PECHAIL OFFICER

BEFORE THE

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 2019 MAR -4 AM 9: 10 OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the Matter of:

National Legal and Policy Center

٧.

Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

Brand New Congress (C00613810)

Isra Allison

Brand New Congress LLC

Saikat Chakrabarti

Frank Llewellyn

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for Congress (C00639591)

Justice Democrats (C00630665)

Alexandra Rojas

Complaint

National Legal and Policy Center, a corporation organized and existing under the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act and having its offices and principal place of business at 107 Park Washington Court, Falls Church, Va. 22046, files this complaint with the Federal Election Commission pursuant to 2 USC 434(b)(5), (6) 11 CFR 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi); 104.9(a), (b) (political committees).

The primary purpose of the National Legal and Policy Center, a charitable and educational organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, is to foster and promote ethics in government and public life.

Respondents include an individual candidate for federal office, a federal candidate campaign committee and its treasurer, an unauthorized committee and its treasurer, the federal candidate's chief of staff and an LLC run by the chief of staff. The complaint documents an elaborate scheme to avoid proper disclosure of campaign expenditures in accordance with 2 USC 434(b)(5), (6) 11 CFR 104.3(b)(4)(i), (vi); 104.9(a), (b) (political committees).

GENERAL COUNSE

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Respondents

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez 229 Cannon HOB, Washington, DC 20515

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for Congress PO Box 680080, Corona, NY 11368

Frank Llewellyn (Treasurer for Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for Congress), PO Box 680080, Corona, NY 11368

Brand New Congress (C00613810) 2830 Wesley Avenue, Charlotte, NC 28205

Isra Allison (Treasurer for Brand New Congress) 2930 Wesley Avenue, Charlotte, NC 28205

Brand New Congress LLC 714 S. Gay St., Knoxville, Tn. 37902

Brand New Campaign LLC 714 S. Gay St., Knoxville, Tn. 37902

Saikat Chakrabarti (Chief of Staff for Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez) 229 Cannon HOB, Washington, DC 20515

Justice Democrats (C00630665) PO Box 910, Knoxville, Tn. 37902

Alexandra Rojas (Treasurer for Justice Democrats) PO Box 910, Knoxville, Tn. 37902

Facts

The facts supporting this complaint are all taken from materials publicly available, including Federal Election Commission records. All material facts relied upon in this complaint are cited as to their source.

On April 5° 2016, Brand New Congress PAC filed a statement of Organization with the Federal Election Commission. See Exhibit 1. On its website, Brand New Congress PAC states that it was founded "to recruit candidates who were not thinking about running already and to actually fully run all of their campaigns as if it was one big presidential race."

Respondent Saikat Chakrabarti was one of the founders of Brand New Congress PAC. Most of the money it raised was paid to Brand New Campaign LLC, not to be confused with Brand New Congress, LLC. Brand New Campaign LLC used the same address at which Chakrabarti was paid by the Bernie 2016 committee in 2016. See Exhibits 2 and 3.

According to FEC filings, Brand New Congress PAC raised \$252,562.56 in the 2016 cycle. Nearly 90% of that money came in the form of unitemized contributions, yet no expenses were disclosed by Brand New Congress PAC for fundraising, administrative expenses, travel, communications, or staff salary.

On its website, Justice Democrats states Justice Democrats was formed on January 9^a 2017 in partnership with Saikat Chakrabarti and Brand New Congress LLC to "get a campaign going from 0 to 60 in a very short period of time and extremely cheaply." See Exhibit 4.

Ten campaigns were launched by Justice Democrats in April of 2017 through Brand New Congress LLC. Brand New Congress PAC, and Justice Democrats continued running campaigns for federal candidates through the 2018 elections cycle.

Brand New Congress LLC's apparent role in this endeavor was to act as a conduit for money raised by federal candidates, Brand New Congress PAC, and Justice Democrats PAC

throughout this period. Brand New Congress LLC employed all of the staffers working for federal campaigns throughout the country during the 2018 cycle. Yet none of the work was disclosed by Brand New Congress PAC, Justice Democrats PAC, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for Congress or any of the other federal campaigns being run by Brand New Congress LLC.

A search of all 50 states could not confirm the existence of Brand New Congress LLC as an incorporated entity. National Legal and Policy Center was able to confirm Brand New Congress exists as a 527, but no contribution or expenditure reports has been filed to date with the IRS.

Apparent Violations

Complainant National Legal and Policy Center has found reason to believe Respondents knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. 434(b)(5)(A). The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, requires each treasurer of a political committee to file reports of receipts and disbursements in accordance with the provisions of the Act. 2 U.S.C. 434(a). With respect to disbursements, the reports must include, among other things, the total amount of all disbursements and all disbursements for expenditures made to meet candidate or committee operating expenses. 2 U.S.C. 434(b)(4)(a). The report of disbursement must include the name and address of each:

person to whom an expenditure in an aggregate amount or value in excess of \$200 within the calendar year is made by the reporting committee to meet a candidate or committee operating expense, together with the date, amount, and purpose of such operating expenditure.

According to FEC filings, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for Congress disbursed \$18,720.86 to Brand New Congress LLC for "strategic consulting" in the 2018 election cycle.

According to FEC filings, Justice Democrats PAC disbursed \$605,849.12 for "strategic consulting" to Brand New Congress LLC in the 2018 election cycle.

According to FEC filings, Brand New Congress PAC disbursed \$261,165.18 to Brand New Congress LLC for "strategic consulting" in the 2018 election cycle.

It appears "strategic consulting" was a mischaracterization of a wide range of activities that should have been reported individually. In fact, Saikat Chakrabarti stated on national television on May 19, 2016 that Brand New Congress LLC created the campaign infrastructure and ran all of the fundraising and volunteering operations for the campaigns. In his own words concerning Brand New Congress, "Campaign infrastructure and fundraising is set aside from the candidates."

A post dated May 8, 2018 on the Justice Democrats website (Exhibit 4) went further to say, "we created Brand New Congress, LLC to keep things simple, we put all our staff in that LLC and had it act as the vendor for both the PAC and all the candidates." The actual vendors, staff, and fundraising expenses were not disclosed. Brand New Congress LLC was simply a cutout.

A cursory look at social media and Respondent's websites reveals examples of significant campaign work performed for federal candidates or PAC's that have no corresponding expenditures on disclosure forms. For instance:

 On June 24, 2017, Brand New Congress announced they created a "20,000 person national door knocking and phone canvassing campaign." See Exhibit 5.

- On October 14, 2018, Brand New Congress hosted an organizing rally at The Sanctuary in McKinney, Texas for federal candidate Lorie Burch. See Exhibit 6.
- On October 13, 2018, Brand New Congress hosted an organizing rally at Armadillo Ale Works in Denton, Texas for federal candidate Linsey Fagan. See Exhibit 7.
- On June 27, 2017, Brand New Congress announced they organized the "#KnockDowntheHouse" event where, "thousands of people learned first-hand about Brand New Congress candidates this weekend thanks to hundreds of volunteers who knocked on more than 6,300 doors from Seattle to Charleston, New York to Houston, Illinois to Arkansas." See Exhibit 8.
- On August 9, 2017, Brand New Congress PAC announced they were a "premier sponsor for the Netroots Nation 2017 conference." See Exhibit 9.

Respondent's actions appear to be coordinated. From the Justice Democrats May 8, 2018 website posting:

Justice Democrats started off running full campaigns for candidates and the only way to do that legally is with a vendor. Therefore, since the entire staff of JD was within that vendor, there are large expenditures to Brand New Congress, LLC in 2017. We've since moved to a mix of candidates and therefore are able to do this work through a fee-for-service model through Justice Democrats PAC. All JD staff now work directly for JD and their salaries are published in our latest FEC reports.

Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez was a board member of Justice Democrats when money was being disbursed to Brand New Congress LLC. Rep. Ocasio-Cortez spoke at the Netroots National 2017 event, of which Brand New Congress PAC was a premier sponsor. This event gave unknown candidate Ocasio-Cortez much needed exposure. Following the 2018 election, Charkrabarti became Rep. Ocasio-Cortez's Chief of Staff.

Conclusion

Complainant National Legal and Policy Center is asking the Commission to conduct an investigation, including an audit of named respondent committees, in accordance with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, for the purpose of identifying expenditures by Brand New Congress, LLC that were made in connection with Congressional elections in 2018.

It appears that Respondents orchestrated an extensive off-the-books operation to make hundreds of thousands of dollars of expenditures in support of multiple candidates for federal office. The relationship between the Respondents appears to be incestuous, with the likelihood that they were aware, or should have been aware, of the sweeping and apparently illegal nature of the enterprise.

Disclosure of receipts and expenditures is the heart of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Failure to enforce the disclosure provisions of the Act would render it meaningless.

The Commission has taken action when presented with similar circumstances in the past. See MUR 4872 (Jenkins), MUR 6724 (Bachmann for President et al), and MUR 3847 (Stockman). In all three cases, cutouts were used to hide the true destination of money disbursed to influence federal elections.

Complainant, upon information and belief, swears under penalty of perjury that the statements and facts of this complaint are true and correct to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Peter Flaherty, Chairman

Jee Day March, 2019, Personally Known to De.

Peter Flaherty appeared to me.

Janel Buckley

3/3/2019

O EXP. CO.

04/05/2016 11:30 Image# 201604059012223244 PAGE 1/4 STATEMENT OF **FEC ORGANIZATION** FORM 1 Office Use Only Example: If typing, type NAME OF (Check if name 12FE4M5 COMMITTEE (in full) is changed) over the lines. Brand New Congress PO Box 416 ADDRESS (number and street) (Check if address is changed) Crane 65633 MO CITY A STATE A ZIP CODE A COMMITTEE'S E-MAIL ADDRESS zackexley@gmail.com (Check if address is changed) Optional Second E-Mail Address COMMITTEE'S WEB PAGE ADDRESS (URL) brandnewcongress.org (Check if address is changed). D DATE 05 2016 C00613810 FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER > × IS THIS STATEMENT NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A) I certify that I have examined this Statement and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete. Zack Exley Type or Print Name of Treasurer Zack Exley Signature of Treasurer [Electronically Filed] 04 05 2016 Date NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g, ANY CHANGE IN INFORMATION SHOULD BE REPORTED WITHIN 10 DAYS. Office For further information contact: FEC FORM 1 Federal Election Commission Use (Revised 06/2012) Toll Free 800-424-9530

Local 202-694-1100

Only

FEC	Form 1 (Revised 02/2009)		Page 2
	COMMITTEE te Committee:		
(a)	This committee is a principal campaign	committee. (Complete the candidate Information b	elow.)
(b)	This committee is an authorized comminformation below.)	ittee, and is NOT a principal campaign committee.	(Complete the candidate
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Name of Candidate			
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(d)	This committee is a	(National, State or subordinate) committee of the	(Democratic, Republican, etc.) Party.
Political	Action Committee (PAC):		
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SCHEDULE B (FEC Form 3X)

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When I look at the FEC report for Justice Democrats in 2017, why are there so many expenditures to "Brand New Congress"?

Modified on: Tue, May 8, 2018 at 2:24 PM

This is a longer answer because we'd like to be as transparent as possible about how we got started and why this is the case.

To give some context, many of the founding members of Justice Democrats also helped start Brand New Congress in April of 2016. At that time, the goal was not just to endorse existing candidates who have campaigns. Our goal with Brand New Congress was to recruit candidates who were not thinking about running already and to actually fully run all of their campaigns as if it was one big presidential race. This was right after the Bernie campaign, so this was our thought for how to recreate that Bernie movement in a giant 400-candidate national race. This would let us have all kinds of efficiencies that come with a big national race and also, we believed, was one way we could create a national movement around taking over Congress. It would also, we believed, let us recruit different kinds of candidates who may not have had a lot of experience running campaigns but who believed in this big vision to change our country. Normally, running a campaign requires all kinds of ops and legal headaches, but we thought we could possibly short circuit that by having this big national campaign that all the candidates could plug into and one central team was doing the annoying work of keeping the actual campaign logistics running. That way each candidate would not have to become an expert in campaigns -- they would just need to be an expert in the policies and getting the message out. It was definitely a very new idea in the world of politics in the US (though anyone familiar with parliamentary politics in Europe would find this to be a very obvious idea as this is basically how new parties work there), and in hindsight was perhaps too ambitious, but we did believe it could be possible if we could unleash a movement similar in size to the one Bernie had just unleashed. Here's a video of us talking about this model on MSNBC from April of that year: https://www.youtube.com /watch?v=rvGtVu8gmtg (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rvGtVu8gmtg)

Legally, however, this was incredibly complicated. One thing we knew we needed to have was a Federal PAC (not a SuperPAC -- Federal PACs have a \$5,000 donation limit, and we wanted to make sure that we had a cap on donations). This PAC would be necessary to do the work of policy development and candidate recruiting. So we created Brand New Congress as a PAC. But actually running the campaigns -- meaning doing direct work for campaigns -- is not something a PAC can do for a candidate for free. If a PAC did free work for a campaign, that would literally be the definition of dark money (technically, a PAC can 'in-kind' work like this, but we'd be capped at \$5,000 worth of work). The FEC puts value on many kinds of campaign work (e.g. direct message consulting, writing press statements, any field work or voter outreach work, etc.). So, we knew that in addition to a PAC to recruit and train candidates, we needed some mechanism to charge the campaigns for the work we'd be doing for them as cheaply as possible while doing it all legally and according to FEC rules.

We originally thought that we could set ourselves up similar to PCCC (boldprogressives.org). They do something similar, where the PAC is set up to do activities like training and recruiting candidates, and then they provide some campaign services for a fee to candidates. However, when we talked to our lawyer, he explained to us that this kind of 'fee-for-service' work has to be a small percentage of a PAC's total work. With BNC, our plan was to essentially run the full campaigns for the vast majority of our candidates, so we were advised that this would definitely be too much fee-for-service work for a Federal PAC to do and still maintain its status as a Federal PAC. The ONLY way to do work for multiple candidates legally at this scale is to create an LLC and act as a vendor.

For that reason, we created Brand New Congress, LLC. To keep things simple, we put all our staff in that LLC and had it

act as the vendor for both the PAC and all the candidates. We had in our operating agreement that the goal of the LLC was not to make a profit, and as such, we made our prices as low as possible while still satisfying the FEC's requirement that we are charging something reasonable because, again, if we weren't we would essentially be doing heavily discounted work for candidates and that is illegal and immoral since fighting dark money is literally what we want to do. To try to make this as clean as possible, we not only had the language in our operating agreement about the LLC's purpose, but we also made sure that Saikat Chakrabarti was the only controlling member of the LLC, and that he took no salary (either from the LLC, from Justice Democrats, or from Brand New Congress the PAC). Saikat is lucky to have a small side business that generates him enough income that he is able to do all of this work as a volunteer.

Fast forward to January. Cenk Uygur and Kyle Kulinski approached us with the idea of starting Justice Democrats. We decided to partner up, so Saikat was a co-founder of Justice Democrats and we decided to keep the same structure because with JD, at that stage, we still wanted to recruit non-traditional candidates and give them the infrastructure to run their campaigns. The first 10 campaigns we launched in April had this setup -- at that stage we were not sure we'd be able to get to a big national campaign, but we realized that with our LLC structure we had two big advantages: 1) we were able to get a campaign going from 0 to 60 in a very short period of time and extremely cheaply and 2) we were able to keep DCCC consultants from taking over the campaigns. Our experience with campaigns at this stage has taught us that the DCCC consultants are a big part of the problem -- they push candidates to move away from progressive ideas as the strategy to 'win' and we all know how well that's worked for Democrats. Of course, there are good progressive campaign workers out there too, and so we began to make it our job to try to get as many campaigns as possible to start hiring these progressive workers.

Fast forward to today. JD has moved away from the model of fully running campaigns from the bottom-up and has now backed a number of candidates whose campaign teams are at various stages of formation. We moved to this model for a few reasons: 1) An unprecedented number of progressives began running for office on their own so it started to make sense for us to back those candidates instead of trying to continue putting lots of effort into recruiting new candidates and running their full campaigns, 2) A lot of great progressive campaign workers who came out of the Bernie movement have continued working on campaigns, and 3) We did not ignite a movement as big as the Bernie Sanders presidential campaign, so our all-in-one model for running these candidates as a big national race no longer made sense.

We still have a number of campaigns where we are doing most of the work, but we also have a number that have a large campaign team doing their work for them and where we help in other ways like providing organizing support or connecting their campaign workers with our supporters. This mix of candidates is something that started to become the case at around August of 2017 as tons of new progressives began running for office, so we made the decision in September of 2017 to move all our staff from the LLC onto Justice Democrats PAC and have moved to a aforementioned 'fee-for-service' model in which we charge for services at-cost because it is no longer a majority of the PAC's business (since the majority of our campaigns don't need to rely fully on us for their work). This is the reason that when you look at the FEC reports for Justice Democrats from 2017, you will see large expenditures to Brand New Congress, LLC because the entire staff of Justice Democrats was working within that LLC.

TLDR: Justice Democrats started off running full campaigns for candidates and the only way to do that legally is with a vendor. Therefore, since the entire staff of JD was within that vendor, there are large expenditures to Brand New Congress, LLC in 2017. We've since moved to a mix of candidates and therefore are able to do this work through a feefor-service model through Justice Democrats PAC. All JD staff now work directly for JD and their salaries are published in our latest FEC reports.

202-769-3944 (Main) 606-312-1410 (Press)

us@brandnewcongress.org



BRAND NEW CONGRESS

Main menu

Missouri at Heart of Enormous National Door-Knocking Campaign for 2018 Elections

by | Jun 24, 2017 | News | o comments

Responding to Democrat Jon Ossoff's defeat Tuesday night in Georgia's 6th district election, Cori Bush, candidate for Missouri's 1st Congressional District, will lead part of Brand New Congress' 20,000-person national door-knocking and phone canvassing campaign on June 24. Its aim is to boost hundreds of grassroots progressive candidates into Congress in 2018.

"The defeat in Georgia this week showed that the establishment Democrat playbook of big money donations is not going to get us back into office. We need strong policies, platforms, and people," said Bush.

"In Missouri, we need politicians that represent the people, not profit. I'm championing Medicare for All, new schools, and opportunity for all," said Bush. "That's why today tens of thousands of people are getting out on the doorstep."

Brand New Congress is building momentum for its populist, non-partisan platform following the recent launch of 14 candidates for national office. The organization, founded last year by former staffers of the Bernie Sanders campaign, is committed to repairing the nation's infrastructure, a 100% clean energy economy. Medicare for All and debt-free college. Bush and her fellow Brand New Congress candidates all reject corporate donations, opting only for individual small donations.

Signup Form

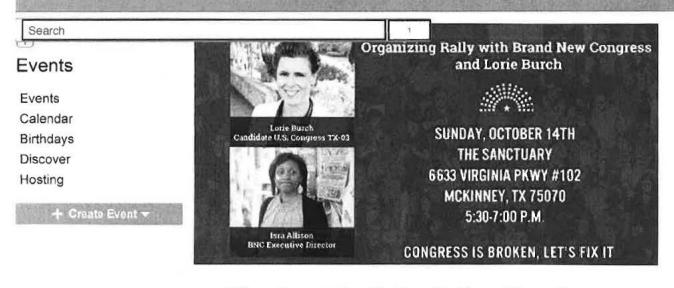
Join Brand New Congress!

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First Name
Last Name
Email *
Zip/Postal Code *
PREFERRED PHONE?
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MAY WE TEXT YOU OCCASIONALLY? O yes O no
O Male O Female O Other
Add Your Name
Opt in to updates from Brand New Congress
Sponsored by: Brand New Congress

THE ACTION NETWORK

Paid for by Brand New Congress, not authorized by any candidate or candidate committee P.O Box 5612 Charlotte, NC 28299 Contact Us: 202-769-3944



Organizing Rally with Brand New Congress and Lorie Burch

Public Hosted by Brand New Congress

★ Interested ✓ Going

Sunday, October 14, 2018 at 5:30 PM - 7 PM CDT

6633 Virginia Pkwy, McKinney, TX 75071-5513, United States

Show Map

Hosted by Brand New Congress *

Message Host

About Discussion

17 Went · 28 Interested

STATE OF THE RESIDENCE AND ADDRESS.

Details

Learn about Brand New Congress' mission, challenges, successes and next steps. Hear from Lorie Burch and discuss what this movement means for her

and how you can help take back our democracy by volunteering on a campaign and helping us win in November.

Causes

About Brand New Congress



Brand New Congress

Political Organization

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#For the People by championing congressional cardicides who
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Gallery





Organizing Rally with Brand New Congress and Linsey Fagan

Problem 1 States by Brand New Congress

★ Interested ✓ Going

Saturday, October 13, 2018 at 7 PM – 9 PM CDT

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Show Map

Hosted by Brand New Congress

Message Host

About Discussion

9 Went · 19 Interested

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Details

Learn about Brand New Congress' mission, challenges, successes and next

steps. Hear from Linsey Fagan and discuss what this movement means for her and how you can help take back our democracy by volunteering on a campaign and helping us win in November.

Causes

Recent Posts



Beth Porter Varma — With Linsey, "We will fix it."



Pamela Gail Johnson — There's still time to join us ...

See All Posts

About Brand New Congress



Brand New Congress Political Organization

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About the Venue



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BRAND NEW CONGRESS

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Summer of Action kicks off with #KnockDowntheHouse event

by | Jun 27, 2017 | News | o comments



Sarah Smith, running for the Washington 9th District, stands with volunteer canvassers at the BNC Campaign Kickoff event last weekend.

Thousands of people learned first-hand about Brand New Congress candidates this weekend thanks to hundreds of volunteers who knocked on more than 6,300 doors from Scattle to Charleston, New York to Houston, Illinois to Arkansas. Candidates and their canvassers also flocked to Pride and other events throughout the weekend, connecting with thousands of voters in their districts, and spreading the word about their campaigns. People who couldn't attend a weekend event person were invited to phonebank instead.

This weekend's event was a promising sign for the 2018 primary elections. Our current congressional representatives (on both sides of the aisle) do more finger pointing than actually putting their fingers on the pulse of what their constituents really want—and need.

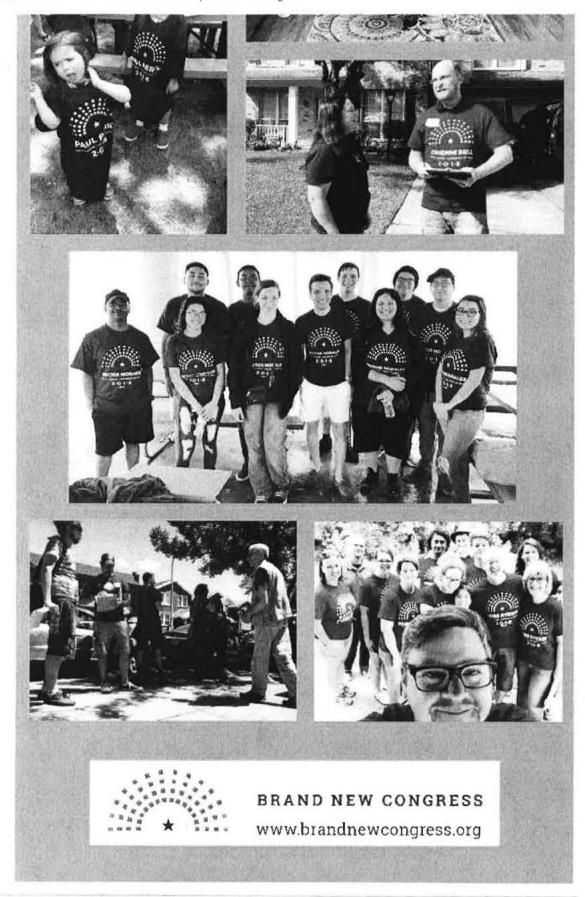
While Republicans continue to push forward a "healthcare" bill that will kick at least 22 million people off of health insurance according to the latest report from the Congressional Budget Office, Democrats cling to corporate-friendly ideals and scratch their heads when they lose elections despite throwing millions of dollars at chosen candidates. Republicans and Democrats in congress are out of touch with

the realities middle- and working-class people face every day.

Brand New Congress candidates do not accept corporate cash, they rely on small-dollar donations from people like you. The BNC platform puts people before profits and offers real solutions to issues related to heatlhcare, money in politics, revitalizing the economy, clean energy and so much more.

Last weekend's nationwide event proved that when you have a message that resonates, people will turn out to support you.





To learn more about Brand New Congress visit brandnewcongress.org.

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BRAND NEW CONGRESS

Brand New Congress Candidates Head to Atlanta for Netroots Nation Conference

by Aug 9, 2017 | News | 0 comments

Brand New Congress will be participating in this year's Netroots Nation, the largest annual political organizing conference in the United States.

The event takes place from August 10-13 in Atlanta and will include training, panels and keynote speakers. Brand New Congress joins the National Education Association, 'The Action Network, the Center for Constitutional Rights and others as a premier sponsor for the Netroots Nation 2017 conference.

"This conference brings people together from all across the country to come together to discuss solutions to the issues Americans are facing today," said Paula Jean Swearengin, Brand New Congress candidate for the U.S. Senate in West Virginia. "America is crying out for common sense solutions on health care, the economy, immigration and more. What we've seen is that if we don't provide any answers, false prophets like Donald Trump end up in the White House."

Swearengin will be joined by three other Brand New Congress candidates, all of whom are running for Congress in the 2018 midterms: Adrienne Bell (TX-14), Robb Ryerse (AR-03), and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (NV-14).

On August 11, all four will host a panel discussion on how to run a grassroots campaign that puts people above party.

In the past, Netroots Nation featured speakers such as Senators Elizabeth Warren, Al Franken and Bernie Sanders, Rev. Dr. William Barber II, and Linda Sarsour. But the heart of the convention are the panel discussions, led by activists and political organizers in the fields of criminal justice reform, immigration rights, renewable energy, and more.

All Brand New Congress candidates have committed to putting people before profit by not taking any corporate donations.