Team could address are in very early draft form only and should not be understood as a complete list — nor are any of the challenges cited below challenges we have definitively decided to take on — they are merely a representative list. This component of the strategy will be shaped heavily by the Pillar 3 leadership team once hired.

Internal Challenges (Domestic Policy)

The domestic challenge strategy will look to build plans to help solve problems at home that a majority of Americans care most about (after political reform). These challenges could include:



Jobs creation



Debt and deficit reduction



Immigration reform



Gun law reform



Plan to address systemic racism and criminal justice reform



Climate change, clean air, and clean water



Tax plan



Health Care plan



Infrastructure plan



Education reform



Entitlements reform

External Challenges (Foreign Policy)

The foreign challenge strategy will develop a plan for how America will engage with and lead in the world. Challenges addressed could include:



The threat of climate change



Cyberwarfare and AI



Rise of China, Russia, and Iran



The rise and spread of violent extremism



The stabilization of highly fragile states



The threat of global pandemics



Alliances and treaties



Review and reform of trade agreements



Innovation in peace treaties including the Arctic and space



WMD proliferation

Phasing, Milestones, and Timeline

The size and scope of More Perfect Union's vision is admittedly ambitious – even audacious.

The MPU vision is big, but it must be so in order to match the size of the problems we face and the urgency of the situation. This will be a long fight, and we must have long-term goal posts that we are moving toward. However, we will be laser focused in the coming 2-3 years on successful implementation of the political component of the MPU strategy while laying the foundation for the reform and policy components to follow.

In order to win, we need to be smart in the planning, and even smarter in the execution. Proper phasing of this strategy will be a critical component of winning. Our plan must be deliberate and our execution methodical. We must balance urgency of the situation with patient execution as we build credibility and momentum with each strategic victory. As we take each step in this plan, it is imperative that we win. If we come out of the gate swinging on all fronts across all pillars and verticals at once, we will certainly fail. A rash, hastily executed strategy will expose critical vulnerabilities to our formidable opponents who will look to thwart our efforts at every turn. We must get the phasing of execution right. We must focus and keep it simple – particularly in the beginning years.

The first half of More Perfect Union (the main focus of this strategy) will be executed in four defined phases:

Phase 0: Lay the Foundation

Phase 1: Build the Movement + Choose the Races

Phase 2: Grow the Movement + Set the Fulcrum

Phase 3: Grow the Movement + Reform + Policy

We will start quietly – first focusing on building an all-star team and culture and listening and learning with humility and with a deep understanding that there are many courageous Americans already in this fight, and we need their support and partnership to win.

As we gain credibility and momentum as a known, trusted entity within the Democracy Reform industry, we will patiently prepare and then launch with a significant event (Senate Fulcrum in 2022) that shocks the political system and establishes MPU as an influential, credible player that cannot be ignored or marginalized.



Four Defined Phases

Phase 0

JUL. 2020 – DEC. 2020

- Get smarter – research, polling, etc.
- Tighten up the details of the plan
- Capitalize the plan – finish raising remaining startup capital (\$4.4M total)
- Build the architecture (register the entity, set up an office, culture, etc.)
- Build early core team
- Build creative content for movement building
- Secure two members for the Board of Advisors
- Get smarter (deep dive research, polling)
- Communications – give select media a heads up to document and declare victory
- Begin building momentum for the 50-city tour by the Founder - establishing the brand and a following via blogging and social media.

Phase 1

JAN. 2021 – NOV. 2021

- Plan and execute 50-city listening tour / start building the movement
- Build supporter database
- Choose 5 Senate races (34 are in play in 2022)
- Start raising bundled capital: \$1M/race = \$5M total; 180 households @ max campaign contribution \$5,600/race or \$28,000 total/household
- Start raising Super PAC funding: \$15M/race = \$75M total
- Launch field strategy in five battlegrounds
- Recruit, vet, and select candidates to back
- Extensive polling and message testing

Phase 2

DEC. 2021 – NOV. 2022

- Launch field strategy in five battlegrounds
- Finalize bundled \$5M raise
- Finalize \$75M to Super PAC raise
- Grassroots fundraising campaigns to build organic support for candidates
- Build movement and focus on door to door persuasion and targeted voter turnout
- Win five seats in November 2022
- Launch robust branding campaign

Phase 3

DEC. 2022 +

- Introduce a Reform Bill early in 2023 and pass into law via Senate Fulcrum by end of year
- Recruit right-minded incumbents to join Senate Fulcrum
- Fulcrum gains “party-level power” leading to existing party reform or introduction of a viable third party
- Build on momentum from Reform Bill and begin “partner or build” strategy – beginning with electoral reform, structural reform in Congress, and campaign finance reform
- Second round of partner or build strategy – opening up last three reform verticals – leadership pipeline, civic engagement, information dissemination and consumption
- Stand up policy team
- Polling conducted to identify key, common issues that resonate with a majority of Americans (eg. immigration, healthcare, etc.)
- Policy and plans drafted to address key priorities for American citizens
- After Senate Fulcrum is set, new policy and plans begin to move through Congress
- Policy and plans team works with Administration on National Security Strategy and advises on trade alliance and treaty revision / renewal

Market Analysis

COMPETITIVE LANDSCAPE

While Democracy Reform initiatives have been around since the birth of democracy, recently in the United States, a small collection of thought leaders, organizations, and initiatives have begun to surface and form a more professional Democracy Reform sector with players at all levels of funding and operations.

“Several larger initiatives have been announced and/or attempted in recent years that will likely see us as competition as we gain momentum.”

Although there are no direct competitors who are filling the role that we intend to fill in the sector, several larger initiatives (both inside and outside the Democracy Reform sector) have been announced and/or attempted in recent years that will likely see us as competition as we gain momentum. These players could make ideal partners if we can persuade them to join our efforts to build out this organization and movement for change, or they could become ominous threats to the success of MPU.

Ironically, one of the most similar organizations to More Perfect Union is the political organization designed, funded, and built by Charles and David Koch over the last 30+ years as documented by Jane Mayer in *Dark Money*.⁵ The Kochs funded political and policy strategies that brought systemic change to the American political system – change that More Perfect Union seeks to reverse. There are many valuable lessons that can be learned from the rise in power and influence of the Koch political enterprise.

In September 2017, Michael Porter and Katherine Gehl of Harvard Business School published a paper entitled, *Why Competition in the Politics Industry is Failing America*. As stated previously, the piece lays out a compelling argument that America’s two-party system has become a harmful duopoly that no longer delivers value to the American people. Gehl and Porter are reportedly raising a \$100M fund in partnership with the Leadership Now Project to address Electoral Reform and Governance Reform through enacting recommendations that they lay out in their paper.

In 2018, Kathryn and James Murdoch’s Quadrivinium Foundation and Issue One released a comprehensive paper called “Invest in Democracy.” Their goal is to aggregate many of the players in Electoral Reform, building the Leadership Pipeline, and Governance Reform. The paper lays out the problem and many of the major players in the space, but it falls short of a real plan. The group hosted a conference in November 2018 that convened many of the major stakeholders to “...articulate a shared goal, block out roles

⁵ Jane Mayer, *Dark Money* (New York: Doubleday, 2016).

and responsibilities for each group, identify any gaps and allocate and ultimately secure funding for the project.” The convening focused on, “Inspiring more and bigger donors to Invest in Democracy, building the necessary infrastructure to support candidates who put Country Over Party, and creating a campaign to Fix the System and engage the public.” The Murdoch paper finishes with an admission that there are more questions remaining than answers, “There is still much to be answered. What should the movement be called? Is a campaign the best way to engage the public? What other issues are critical to success and in what order do they need to be solved? How should the fund be structured? What is the total budget needed to achieve our goals? This is only the beginning but a more representative democracy is in sight.”⁶ The Murdochs have teamed up with Unite America as their action vehicle to implement a holistic political and reform strategy that includes a House caucus element and many of the reform components that MPU will be focused on. Unite America has the stated goal of reforming the political system and bridging the partisan divide.

Lawrence Lessig of Harvard Law School has done significant research in the Democracy Reform space and started an organization called Equal Citizens to work on three main themes: Equal Representation, Equal Dependence, and Equal Freedom to Vote. His Equal Representation vertical includes electoral college reform and efforts to end gerrymandering. The Equal Dependence vertical focuses on ending Super PACs and advocating for public funding for elections. Equal Citizens’ third prong, Equal Freedom to Vote, includes efforts to end voter suppression and secure our elections.

“These players could make ideal partners if we can persuade them to join our efforts to build out this organization and movement for change

Finally, Represent Us, founded by Josh Silver, is a grassroots campaign founded in 2012 to pass the American Anti-Corruption Act that was introduced in Congress in 2011. Represent Us’s stated purpose is to, “... bring together conservatives, progressives, and everyone in between to pass powerful anti-corruption laws that stop political bribery, end secret money, and fix our broken elections.” They focus on ending gerrymandering, creating ranked choice voting, implementing automatic voter registration, overhauling lobbying and ethics laws, mandating full transparency of political spending, and implementing voter vouchers. They have a city and state blocking and tackling strategy that has been fairly successful. They also have significant star power and a strong branding strategy to reach Millennials and Gen Z voters. Represent Us has accumulated 85 political wins across America since their founding, and they are growing quickly.

⁶ Kathryn and James Murdoch, “Invest in Democracy,” Quadrivinium Foundation, 2018.

COMPETITIVE LANDSCAPE

Reform

Political

Policy

Equal
Citizens

Lawrence Lessig
Harvard Law
School

Unite
America

Kathryn and
James Murdoch

Charles
and David
Koch

More Perfect Union

Leadership
Now

Michael Porter
& Katherine Gehl
Harvard Business
School

Leading
Think Tanks

Brookings Institution
American Enterprise Institute
CSIS
Heritage Foundation

RepresentUs

Founded by
Josh Silver

COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE / VALUE PROPOSITION

Why do we think More Perfect Union is necessary and that it will work? What is our unique value proposition? Why hasn't this been done successfully before? In order for us to justify the existence of MPU, we must be able to present a very clear value proposition to large funding partners, operating partners, and the American people. Why should a donor give us money? Why not give money directly to partner organizations within MPU's operating verticals? Why should a partner organization agree to work within the MPU umbrella coordinated strategy?

Senate Fulcrum to Set the Stage for Political Reform

A Senate Fulcrum strategy as laid out in this plan has never been attempted. Numerous House strategies have been tried – mostly working with incumbents – but not Senate strategies that attempt to unseat incumbents. If executed and maintained with discipline, a Fulcrum strategy inserts a mechanism into the Senate that enables substantive legislation to move – including reform legislation and legislation focused on meeting the kitchen table needs of Americans. A successfully executed Fulcrum strategy also establishes More Perfect Union as a major political player and builds momentum for funding and talent as we move into Phases Two and Three.

Meta-Level Strategy and Unity Of Effort

Currently, even the most successful entities in Democracy Reform focus on only one to three reform verticals that we focus on in this plan, and they do not include a political component or policy component in their overall strategy. Some initiatives have accomplished impressive wins within their reform verticals of focus, but without being part of an over-arching, larger ecosystem of reform, their gains are quickly threatened and robbed of their true potential impact. There is no one silver bullet — rank choice voting, getting rid of gerrymandering, automated voter registration, open primaries, campaign donation vouchers, etc. are all strong ideas that will help bring about needed system reform, but wins in each of these areas in isolation result in short-term gains at best — gains that can be suffocated without reform in our other verticals and that may be reversed as quickly as the next election cycle.

More Perfect Union is a holistic, integrated and coordinated effort that produces lasting reform to the entire ecosystem that is the political industry in the United States. By preparing the playing field with the Senate Fulcrum and folding the leading reform organizations into one umbrella strategy, these winning organizations can keep winning, and they can do so knowing that they have the support of a more functional Congress to secure and protect their gains and knowing that other brilliant entrepreneurs and funders are protecting those gains by

fighting to reform a different component of the ecosystem thus transforming their impressive wins into sustainable gains.

The strategy is integrated – meaning political, reform, and policy elements are all vital to longterm success. To restore the faith of the American people in their government, Americans need to see results. It is difficult for citizens who are focused on their day-to-day lives – providing for their families, building a career, working to do good in their communities, etc. – to buy into a seemingly esoteric reform strategy that changes a complex system of how laws are made and leaders are elected without also showing them a path to concrete changes for the better in their everyday lives. For Americans to buy in, they need to see that the system works for them.

At the same time, even the most brilliant series of policies and plans that would solve many of the most important challenges that America faces, at best gets at the symptoms of fundamental problems. We need wins on both fronts – changing the system and building a good plan to solve problems – in order to restore faith in American democracy and make America work for all Americans.

MPU's high-level coordination and its nation-wide strategy to organize and align efforts in the Democracy Reform industry will act as a catalyst and force multiplier for partner organizations – providing access to larger, more sustainable funding; a wider network of top talent; and top technical services such as opposition research, data analytics, polling, and high-quality branding and communications support. More Perfect Union is the coordinating effort that catalyzes and magnifies the efforts of the very best Democracy Reform initiatives and ensures the impact produced can create generational change for the betterment of the nation.

Capital

Political philanthropy (for Democracy Reform, not for campaign financing) is a relatively new, fragmented market. We are prepared to raise an unprecedented amount of capital (both high net worth and grassroots) to leverage toward focused, Democracy Reform. Beyond seed capital and the campaign funding for the Senate Fulcrum strategy in 2022, our target for capital raised to fund the reform phase will be \$300M. Other entities that have previously tackled elements of Democracy Reform have capped out at annual budgets of \$20M. To date, there simply hasn't been enough focused capital leveraged to create long-term systemic change. Previously, the largest capital injections into Democracy Reform (e.g., efforts to get a third-party candidate on the general ballot in 2012) have failed because they were not a part of a larger, ecosystem-wide plan. These strategies have focused capital on one initiative to try to ensure the success of one component of needed reform. That strategy ignores the negative effects of unaddressed problems within the political system, even if the initiative sees limited, near-term success.

Since 2016, demand for this type of strategy has increased sharply. Numerous high net worth Americans (both left of center and right of center) who possess a strong alignment to America's founding principles, alarm about the current state of the union and the direction we are trending, and who possess a moderate or centrist mentality are eager to find a solution and are willing to focus their philanthropy into efforts to preserve our democracy.

Importantly, the MPU fundraising strategy will go far beyond high net worth political philanthropy – eventually to depend heavily on small dollar donations from a growing movement for unity and reform. This must happen in order for us to win. Our digital strategy will support this from the beginning as we build out a swell of support in our fifty-city listening tour in Phase One. We will learn from other organizations who have successfully mobilized and leveraged small dollar donors to significant impact – not just examples of candidate campaigns such as President Obama, Bernie Sanders or President Trump who have been successful in this strategy – but also organizations such as End Citizens United who have been extraordinarily successful in mobilizing up to \$50M in small dollar donations. We will build on lessons learned and best practices of these examples and others, and pair our movement strategy with a robust digital strategy to ensure meaningful participation from the American people in the successful execution of this strategy.

Talent

More Perfect Union seeks to hire and retain the very best of the best to attack this crisis before us. We are building a world-class organization that attracts top talent with deep expertise from a wide array of industries – not just the Democracy Reform industry or the U.S. government. MPU seeks visionary, innovative thinkers with a proven track record and a firm commitment to our North Star, country-first values.

No Investors on the Board

MPU's governance structure will ensure strong alignment to our core values. One important component of this structure (and a key differentiator for MPU) is our policy that prohibits investors from taking a seat on our Board of Directors.

Movement + Political Engagement

As previously stated, in order for this strategy to work, it must be a participatory process that includes a broad representation of the American people. Civic engagement across all classes, genders and ethnicities is critical to success and will be a priority for More Perfect Union. We cannot and should not want to drive a solution to the nation's problems only from the coasts. Even if we were able to accomplish limited reform of the system, gains would be short-term at best because we would still not have the trust and buy-in of the American people which is the most fundamental factor required to win.

To do this, we must successfully build a nation-wide movement focused first on unity and then reform. We will leverage the unique background and experiences of our founder to implement a nation-wide blocking and tackling, door-to-door strategy to engage with and bring together Americans of every party, race, gender, age, and socioeconomic status to build this movement from the ground up. MPU's movement will be integrated across all three pillars – acting as the strong, democratic base of support that gives our actions authenticity and legitimacy. All of our work in each phase will include public education and awareness and grassroots engagement strategies focused on unifying citizens with disparate backgrounds, ethnicities and socio-economic status. Other organizations are building movements for activism and advocacy – ours will be one that supports meaningful political operations, concrete reform that changes the system, and the advancement of actionable policy and plans that deliver real results for Americans.



01.

**Senate Fulcrum
to set the stage for
political reform**



02.

**Meta-level strategy
and unity of effort**



03.

Capital



04.

Talent



05.

**No investors
on the Board**



06.

**Movement +
Political Engagement**

SWOT Analysis

Strengths

- Founding team has the background and credibility to build a movement “of the people”. The founder grew up in poverty in the heart of a region that represents Trump’s base of support and built a successful career from nothing. He is now a decorated combat veteran in Marine Infantry and Force Recon (post- 9/11), winning several prestigious national and international awards and creating recognition for founding team
- Founding team possesses experience building an internationally recognized organization with global staff of 250 that successfully works in the toughest places
- Founding team member possesses policy experience on Capitol Hill leading the efforts to draft, introduce, and pass the Global Fragility Act of 2019
- High-level, influential relationships (current government, previous government, private sector)
- Fundraising and relationships with key high net worth investors on both the right and left in the technology, finance, and energy sectors
- Brands and networks of the Service Academies, Stanford GSB, multiple universities and financial institutions
- Early investors identified

Weaknesses

- No experience working within the U.S. government bureaucracy for founding team
- No real domestic policy experience
- Founding team is not currently well-known nationally
- No experience in the Democracy Reform industry for founding team
- Lack of diversity on founding team
- Lack of diversity in immediate professional and personal networks of founding team
- Perception that our organization is a needless additional layer of bureaucracy
- Perception that our organization is beholden to high net worth funders and not interested in real reform that could run counter to their vested interests

Opportunities

- The rise of Donald Trump has opened up a new market of political philanthropy that did not previously exist. Business leaders on the left and right are looking for ways to deploy capital to help ensure that America is able to stay true to our core values and lead effectively in the world
- Founding team has deep, trusted relationships with high net worth investors on both the right and left
- There is currently a lack of meta-level strategy and leadership that unifies Democracy Reform efforts
- A majority of Americans favor moderate political ideology
- Faith in and support of democracy and our leaders in government is at an all-time low
- The American social fabric – demographically and culturally – is shifting in favor of MPU
- Millennials and Generation Z are an untapped political resource waiting to be engaged in a meaningful way that promises a real seat at the table for them in owning their future

Threats

- Partner organizations fail to see value add and refuse to join our efforts
- Competitors raise a significant amount of capital and launch with a less integrated solution before we can get there and take momentum and resources from our efforts
- We fail to raise the capital needed for the Operating Fund
- Donald Trump wins in 2020, becomes more extreme, or loses and is replaced by someone more extreme
- Donald Trump loses in 2020 and momentum for reform is stalled or significantly delayed
- Team fails to bridge the divide in the country and win the support of mainstream America
- Economic impact of COVID-19 freezes otherwise promising funding sources
- The GOP and/or Democratic Party mount deliberate, successful attack campaigns against the company to protect the duopoly
- Various political machines see MPU as a threat and launch a full-scale attack
- Company is branded as an elitist liberal shadow organization that is trying to take over the country

Organization

PRINCIPLES AND FUNCTION

More Perfect Union will be managed through a new legal entity. We will have a hybrid legal structure to facilitate philanthropic donations, political activities and the activities of a Super PAC, and income generation to sustain operations. Although MPU will not make a profit or provide a financial return for investors, we will run this with the philosophy and mentality of a high-performing business.

More Perfect Union will deliver the highest quality, most cost-effective value to the American people as our primary customer. To do so, we will build a culture of excellence, accountability, transparency, and integrity. It's important to understand that this is not a short-term or small project — it is an organization with a vision for a minimum of 10 years, and we are building it to be an immediate player and to win.

Governance and corporate functions are just as important to the long-term success of MPU as the three strategic pillars. These functions are not merely “back office” functions. A highly functional, high-performing organization is a highly critical strategic focus for MPU. High-quality, lasting outcomes will only be driven by our three strategic pillars if we are successful in building a great organization.

While the previous strategy sections in this plan described the operating functions, this section of the plan describes the culture and organization we will instill and insist on to deliver great value to both our team and the American people. Notice that “our team” is included here as a target for value delivered. The Democracy Reform space is littered with organizations full of passionate people who quickly burn out because the leadership focuses on program outcomes with very little thought put into taking care of the people creating those outcomes. This oversight is not intentional. It is a natural result of a group of passionate people who all want to work on the product and not the company that creates and delivers the product.

MPU will not gloss over the business of running a great business, or consign it to a “back office.” The team that

owns the governance and corporate functions of MPU will be focused on building and sustaining a great company that is a truly great place to work. By taking care of our people, we will create redundancy, institutional memory, and a passionate ownership culture, that will create much longer-term value for both our team and the American people.

The governance and corporate functions team will also be responsible for control-side functions, to ensure segregation of duties, e.g., between capital deployment and capital custody, characteristic of best-in-class regulated control environments.

In addition to performing the organizational and control functions for the company, this team will also be built intentionally to be able to provide (or outsource) a menu of high-quality services to partner companies.

Accountability to North Star

Every initiative we launch, every message we tweet, every speech we give, every activity that the organization undertakes — all must be aligned with our North Star values. The North Star will be relentlessly repeated and lived at More Perfect Union, and will guide decision-making at all levels in the organization. The governance and corporate functions team will take leadership responsibility for checking adherence to our North Star to avoid mission and values drift.

Organizational Performance

More Perfect Union will pursue excellence. We will set defined success targets for all activities, measure our performance against those targets, and hold all leaders and teams accountable accordingly.

We will use the Objectives and Key Results (OKRs) methodology created by Andy Grove of Intel and codified by John Doerr of Kleiner Perkins in *Measure What Matters*⁷ to drive organizational performance of the company. OKRs, subsequent targets and KPIs will be monitored and reviewed each quarter via a company-wide dashboard. We will transparently declare what success looks like, and ruthlessly measure against those targets.

⁷ John Doerr, *Measure What Matters* (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2018).

To ensure transparency and buy-in for decision-making at all levels, the company will implement the RAPID decision-making model created by Bain & Co.

The company will create a battle rhythm of annual strategic planning, budgeting, and reporting that is consistent and aligned across all company functions.

Board of Directors

The More Perfect Union Board of Directors will be a body of well-respected, highly credible, and widely-recognized luminaries who represent the North Star values. The Board will be a group of seasoned, experienced leaders who mirror the rich diversity and current social fabric of the nation and who represent the very best America has to offer the world. The Board will serve three main functions:

- 1** Governance and accountability of the organization to the North Star Values and organizational performance targets
- 2** Performance management and accountability for the senior executive team
- 3** Add credibility and buy-in for More Perfect Union across party lines and across socioeconomic divides

The Board of Directors will have a minimum of nine and not more than twelve members. Three of the Board seats will be held by the More Perfect Union Executive Team. No person will be invited to join the Board simply because of a financial donation.

Systems and Compliance

The governance and corporate functions team will be responsible for all the corporate functions of the company. This will include finance, accounting, legal, IT, and administrative services. Due to the complex corporate structure demanded by the multi-faceted roles the organization will need to play, we will need to possess a robust legal capability to ensure compliance in accordance with local, state, and federal law. Finance and accounting procedures will ensure transparency and accountability to our investors and the general public. In addition to traditional finance and regulatory responsibilities, this team will also form an Investment Committee that will oversee and/or directly manage the operating fund for the company.

People

People and Excellence are core values for the company. As such, attracting and retaining the very best people is a top priority for this team. The People Strategy will encompass all recruiting, hiring, training, personnel performance management, professional development, feedback, career tracking, and compensation and benefits for the company. In addition to these traditional Human Resources responsibilities, this team will also drive efforts, in partnership with MPU's leadership, to reinforce and maintain the culture of the company.

Research / Data

A Research and Data Analytics team will be critical part of the MPU team. This function will be a core component of support to both the operational teams in Pillars one, two, and three and will also enable the corporate team to monitor and evaluate our impact as we implement across all Pillars. The Research and Data Analytics Team will provide the following functions:

- Conduct Key Informant Interviews, Focus Groups, and state and national polling (either in-house or outsourced) to fill research requests of in-house teams and partner organizations.
- Provide high-quality opposition research and contingency planning support to help partner organizations successfully navigate significant attacks from the entrenched duopoly in the current political system.
- Conduct robust data analysis and reporting in support of all partner organizations.
- Create a monitoring and evaluation framework by which to measure our impact and manage the third-party contract to implement the evaluation.
- Conduct general research in support of requests for information (RFIs) generated by partner organizations.
- Manage partner relationships with academic institutions and think tanks.

Funding

The MPU team will eventually include a business development team that manages all fundraising efforts for the company. \$4.4M in seed funding will be raised to launch the company and build out its infrastructure and team with a 12-month runway. The seed round will be followed by a fund campaign to raise \$5M in bundled funding and \$75M for the Super PAC to support the five MPU races in 2022.

In later stages of the MPU strategy, the business development team will be responsible for raising the follow-on \$300M reform fund and additional funding as designated as the 10-year plan evolves and adapts to changes in the markets and political climate. The operating fund is a significant component of our unique value proposition and ability to influence the Democracy Reform sector. The business development team will raise the operating fund from a widely diverse set of investors to avoid even the perception of partisan control and influence on operations. High net worth individuals will provide the early risk capital to get MPU up and running as we begin building out the nation-wide movement; however, small donor funding will grow to be a critically necessary and significant source of funding for all efforts that MPU undertakes.

Early investors have already identified personal resources and additional resources from within their networks as the foundation of the operating fund. Political philanthropy is a trending form of philanthropy as high net worth individuals increasingly realize the plight of American democracy. In addition, the success of small donor platforms such as ActBlue, WinRed, and End Citizens

United has demonstrated that significant small donor funding can be mobilized with a savvy digital strategy, the right technology, well-coordinated social media distribution and a clear cause and message that resonates with the target population.

Communications

The communications team will be responsible for driving the marketing, branding, messaging, and PR strategies for the organization. The team's duties will include establishing and managing a powerful, trusted brand including by providing overarching messaging architecture to guide speeches, articles, interviews, and messaging distributed via social media channels; managing the social media strategy; managing internal and external communications; designing and managing all logos, marketing collateral, videos, and website; managing all press inquiries; and provide top-quality communications and branding support to MPU partner organizations.

LEGAL STRUCTURE

The multifaceted vision and strategy of More Perfect Union will require a hybrid legal structure. The exact details will be determined once we have secured appropriate legal counsel, but in general, the organization will need to carry out the normal advocacy activities of a 501(c)(3), political activities of a 501(c)(4), and the campaign support activities of a 527. In addition, as MPU begins taking on the media and disinformation vertical, we may have a need for a for-profit entity within the MPU umbrella as well.

ROUND 01.



\$4.4M

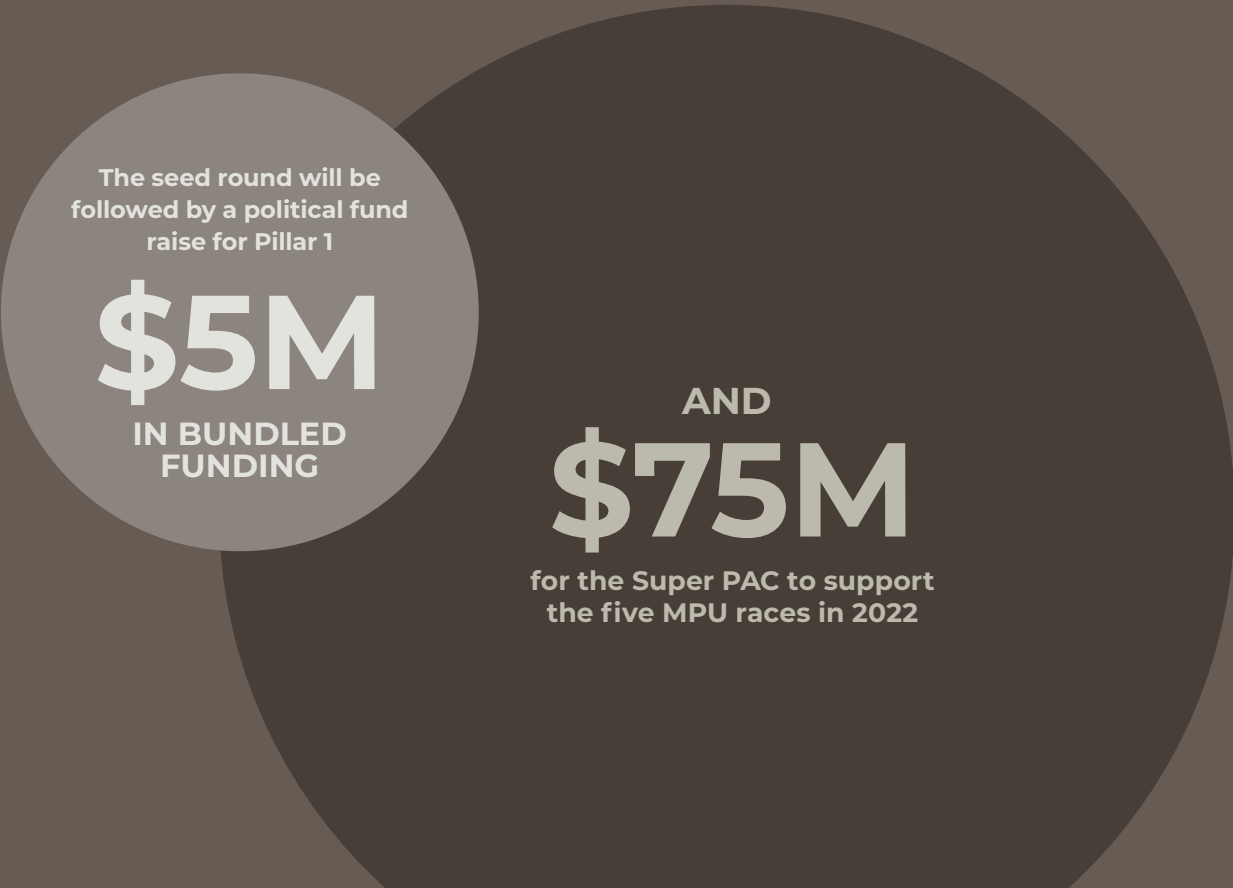
in seed funding will be raised to launch the company and build out its infrastructure and team

**WITH A 12-MONTH
RUNWAY**

In later stages of the MPU strategy, the business development team will be responsible for raising the follow-on \$300M reform fund and additional funding as designated as the 10-year plan evolves and adapts to changes in the markets and political climate.

High net worth individuals will provide the early risk capital to get MPU up and running as we begin building out the nation-wide movement; however, small donor funding will grow to be a critically necessary and significant source of funding for all efforts that MPU undertakes.

ROUND 02.



The seed round will be followed by a political fund raise for Pillar 1

\$5M

**IN BUNDLED
FUNDING**

AND

\$75M

for the Super PAC to support the five MPU races in 2022

TEAM

Co-Founder, Chief Executive Officer

Jake Harriman



Jake Harriman graduated with distinction from the U.S. Naval Academy and served seven and a half years in the U.S. Marine Corps as a Platoon Commander in both the Infantry and Force Recon. During his military service, Jake led four operational deployments, including two combat tours in Iraq. From his experience Jake learned that the “War on Terror” wouldn’t be won on the battlefield alone: the contributing causes of terrorism—including extreme poverty—must also be eradicated in order to defeat global terrorism. This carved a new direction in Jake’s life.

Following his service, Jake enrolled at the Stanford Graduate School of Business to gain the business acumen he would need to follow this new direction. While at Stanford, Jake founded Nuru International to eradicate extreme poverty in the world’s most unstable, vulnerable regions to help end violent extremism. Following graduation, he led a team within Nuru to create Nuru Kenya later that year and Nuru Ethiopia in 2013 — both resulting in successful “proof of concept” projects for the organization. Nuru’s latest project is in far northeast Nigeria in former Islamic State West Africa Province and Boko Haram caliphate territory. Since 2009, Nuru has impacted over 130,000 people, empowering them to lift themselves out of extreme poverty.

From 2017-2019, Jake helped draft, introduce and pass groundbreaking new legislation called the Global Fragility Act of 2019 that will equip America with new authorities and resources to prevent conflict and stabilize some of the most fragile regions of the world that pose a growing threat to U.S. and global security.

Jake has received several honors: Rainer Arnhold Fellowship (2009); Unsung Hero of Compassion presented by His Holiness The Dalai Lama (2014); Gerson Lehrman Group Social Impact Fellowship (2014); Ballard Center Social Innovator of the Year (2014); TEDxBYU speaker (2014); story told in 40 Chances by Howard G. Buffet (2014); White House Champion of Change (2014); Senate resolution in his home state of West Virginia for efforts in addressing global poverty (2015); Presidential Leadership Scholar (2015); 100 Most Intriguing Entrepreneurs presented by Goldman Sachs (2015); “If Not Me, Then Who. . .” Award presented by Travis Manion Foundation (2015); semi-finalist, Schwab Foundation Social Entrepreneur of the Year Awards (2016); Council Member of NationSwell (2016); Unusual VC Academy Partner (2018); and Truman National Security Fellow (2018).

Jake has been interviewed on ABC, Al Jazeera America, BBC World Service, CNN, Fox Business and MSNBC’s Morning Joe and received coverage in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Devex, Forbes, Huffington Post, *The New York Times*, *Stanford Magazine*, Fox News, and others. When not in Sub-Saharan Africa, Jake lives in Washington, D.C. He is 45 years old, engaged, and has spent 20 years living amongst the very people he endeavors to empower — first in combat, then in conflict prevention and stabilization — fighting to bring the freedom of lasting meaningful choices to communities both at home and abroad.

Appendix

PILLAR 2 DETAIL

Value Proposition to Partner Organizations

A key component of the “partner” model of our Pillar 2 strategy will be providing a clear value proposition for A+ entities and leaders who are already creating measurable, high-quality impact in their vertical. We refer to these organizations here as our “partner organizations.”

Why would they want to join our efforts when they are already doing great work? The fact that they are currently successful probably means that they may not see the need to come under our umbrella of leadership. The target organizations are run by rockstars who are “A players” in every way.

Our value proposition must be crystal clear to these target organizations and their leaders:

1 Unity of effort — we will magnify your impact in both size and longevity. Each of these entities are experiencing tremendous, hard-won success with their current models; however, that success is threatened by other factors in the Democratic Reform industry that the entity is not addressing. For example, if an organization is getting fantastic, principled leaders into Congress, these leaders nevertheless struggle to make the desired impact for their constituents because (a) institutional rules and norms prevent them from introducing and passing legislation that solves real problems their constituents care about, and (b) because of the way money currently influences politics, only weeks after the being elected, a new Member has to start raising money for the next campaign cycle 18 months away, and she will spend a minimum of 50% of her time doing so during her two-year term. If this organization were working in close coordination with two other high-impact organizations that were making gains in governance reform and campaign finance reform, that newly elected Member of Congress would have a much higher chance of having the impact that her constituents need her to have.

Similarly, the work of an organization focused on shoring up the cybersecurity vulnerabilities in our voting processes can be confident of the meaning of its important work if other organizations working on restoring trust and objectivity to fact-based reporting are scoring simultaneous successes.

A related point is that being a part of a coordinated collective increases visibility. Entrenched powers — e.g., big donors and their captive party leaders — can currently dismiss atomized individual organizations in the Democratic Reform industry as so much sound and fury that will eventually spend its energy and capital. Alignment with a large and visible organization with capital poised for the long haul will be taken more seriously.

2 Capital to help you scale your efforts. The Democracy Reform industry is relatively small and the organizations leading the way struggle to raise the capital they need to scale their initiatives — even as they hit their targets. Annual budgets of the more successful initiatives range from \$1M to \$5M. Fundraising is often the most resource-draining and demoralizing activity for leaders of these organizations. We will provide growth capital that enables them to scale and frees up the leadership team to focus on delivering high-value impact in their respective vertical.

3 Top quality opposition research and data analysis. We will have a research and data analytics team that conducts polling, academic research, and data analysis to support work in each vertical. This team will also provide high-quality opposition research. To win, partner organizations must be able to successfully navigate significant attacks from the entrenched duopoly in the current political system. MPU will provide extensive opposition research and contingency planning support to help organizations mitigate these attacks. This capability will enable portfolio organizations to make real-time, data-driven decisions to enhance the impact of their programming.

4 World-class legal, lobbying, and communications (PR, branding, social media) support. Organizations in Democratic Reform struggle to build in-house capabilities to cover these three vital functions. Via top-brand partnerships and in-house capabilities, we will offer support for all three service areas to partner organizations.

Verticals of Reform

Vertical 1: Voting Access and Electoral Reform

First and foremost, we must change the way that our leaders are elected at all levels of government from City Council to the President of the United States. The current structure of the two-party system, how those parties select their standard bearers and the industry that has built up around that system prevent real competition. Without competition, the industry delivers value only to itself and not the customer it claims to serve: the American citizen. All American citizens must have fair and equal access to voting, and we must ensure that our elections are secure, preventing negative external actors from interfering in the American democratic process.

In addition, MPU seeks to get more Americans participating in the Democratic process by exercising their right to vote. Half of all eligible American citizens did not vote in the 2016 Presidential election. 60% of all eligible citizens did not vote in the off-cycle elections of 2018. MPU seeks to increase the number of American citizens who vote. In order to unify the country and solve the challenges we face, more of us must be involved in the process of governance – that starts with voting.

Many of the solutions to the challenges in the first three verticals have been outlined by Gehl and Porter in *Why Competition in the Politics Industry is Failing America*. Leading solutions in this vertical we will invest in include rank choice voting, nonpartisan top-four primaries, automatic voter registration, nonpartisan redistricting to defeat gerrymandering, making Election Day a national holiday, rewriting debate access rules for presidential elections, and securing our elections from outside interference.

Top organizations have seen early wins in this vertical which can be built upon. Leading organizations focused on electoral reform include Independent Voter Project, Equal Citizens, Represent Us, Unite America, Stand Up Republic and Future Now.

Vertical 2: Leadership Pipeline

In order to lead the nation into a new era of true greatness, we need a new generation of leaders to step forward. The Baby Boomer generation has served America well, but they no longer represent the rapidly evolving face of the nation, and they are not well-positioned to empathize with or understand the new challenges America faces both domestically and

internationally. The voice of a new generation is rapidly rising, and a healthy transition of generational power must take place in order to preserve our Democracy, heal the nation's wounds of divisive partisanship, and help America lead boldly in an increasingly dynamic global ecosystem. America's new leadership must capture the imagination of all Americans — in particular, it must secure the buy-in of the Millennials and Generation Z.

What does this new generation of leaders look like? For America to be truly great and become the beacon of hope we were created to be, its leaders must embody the following traits:

- Service to others
- A deep understanding of the true cost of freedom
- Bold adherence to the Constitution and the values we were founded on
- Courage — in all its forms but most importantly, moral courage to do the right thing always
- A deep empathy with all American citizens — regardless of race, religion, gender, or class

A cadre of new organizations have risen up to successfully build a strong pipeline of the new generation of leaders that America needs. Bright spots in that landscape include With Honor, New Politics, Unite America, Emily's List, and Emerge.

Vertical 3: Governance Reform

Even if the very best, service-minded leaders are able to win, they quickly find their ability to effect real change significantly hampered by existing governance rules and norms in the legislative system — rules that have been designed and controlled by long-tenured party leaders. Rules such as which bills get introduced to the floor for a vote or rules for how committee chairpersons are selected significantly hamper well-intentioned leaders from moving legislation that solves real problems for the American people. If freshmen Members of Congress vote in opposition to the party, the party leadership will run another candidate against the Member in the primaries during the next election. For good leaders to create quality impact for their constituents and the nation, we need to include robust reform of the legislative process at both the federal and state levels.

Leading solutions in this vertical include structural reform that changes the day-to-day rules by which Congress operates. Gehl and Porter recommend the establishment of an independent Legislative Reform Commission to create a set of new rules that break the gridlock of the deeply partisan governance structure within Congress. In addition to federal legislative body reform, we would also look for organizations that are focusing on these issues at the State legislative level.

One leader in this vertical is No Labels. No Labels has succeeded in reforming the rules around how legislation is introduced on the House floor through their Problem Solvers Caucus. There is much more work to be done here, but No Labels' victory is an important first step in reformation and a demonstration point of what is possible in this vertical.

Vertical 4: The role of Money in Politics and Governance

The corrupting impact of money in politics is a well-documented hindrance to maintaining the integrity of our liberal democracy. More and more, elected officials must pander to the interests of corporations, the uber-wealthy, lobbyists, and special interest groups. To win an election, Members of the House must immediately begin fundraising shortly after they assume their role, spending an enormous amount of their time on phone calls and attending fundraising events to ensure that they can keep their seat in Congress. Members don't have time to focus on delivering value to their constituents who voted them into office. Instead, they spend the majority of their time with those who will be funding their next campaign. The Supreme Court has complicated matters by ruling that limits on campaign contributions are unconstitutional restraints on speech, *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), and extending this protection to corporations and other organizations, *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010).

Solutions in this vertical must focus on both campaign finance reform and lobbying reform. Solutions will include public funding for elections and efforts to end Super PACs. Groups like End Citizens United are working to help overturn the harmful Supreme Court decisions that dismantled efforts to combat the exponential rise of the influence of money in politics. Lawrence Lessig's Equal Citizens is working hard on solutions such as voter

vouchers, matching funds, and full public financing. These solutions would enable elected officials to focus their attentions on a much larger representation of their constituency and ensure that Americans have real influence through their elected representatives in Washington.

Vertical 5: Civic Engagement

Loss of agency is what got us into this crisis in the first place. The foundation of our strategy and its fundamental key to success will be a focus on agency restoration: giving Americans representing every corner of our social fabric a real seat at the table in addressing the systemic problems we have highlighted in this strategy. We must give mainstream Americans a reason to believe again, and we must engage them to participate in governing the nation. This component of the strategy includes two main lines of effort: civic education and national service.

- 1 Civic education: Civic knowledge and understanding is at an all-time low. For Americans to effectively defend against an all-out disinformation war that targets all of us, we must each be equipped with the truth, including a robust understanding of our history and the principles and values (as well as mistakes) upon which America was founded. We will focus on outstanding solutions that work to reintroduce civic education into all levels of education K-12.
- 2 National service: Service is core to who we are as Americans. We are a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people. But in order to truly exemplify this, "the people" must have real skin in the game. We must understand and develop a deep appreciation for what it takes to make our nation great. We will support solutions that propose a minimum of one year of service for all citizens after graduation from high school and before the age of 23. This service will not be mandatory but will be highly incentivized by employers to encourage the next generation to own their future and the future of their nation. Service can be in any public program or federal organization that serves to make the nation and the lives of American citizens better. Options include the National Park Service, local government, U.S. Armed Forces, the Peace Corps, and various state and federal agencies.

Vertical 6: The Information/ News Problem

One of our biggest challenges is the manner by which Americans consume information. This weakness is a large cause of division and intense partisanship across America and affects every pocket of American society.

In the mid-20th century, most Americans consumed the news through either a few reputable newspapers or the 30-minute nightly news on the three major news networks. Each media outlet had its own slant and opinion on the influence and implications of the unfolding news, and the aperture of what was worthy of coverage surely did not reflect the breadth of our people and the issues they were facing, but there was a shared understanding that there were such things as facts and an obligation to present them faithfully.

That all changed with the FCC abolishing the Fairness Doctrine and the rise of the cable news networks. The federal government no longer supported even the principle that issues of public concern should be presented in an unbiased, objective manner, and done so in an honest way – serving to politicize the presentation of news. Unmoored, the 24-hour news cycle led to the sensationalization of the news and the usurping of opinion and entertainment over objectivity in how the news gets reported in order to drive ratings and compete in the rapidly evolving marketplace.

The rise of social media made the problem exponentially worse. These platforms began to form echo chambers for users where algorithms drive content aligned with viewers' personal world views, regardless of the truth or falsehood of the content. What was originally intended to be "the Fourth Estate," a check on power and a force for transparency, has in many instances, become an existential threat to the American experiment. Fake news is now an enormous threat to a unified America and we must focus efforts to combat its destabilizing effect in every part of American society.

This will be one of the toughest verticals to address, but also one of the most important ones to win in. To make real gains, the two main solutions we will be exploring are tech industry regulation and the creation of a nonpartisan media platform that acts as a clearinghouse and fact verification for news.

Tech industry regulation will give the tech giants a seat at the table in the design of regulation, but will include laws that rely on market forces — not altruism — and properly incentivize companies to be an active part of the solution.

The creation of a nonpartisan clearinghouse for news will require real buy-in and credibility from a majority of Americans across class, gender, race, and party, and the maintenance of both a healthy respect for and tension with 1st Amendment protections. This nonpartisan body presents a whole set of challenges that we will have to be deliberate in addressing in our ideation and we must ensure active participation of a broad base of American citizens to ensure equal representation, accountability, and transparency of our efforts.

These structural efforts will fall short without a public that is primed for understanding the need for a common language. The common theme of grassroots engagement and participation, as well as simultaneous reform efforts discussed in the other verticals will mutually reinforce shoring up our information and news problem. And MPU will immediately get behind efforts to publish best practices in reporting, editing and fact-checking to shame media participants — from multinational conglomerates to individual tweeters to consumers — who attempt to disseminate falsehoods, disinformation, and deep fakes.

More Perfect Union

— We believe this is possible.
— We have a strategy to get
— there. Join us.