



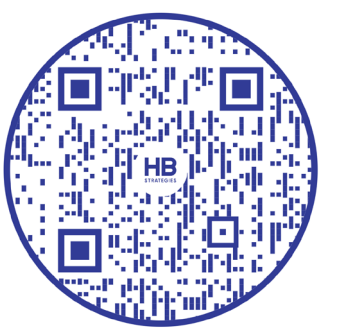
MARCH 3, 2025

# AG POWER PLAY

## THE CONTENDERS



# 50 State



The first 30 days of the Trump Administration have brought the role of State Attorneys General further into the national spotlight. While media reports on the frenetic pace of activity since January, the HB Strategies team has carefully analyzed a 35-year trend line in Attorney General action while forecasting the political future of the 30 state Attorneys General races in the 2025-2026 election cycle.

There is an ongoing constitutional tug-of-war between the Executive and Judicial branches, spurred by State Attorney General action that has already impacted over \$10 billion in federal spending, altered the scope and interpretation of past Supreme Court rulings, and reshaped administrative actions. In a political reality where each State Attorney General now possesses the power to dramatically reshape not only their state's public policy landscape but also the nation's, developing credibility and relationships with State Attorneys General and their senior staff members is now critical to shaping public policy. Our series of reports from the HB Strategies 50 State Team, **AG Power Play: The Contenders**, profiles the incumbents and candidates of 30 states while analyzing the dynamics of those races that could alter the balance of power and transform public policy across the United States.

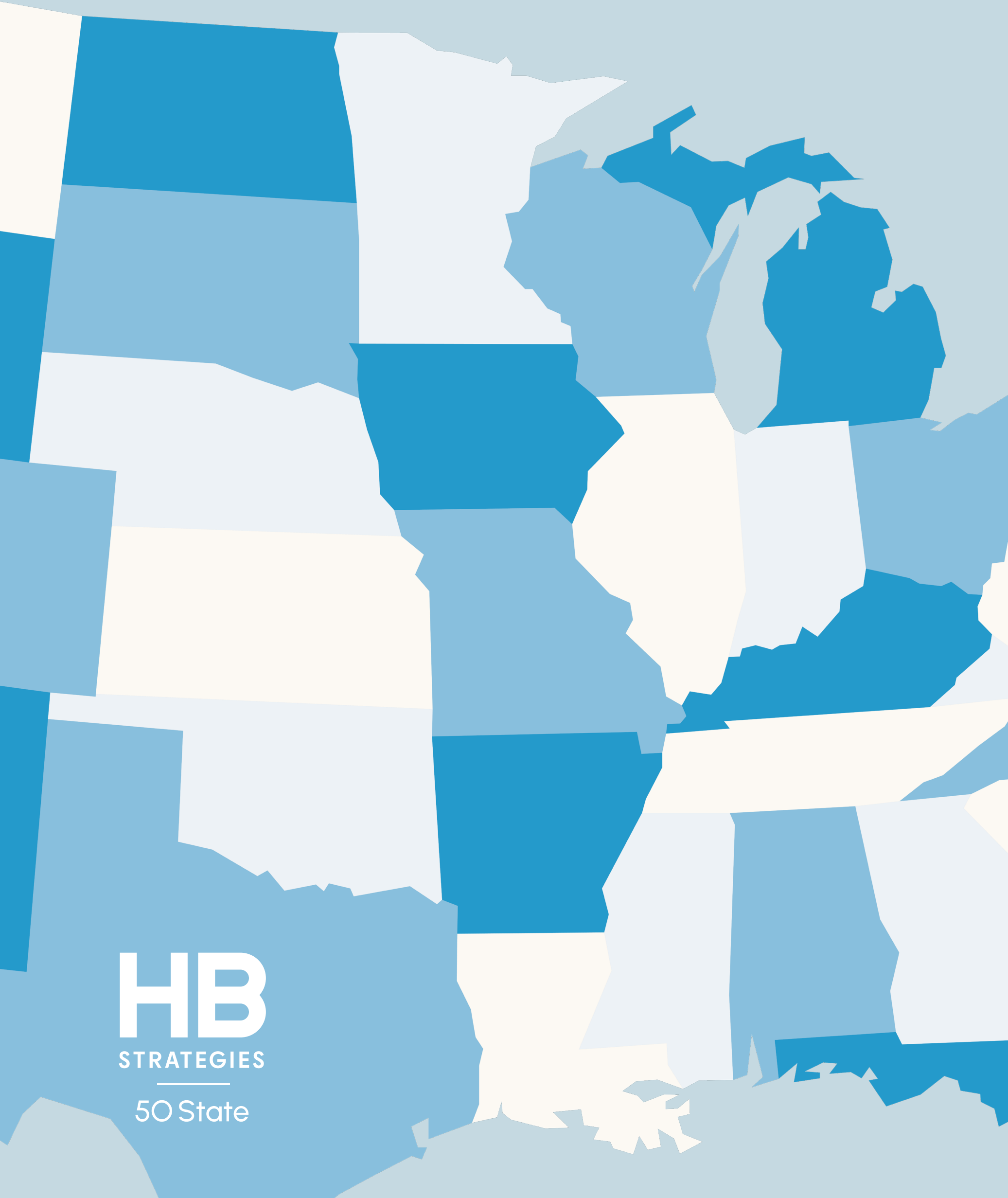


A large, semi-circular graphic on the right side of the page. It features a blue-tinted image of two hands shaking in a firm grip. The background of the graphic is a light blue sky with a sunburst effect at the top, and a body of water with a horizon line at the bottom. The overall style is clean and professional.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER  
EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN

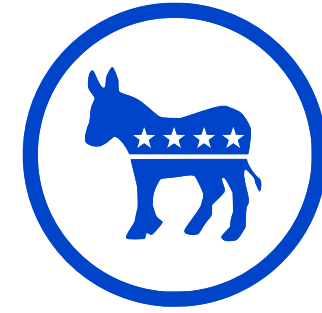


# JUST THE STATS



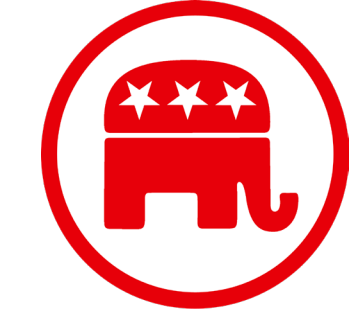
**HB**  
STRATEGIES  
50 State

22



## PARTISAN SPLIT

28



43 ELECTED

5 APPOINTED BY GOVERNORS  
AK, HI, NH, NJ, WY

1 APPOINTED BY STATE LEGISLATURE  
ME

1 APPOINTED BY STATE SUPREME COURT  
TN

## 2025 election

VIRGINIA

## 2026 elections

**ALABAMA**

ARIZONA

ARKANSAS

CALIFORNIA

**COLORADO**

CONNECTICUT

DELAWARE

FLORIDA

**GEORGIA**

IDAHO

ILLINOIS

IOWA

KANSAS

MARYLAND

MASSACHUSETTS

**MICHIGAN**

MINNESOTA

NEBRASKA

**NEVADA**

NEW MEXICO

NEW YORK

NORTH DAKOTA

**OHIO**

**OKLAHOMA**

**RHODE ISLAND**

SOUTH CAROLINA

SOUTH DAKOTA

TEXAS

VERMONT

WISCONSIN

### 2027 elections

KENTUCKY

MISSISSIPPI

LOUISIANA

### 2028 elections

INDIANA

MISSOURI

**MONTANA**

NORTH CAROLINA

OREGON

PENNSYLVANIA

UTAH

VERMONT

WASHINGTON

WEST VIRGINIA

 AG RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR

 OPEN SEAT BY TERM LIMITS

AG

PLAY

POWER

Dr. Paul Nolette, Marquette University – The Public Face of the ‘Litigation State:’ Federal Empowerment of Litigation by State Governments



20

George HW Bush  
ADMINISTRATION

42

Bill Clinton  
ADMINISTRATION

76

George W Bush  
ADMINISTRATION

80

Barack Obama  
ADMINISTRATION

160

Donald Trump  
ADMINISTRATION

In a successively gridlocked Congress, State Attorney General action on public policy has increased consecutively for the last 35 years – fundamentally altering state and federal policy landscapes. The federal government has empowered state litigators to enforce, change, challenge, and even eliminate public policy through litigation. The role of an Attorney General is multifaceted; they are both political actors vying for reelection and the state’s chief law enforcement officer. Thus, political considerations impact an Attorney General’s regulatory and litigious decision-making. Attorney General action is an increasingly important element of an effective government relations strategy.

In every Administration since George H. W. Bush’s began in 1989, State Attorneys General have filed more multistate litigation targeting the White House than they filed against each prior administration. During the first Trump Administration, State Attorneys General filed 80 more multistate lawsuits than under President Obama’s eight years in office – **a 100% increase in litigation in half the time**. For comparison, between the eight-year W. Bush Administration and the eight-year Obama Administration, State Attorneys General only increased multistate litigation filed by 5%.

Entering the Biden Administration, the Republican Attorneys General Association (RAGA) increased the momentum created by their Democrat counterpart; within Biden’s first 100 days in office, Republican Attorneys General filed 375% more lawsuits than Democrat Attorneys General did in Trump’s first 100 days. Republican Attorneys General have continued outpacing Democrats – lawsuits against the Biden Administration became a significant message driver in the 2024 presidential election.

# AG Multistate Lawsuits Filed Against the Federal Government



In a Congress with the tightest margin in modern history - State Attorney General litigation enforcing, changing, eliminating, or otherwise impacting public policy will only continue to increase rapidly in every sector in 2025 and beyond. From energy, healthcare, education, immigration, civil rights, environment, and cryptocurrency - the slightest change in a legal action can have monumental impacts on public policy and your business. In 2025 and beyond, developing credibility and relationships with State Attorneys General and their senior staff members is critical to shaping the public policy landscape.

Democrats have demonstrated political success in leading multistate litigation - six Democrat Attorneys General who previously led lawsuits against President Trump are now Governors of their states (many are 2028 contenders). In President Trump's second administration, new Democrat Attorneys General are ambitious to outperform precedent again. The Democratic Attorneys General Association (DAGA) now has a staff of 40 and has spent years preparing to litigate a Republican President. Nine Democrat Attorneys General have publicly described the effort underway at DAGA, which includes the creation of litigation briefs, preparing lawsuits to file, determining which states lead each suit, and building war chests across state budgets to support a dramatic increase in litigation. For example, California Governor Newsom requested the state legislature create a \$25 million fund to sue the Trump White House. Since President Trump issued a historic number of day-one executive orders, the Judicial Branch has exercised checks and balances on administrative action. In the first 30 days of the Trump Administration, litigation from State Attorneys General has impacted over \$10 billion in federal funding, reshaped administrative priorities, and impacted public policy on an unpredicted scale.



Gov. Gavin Newsom on Friday approved \$50 million for legal defenses against the Trump administration, following a special legislative session he called soon after the president's election late last year.

The legislation includes \$25 million for court battles with the federal government and \$25 million for nonprofits providing legal aid to immigrants facing deportation, eviction and other threats from federal actions.

02/07/25

**POLITICO**

# THE CONTENDERS



## ALABAMA

STEVE MARSHALL (R)

## ARIZONA

KRIS MAYES (D)

## ARKANSAS

TIM GRIFFIN (R)

## CALIFORNIA

ROB BONTA (D)

## COLORADO

PHIL WEISER (D)

## The First Five

The HB Strategies 50 State team will profile five contenders in six editions with the first in our series analyzing Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, and Colorado. Each edition examines the past and present political dynamics of each race; identifies whether the incumbent will run, term-limited, or eyeing the Governor's mansion; and checks out the challengers.



50 State



# 50 State



## Andy Blunt

*Executive Chairman  
Chief Executive Officer*

As a founding partner, Executive Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of HB Strategies, Andy has helped build a trusted national brand for federal and state lobbying with revenues and a client base to match. While Andy is leading the firm with its remarkable growth trajectory, clients continue to turn to him for help managing a crisis, polishing a brand, and understanding how government works and how to make it work for them. Andy advises top executives in boardrooms across the country and political candidates and elected leaders at all levels of government. He is a trusted advisor nationally whose extensive network of personal relationships is built on his lifelong immersion in politics and public policy. A tireless advocate, Andy has helped companies of all sizes successfully navigate complex legislative and regulatory environments and is consistently recognized as one of Washington’s “Top Lobbyists” by national media.



## Rochelle Mallett

*Executive Vice President  
State Government Affairs*

As Executive Vice President, State Government Affairs, Rochelle manages the firm’s network of state lobbying offices in Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Wisconsin. HB Strategies clients benefit from Rochelle’s success in coordinating and fine-tuning legislative and public strategies that are targeted to specific client needs. She achieves significant outcomes through her careful approach to detailed strategies and an extensive national network of public policy and elected leaders - ultimately establishing trusted relationships on behalf of HBS clients. Earlier in her career she served as a legislative aide to U.S. Senator Deb Fischer.



## Dustin Brighton

*Managing Principal*

Dusty is a widely recognized expert in consumer privacy and anti-trust issues representing e-commerce and tech name brands like eBay and Microsoft. He has established a network of trusted relationships and credibility with elected leaders and influencers across the nation on issues such as privacy, net neutrality, and Section 230 liability protections. Dusty has also represented companies as members of industry trade associations and groups such as the National Association of Attorneys General, National Governors Association, and the Democratic and Republican Legislative Campaign Committees.



## Beverly Haydel

*Senior Advisor*

Beverly has more than a decade of experience working in both the private, public and nonprofit sectors. She has particular expertise in project management, coalition building, stakeholder engagement, public outreach, issue advocacy, policy development and legislative strategy. Beverly earlier served as Director of Civic Leadership Initiatives at the Baton Rouge Area Foundation where she managed the Foundation’s long-term projects throughout the greater Baton Rouge area. She began her career at Goldman Sachs as an Investment Banking Analyst based out of the company’s New York City headquarters.



## Maddie McMillian Green

*Deputy General Counsel for Contracting  
Principal*

An experienced attorney and successful advocate, Maddie recently served as Deputy Attorney General for Policy in the Missouri Attorney General’s Office. She advised the Attorney General on policy and legislation as well as developed and managed the office’s outreach initiatives. She previously served as Assistant Attorney General for Special Litigation, handling high-profile litigation at the state and federal level. Maddie began her career in the Missouri Governor’s Office, serving two governors and working closely with the executive cabinet. Maddie earlier served as chief of staff to the First Lady in the Missouri Governor’s Office, where she worked closely with the governor’s policy and legislative teams on issues including foster care, adoption, and child welfare advocacy.



## Carrie Hackenberger

*Principal*

Carrie is an experienced public policy advocate whose skill in the legislative process guides clients through complex challenges and creates valuable opportunities. She earlier served as Associate Director of the American Petroleum Institute Colorado where she helped lead the organization’s legislative and policy efforts across the state. Carrie was an effective advocate for the state’s oil and natural gas industry whether it was through regulatory proceedings or guiding legislative strategies in the General Assembly.

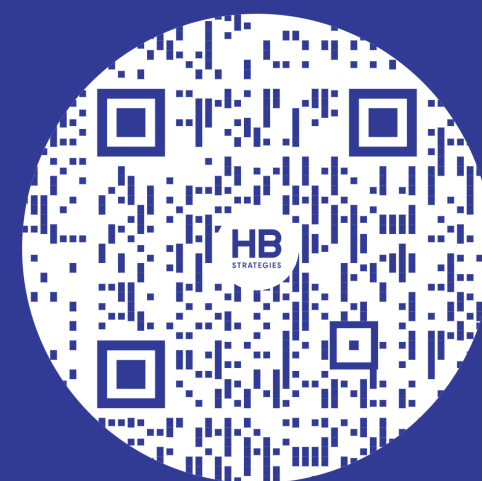


## Bradley Cooper

*Policy Associate*

Bradley assists teams of the federal practice group with research and readiness for client projects. He completed a term as a Fellow with the HB Strategies Federal team in the summer of 2024. Earlier he operated a successful Missouri-based consulting practice. Bradley studied socio-political communication at Missouri State University and was appointed the student representative to the school’s Board of Governors by Missouri Governor Mike Parson.

# HB STRATEGIES



Arizona | Arkansas | Colorado | Kansas | Maryland | Missouri  
Nebraska | Oklahoma | Tennessee | Texas | Wisconsin | Washington, D.C.