

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

01

Unions Attack
Worker Freedoms
in Washington
State

16

*Team Jihad: The
Marx-Muslim Axis*

41

Enviro Dollars Fuel
the Left

TEACHERS' UNIONS FIGHTING THE BAD FIGHT

PAGE 6

Capital Research is a monthly publication of the Capital Research Center (CRC), a nonpartisan education and research organization, classified by the IRS as a 501(c)(3) public charity.

CRC is an independent, tax-exempt institution governed by an independent board of trustees. We rely on private financial support from the general public—individuals, foundations, and corporations—for our income. We accept no government funds and perform no contract work.

CRC was established in 1984 to promote a better understanding of charity and philanthropy. We support the principles of individual liberty, a free market economy, and limited constitutional government—the cornerstones of American society, which make possible wise and generous philanthropic giving.

Capital Research Center
1513 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.483.6900
CapitalResearch.org
Contact@CapitalResearch.org

Internship inquiries are welcome.

Publisher, Scott Walter
Editor, Kristen Eastlick
Senior Editors, Matthew Vadum & Dr. Steven J. Allen
Photo Editor, Gayle Yiotis

CONTENTS

JULY 2017

01

LABOR WATCH

Unions Attack
Worker Freedoms in
Washington State

By Michael E. Hartmann



06

LABOR WATCH

Teachers' Unions

By Michael Watson

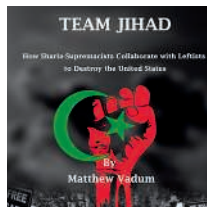


12

DOING GOOD

The Laura and John Arnold
Foundation

By Martin Morse Wooster



16

SPECIAL REPORT

Book Excerpt: *Team Jihad*

By Matthew Vadam



23

SPECIAL REPORT

Free Market Health
Care Reform

By David Hogberg



33

ORGANIZATION TRENDS

Union of Concerned
(Left-Wing) Scientists

By Clint Carson



41

GREEN WATCH

League of
Conservation Voters

By Kevin Boyd, with Hayden Ludwig



UNIONS ATTACK WORKER FREEDOMS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Seeing a threat to its treasury, a union mounts a costly attack on the Freedom Foundation—and loses

By Michael E. Hartmann

Summary: *With help from politicians they heavily fund, unions have perpetrated a scam in which they force unwitting—and often unwilling—citizens of a state into having union dues taken out of Medicaid payments they receive. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled these unfortunates have a right to leave a union under such circumstances, and a Washington State think tank has been educating citizens about their rights. Furious at this threat to its ill-gotten gains, a Washington union is conducting warfare-by-lawsuits against the think tank.*

It's difficult to calculate exactly how much money government-employee unions collect in dues from persons who unwittingly become union "members" or who are forced, even when they refuse to become union members, nonetheless to pay "agency fees" to unions in lieu of paying regular dues. It's also difficult to estimate how much of these two coerced streams of cash ends up flowing from state unions to national unions headquartered elsewhere, to then be distributed across America, including to states where unions are weak, in order to promote policies that will benefit the Left and to oppose policies urged by conservatives—some of whom are among the unwitting and unwilling Americans whose dues and fees are taken by unions at the start of this money-extraction process.

To conclude that this kind of monetary transfer occurs is quite reasonable. Only the unions themselves could confirm it (and the amounts transferred), but they refuse to be transparent. Still, their own behavior provides evidence of the ugly phenomenon.

Take Washington State, for example. One of the strongest of union states, it likely creates a significant funding flow to left-wing causes across the United States. The feisty Freedom Foundation in Olympia, Washington, takes various aggressive actions against unions' collection of dues from unwitting "members" or from agency-fee payers in Washington. In turn, the harsh union reaction to the Freedom Foundation's activities reveals that labor sees the group's effort as a threat to funding for the Left, not only in that state but nationally.



The Freedom Foundation in Olympia, Washington, has aggressively fought back against the Service Employee International Union's collection of dues from unwitting "members."

REDUCTION IN REVENUES

The SEIU (Service Employees International Union) represents more than 50,000 Washingtonians who receive Medicaid payments to care for a disabled loved one. As often happens in strong union states, the union connived with the state government to automatically deduct union dues from the Medicaid payments these caregivers receive.

It's hard to believe, but some governors—all of them enjoying generous financial support from unions—have colluded with state unions on this scam. First, invent a state shell corporation which you as governor claim is the "employer" of persons who receive state Medicaid payments to care for disabled loved ones. Then have a mail-in "election" in which few persons receiving payments even realize what is happening. Finally, no matter how few persons who received mail-in ballots ever vote on whether to be unionized, declare that the union has won the election, which means every single payment-recipient is now an SEIU member and so must have union dues automatically deducted from the state payment. Many unlucky "members"

Michael E. Hartmann is a senior fellow and director of the Center for Strategic Giving at the Capital Research Center in Washington, D.C. He is a former program officer and director of research at The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation in Milwaukee, which has supported the Freedom Foundation.

Credit: Freedom Foundation. License: <https://goo.gl/V7DUSL>.

don't know any of this has occurred until they receive smaller Medicaid payments. (For more on this underhanded labor strategy, see the Nov. 2012 Labor Watch.)

Dues extracted this way average between \$500 and \$1,000 annually, providing the Washington State SEIU approximately \$25 million per year in forced dues, according to the Freedom Foundation's best estimate. The Freedom Foundation also estimates that the state SEIU in turn sends somewhere between \$7 million and \$14 million per election cycle to other SEIU entities around the country.

In 2014, the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Harris v. Quinn* that individual providers like the Medicaid-subsidized health care providers in Washington State could not be forced to join a union in this way. The "First Amendment prohibits the collection of an agency fee from the plaintiffs in the case, home healthcare providers who do not wish to join or support a union," the Court ruled.

In the wake of *Harris*, the Freedom Foundation launched an outreach program that employed dozens of paid canvassers who have gone door to door all across the state and into neighboring Oregon to inform health care providers of their right to opt out of paying dues or fees to SEIU. These citizens were not being informed of their rights by the SEIU, of course, which went even further and fought to have the government suppress the Freedom Foundation and others from informing the unwilling SEIU-payers of their legal rights. Now the Freedom Foundation is expanding its post-*Harris* project into California, which has 375,000 home health workers in both the SEIU and a sister union—a state-sanctioned scheme of automatic deductions that operates the same as Washington State's.

“

Harsh union reaction to the Freedom Foundation reveals that labor sees the group's effort as a threat to funding for the Left.

The Freedom Foundation estimates that a total of more than 10,000 Washington State health care workers have chosen to opt out from a union since the group's *Harris*-rights effort began. This could result in something like a \$10 million reduction in SEIU's revenues—most of which would have been used to fund candidates and causes of the Left in Washington State and, through the SEIU's national offices in Washington, D.C., the rest of America.



Credit: Freedom Foundation. License: <https://goo.gl/y4nK1Q>

Dues average between \$500 and \$1,000 annually, providing the Washington State SEIU approximately \$25 million per year in forced dues, according to the Freedom Foundation's best estimate.

INCREASING INTIMIDATION

Last September, to meet this threat to its bottom line, SEIU and its affiliates orchestrated a legal assault on the Freedom Foundation, filing three lawsuits against it almost simultaneously. SEIU hired three separate law firms for the barrage of suits, and those legal guerrillas have been inundating the Freedom Foundation legal team with increasingly intimidating subpoenas, depositions, and discovery demands.

"We have six full-time attorneys and a paralegal," according to the Freedom Foundation's managing attorney, Greg Overstreet. "And I mean full doggone time, because of the onslaught. It's breathtaking, and I've been around the block," added Overstreet, who's a former special assistant to the Washington State attorney general, regulatory litigator for the international law firm of Perkins Coie, and general counsel for the Building Industry Association of Washington.

The Freedom Foundation has also retained the national law firm of Davis Wright Tremaine, which has offices in Seattle and Bellevue, Wash., and the Allied Law Group of Seattle to help its lawyers on the cases.

An additional front in the attack was opened when the SEIU convinced Washington State Attorney General Bob Ferguson to file lawsuits against the Freedom Foundation. For these cases, the Freedom Foundation has hired campaign-finance lawyers Cleta Mitchell of the national firm of Foley & Lardner LLP and Mark Lamb of the North Creek Law Firm in Bothell, Wash.



“We’re surviving,” says the pleasantly pugilistic president of the Freedom Foundation, Tom McCabe.

At this writing, the actions have cost the Freedom Foundation a total of about \$1.4 million to defend against. “We’re surviving,” according to the pleasantly pugilistic president of the Freedom Foundation, Tom McCabe, “but we’ve been under the gun at the Freedom Foundation. They’ve overwhelmed us. We were getting a subpoena a day for a while.”

SEIU 775 V. FREEDOM FOUNDATION

In one of the cases, *SEIU 775 v. Freedom Foundation*, the union alleges that the Freedom Foundation committed “tortious interference” with its “business expectancy” by obtaining a list of the union’s members and telling them that they could leave the union and stop paying dues to it.

The Freedom Foundation believes that it was merely exercising its constitutionally guaranteed First Amendment free-speech rights both when it obtained the list—which the Foundation asserts is a public record—from a confidential source and when it informed workers of their rights. The Foundation, which operates a newspaper, has invoked journalistic privilege to protect the source.

Parts of this case are at trial in the King County Superior Court in Seattle. Other parts are on appeal to the Washington Court of Appeals. The SEIU is represented in the matter by Seattle’s Schwerin Campbell Barnard Iglitzin & Lavitt LLP, the Northwest’s largest union-side labor and employment-law firm.

In another case, *SEIU Training Partnership v. Freedom Foundation*, the SEIU Training Partnership alleges that the Freedom Foundation committed a “civil conspiracy” by

obtaining the list of the union’s members in the Partnership from the confidential source. The state trial-level judge issued a rare “writ of replevin,” ordering a return of the list to the union, and assessed the Freedom Foundation almost \$200,000 in attorneys’ fees. Parts of this case, for which dozens of depositions have been conducted, remain on trial in King County and parts of it are on appeal. The SEIU is represented in it by Sirianni Youtz Spoonemore Hamburger, a boutique litigation firm in Seattle.

In the third SEIU case, *SEIU 775 v. Elbandagji and Freedom Foundation*, the union also alleges that the Freedom Foundation committed a “civil conspiracy” by inducing a former SEIU employee to give a partial list of SEIU-represented home healthcare workers to the Foundation. The Freedom Foundation was not originally a party in this case, but was added later. SEIU is alleging a “civil conspiracy” and replevin claim.

“

“We’ve been under the gun at the Freedom Foundation....We were getting a subpoena a day for a while.”
—Tom McCabe

The Freedom Foundation has filed a counterclaim against the SEIU for “abuse of process.” And a rare “special discovery master” has been appointed in the matter, which remains at the trial-court level in King County. The SEIU is represented by the Impact Law Group of Seattle.

MORE EVIDENCE OF COORDINATION

Filings with the U.S. Department of Labor by SEIU 775 show that the union spent around \$1.8 million on legal fees in just 2016, and most of that likely went to fund these three cases.

State of Washington v. Freedom Foundation

In one of the cases brought by Attorney General Ferguson, *State of Washington v. Freedom Foundation*, his well-funded office is alleging that the Freedom Foundation violated state campaign-finance disclosure laws by offering free legal assistance to residents in municipalities who attempted to use their cities’ local-initiative processes to get right-to-work protections on the ballot, but were thwarted by city councils. The action arose out of a citizen complaint filed by SEIU.

The Freedom Foundation won this case in Thurston County Superior Court. The state supreme court declined to hear Ferguson's direct appeal to it, and the case is now at the intermediate appellate court.

In another *State of Washington v. Freedom Foundation* case brought by Ferguson, he alleges that the Freedom Foundation violated state campaign-finance disclosure laws by reporting staff-time expenditures on the wrong disclosure forms. This action also arose out of a citizen complaint filed by SEIU. The \$1,200 in expenditures at issue went mostly to prepare for an appearance on TVW, the state's equivalent of C-SPAN, to discuss a state initiative that SEIU ginned up to prevent the Freedom Foundation from ever obtaining any lists of union members in order to inform them of their rights under the Harris decision.

“

“Every single day, we would have to file something. I’ve never seen that before. I’ve never been in a fight like this before.”

—Greg Overstreet

The Freedom Foundation wanted to speak because the union was deviously promoting the I-1501 initiative, aka the “Seniors and Vulnerable Individuals’ Safety and Financial Crimes Prevention Act.” Supposedly, that measure was designed to protect seniors and vulnerable individuals from identity theft and consumer fraud, including by prohibiting the release of any public records that may facilitate such crimes. It passed in November 2016, 71 percent to 29 percent. In April, the Freedom Foundation sued to prevent its implementation, saying it is overbroad and infringes on its free-speech rights.

THE STAKES, AND WHO UNDERSTANDS THEM

More than 25 states and the District of Columbia have variations on what are called anti-SLAPP statutes, which are meant to deter lawsuit harassment of the kind the Freedom Foundation is experiencing from the SEIU. A SLAPP—short for a “Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation”—is filed to intimidate and silence critics by burdening them with a costly legal defense until they abandon their criticism or opposition. Washington State’s anti-SLAPP statute was found unconstitutional by the state supreme court in 2015, however.



Credit: Joe Mabel. License: <https://goo.gl/6QCB7J>.

The SEIU deployed a new weapon in the attack when it convinced Washington State Attorney General Bob Ferguson to file lawsuits against the Freedom Foundation.

With all of the suits together, it is as if “they got a calendar out and figured out what would be due from us and when,” the Freedom Foundation’s Overstreet said. “Every single day, we would have to file something. I’ve never seen that before. I’ve never been in a fight like this before.”

Now that they’ve already incurred \$1.4 million in legal costs because of the attack, how do the Freedom Foundation’s McCabe and Overstreet budget for the future? “You don’t. You can’t,” says McCabe. “It’s impossible,” Overstreet adds, “absolutely impossible.”

“I don’t think they filed these suits to be successful in court,” McCabe says. “They did it to harass us and defund us.”

The stakes in this attack are not limited to the Freedom Foundation, or Washington State, or to the home healthcare workers who don’t want to be in the SEIU, or even to the legal precedents that may arise out of these cases. SEIU knows that the real stakes are much higher, namely, the size of its funding the Left across the United States. That’s why it’s attacking with such ferocity.

The Freedom Foundation’s fight with the SEIU in Washington State is national.

THE FREEDOM FOUNDATION GAINS GROUND

In response to the multiple lawsuits and appearance of coordinated legal attacks, the Freedom Foundation filed

a counterclaim against the SEIU for “abuse of process” in the *SEIU 775 v. Elbandagji* case. A rare “special discovery master” has been appointed in the matter, which remains at a trial court in King County. As part of the discovery process, the Foundation requested documents showing how the SEIU handled information about its members, among other things.

“

SEIU knows that the real stakes are much higher, namely, the size of its funding for the Left across the U.S.

The union refused, but on June 16, the discovery master—retired state Judge George A. Finkle—demanded that SEIU respond to the Foundation’s requests by June 30.

In his order, Finkle declared, “I do not find that SEIU has demonstrated that the Freedom Foundation has wrongfully communicated with SEIU members or used SEIU’s confidential information to harass SEIU members or employees. The Freedom Foundation is entitled to contact SEIU members, and prior restraint of its efforts to do so is impermissible.” Finkle then cited the Supreme Court’s *Harris* case.

Finkle’s order is just one step in the larger fight for workers’ freedoms across America. But it’s no small victory if you’re one of the Washingtonians who provides in-home health care to a loved one and have had your Medicaid payment cut involuntarily. And it’s no small victory to those, like the Freedom Foundation, trying to vindicate the rights of those workers.

Finally, it just may yield some very interesting discoveries about how unions plot to deny their own members’ rights. ■

Read previous articles from the Labor Watch series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/labor-watch/.



TEACHERS' UNIONS

Fighting the bad fight
By Michael Watson

Summary: When the Trump Administration nominated school choice advocate and philanthropist Betsy DeVos to serve as Secretary of Education, the backlash was immediate and extreme. And when Los Angeles's Democratic-leaning electorate went to the polls for school board elections this spring, election spending broke records. Both outcomes were driven by two of the most vicious partisans of the progressive Left, America's teachers unions—the National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—both political powerhouses with multimillion-dollar war chests available for fighting any changes to a failed public education status quo.

OVERVIEW

The Trump Administration and voters in Los Angeles, California, have very little in common: Hillary Clinton won over 72 percent of votes cast in L.A. County as part of the 2016 Presidential Election. However, both have battled the same foe in recent months: Teachers unions viciously opposed President Trump's nominee for Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, in large part because of DeVos's advocacy for school choice. At the same time, United Teachers Los Angeles, the teachers union representing L.A.'s teachers, spent millions trying to defend an anti-school-choice majority on the Los Angeles Unified School District board.

Teachers unions, like other government-employee unions, are a key player in the progressive infrastructure. The national teachers unions—National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers—are among the largest organizational political players in the United States. Both are heavily aligned with the Democratic Party.

But their agendas, which emphasize teacher job protections at the expense of student outcomes, have put them at odds with not only Republicans like DeVos, but also a sizable fraction of Democrats, most notably DeVos's predecessors in the Obama Administration, John King and Arne Duncan. This unusual alignment of opposites



The National Education Association is one of the largest political players in the United States and is heavily aligned with the Democratic Party.

led to a massive battle for control of the Los Angeles Unified School District's board, a fight in which teachers unions hoped to defend their 5-2 majority over reformers.

Surprisingly, the unions lost, even after spending close to \$2.3 million to hold the decisive seat. Nick Melvoin, backed by former L.A. Mayors Antonio Villaraigosa (a Democrat) and Richard Riordan (a Republican) and former Education Secretary Duncan, defeated the incumbent Steve Zimmer, who was backed by the United Teachers Los Angeles, a joint affiliate of the NEA and the AFT, and current left-wing Mayor Eric Garcetti (D).

The battles in Trump-era Washington and #Resistance-era Los Angeles over educational priorities are nothing new. For decades, teachers unions have been an obstacle to sound educational policy, whether through teacher strikes, internal corruption, or political programs. And while conservatives may bear the brunt of union political attacks, Democrats are showing that they won't settle for union-backed futility forever.

Michael Watson is a research analyst at Capital Research Center.

HISTORY

NEA was founded in 1857 as the National Teachers Association (NTA) when 43 educators met in Philadelphia in order to advocate for public education. It changed its name to the National Education Association in 1870. Zalmond Richards—founder of Union Academy in Washington, D.C., and a faculty member at Columbian College, now known as George Washington University—became NEA’s first president.

The American Federation of Teachers grew out of the early labor movement of the 1910s, officially organizing in 1916. After New Deal-era labor laws restricted management interference in labor union organizing, the AFT grew substantially and began to engage in collective bargaining throughout the cities of the industrial Northeastern United States.

In 1957, NEA won one of its largest victories: Wisconsin became the first state to formalize collective bargaining for public-sector unions. This controversial practice allows public-employee unions to negotiate with the very people they support for election to office, tilting the balance of power in negotiations greatly in the favor of unions.

By the 1960s, the AFT and its local unions were making substantial impacts on education policy. In 1968, the AFT local in New York City led by Albert Shanker staged three strikes that shuttered 85 percent of New York’s public schools in an attempt to reverse decisions to decentralize school control. The strikes succeeded despite strong objections from New York’s African-American communities.

“

Teachers unions, like other government-employee unions, are a key player in the progressive infrastructure.

In 1997, Shanker, suffering from the cancer that would eventually kill him, stepped down as AFT president in favor of Sandra Feldman, then president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). Feldman, a longtime Shanker colleague and ally, supported the controversial 1968 strike. As UFT leader, Feldman had faced criticism for insisting on prohibiting the NYC school system from reassigning successful teachers to failing schools. Feldman was also a close ally of New York mayor David Dinkins.



Credit: peoplesworld. License: <https://googl/SWYdpT>.

For decades, teachers unions have been an obstacle to sound educational policy, whether through teacher strikes, internal corruption, or political programs.

During her tenure at the national AFT, Feldman worked closely with Sen. Ted Kennedy on the No Child Left Behind Act and was a staunch opponent of school choice proposals offered by Republican-led legislatures in Michigan, Ohio, and other states.

In recent years, the two major teachers unions have explored merging into a single entity. The two unions came close to a merger accord in the late 1990s, but the effort ultimately failed—with the NEA’s independence vis-à-vis the AFL-CIO labor federation a major impediment to the proposed merger. This merger idea has refused to die, resurfacing in recent years. But the AFT’s close association with the AFL-CIO, along with the NEA’s emphasis on state-level power centers versus AFT’s strong local unions, remain persistent flies in the alphabet soup of unification. Meanwhile, five states have merged their AFT and NEA state-level branches: Florida, New York, North Dakota, Montana, and Minnesota.

POLICY POSITIONS

Nationally, AFT puts pressure on federal and state Education Departments to maintain a hands-off policy towards teacher job protections. The AFT is also a vocal critic of reforms to teacher tenure and expansions of charter schools, with aggressive public relations campaigns against tenure reform advocates and charter schools.

Teacher tenure—that is, the long-standing practice of protecting teachers from firing after as few as two years on the job—has become a highly controversial practice



Both unions ruthlessly opposed the nomination of school choice advocate Betsy DeVos as Secretary of Education. NEA president Lily Eskelsen Garcia characterized DeVos as “an actual danger to students.”

in recent years. This controversy has blossomed even while AFT—and the front groups it and its local unions fund—aggressively attacked tenure reformers, among whom is the well-known former journalist Campbell Brown. AFT charges that Brown was merely an ideological puppet of her husband, Republican advisor Dan Senor, earned the ire of center-left columnist Kristen Powers who vigorously condemned the suggestion as AFT smear tactics.

The AFT has also targeted charter schools and their advocates. The union presses heavily for what it calls “accountability” for these publicly funded but independently run schools: In practice, the AFT concept of accountability closely resembles an interdiction campaign against any new charters. Also, AFT funds groups like Center for Popular Democracy, who are at the heart of the “accountability narrative.” AFT President Randi Weingarten praised the defeat of a measure to prevent charter school expansion in Massachusetts in 2016; other AFT officials have gone farther. The president of AFT’s Georgia state division recently made an egregious comment, comparing Georgia’s high ranking in school choice with Chicago’s high ranking in murder rates!

Both unions ruthlessly opposed the nomination of school choice advocate Betsy DeVos as Secretary of Education in the Trump Administration. NEA president Lily Eskelsen Garcia called DeVos “more than unqualified” and characterized her as “an actual danger to students,” while AFT president Weingarten called DeVos the “most ideological, anti-public education nominee” since the Department of Education’s founding in the 1970s. Notably, the two Republican Senators who opposed DeVos

(Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Susan Collins of Maine) have received political contributions from the National Education Association.

However, despite blatant partisanship, teachers unions can be as hostile to Democratic school reformers as they are to Republicans: Arne Duncan and John King, who both served as Secretary of Education in the Obama Administration, faced vitriolic attacks from teachers unions for supporting teacher accountability programs involving the use of student test scores as a measurement of performance. The NEA’s Eskelsen Garcia went so far as to suggest that King was “destroying what it means to teach, what it means to learn” for backing accountability despite his predictably standard progressive positions in favor of increased school funding and expanded pre-Kindergarten programs.

Like the AFT, NEA has been a long time vocal opponent of school choice programs used to help low-income students afford schools outside of their traditional district. NEA claims that vouchers “reject students based on economic status, academic achievement, disability, or even gender.” NEA also claims that vouchers “divert essential resources from public schools to private and religious schools, while offering no real ‘choice’ for the overwhelming majority of students.” The NEA has also been critical of charter schools, asserting that they have “weak regulation and lax oversight” which should be of “major concern to students, parents, taxpayers, and communities.”

“*Teacher tenure is the long-standing practice of protecting teachers from firing after as few as two years on the job.*”

NEA has taken a stance on a wide variety of issues, both directly related to education and not: On the education side of things, it supports public child nutrition programs and the Common Core State Standards, and it opposes voucher legislation. Meanwhile, it officially supports a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants, Obamacare, opposed the nomination of Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court, and is in favor of barring people on the secret federal “no fly” list from being able to purchase guns, a particular piece of legislation that lacked proper due process protections. What do these issues have to do with education?

NEA is not alone in taking strong positions on wildly tangential issues. For example, the AFT has passed numerous pointless resolutions supporting a range of

disparate progressive policies, including divestment from fossil fuel energy companies, continued government funding of abortion provider Planned Parenthood, and opposition to the *Citizens United v. FEC* decision of the Supreme Court.

POLITICAL SPENDING

Of course, both major teachers unions are substantial funders of the Democratic Party and the progressive movement. The Center for Responsive Politics, which tracks contributions by organizations' employees and political action committees in federal elections, cites the NEA as the third-largest liberal organizational contributor and the AFT as the eighth-largest.

While federal law requires union contributions to federal candidates be derived from opt-in political action funds, both unions nonetheless retain substantial dues-funded political and policy programs: According to the unions' annual filings with the Department of Labor, the NEA spent over \$43 million on political activities and lobbying in its 2016 fiscal year while the AFT spent over \$28 million. These programs are principally (although not necessarily exclusively) funded by member dues.



The NEA supports a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants, Obamacare, and is in favor of barring people on the “no fly” list from purchasing guns.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, the AFT's political committees spent over \$92 million to help Democrats get elected to federal office, a figure supported by Federal Election Commission records from their inception through February 2017. Of AFT's total federal contributions, over 99 percent supported Democrats. Over the same period, the NEA spent nearly \$120 million on political contributions, with 97 percent supporting Democrats.

Needless to say, we find AFT and its local unions deeply enmeshed in state and local politics. The Center for Responsive Politics reports that AFT was the fifth-largest organization contributor to the Democratic Governors Association in the 2014 midterm election cycle, with \$2,725,000 in contributions. AFT local unions strongly supported the mayoral election campaigns of Democratic Party-aligned mayors—Martin Walsh of Boston, James

Kenney of Philadelphia, and Sylvester Turner of Houston—to name a few.

In Boston, the AFT found itself embroiled in controversy when it emerged (post-election) that the union had used a Super PAC to obscure nearly \$500,000 in independent expenditures supporting Walsh. AFT used a New Jersey-based Super PAC, One New Jersey, to fund almost \$500,000 in advertisements on Walsh's behalf by “One Boston,” another Super PAC. The AFT's Boston local union, the Boston Teachers Union, had supposedly held back from endorsing Walsh until Election Day. This obfuscation was heavily criticized on the usually liberal editorial page of the *Boston Globe*, which called AFT's maneuverings “the campaign-finance equivalent of avoiding taxes by channeling one's earnings through shell companies and stashing them in the Cayman Islands.” Ultimately, Massachusetts campaign finance regulators ordered One Boston to pay \$30,000 for campaign finance infractions. (Pursuant to the settlement, One Boston formally denies wrongdoing.)

Besides contributions to candidates, parties, party committees and candidates' committees, both teachers unions spend large sums on lobbying and contributing to non-party political organizations. The AFT is reportedly a member of the progressive donor clearinghouse Democracy Alliance, and the union has paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to this organization—this while John C. Stocks, the executive director of the NEA, serves as Democracy Alliance board chair.

In its 2016 fiscal year, the NEA disclosed over \$43 million in spending on political activities and lobbying on its Department of Labor Annual Report (or Form LM-2), not including contributions classified as “contributions, gifts, and grants.” Progressive groups that NEA disclosed funding include the voter engagement group America Votes (\$200,000), the liberal ballot measure research and advocacy group Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (\$380,000), Democracy Alliance-aligned data vendor Catalist LLC (\$627,543), left-wing opposition research and media outlet Center for Media and Democracy (\$140,000), and Democratic Super PAC For Our Future (\$3,000,000). The NEA also reported “contributions, gifts, and grants” to other progressive organizations, including Americans United for Change, Center for American Progress, Center for Popular Democracy, Committee on States, Corporate Action Network, and Media Matters for America.

In 2016, Department of Labor records show that the AFT spent over \$28 million on political expenditures and lobbying. Notable recipients of AFT contributions and

political spending include Democratic-aligned Super PACs Priorities USA Action (\$1 million), Emily's List (\$625,000), and American Bridge 21st Century (\$300,000); Working America, the AFL-CIO political mobilization project for non-unionized workers (\$329,000); the Clinton Foundation (\$250,000); progressive organizing groups including the Center for Popular Democracy (\$215,000); and liberal think tanks such as the State Innovation Exchange (\$200,000).

CURRENT LEADERSHIP

AFT's Randi Weingarten

Rhonda “Randi” Weingarten is the president of the American Federation of Teachers. Like her predecessors Shanker and Feldman, Weingarten had led New York City’s UFT, battling then-city mayors Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg over school reforms and contracts.

Weingarten gained a reputation in New York for her aggressive defense of teachers in the city’s infamous and absurd “rubber room” disciplinary process, which keeps sidelined teachers facing termination hearings on the city payroll, sometimes for years.

When she was elevated to the presidency of the national AFT, Weingarten was praised as a reform-minded union leader, given her rhetorical openness to changes to teacher compensation and assignments. In practice, however, Weingarten and the AFT continue to resist most reforms and opposed accountability regulations advanced by President Barack Obama’s Department of Education to implement the bipartisan Every Student Succeeds Act.

Unsurprisingly, Weingarten is a longtime confidant of 2016 Democratic Party presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and an early supporter: AFT backed Clinton early in the Democratic Party primaries, formally endorsing her in July 2015. The AFT also contributed \$500,000 to Clinton-associated nonprofits, including the Clinton Foundation and Clinton Global Initiative, during its 2016 fiscal year. In fact, commentators during the election crowned Weingarten Clinton’s Secretary of Education upon the former Secretary of State’s inevitable victory. It was not to be.

NEA's Lily Eskelsen Garcia

NEA’s longtime president Dennis Van Roekel retired in 2014 and was replaced by former schoolteacher, Democratic congressional candidate, and NEA officer Lily Eskelsen Garcia.

After ten years teaching, Garcia was elected President of the Utah Education Association. In 1998, she ran as a



Credit: Richard Hurd. License: <https://goo.gl/m8XwM>.

Weingarten gained a reputation in New York for her aggressive defense of teachers in the city’s infamous and absurd “rubber room” disciplinary process, which keeps teachers facing termination hearings on the city payroll, sometimes for years.

Democrat for Congress, losing to incumbent Merrill Cook with 45 percent of the vote—this despite Garcia’s raising of nearly \$1 million to support her bid.

Garcia also writes a blog called Lily’s Blackboard, an NEA-affiliated website, in which she comments on the latest education news. Recently, she has written on the necessity of making public school campuses “safe zones” for immigrant students at risk of deportation, and in favor of the federal government forcing local schools to open restrooms to members of the opposite sex.

CORRUPTION SCANDALS

The history of teachers’ unions cannot be told without detailing major incidents of corruption. Here are a few examples:

In the early 2000s, it emerged that Washington, D.C. Teachers Union president Barbara A. Bullock had embezzled \$5 million in funds from her AFT-affiliated organization. After an infamous spending spree during which Bullock purchased (among other superfluous luxuries) a \$40,000

fur coat and a sterling silver champagne cooler, and silver tableware worth over \$50,000, all from union funds, she pleaded guilty and was sentenced to nine years in jail. This term was reduced to five years in exchange for turning state's evidence against two of her aides. Bullock's testimony eventually convicted James Baxter II—former union treasurer, a progressive Independent candidate for the D.C. City Council, and an aide to controversial D.C. Mayor Marion Barry—and Gwendolyn M. Hemphill, Bullock's personal assistant and co-chair of Anthony Williams' successful bid for re-election as D.C. Mayor. Bullock's campaign of rampant theft went undetected for nearly ten years, hidden by a simple expedient: She refused to allow an audit of the WTU's books.

“

Washington, D.C. Teachers Union president Barbara A. Bullock purchased a \$40,000 fur coat, a sterling silver champagne cooler, and silver tableware worth over \$50,000, all from union funds.

In Miami-Dade County, Florida, the United Teachers of Dade, a joint affiliate of both NEA and AFT, was also rocked by a million-dollar corruption scandal in the early 2000s. Union president Pat Tornillo was caught stealing at least \$650,000 from the union treasury. He pleaded guilty to this crime and was sentenced to over two years' imprisonment. Among charges to the union credit card that drew suspicion were those made at the “Sinclair Intimacy

Institute” (which advertised “Better Relationships, Better Sex”), for luxury items from the Neiman Marcus catalog, and for bespoke clothing made by tailors as far afield as Hong Kong and Thailand.

And while Bullock, Bullock's cronies, and Tornillo did hard time, Auburn Teachers Association (another joint NEA/AFT affiliate) president Sally Jo Widmer escaped the hand of earthly justice through suicide. She killed herself in November 2012, just days before the union discovered hundreds of thousands of dollars in misappropriated funds. Police and union auditors found Widmer had stolen upwards of \$800,000, writing herself checks for cash from union accounts, allegedly to cover huge gambling losses.

CONCLUSION

Through obstinate opposition to school reform, partisan efforts to “elect their bosses,” and even naked corruption, teachers unions have provided fodder for ample distrust. Often hiding behind the valiant efforts of hardworking schoolteachers to do their jobs in an honorable and efficient manner, the AFT and NEA run massive political operations aiming to annihilate the Republicans and take over the Democratic Party, imposing a radically progressive national agenda. However, as recent events at the national level and even in blue localities have shown, education reformers, parent advocates, and other dedicated opponents of more-of-the-same have thus far ably resisted the unions' pressure. ■

Read previous articles from the Labor Watch series online at www.CapitalResearchCenter.org/category/labor-watch/.



THE LAURA AND JOHN ARNOLD FOUNDATION

How one philanthropist is waging war on bad science

By Martin Morse Wooster

Summary: According to Laura Arnold, the four most dangerous words are “a new study shows.” The government gives millions of dollars in grants for careless and unsystematic research. To empower scientific advancement and innovation, private philanthropy often proves more effective than government funding. One emerging leader in scientific funding is the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, a young foundation that empowers researchers to question existing evidence and challenge what we know about science.

Look at science today and you’ll find a venture full of holes—experiments that can’t be duplicated, results based on the flimsiest of evidence. (Andrew Ferguson discussed many of the problems with science today in his October 15, 2015, cover story for the *Weekly Standard*.)

I hadn’t heard of a foundation whose goal was to make science sounder, until I read an article from *Wired* (January 22, 2017) about the activities of the Laura and John Arnold Foundation in the field.

The piece, by Sam Apple, who teaches science writing at the University of Pennsylvania, is very fair and quite a surprising piece for *Wired* to run, given that this magazine has tilted sharply to the left under the editorship of Scott Dadich. From what I see, the Arnold Foundation is either conservative or a foundation that likes to fund causes conservatives like to support.

Until now, the cause the Arnold Foundation was most involved in was reforming abuses in government pensions, with particular emphasis on pensions in their home state of Texas. *Philanthropy* wrote about the foundation’s efforts in this area in 2014.

Among the recipients of Arnold Foundation pension reform grants are Brookings and the Pew Charitable Trusts.¹ *The Wall Street Journal* reported that as a consequence of this funding, union-backed groups yelled at Brookings and Pew about accepting Arnold Foundation money.

¹ Remember, Pew is a nonprofit and not a foundation so they can accept grants.



One emerging leader in scientific funding is the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, a young foundation that empowers researchers to question existing evidence and challenge what we know about science.

This leads me to suspect that the Arnold Foundation does what they do without loudly announcing their politics. According to Stein, the Arnolds say they are Democrats, and in 2013 the foundation donated \$10 million to keep Head Start running during a government shutdown. But perhaps they aren’t predictable—which makes them interesting.

FROM ENRON TO PHILANTHROPY

John Arnold made his money as an energy trader. His rise began at Enron, where he was so good at trading natural gas contracts that he was given an \$8 million bonus to stay on shortly before Enron went bankrupt in 2001. Arnold, who had nothing to do with the criminal part of Enron, then started Centaurus Energy, which traded futures contracts on natural gas. By 2007 he was a billionaire and by 2012 he could retire at age 38 and devote himself to philanthropy.

Enron may have had a “mine are bigger than yours” corporate culture, but Arnold was the quiet guy who was

Martin Morse Wooster is a senior fellow at Capital Research Center. A version of this article previously appeared at PhilanthropyDaily.com.

Credit: Arnold Foundation. License: <https://goo.gl/3ju9r>.



Arnold was the quiet guy who was excellent at his job when the swaggering guys were loudly plunging Enron into bankruptcy. He apparently doesn't talk much today, and Laura Arnold gives most of the interviews.

excellent at his job when the swaggering guys were loudly plunging Enron into bankruptcy. He apparently doesn't talk much today, and Laura Arnold gives most of the interviews.

THOUGHTFULLY INSPIRED RESEARCH

Stein shows that Arnold does two things more donors should do: he reads widely and lets his reading inspire his giving.

University of Virginia psychologist Brian Nosek was convinced that many psychological experiments could not be duplicated, including many that came up with controversial conclusions. He created the Reproducibility Project to see if this was true, and got a network of volunteers to begin studying experiments. But for two years his efforts at getting grants led to closed doors.

Then in 2012, Nosek got an email from the Arnold Foundation, in response to an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* about Nosek's work. The foundation has since given Nosek's organization, the Center for Open Science, \$15 million to encourage psychologists to make their experiments as open and transparent as possible so that they can be easily duplicated.

A second interest of the Arnold Foundation is nutrition research. In 2011, John Arnold heard this episode of the excellent podcast EconTalk, in which author Gary Taubes argued that there is little evidence that eating saturated fat

makes people fat. He decided to give multi-million dollar grants to the Nutrition Science Initiative, founded by Taubes and a team of medical doctors who are determined to discover the true causes of obesity. The Arnold Foundation has also supported the work of Nina Teicholz, whose book *The Big Fat Surprise* also argues that saturated fat is not the primary cause of obesity.

Finally, the Arnold Foundation supports the work of British journalist Dr. Ben Goldacre who came to fame as the "bad science" columnist for *The Guardian*. Dr. Goldacre is using his Arnold Foundation grants to "build an open, searchable database that will link all publicly available information on every clinical trial in the world." Dr. Goldacre believes that drug companies foist worthless drugs on the public via clinical trials that aren't publicly available, and throwing sunshine on the process of drug development will make consumers better informed about the drugs they need (or don't need).

Why this emphasis on science? Remember, the Arnolds are in their early forties. They had originally thought about giving based on traditional, double-blind methods of scientific evaluation. But their extensive reading convinced them that these methods might not be effective because the foundations of science were themselves flawed. So they thought fixing science might be a worthier goal for their philanthropy.

“

This leads me to suspect that the Arnold Foundation does what they do without loudly announcing their politics.

Stein interviewed Stuart Buck, the Arnold Foundation's vice-president for research integrity. "In everything they do," Buck said, the Arnolds "want to be evidence driven." But if the nature of scientific evidence is called into question, Buck said, "you start to think: what is evidence? What do we actually know?" Answering these questions is the subject of the Arnold Foundation's research program.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INDEPENDENT SCIENTIFIC PHILANTHROPY

The scientifically focused priorities of the Arnold Foundation expose the limitations of the current funding landscape. Research dollars largely flow directly from the federal government—agencies like the

National Institutes of Health (NIH) or the National Science Foundation (NSF) review and approve grant proposals from institutes and individual researchers. In 2010, CRC's president, Scott Walter, documented historical examples of how the current nature of federal funding stifles scientific research. Walter warned that the government's general risk aversion and pattern of favoring ever-older researchers leads to less scientific innovation. Walter resurrects a decades-old quotation on the problem from historian and sociologist Robert Nisbet, who worried about near-monopolistic government funding and its hostility to innovation in his book *Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary*:

Probably more scientists have been adversely affected—estopped altogether from a given line of research, guided, shaped, propelled, decelerated, forced into nonpublication, secrecy, turned down for funds or promotion, and barred from access to laboratory space or archives—because of defiance of conventional wisdom in America since World War II...than existed in the whole of the world in Galileo's day.

More recently, Karl Zinsmeister, vice president of publications at the Philanthropy Roundtable, made a case for the private funding of science. Because of the government's cautious grantmaking philosophy, the lengthy awards process, and the bias towards funding already-successful research and researchers, entire areas of inquiry are neglected—or they would be, without the influx of nimble, risk-taking private philanthropy. Few know that the research behind the genetic revolution was funded by the entrepreneur who originated warehouse superstores. Without his seed money, the decoding of the human genome—and the \$800 billion of economic value generated by the growth of that industry—would never have happened.

“
The Arnolds thought fixing science might be a worthier goal for their philanthropy.

Or consider the impact of Lucille Markey, who set up a trust to support biomedical careers and distributed more than \$500 million between the mid-1980s and 1997. According to Zinsmeister,

The Markey funding was tremendously flexible. Preliminary investigations and risky science of the sort that give NIH or NSF funders lockjaw? No



Credit: NIH. License: <https://goo.gl/p8Mc3w>.

Research dollars largely flow directly from the federal government—agencies like the National Institutes of Health (NIH) or the National Science Foundation (NSF) review and approve grant proposals from institutes and individual researchers.

problem. Spend money recruiting new scientists or graduate students whose exact roles will be determined in the future? Can do. Build or equip a lab before the exact experiments that will unfold there have been plotted? Sure. Shift money from one year to another, or one project to another, to fuel the most promising avenues as they open up? Yup. Dramatically change research directions in response to unexpected experimental results? You'd be stupid not to! Yet almost none of those things can be done with government funding.

Each point and every example shows why private philanthropy can be a superior means of funding scientific studies. Zinsmeister concluded:

Even with the billions of dollars gushing out of federal science funders, philanthropy remains crucial to scientific progress. MIT professor Fiona Murray recently studied the 50 universities that top the list for science-research spending in the U.S. and found that private donors now provide about 30 percent of the total research funding at these places. The sheer volume of private dollars is consequential. What's even more important about science philanthropy, though, is the way it is structured: adaptable, tolerant of risk, patient, willing to fund the infrastructure that scientific discoveries require, open to unproven innovators.

THE FUTURE OF FUNDING

In light of “bad science” and underachieving government involvement, the necessity for quality scientific research is urgent, and philanthropy must be recognized as a legitimate avenue for producing crucial progress in science.



The government’s cautious grantmaking philosophy causes entire areas of inquiry to be neglected—or they would be, without the influx of risk-taking private philanthropy.

While it’s clear scientific innovation cannot rely only on government funding, private foundations can also face some of the same problems—rigidly administering grants only to established researchers. Foundations can easily fall

into patterns of groupthink, choosing projects that are just like everyone else’s. That’s what makes a grantmaking organization with the mission of the Arnold Foundation such an important contributor in this space.

The Arnold Foundation deserves credit for taking a path no other foundation is taking. We should pay careful attention to what they are doing. ■

Read previous articles from the Doing Good series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/doing-good/.



BOOK EXCERPT: TEAM JIHAD

How sharia-supremacists collaborate with leftists to destroy the United States

By Matthew Vadum

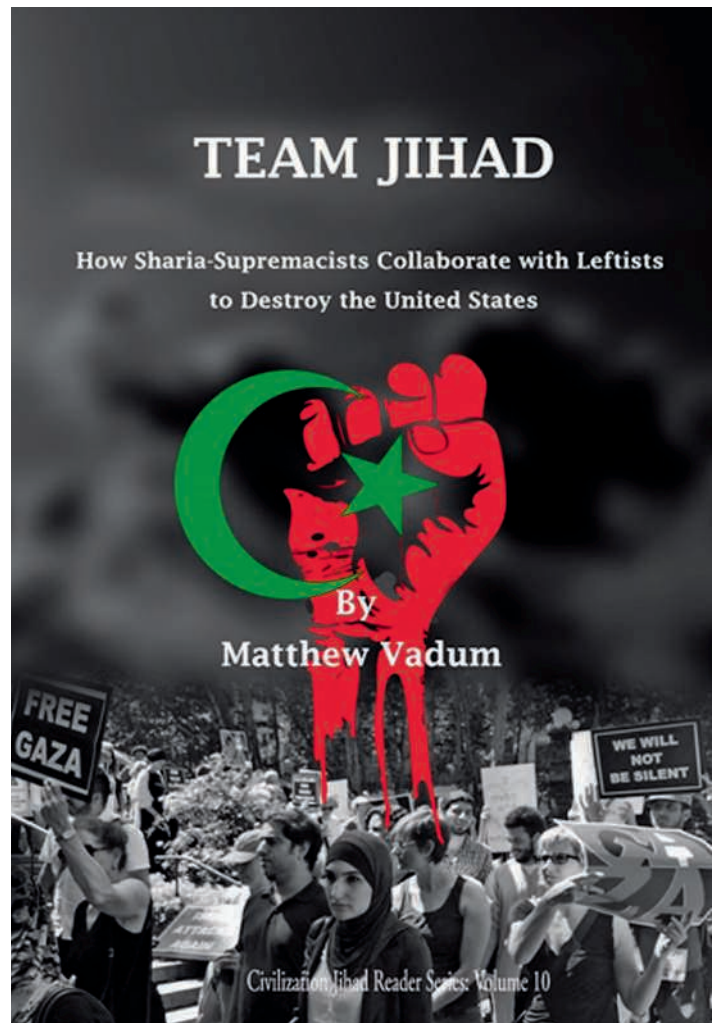
Summary: In late June of this year, the Center for Security Policy published *Team Jihad: How sharia-supremacists collaborate with leftists to destroy the United States*, the latest release by CRC's senior vice president Matthew Vadum. In it, he explores how the far Left—by advancing cultural Marxism throughout America's institutions—has empowered radical Islamists. Vadum shows how Islam's Sharia doctrine is reinforced in academia, faith communities, government, law enforcement, and the media. What follows is an excerpt of that publication, available at [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com).

The American Left has entered into an alliance of convenience with Islamic terrorists aimed at taking down their mutual enemy: the United States of America. Their psychological warfare is waged against the American people. Their primary tools are name-calling, intimidation, and the suppression of facts. Their wealthy foundations fund nonprofit groups and campaigns focused on transforming our culture to make it Islam-friendly while weakening our resolve to fight Islamic supremacism and the terrorism it deploys against us.

Those who follow the activism of American leftists appreciate their extraordinary, instinctive knack for siding with America's enemies. They live by the ancient aphorism that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. They aligned with the monstrous Soviet Union in 1917. Many of them stayed loyal to that foreign power even after mass murderer Josef Stalin's crimes came to light following his death in 1953.

They cheered on Communist Cuba in 1962 when it threatened to inflict mass casualties on the United States using nuclear weapons. To this day, no amount of evidence of the Cuban regime's brutal, exhaustively documented persecution of churchgoers, artists, and homosexuals dissuades them.

They supported the totalitarian regime in Communist Vietnam in the 1960s and 70s even while the U.S. waged war



The American Left has entered into an alliance of convenience with Islamic terrorists aimed at taking down their mutual enemy: the United States of America. Team Jihad is available at [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com).

Matthew Vadum is senior vice president at Capital Research Center. Team Jihad can be downloaded at bit.ly/2uhR2S8. To watch the full press conference of the book's launch, go to CRC's YouTube channel.

against it. Throughout the 1980s, the Left agitated for nuclear disarmament by the United States—but not the Soviet Union. They stood by fanciful, apocalyptic theories like “nuclear winter” which held that nuclear war would lead inevitably to human extinction. After the Islamic terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, they predictably blamed America for supposedly provoking the Muslim world into murdering Americans.

“

After the Islamic terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Left predictably blamed America for supposedly provoking the Muslim world into murdering Americans.

The very next evening Van Jones, a self-described “communist” who is now a CNN contributor and a fixture of the Democratic Party establishment, participated in a vigil “mourning the victims of U.S. imperialism around the world.” In his view, the 3,000 people who died during the 9/11 attacks were innocent victims of an unjust system that victimizes everyone. Determined to think the worst about their fellow Americans, Jones, like many leftists, forecasted a violent racist backlash within the country. “Anti-Arab hostility is already reaching a fever pitch as pundits and common people alike rush to judgment that an Arab group is responsible for this tragedy,” he said. The backlash never came.

Very few on the Left are willing to acknowledge the truth about Islam and its relentless, bloodthirsty drive for expansion and conquest. President Obama was blasé about jihadis around the world working to rebuild the Caliphate, an Islamic state governed by Islamic Law (sharia) that functions as the highest state authority in Islam. Islamic State’s atrocities, while horrifying to most people, “are typical of a functioning Caliphate,” Daniel Greenfield writes. The “execution of Muslims who do not submit to the Caliph, the ethnic cleansing and sexual slavery of non-Muslims are not aberrations. They are normal behavior for a Caliphate.” These acts “that we find so shocking were widely practiced in even the most civilized parts of the Muslim world around the time that the Statue of Liberty was being dedicated in New York City.”

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which comprises 56 Muslim countries plus the Palestinian



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://goo.gl/WH7CF7>.

Van Jones, a self-described “communist,” now a CNN contributor and a fixture of the Democratic Party establishment, participated in a vigil “mourning the victims of U.S. imperialism around the world.”

Authority, claims to represent all Muslims everywhere. President Obama apparently agreed with this claim. The OIC “scored a diplomatic coup when the Obama Administration agreed to host a three-day Istanbul Process conference” in 2011. “In doing so, the United States gave the OIC the political legitimacy it has been seeking to globalize its initiative to ban criticism of Islam.”

HOW THE LEFT MAKES EXCUSES FOR ISLAM

Left-wingers don’t normally come out and explicitly say they hate the United States, its political institutions, and American culture. They attack America, emphasizing its shortcomings past and present. At the same time, they go to great lengths to make excuses for Islam and for Muslim supremacist behavior. They agonize over why so many Muslims hate us. They blame the Christian Crusades that began way back in the 11th century for breeding Muslim animosity toward the Western world. They blame the U.S. alliance with Israel and the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia for sparking resentment. They blame the U.S. for being too powerful and too wealthy. But leftists sometimes show their hand, speaking with unaccustomed candor about why they sympathize with Islamic supremacism, jihad, and sharia.



“Only a coalition of Marxists and Islamists can destroy the U.S.,” said Carlos the Jackal. Bringing down the oppressive, imperialist United States is “the highest goal of humanity.”

Now imprisoned in France, Venezuelan arch-terrorist Ilyich Ramirez Sanchez, a.k.a. Carlos the Jackal, is both a Marxist and a Muslim convert who hates America. “Only a coalition of Marxists and Islamists can destroy the U.S.,” he counsels. Bringing down the oppressive, imperialist United States is “the highest goal of humanity.”

And only Islam can generate enough “volunteers” for suicide attacks against the United States, Carlos asserts in his book, *Revolutionary Islam*. He argues for “the destruction of the United States through an orchestrated and persistent campaign of terror.” He claims terrorism is “the cleanest and most efficient form of warfare” because the killing of civilians undermines the enemy’s morale and ultimately saves the lives of many by bringing the conflict to a swift end.

Carlos claims to have advised Osama bin Laden to forge alliances with “all guerrilla, terrorist, and other revolutionary groups throughout the world, regardless of their religious or ideological beliefs.”

Al-Qa’eda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri agrees jihadists should be willing to work with anybody, urging followers to seek allies among “any movement that opposes America,” even atheists.

Not surprisingly, unrepentant small-c communist terrorist Bill Ayers supports HAMAS.

And now a case study from 2016. The mangled bodies of Americans were still warm on the blood-stained nightclub floor when the Left launched a propaganda campaign to protect the totalitarian ideology of the Muslim terrorist who methodically slaughtered so many innocents.

The jihadist bloodbath was carried out by Omar Mir Siddique Mateen at Pulse, a crowded gay dance club in Orlando, Fla. At least 49 victims died and 53 more were wounded in what has been called the worst mass shooting in American history and the worst terrorist attack on American soil since 9/11. Although it was obvious almost from the beginning of the attack on June 12, 2016, to anyone following the news that this was an act of Islamic terrorism, the Left tried to seize control of the post-attack narrative. Veteran liberal journalist Tom Brokaw editorialized the real problem was guns not Islam. “Everything seems to get settled by a gun for whatever reasons,” he said. The lies, knee-jerk reactions, and red herrings of TV talking heads like Brokaw were repeated over and over again by left-wingers all over the Internet and their allies in the media echo chamber.

“

The jihadist bloodbath at Pulse has been called the worst mass shooting in American history and the worst terrorist attack on American soil since 9/11.

Soon after the attack, Obama shrugged, claiming it was too early to know “the precise motivations of the killer.” New York’s leftist mayor, Bill de Blasio, blamed firearms, lamenting that “we have lost precious lives to the gun.” Salon writer Amanda Marcotte blamed conservatives, Christians, and “the cult of toxic masculinity.” Edward Snowden enabler and gay activist Glenn Greenwald nonsensically huffed it was unfair to blame Islam because a “2015 Pew Poll found that U.S. Muslims were more accepting of homosexuality than evangelical Christians, Mormons and Jehovah’s Witnesses.”

LEFT-WING ISLAMIC POLITICIANS: OBAMA, ELLISON, CARSON

Leftists sympathetic to Islam hold elective office at the national level in the U.S. and do not view left-wing radicalism and Islam as in conflict.

Moreover, jihadists and their supporters lie and don't feel bad about it. Muslims embrace *taqiyya*, a doctrine that allows Muslims to lie to non-Muslims "above and beyond the context of 'self-preservation.'" As Dr. Sami Mukaram, a former Islamic studies professor who wrote two dozen books on Islam, explains:

Taqiyya is of fundamental importance in Islam. Practically every Islamic sect agrees to it and practices it... We can go so far as to say that the practice of taqiyya is mainstream in Islam, and that those few sects not practicing it diverge from the mainstream... Taqiyya is very prevalent in Islamic politics, especially in the modern era.

American politicians also practice taqiyya.

The policies of President Obama, probably America's most radically left-wing chief executive ever, arguably did much to advance the jihadist cause. For 20 years Obama worshipped at Jeremiah Wright's hateful, unabashedly anti-American Trinity United Church of Christ, a hotbed of black liberation theology. In October 1995, Obama participated in Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March.

Obama backed the now-deposed Muslim Brotherhood president of Egypt, Mohamed Morsi, and with then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's help, set fire to the Middle East and North Africa during the catastrophic so-called Arab Spring of 2011. Obama and Clinton sat idly by on the eleventh anniversary of 9/11 and allowed Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three other Americans to be killed by jihadists in Benghazi, Libya. Whenever there is a jihadist attack in the U.S., as for example the Fort Hood massacre of 2009, Obama tended to downplay any connection to Islamic inspiration, refusing to label it Islamic terrorism. In 2014, Obama swapped U.S. Army Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl, a deserter alleged to have collaborated with the Taliban, for five senior Taliban operatives. In nuclear talks with the Iranian regime, he concluded a deal whose terms, unless reversed, will help the world's greatest state sponsor of terrorism to obtain nuclear weapons.

Muslim lawmakers Reps. Keith Ellison (D-Minn.) and Andre Carson (D-Ind.) are both practicing Muslims who frequently accuse the United States of bigotry toward Muslims. Both men have extensive links with Muslim Brotherhood front groups in the U.S.

Ellison is co-chairman of the far-left Congressional Progressive Caucus and a longtime supporter of the Nation of Islam, and who may actually have been

a member of the radical group. He blames America for Muslim terrorism. In 2009, he said that "violent extremism with a Muslim veneer is essentially a post-colonial reaction" and a manifestation of a "political environment rooted in grievance." Ellison is a regular at events sponsored by HAMAS-doing-business-as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), two groups the Justice Department identified as co-conspirators in the Holy Land Foundation HAMAS terror funding trial.

Jihadis and their leftist allies use the country's open democratic system to wage war against America, conducting psychological operations against the public to raise doubts about who the nation's enemies really are. The news media and those left-wing think tanks known as universities are in their pocket. Whenever a politician names the Islamic supremacist enemy, that person is subjected to a barrage of hate from politically correct elitists who stand ready to smear on a moment's notice. In the U.S., U.K., Canada and elsewhere, the media-academic-entertainment complex largely sanitizes Islam, presenting it as a benign, misunderstood religion. Knowing next to nothing about Islamic doctrine, history, law or scripture, they lash out at those who document the medieval brutality of sharia, the oppression of women, and the persecution of homosexuals under Islamic Law.

“*I can't imagine a Christian Gitmo. I cannot imagine a Jewish Guantanamo. It exists because of Islamophobia.*”
—Michael Ratner

To them, "Islamophobia" explains why the U.S. incarcerates Muslim terrorists.

"I am convinced that Gitmo and other places like Gitmo only exist because its detainees are Muslims," former Center for Constitutional Rights president Michael Ratner said in 2012. "I can't imagine a Christian Gitmo. I cannot imagine a Jewish Guantanamo. It exists because of Islamophobia."

Language is a critical tool in the arsenal of those who wish to fundamentally transform the United States of America. The Left has long understood this, swatting down dissent by intimidation, smears, and name-calling.

Criticism of Muslims for virtually any reason is often met with hysterical shrieks and verbal abuse from affective left-wingers perpetually on hair-trigger outrage alert. So “Islamophobia,” a deliberately vague conceptual vessel into which meaning may be poured, is wielded as a cudgel against those who oppose Islamic supremacism, sharia, and jihad as well as those who are merely skeptical of them. The idea is to eventually make it as difficult and uncomfortable as possible to criticize the belief system founded by Muhammad in the 7th century after the birth of Christ. Americans’ respect for civil rights and political correctness are weapons of infiltration used by our Islamic supremacist enemies. Just like our Soviet Communist enemies during the Cold War, Muslims are using Americans’ goodness and their sense of fair play, including an aversion to being accused of racial stereotyping, against America. Islam is not a race, of course, but smears don’t necessarily have to make sense.

FOUNDATIONS AND NONPROFITS ON THE ANTI-ISLAMOPHOBIA BANDWAGON

The idea that there is such a thing as Islamophobia aids America’s enemies. Abdur-Rahman Muhammad, a former member of the International Institute for Islamic Thought (IIIT), now rejects the idea of Islamophobia, calling it “a thought-terminating cliché conceived...for the purpose of beating down critics.”

But the left-wing philanthropic establishment maintains that Islamophobia is an evil related to discrimination and xenophobia.

According to George Soros’s Open Society Foundations, Islamophobia is a term that is wielded by the righteous:

...alongside structural discrimination affecting Muslims, in order to counter the discriminatory effects of an ideology of cultural superiority similar to racism in which attitudes, behaviors, and policies reject, exclude, vilify, or deny equal treatment to Muslims. Such discrimination is based on real or perceived Muslim background; or racial, ethnic and national origins which are associated with this background.

Right after 9/11, the far-left Soros-funded Tides Foundation created a “9/11 Fund” to advocate a “peaceful national response” to the Islamic terrorist attacks.

Foundation grants find their way to nonprofits that aim to silence critics of Islam by painting them as bigoted and ignorant, unaware of the “real” peaceful religion founded by Muhammad.

Major foundation-funded nonprofit sources of anti-Islamophobia propaganda include: Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law (BCJ); Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR); Center for American Progress (CAP); Institute for Policy Studies (IPS); Media Matters for America (MMfA); and Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC).

Here, according to IRS filings, are foundations that fund those six groups:

- Arca Foundation (BCJ \$125,000 since 2001, IPS \$689,200 since 2001, MMfA \$150,000 since 2004);
- Bauman Family Foundation (BCJ \$1,482,500 since 2006, MMfA since \$450,000 since 2005);
- Carnegie Corp. of New York (CAP \$4.5 million since 2009, MMfA \$50,000 since 2008);
- Foundation to Promote Open Society (CAP \$5.7 million since 2010, IPS \$725,000 since 2009, MMfA \$1.27 million since 2010);
- John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (CAP \$229,575 since 2006, IPS \$820,900 since 1999);
- Open Society Institute (CAP \$4.35 million since 2005, IPS \$75,000 since 2002);
- Rockefeller Family Fund Inc. (BCJ \$231,000 since 2004, CAP \$202,500 since 2003);
- Rockefeller Foundation (CAP \$6.32 million since 2009, IPS \$100,015 since 2003);
- Sandler Foundation (CAP \$42.7 million since 2004, MMfA \$400,000 since 2005);
- Schumann Center for Media and Democracy (BCJ \$250,000 since 1999, IPS \$233,060 since 1998, MMfA \$600,000 since 2005);

- Silicon Valley Community Foundation (CAIR \$90,000 since 2008, CAP \$190,000 since 2007, MMfA \$1.11 million since 2008, SPLC \$60,000 since 2005);
- Tides Foundation (BCJ \$2.98 million since 2002, CAIR \$5,000 since 2002, IPS \$1.25 million since 2002, MMfA \$3.79 million since 2004, SPLC \$103,000 since 2000).

FOCUS ON THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

The far-left Southern Poverty Law Center relentlessly promotes the Big Lie, wildly popular in the media, that conservative Americans are racists and the real threat to the nation rather than sharia-promoting Islamic supremacists.

Its tainted research and wild accusations have found their way into Department of Homeland Security bulletins. The group claims the principal enemies of the American people are President Donald Trump, conservatives, and the Tea Party movement. This leftist attack machine has an astounding one third of a billion dollars (\$338 million) in assets. It characterizes all opposition to immigration and open borders as symptomatic of hate.

“

The SPLC’s Teaching Tolerance site whitewashes Islam, painting it as just another monotheistic religion, like Judaism and Christianity.

Following the jihad massacre at a gay club in Orlando in June 2016, the group played an integral role in the Left’s propaganda push aimed at taking the focus away from gay-hating Islam and finding creative ways to blame conservatives and Republicans for the slaughter. Two days after Orlando, as a sea of rainbow flags rivaling those that washed over Facebook and Twitter following the Supreme Court’s pro-same sex marriage ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges* swept over social media, SPLC’s David

Dinielli complained politicians weren’t doing enough to characterize the attack as an assault on the gay community. The SPLC also draws up lesson plans for teachers from pre-school/Kindergarten to the 12th grade. Its Teaching Tolerance site (Tolerance.org) whitewashes Islam, painting it as just another monotheistic religion, like Judaism and Christianity. One webpage states:

“Islam totally prohibits terrorism—there is no text that endorses that,” says Ameena Jandali of the Islamic Networks Group. “Killing an innocent person is considered to be the greatest crime after worshipping another god.”

Tax-exempt so-called civil rights organizations focusing on Muslim Americans abound. The most influential and high-profile by far is CAIR, which is an agent of hostile foreign powers, including those in the business of exporting sharia and terrorism to our shores. CAIR was founded by Nihad Awad, Omar Ahmad, and Rafeeq Jaber. The three men, evidence shows, had close links to the Islamic Association for Palestine, which was created by senior HAMAS operative Mousa Abu Marzook to serve as the public relations and recruitment arm of HAMAS in the U.S. CAIR opened an office in the nation’s capital with a grant from the Marzook-founded Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, a charity shuttered in 2001 for collecting money to support HAMAS. In 2004, Marzook was indicted on racketeering charges related to his pro-HAMAS activities. Ahmad was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial.

Sabotaging law enforcement and counter-terrorism programs is just part of CAIR’s repertoire. CAIR has urged Muslims not to cooperate with the FBI. It applauded CIA director John Brennan and President Obama for following its recommendations by avoiding the word *Islamist*. “Islamist is a stealth slur” and “coded language.”

“Contending that American Muslims are the victims of wholesale repression, CAIR has provided sensitivity training to police departments across the United States, instructing law officers in the art of dealing with Muslims respectfully[,]” according to DiscoverTheNetworks. CAIR and its allies have spent years lobbying the FBI to give Muslims special leeway in investigations. As of March 2012, FBI agents weren’t allowed to treat individuals associated with terrorist groups automatically as potential threats to the nation.



In late June of this year, the Center for Security Policy published Team Jihad: How sharia-supremacists collaborate with leftists to destroy the United States, the latest release by CRC's senior vice president Matthew Vadum.

CAIR'S EXTENSIVE POLITICAL CONNECTIONS

CAIR has enjoyed remarkable success in infiltrating the American political establishment. Indeed, the Obama administration went out of its way to aid CAIR repeatedly and has admitted to “hundreds” of closed-door meetings with the group.

CAIR undermines measures aimed at keeping jihadists out of the U.S. For example, in May 2016, it raised the alarm about legislation that would make it tougher for immigrants and visitors from terrorism-producing Muslim countries such as Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Syria, Sudan, and Yemen to get visas for the U.S. CAIR has scores of left-wing federal lawmakers in its pocket.

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) has referred to CAIR’s “long and distinguished history.” He wants to stop the FBI from profiling Muslim suspects in terror investigations and criminalize “disrespect” of Islam. Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash.) praised CAIR, saying “I always enjoy being with people like CAIR because you inspire me really to keep fighting...and I think that’s why this kind of organization is so important for people to understand that you have a right to say whatever you believe. And I think you ought to exercise that. That’s being a real American.” Even talking about Muslim terrorism is “really frightening” to her Muslim constituents, Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.) complained. Republican “words are terrorizing” Americans, said the longtime CAIR ally.

CAIR allies in the U.S. House, House Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), Rep. Don Beyer (D-Va.), Reps. Joe

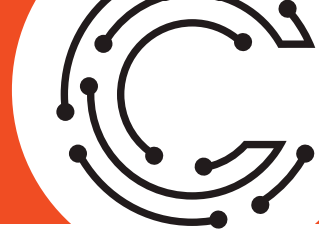
Crowley (D-N.Y.), Ellison and Carson, Betty McCollum (D-Minn.), and Schakowsky all denounced then-candidate Donald Trump’s proposal to temporarily ban travel from terrorism-prone Muslim-majority countries. They backed CAIR-approved legislation to “prohibit the use of religious litmus tests as a means to ban immigrants, refugees, and international visitors trying to enter the United States.”

Muslims and the Left work together to do things that serve the cause of the Global Jihad Movement. They use nonprofit groups and well-heeled foundations to weaken our will to resist, creating an alternate reality in which world temperatures supposedly rising at an imperceptibly slow rate pose more of a threat to mankind than militants flying commercial jetliners into skyscrapers or jihadis in suits working to undermine the Constitution.

Most Americans have no idea how closely figures in both major political parties, government, academia, Hollywood, grassroots activism, and other fields are working to make America safe for Islam and sharia. It’s hard to blame people who aren’t news or politics junkies for living in these bubbles. The Left continues to maintain a death grip over the flow of information in this country.

With few exceptions, those in power are either blind to the threat that Islamic supremacism, jihad, and sharia pose to the United States and Western Civilization, indifferent to it, or willing accomplices to the Islamization process already in progress. And that’s exactly the way those planning the next 9/11 like it. ■

Read previous Special Reports from CRC online at capitalresearch.org/category/special-report/



FREE MARKET HEALTH CARE REFORM

Go big on liberty or go home!

By David Hogberg

Summary: *Republicans' health care overhaul is a huge disappointment so far. The House-approved bill repeals Obamacare taxes but leaves that system largely in place. But a glimmer of hope can be glimpsed in the House bill's expansion of consumer choice.*

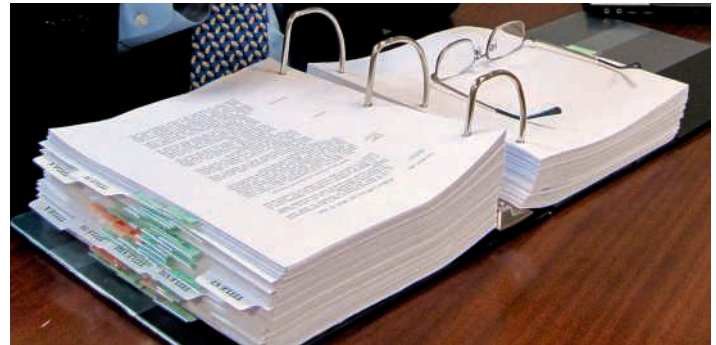
To say that House Republicans “screwed the pooch” when they tried to repeal Obamacare in March this year is to put it mildly.

Without consulting the House Republican Conference, Speaker of the House Paul Ryan (R-WI) released the text of the proposed “American Health Care Act” (AHCA), which he claimed would repeal Obamacare, lower the cost of coverage, and let consumers decide which health insurance best fits their needs.

But the only parts of the Affordable Care Act (a.k.a. Obamacare) repealed are Obamacare’s taxes, the individual mandate, the premium subsidies, and a few regulations. The AHCA leaves in place Obamacare’s “protections” for pre-existing conditions, the benefit mandates and the prohibition on annual and lifetime coverage limits. When challenged, Republicans who supported the AHCA defend it by saying that rules governing the budget “reconciliation” process would not allow them to repeal most of Obamacare.

The first part of this analysis examines why the AHCA would not have lowered costs or increased choice; debunks the nonsensical claim about the reconciliation process, and explains how the AHCA would only worsen one of Obamacare’s biggest problems—the notorious “death spiral.”

Clearly, conservatives and libertarians must push for a bill that greatly expands liberty in health care. The next part of this study examines how health care reform could achieve this goal by properly defining insurance; giving an additional option to the employer-base health insurance market; and allowing people more options with refundable tax credits and large HSAs.



To say that House Republicans “screwed the pooch” when they tried to repeal Obamacare in March this year is to put it mildly.

Finally, this analysis proposes a solution to the politically difficult question of pre-existing conditions. And it explains why refundable tax credits are not the “entitlement problem” that many conservatives and libertarians think they are.

THE AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ACT (AHCA)

1. Insincerity

Speaker Ryan criticized Obamacare because it “was based on a one-size-fits-all approach that put bureaucrats in Washington in charge of your health care. The law led to higher costs, fewer choices, and less access to the care people need.” What Republicans proposed, he said, “will decrease premiums and expand and enhance health care options so Americans can find a plan that’s right for them. We also make sure Americans can save and spend their health care dollars the way they want and need—not the way Washington prescribes.”

David Hogberg was previously a senior fellow for health care policy at the National Center for Public Policy Research and a senior research associate at the Capital Research Center. He earned a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Iowa and is the author of Medicare’s Victims: How the U.S. Government’s Largest Health Care Program Harms Patients and Impairs Physicians, available at Amazon.com.

Credit: toomuchonline.org. License: <https://goo.gl/n4DQGp>.

He added that the Republican plan “returns control of health care from Washington back to the states and restores the free market so Americans can access the quality, affordable health care options that are tailored to their needs.”



Clearly, conservatives and libertarians must push for a bill that greatly expands liberty in health care.

Seeing that plan released in the future is something to look forward to. It would be a huge improvement over the AHCA which kept the Obamacare provision that requires all plans to cover ten “essential benefits.” This means that if a consumer wants to use the tax credits that the AHCA offers for the purchase of insurance, the insurance he or she buys must cover all of those benefits. Yet forcing insurers to cover benefits increases the cost of insurance. Were Ryan serious about lowering costs, he’d eliminate this provision and let the customers decide which benefits are “essential.”

Essential benefits must of course include maternity care. But what if our consumer is someone who has no immediate plans to start a family, and would like to forego the maternity benefit in favor of a lower premium? Here, Speaker Ryan decided that paying a higher premium to get an unwanted benefit best fits consumer needs.

Suppose a consumer would like to buy a policy that has an annual and/or a lifetime dollar limit since it would be cheaper than policies without those limits? Well, the GOP Leadership decided that such a plan would be inappropriate and kept the ban on annual and lifetime limits as specified in Obamacare.

The AHCA also maintained the Obamacare requirement that policies cover preventative services without cost-sharing. This provision is based on one of the biggest myths in health care: the ultimate canard that preventive services always save the health care system money. An exhaustive article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* dispelled that myth about a decade ago. NEJM researchers found that only 20 percent of preventive care saves money, while the remaining 80 percent actually increases health care costs. Having a policy without preventive benefits or at least one that required cost-

sharing would seem to be another way to lower the cost of health insurance. Apparently Washington thinks that such a cost-saving policy won’t fit consumer needs either.

The process set in motion when government forces consumers to purchase health insurance with specific benefits has already played out at the state level. Insurance regulation has become a pork barrel for interest groups that lobby on behalf of people with a particular disease and interest groups that lobby on behalf of physicians, nurses, and others who treat those diseases. Such interest groups have been very successful over the last four decades in persuading state legislatures to mandate insurance coverage for the treatment for particular illnesses. Prior to 1970, state legislatures had only enacted a handful of such mandates; by 2012, they had enacted over 2,200. Each mandate adds between about 1 percent to upwards of 10 percent to the cost of health insurance.

Fact: Unless Congress repeals Obamacare’s benefit mandates, Americans will be stuck with higher health insurance premiums.

2. Reconciliation Excuse

One argument that some Republicans used as to why the AHCA did not discard bigger chunks of Obamacare has to do with the legislative process itself: In the Senate, 60 votes are needed to end the debate on a piece of legislation before final approval can happen. However, a simple majority of only 51 votes are required on legislation dealing with either tax revenue or spending. This process is known as “budget reconciliation.”

Speaker Ryan claimed that budget reconciliation was the reason AHCA did not repeal Obamacare provisions such as the pre-existing condition protections or the ten essential benefits. And indeed, that “reconciliation rules sharply restrict the provisions that Republicans might otherwise include when revamping the health care system.”

According to this line of reasoning, the parts of Obamacare pertaining to pre-existing conditions and insurance benefits are described as “regulations,” not revenue or spending matters. And as such, they do not fall under the reconciliation process.

First: This attitude is nothing more than an elaborate excuse. Regulations can be passed or repealed under reconciliation as long as they are interconnected with revenue and spending matters in a bill—something that is very likely in the case of Obamacare. Indeed, it appeared that Speaker Ryan and other Republicans were acting on this interpretation of reconciliation since the AHCA would

have repealed Obamacare regulations pertaining to age rating and actuarial value of insurance!

Second: Even if reconciliation prohibited repealing regulations, Republicans might have been creative about their use of the reconciliation process. For example, senators could add an amendment forbidding insurers from selling insurance that lacked the pre-existing condition “protections” and the ten essential benefits unless they agreed to pay an annual tax of \$1. Such a policy would have an immediate budgetary impact, and it would give insurers the freedom to sell and consumers the freedom to purchase a much wider array of insurance options.

Some have argued that using the reconciliation process in this “creative” manner would set a precedent Democrats might exploit the next time they come to power. In other words, once Republicans stretch the reconciliation process, Democrats could use it to add more government to health care system—or even impose a single-payer system. The fatal flaw in this kind of *quid-pro-quo* is best demonstrated by the consideration that Democrats will use reconciliation in such a peremptory way *regardless* of what Republicans do in the current Congress. Democrats have already used the reconciliation process in novel ways to pass Obamacare. Anyone who thinks they won’t further push the envelope the next time they are in control of the national legislature has got another thing coming!

Speaker Ryan used the reconciliation process as an excuse to leave in place those parts of Obamacare that drive up the cost of insurance. There is no excuse for this kind of sloppy lawmaking.

3. Death Spiral on Hyper-Drive

Had it been enacted, the AHCA would have repealed the onerous individual mandate and the premium subsidies that are part of Obamacare. However, it did not repeal the prohibition against insurance companies denying coverage to people with pre-existing conditions. Instead, it would have permitted insurers to impose a 30 percent surcharge on top of regular premiums on anyone whose coverage has lapsed for at least 63 days, or who has not had coverage of any kind for that period or longer. An individual or family would only have to pay the surcharge in the first year of coverage after which they would pay the regular premiums.

The problem with the AHCA *wasn’t* that it forced insurers to take people with pre-existing conditions as long as they paid a surcharge. Like Obamacare, it forced insurers to take people with pre-existing conditions, *period*. Obamacare took what had been known as the “individual health insurance market” and forced it onto the heavily regulated Potemkin

markets called “exchanges.” These exchanges are now collapsing, and when that collapse runs its course at best a few insurers will remain standing. The AHCA, however, threatened to eliminate the individual insurance market entirely.

Basic economics dictate that a stable “insurance pool” must have a sufficient number of young and healthy people to “cross-subsidize” the older and sicker. Unfortunately, Obamacare gives the young and healthy an incentive to forego insurance on the exchanges because: (1) exchange regulations cause the price of insurance to be higher for young and healthy people than what they would pay in a free market; and (2) even if a young person gets seriously ill, he or she can still buy a policy because Obamacare does not permit insurers to turn away people with pre-existing conditions. When not enough young people, generally ages 18 to 34, sign up for insurance, the “insurance pool” is heavily comprised of people who are older and sicker. This causes insurance prices to rise so that insurers can cover their costs. As premiums go up, even more young and healthy people drop out, prices increase again, and the process repeats itself. Eventually, many insurers lose money, causing them to leave the market. This results in less competition which also causes premiums to rise. The term for this process is “death spiral.” (For a good history on this, see the late Conrad Meier’s “Destroying Insurance Markets.”)

“
Speaker Ryan used the reconciliation process to retain those parts of Obamacare that drive up the cost of insurance—there is no excuse for this kind of sloppy lawmaking.

Obamacare tried to combat the death spiral with its controversial individual mandate and with premium subsidies. The individual mandate required everyone, including the young and healthy, to purchase insurance or pay a fine. Subsidies applied to premiums helped people pay for insurance on the exchanges and were based on income status. The lower a person’s income, the bigger the subsidy he would get. Since younger people tend to have lower incomes, presumably this would encourage enough of them to sign up on the exchanges.

In this case, both carrot and stick, incentives and disincentives proved insufficient.



When challenged, Republicans who supported the AHCA defend it by saying that rules governing the budget “reconciliation” process would not allow them to repeal most of Obamacare.

For the insurance pools on the exchanges to be stable, the Obama administration estimated that 38 percent of the sign-ups needed to be in the 18-to-34 age range. However, people in that age range never amounted to more than 28 percent of the people who participated in the exchanges. Recently Mark Bertolini, CEO of insurance giant Aetna, said that the exchanges are in a “death spiral” and for good reason. Going into 2017, the average premium for policies on the exchanges increased a hefty 25 percent. Many of the major insurers—Aetna, BlueCross BlueShield, Humana, UnitedHealth—have either left most of the exchanges or are planning to next year. From 2016 to 2017, the number of people eligible for the exchanges who had access to only one insurer jumped from 2 percent to 17 percent.

The simple truth is that for health insurance markets to function properly, insurers must either be able to deny coverage to those with pre-existing coverage or take pre-existing conditions into account when underwriting premiums.

However, had the AHCA prevailed, it would have kicked the downward spiral to terminal velocity. First, in the year 2020 it would have replaced the premium subsidies with refundable tax credits based on age, with \$2,000 for those up to age 29 and \$2,500 for those ages 30 to 39. (For a full breakdown of the tax credits, see Table 1.) Right now, that’s probably more than most people ages 18 to 34 on exchanges receive in premium subsidies. But premium subsidies are based, in part, on the cost of premiums. If premiums keep rising by an average of 25 percent annually between now and 2020, it’s possible that the AHCA’s tax credits will be less than the premium subsidies. For now, though, let’s call it a wash.

Much worse, the AHCA would have replaced Obamacare’s attempt to provide short-term incentive to purchase an

insurance policy with a long-term incentive not to buy one. Notoriously, if a consumer doesn’t purchase insurance under Obamacare, the Internal Revenue Service deducts a penalty from any tax rebate he or she might receive. The AHCA would replace that penalty with a 30 percent surcharge that insurers can charge anyone who has allowed their coverage to lapse for more than 63 days.

In retrospect, it appears that younger people didn’t care much about the individual mandate. Thus, if younger people don’t care about a tax penalty that occurs annually, why would they care about a 30 percent surcharge that they likely won’t face for decades? About 80 percent of health care expenses occur after the age of 40, so most 18-to-34 year olds can put off worrying about that surcharge for quite some time.

Indeed, thanks to Speaker Paul Ryan and other congressional Republicans, it would be much easier to determine the optimal time to purchase health coverage. Here’s an example: A consumer in his late 50s has knee problems that are going to require a joint replacement. Let’s say that a policy on the individual market would normally cost this consumer about \$10,000 annually. But, since he hasn’t had insurance in a while, the insurance company will add a surcharge, costing him \$13,000 annually. If the knee replacement costs about \$15,000, then he gets a pretty good deal. And if he has a much more expensive illness—kidney failure, heart disease, cancer—then that surcharge is a bargain.

“

In the case of Obamacare, both carrot and stick, incentives and disincentives proved insufficient.

Finally, would insurers even deign to offer coverage in the individual market under these conditions? They are already dropping out of a market where the federal government is trying, albeit feebly, to provide incentives for people to purchase insurance before they get sick. Under the AHCA, people would have big incentives to avoid coverage until they are very sick. It’s hard to see how insurers make any money in that kind of market.

For insurance markets to work, people need to purchase insurance before they develop a serious illness, and the only way to make that work is to allow insurers to deny coverage to those with pre-existing conditions. Certainly, any bill that replaces Obamacare will need to provide assistance to

people with pre-existing conditions, especially those who have bought insurance on the exchanges.

That said, before the unveiling of the AHCA it had been difficult to see how the individual insurance market could be made any worse than it is under Obamacare. Unfortunately, Speaker Ryan came close to doing just that.

GREATER HEALTH CARE FREEDOM

1. Defining Insurance

The AHCA offered tax credits for the purchase of health insurance. The tax credit is refundable, meaning that an individual can claim even if he has no income tax liability. The amount a person receives increases with age, as displayed in Table 1.

TABLE 1: AHCA TAX CREDITS	
Age	Amount
0-29	\$2,000
30-39	\$2,500
40-49	\$3,000
50-59	\$3,500
60 and older	\$4,000

A family could receive tax credits for its five oldest members up to \$14,000.

If the AHCA or any other health care legislation is going to offer tax credits for the purchase of health insurance, then that legislation must first define health insurance. Obviously, we don't want people using their tax credit to buy things that are not health insurance or health care related. Nor do we want insurance to be defined the way both Obamacare and the AHCA define it—as a set of mandated benefits.

That said, it's possible to define health insurance in a manner that gives individuals and families greater freedom in deciding what kind of health insurance they want to buy. Health care reform legislation *should* define health insurance in the following way: The sole requirement for using the tax credit to buy health insurance must stipulate that the purchased insurance provide at least a minimal level of coverage. Legislation could ensure that an individual or family would qualify for a tax credit as long as the insurance

they purchased covered at least, say, \$100,000 worth of medical expenses annually.

Of course, this figure isn't set in stone. Congress might set the limit at \$250,000 or more, anything to ease its passage into law. The point is that defining the tax credit according to certain minimal coverage limits would make insurance very affordable; it would also be the only restriction on the tax credit. So if a consumer only wants to purchase insurance that covers one of the ten essential benefits, he or she is free to do so. Also, if a consumer wants to purchase a policy that provides more than \$250,000 coverage, he or she is free to do so. If a family wants a policy that covers benefits other than the ten essential ones, they would be free to buy one.

Finally, the definition of health insurance should be expanded so that people can buy "continuity policies." A continuity policy was an innovation introduced by UnitedHealth in 2008. The passage of Obamacare rendered such policies obsolete. A consumer who purchases a continuity policy is literally buying the "right to buy an individual health policy at some point in the future even if you become sick." In the case of UnitedHealth, a consumer would "pay 20 percent each month of the current premium on an individual policy to reserve the right to be insured under the plan at some point in the future." Continuity policies could be relevant again in a post-Obamacare health care system; individuals and families should be able to use tax credits to buy them.

2. More Freedom for Health Savings Accounts

The AHCA would have expanded Health Savings Accounts (HSAs). Under the AHCA, an individual could put up to \$6,550 and a family \$13,100 annually tax free in an HSA if they have a qualified high-deductible plan; people age 55 and older can make a catch-up contribution of \$1,000; people can withdraw money from their HSAs tax free to pay for qualified medical expenses, including over-the-counter medications; and the tax penalty for withdrawals for non-medical expenses is reduced from 20 percent to 10 percent. However, this reduction should be greater.

Republicans ought to pursue "large HSAs" in future legislation. Large HSAs would permit individuals and families to put much greater amounts into an HSA tax free. As one example, the Cato Institute's Michael Cannon has suggested that individuals be allowed to deposit \$8,000 and families \$16,000 tax-free in a large HSA. Instead of the requirement under current law that an HSA must be coupled with a high-deductible health plan, people would be able to use the money in their large HSAs to pay for the premiums of any type of health insurance they wanted.

Large HSAs should also be used to change the employer-based health insurance system. Under the current tax system, employees get an unlimited tax exemption for health insurance if they purchase it through their employer. As such, employees have a big incentive to purchase too much health insurance since every extra dollar of income is taxed at the marginal rate while every dollar of health insurance is tax-free. This often causes health insurance prices to grow at a rate much higher than inflation. Unfortunately, the AHCA does not change the employer-based health insurance system.



Republicans should pursue “large HSAs” in future legislation, allowing individuals and families to put much greater amounts into an HSA tax free.

Health care reform must allow employers to switch from the current tax system to one of large HSAs. Giving employers the option of switching over to a system of large HSAs would enable them to get out of the health insurance business; it would also empower their employees to purchase health insurance that best fits their needs. In this way, insurance would be made much more portable: An employee could keep his insurance regardless of whether he found a new employer. The large HSAs would be portable as well. The employee would keep whatever an employer put into the large HSA. The employee could also ask his new employer to fund his large HSA. Under health care reform, the employer should have this option even if all of his other employees are still insured under the current employer-based system.

Large HSAs provide employers with many advantages over the current system. First, it allows employers to rid themselves of having to shop for health insurance whenever premiums increase too much. With large HSAs employers would know from year to year roughly how much they would be spending on their employees' health benefits. Finally, in recent years, employers have moved away from “defined benefit” pensions toward “defined contribution” pensions.¹⁵ Given these advantages, it is likely that most employers would, over time, drop the current employer-based health insurance system and adopt large HSAs instead.

Indeed, giving employers the options of large HSAs would go a long way to solving the inefficiencies of the current system. Employees would no longer have an incentive to put every extra dollar of compensation into health insurance since the

large HSAs would limit how much of their compensation could be tax free for health insurance purposes. With a fixed amount of dollars available for health insurance, employees would be more careful when purchasing health insurance and when consuming health care resources. This, in turn, will drive down health care costs.

3. Savings Instead of Insurance

Under the original version of the AHCA, an individual or family purchasing insurance that cost less than the tax credit would be able to deposit the savings in an HSA. As it became clear that the AHCA was not going to pass the House of Representatives, the GOP leadership removed the provision. The money would instead be diverted to increasing tax credits for lower-income elderly people, something that appealed to Republican moderates in the House.

This change was myopic. Letting consumers save any excess tax credit incentivizes them to shop around for the best deal. By making that change, Republicans all but eliminated the AHCA's ability to lower health insurance costs. For example, consider a 28-year-old man who wants to purchase a policy for \$100 per month that has a \$1,000 annual deductible. Prior to the change, he would have incentive to shop around for such a policy; he would be able to use \$1,200 of the tax credit to pay for the premiums and then put the remaining \$800 in an HSA to help pay for the deductible. But with the change, he can no longer put the remaining \$800 in an HSA—and so has far more incentive to purchase an insurance policy that costs close to \$2,000 annually.

Health care reform should also permit individuals and families to save the tax credits or the money in their large HSAs without using them to purchase insurance. For some people at certain times in their lives, saving money for future health care expenses may make more sense than buying insurance. All should have the liberty to make that choice.

Allowing tax credits and large HSAs makes practical sense, especially for those living in states with over-regulated health insurance markets. In such states health insurance is exorbitantly expensive. Try being a 31-year-old single female living near Albany, New York, on a moderate income: The AHCA offers people ages 30 to 39 a \$2,500 refundable tax credit. This would cover only 60 percent of the cost of an insurance policy for a 30-something living in Albany.

Letting people save money in their large HSAs or save their tax credits without purchasing insurance serves two purposes in states that are over-regulated. First, it enables people who find health insurance to be too expensive another means of paying for health care. While the amounts that can be saved with HSAs or tax credits will not pay for



About 80 percent of health care expenses occur after the age of 40, so most 18-to-34 year olds can put off worrying about that surcharge for quite some time.

catastrophic health care costs, they will often be enough to pay for small or intermediate costs. Second, people saving money in their HSAs or saving their tax credits instead of buying insurance, is an indicator that a state's health insurance market is over-regulated. As the number of people doing this grows, it will be harder and harder for state politicians to ignore the trend; consequently they will feel pressure to deregulate their markets. And if politicians put on their blinders, insurance companies will certainly notice it. Desiring the business of the uninsured, insurance companies will lobby state politicians for deregulation.

PRE-EXISTING CONDITIONS

A high-risk pool is defined as a government-funded program that insures people who, because of a pre-existing condition, cannot obtain insurance on the private market. The State Innovation Grants and Stability Program, one of the better provisions of the AHCA would have provided grants to state governments for the purpose of setting up high-risk pools and helped them find other ways to help people with pre-existing conditions. The states are the laboratories of democracy. If a viable solution exists to the problem of pre-existing conditions, then letting states experiment is the best way to find it.

However, in the murky period between the repealing of Obamacare and the first state-sponsored high-risk pool, many people on the exchanges are at risk of losing their insurance. Republicans can fix this. If they do, they will put Democrats on the spot.

Republicans would be wise to include a federal high-risk pool in their health care reform proposal for people who currently obtain coverage through the exchanges. This

high-risk pool would give every individual and family a benefits package exactly like the one that they have under their current insurer on the exchange. So, for example, if a man living in Maryland had a CareFirst BlueChoice HMO HSA Bronze plan through the Maryland exchange, he would receive a set of benefits on the federal high-risk pool exactly like the one he has with CareFirst. People would pay the same premium to the high-risk pool they currently pay on the exchanges.

Private insurers should be paid a fee to manage the benefits of the people in the high-risk pool. Thus, the man who had a CareFirst policy in Maryland would have CareFirst manage his benefits. The federal government and the premiums he paid would fund his care; his expenses would no longer be the liability of CareFirst. But by letting CareFirst manage his benefits, he would, in effect, have the same insurance policy on the high-risk pool that he had on the exchange.

This would help people who lose exchange coverage because of the repeal of Obamacare as well as people who lose exchange coverage because of the death spiral. For example, health insurer Humana announced in February that it would be leaving the exchanges in early 2018. Humana currently covers 150,000 people on the exchanges. If these people opted to move to a federal high-risk pool, and Humana opted to manage their benefits, then they would effectively keep their insurance.



A federal high-risk pool would blunt criticism leveled at Republicans that an Obamacare repeal would leave many millions without insurance.

A federal high-risk pool would blunt criticism leveled at Republicans that an Obamacare repeal would leave many millions without insurance. The GOP could then go on the attack. Republicans could point to the federal high-risk pool as a solution for the people who are losing coverage because Humana and other insurers are leaving the exchanges. They could then pressure Democrats to support the high-risk pool proposal: "Do you want our citizens on the exchanges to lose their insurance?" Republicans might ask. How would the Democrats answer?



Basic economics dictate that a stable “insurance pool” must have a sufficient number of young and healthy people to “cross-subsidize” the older and sicker.

TAX CREDITS: AN ENTITLEMENT PROBLEM?

Some conservatives and libertarians view using refundable tax credits for the purchase of insurance as an “entitlement”—that is, a financial benefit provided by taxpayers to which a recipient is legally entitled as long as he or she meets the eligibility requirements. One of the most prominent purveyors of this argument is Michael Cannon of the libertarian Cato Institute. He argues that, like other entitlements, politicians will expand tax credits over time:

...like Obamacare, the...tax credits [in Republican health care plans] are “refundable.” So if you have no income-tax liability, or if it’s just less than the amount of the credit, you get a check from the government... Obamacare’s “tax credits” are roughly 80 percent government spending. With a Republican imprimatur on such spending, Obamacare supporters could probably increase spending more than they could under Obamacare itself.

Undoubtedly politicians like to increase spending as a way to win votes. Over the decades, Congress has expanded entitlements such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid to please a variety of constituents. So, in theory

at least, politicians would do the same with tax credits for health insurance.

But does this theory hold water? To test it, look at the five tax credits that people most often claim on their tax returns: They are the earned income tax credit, the child tax credit, the retirement saving contribution credit, the education tax credit, and the foreign tax credit. The education tax credit is actually two different credits, the American opportunity and the lifetime learning credit (the Internal Revenue Service data lumps them together as “education credit”). For an explanation of each of these tax credits, see the Appendix below.

TABLE 2: EXPANSIONS OF MOST POPULAR U.S. TAX CREDITS

Tax Credit	Year Enacted	Expansions
Earned Income	1975	5 (1988, '90, '93, 2001, '10)
Child	1997	2 (2001, '03)
Retirement Savings Contribution	2001	0
Education American Opportunity	2009	0
Lifetime Learning	1997	1 (2001)
Foreign	1918	0

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac, various editions

As Table 2 shows, politicians do not often expand tax credits. The earned income tax credit has been expanded five times, about once every eight years since it was enacted, more than any other credit. The earned income tax credit appears to be the exception: None of the other tax credits have been expanded more than twice, and three have never been expanded at all. The earned-income tax credit has probably been expanded for two reasons that do not apply to the tax credits in the AHCA. First, the earned-income tax credit was not indexed for inflation in roughly the first decade of its existence, something that increased pressure to expand it. Once it was indexed for inflation, pressure continued to increase it because wages often grow faster than inflation, thus further reducing its value for recipients. By contrast, the AHCA tax credit is indexed for inflation and will be used to purchase insurance, not boost incomes.

While it is possible that the tax credit in the AHCA will prove too tempting to members of Congress, evidence suggests that it will not be a prime candidate for expansion in the years to come.

CONCLUSION

On May 4, 2017, the House of Representatives passed a substantially modified version of the AHCA, 217 to 213. The new version would let states opt out of most Obamacare mandates. It would keep the pre-existing condition “protections,” but states would have the option of allowing insurers to underwrite premiums based on a person’s health status. In such states health insurance markets would function properly.

Additionally, a consumer who buys an insurance policy that costs less than the amount of the tax credit would get to deposit the difference in an HSA.

The new AHCA does not define insurance as a dollar amount of coverage. It cannot do so as it keeps the Obamacare prohibition on annual and lifetime limits. However, it does leave the definition of insurance up to state governments. Thus, states can experiment with different definitions of what constitutes insurance. Over time policymakers will gather evidence of what types of definitions work best.

Unfortunately, the new AHCA leaves the employer-based tax exclusion in place. And it doesn’t give people the options of saving their tax credits instead of buying insurance. Still, it represents a substantial improvement over the original AHCA, one that will allow states with failing Obamacare exchanges to experiment with free markets.

The new AHCA is a big step—but only a step—in the right direction. Improvements to the health care system lacking in the bill are policies we can reintroduce at a later time. But for now, conservatives and libertarians should support the bill and work to ensure that the Senate does not water it down.

GLOSSARY

Earned Income Tax Credit: A refundable tax credit for low- to moderate-income working individuals and couples, particularly those with children. The amount of EITC benefit depends on a recipient’s income and number of children.

Child Tax Credit: A refundable; provides a credit of up to \$1,000 per child under age 17.

Retirement Savings Contribution Credit: A non-refundable tax credit worth up to \$1,000 for an individual and \$2,000 for couples filing their taxes jointly that is available to lower income individuals and households that contribute to qualified retirement savings plans, such as a 401(k).

American Opportunity Tax Credit: A credit for qualified education expenses paid for an eligible student for the first four years of higher education. The maxim available is \$2,500 annually per eligible student.

Lifetime Learning Tax Credit: A credit that is equal to 20 percent of the first \$10,000 of qualified tuition and related expenses paid by the taxpayer.

Foreign Tax Credit: A non-refundable tax credit for income taxes paid to a foreign government as a result of foreign income tax withholdings.

(For complete references, see the online version of this article at bit.ly/2uOQuDC.) ■

Read previous Special Reports from CRC online at <https://capitalresearch.org/category/special-report/>.

ORGANIZATION TRENDS



THE BEST DEFENSE IS A GOOD OFFENSE

The risky national security policy of the Union of Concerned Scientists
By Clint Carson

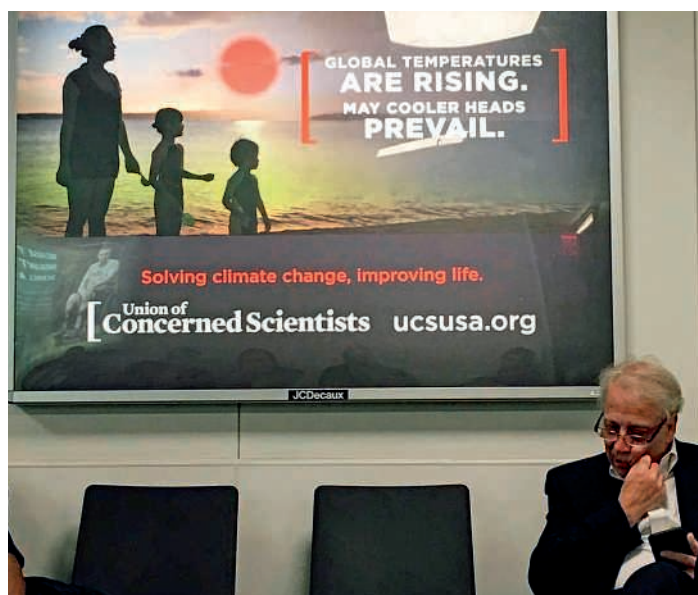
Summary: Founded at the end of the radical 1960s, the well-funded Union of Concerned Scientists has consistently tried to undermine U.S. national security by twisting scholarship to suit its left-wing objectives. It presumes America is always in the wrong and uses scare-mongering and rank propaganda to promote its agenda. As North Korea attempts to flex its nuclear muscles, UCS will work to influence the public about the appropriate U.S. response.

When President Ronald Reagan launched his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in the 1980s, liberals dismissed the idea as “Star Wars” and maligned efforts to defend the United States from nuclear attack by the Soviet Union.

But even before this relentless campaign, progressive and anti-military scientists and engineers, originating at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the radical 1960s, formed an organization called the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), which would turn “research...toward the solution of pressing environmental and social problems” and away from what would become today’s missile defense programs and any U.S. nuclear weapons development.

As investigative reporter Kevin Mooney observed in the April 2013 *Green Watch*,

UCS issued a report by astronomer and TV personality Carl Sagan and several MIT professors that purported to prove missile defense was unworkable and would destabilize the world, perhaps leading to nuclear war. (In 1984, Sagan and other prominent scientists-activists signed a newspaper ad describing President Reagan as the “performing star” of “Far-Rightists.” Reagan, they said, was a man whose campaign exuded “a scent of fascism in the air.”) UCS characterized missile defense as a virtual impossibility, akin to “hitting a bullet with a bullet.” SDI “is another wonder weapon,” declared Dr. Henry Kendall of UCS, and “its benefits are an illusion. It should be stopped.”



Progressive and anti-military scientists and engineers, originating at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the radical 1960s, formed an organization called the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS).

As noted by the late Robert Jastrow, a Dartmouth University physics professor who also worked for NASA, UCS and other SDI opponents misled the press and the public by greatly exaggerating the number of orbiting satellites that would be required for such a defense. The UCS report concluded that 2,400 satellites would be required for a ballistic-missile defense. But later in congressional testimony, a representative lowered the organization’s estimate to 800. The revisions didn’t stop there. The group later reduced the figure further to 300, then to 162. Oops. UCS’s claims that the available computing power would be insufficient to support a missile defense system proved equally foolish. Computers today are roughly half a million

Clint Carson is a pseudonym for a Washington, D.C.-area consultant and lobbyist on defense issues.

times as powerful as those that existed at the time of President Reagan's proposal, a development that was entirely foreseeable.

Since Reagan first advanced his bold vision to deter the Soviets through a muscular nuclear arsenal combined with SDI, the U.S. missile defense program has been steadily whittled down: First in the 1990s by the Clinton administration, which cut its funding and limited its scope, and further since by the Obama administration's nuclear and strategic defense policies, which seamlessly tracked those of UCS.

“

In 1984, Carl Sagan and other prominent scientist-activists signed a newspaper ad describing President Reagan as the “performing star” of “Far-Rightists.”

ORIGINS

Since 1969, UCS has been at the forefront of the politicization of science, even though it is not actually an organization of scientists. Its “founding document” called “for scientific research to be directed away from military technologies and toward solving pressing environmental and social problems.” UCS expressed its “determined opposition to ill-advised and hazardous projects such as the ABM system” (ABM standing for “anti-ballistic missile” system, a precursor to today’s missile defense programs) and “the enlargement of our nuclear arsenal.”

The founding document originated as a “Faculty Statement written at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in December 1968,” which portrays the United States alone as a threat to humanity. In so doing it pointedly ignores the threat that the communist regime in the Soviet Union posed during the Cold War to the U.S. and its free allies in the West.

The document, adopted by UCS in 1969, reeks of anti-Americanism, pontificating that scientists have become a threat to the planet and need to be made to move in a different direction. “Misuse of scientific and technical knowledge presents a major threat to the existence of

mankind,” the document laments. “Through its actions in Vietnam our government has shaken our confidence in its ability to make wise and humane decisions. There is also disquieting evidence of an intention to enlarge further our immense destructive capability.”

The scientific community’s response “to these developments has been hopelessly fragmented.” These supposedly bad policies conceived by just a few actors have been opposed by “a handful of eminent men who have tried but largely failed to stem the tide from within the government.” Cueing the violins, the document states that the “concerned majority has been on the sidelines and ineffective. We feel that it is no longer possible to remain uninvolved.”

With this as its intellectual foundation, the Union of Concerned Scientists has sallied forth over the years waving the flag of social justice. To those on the Left, everything must be politicized. Science must serve left-wing utopianism.

UCS embraces what is today called “publicly engaged scholarship”—sometimes shortened to “public scholarship”—which is an academic euphemism for scholarship undertaken in aid of left-wing causes.

A notable advocate for publicly engaged scholarship is a radical project called Imagining America (IA), which grew out of a 1999 conference in the Clinton White House. Presently headquartered at Syracuse University, it plans to relocate to the University of California at Davis in mid-2017.

As Matthew Vadum wrote in the May 2014 *Foundation Watch*,

According to IA, publicly engaged scholarship “is defined by partnerships of university knowledge and resources with those of the public and private sectors to enrich scholarship, research, creative activity, and public knowledge; enhance curriculum, teaching and learning; prepare educated, engaged citizens; strengthen democratic values and civic responsibility; address and help solve critical social problems; and contribute to the public good.”

Such so-called scholarship, Vadum notes, “means politicized scholarship. It is not about the free pursuit of knowledge for knowledge’s sake. In other words, going to college is not about the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and truth. It’s about righting the perceived wrongs of the past and changing society in furtherance of so-called social justice.”

In a nutshell, that is what the Union of Concerned Scientists is all about. This perverse, anti-science thinking has driven the organization’s activities throughout its existence.

Not surprisingly, UCS pushes politicized pseudo-science.

Turning again to Mooney:

In the decades since the SDI proposal, UCS continued its war on science. Notably, in 1992, the group put together a “World Scientists’ Warning to Humanity” that combined doomsday demagoguery with pseudoscience. In apocalyptic terms, the statement invoked such then-fashionable dangers to humanity as ozone depletion, acid rain, and the “irreversible loss of species, which by 2100 may reach one-third of all species now living.” In a manner reminiscent of the eugenicists of the 1920s and ’30s, the UCS statement declared that we face “unrestrained population growth” and warned that, “[i]f we are to halt the destruction of our environment, we must accept limits to that growth.” The UCS added that humanity’s survival depends on foreign aid, “sexual equality,” and abortion.

“We the undersigned, senior members of the world’s scientific community, hereby warn all humanity of what lies ahead.” The UCS “Warning to Humanity” statement is comical, worthy of publication in the satirical newspaper *The Onion*, but it’s real.

UCS is a fraud. Anyone willing to pay \$35 can join. One person even signed up his dog to drive the point home. The dog, Kenji, received a welcome kit and a signed letter from the president of UCS. And yet the media often quotes this group of laymen and activists as if it were a soberly scientific, rather than a political, organization.

“

In 1992, UCS put together a “World Scientists’ Warning to Humanity” that combined doomsday demagoguery with pseudoscience.

Over the ensuing decades, UCS has agitated and propagandized for American disarmament. Think of someone telling you that it makes no sense, is provocative even, to take steps to defend yourself from potential harm. Or insure yourself against it. These are, at their core, the arguments of the UCS against missile defense and



Credit: USGOV/ public domain.
License: <https://googl/t/mq3>.

In 1984, Sagan and other prominent scientists-activists described President Reagan as the “performing star” of “Far-Rightists,” whose campaign exuded “a scent of fascism in the air.”

the possession of strategic nuclear weapons as a deterrent to possible attack. Emanating from this specious logic, the group’s current priority issues are “nuclear no-first use”; an end to “hair-trigger alert for the U.S. nuclear arsenal” (a position taken by both President Obama and Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein in her Sept. 15, 2016 appearance on “Special Report,” Fox News Channel); the futility of missile defense; and multi- and unilateral nuclear arms reduction.

“NO FIRST USE”

The principle of “no first use” in nuclear weapons-policy parlance is essentially a nation-state’s promise not to use nuclear weapons except in retaliation for nuclear attack. As with many progressive tropes, the idea sounds noble, but it has the fatal weakness of real-world impracticality. Put less charitably, it is a national suicide pact.

Nuclear weapons are useful, not only for their intrinsic destructive power, but even more so as a deterrent to *any* attack (nuclear or non-nuclear, aka “conventional,” in military jargon). Pledging “no first use” also requires the generous assumption that other nuclear weapon states will be as restrained, a risky proposition in an age of nuclear proliferation.

“HAIR-TRIGGER ALERT”

Once more, the language of the supposed issue is dubious. As an Institute for National Security Studies analysis concluded, “the term ‘hair-trigger’ alert is often used to describe the current [nuclear weapons] alert posture.

This term is unhelpful to the debate because it inaccurately implies that ICBMs are postured in a way that minimizes decision-making time should a crisis erupt, or subjects nuclear weapons to either theft or unauthorized launch.”

So-called “hair-trigger,” or more accurately, high-alert status for strategic nuclear forces is a reasonable way to exercise vigilance toward *all* potential threats to national security, contrary to the knee-jerk pacifist view that such a status amounts to a perpetual saber-rattling show of force. UCS’s founding document, in its open opposition to “military technology,” and its subsequent default anti-defense positions in service to it, has egregiously failed to contemplate this understanding of vigilance.

“

Obama: “I will cut investments in unproven missile defense systems. I will not weaponize space.”

MISSILE DEFENSE

Having opposed missile defense since its founding, UCS has incessantly denigrated research and development of missile defense and advocated against its funding. Broadly speaking, UCS has argued that missile defense is undesirable because of the high cost of overcoming technical challenges faced by “hitting a bullet with a bullet” interceptor programs, and the difficulty of defeating countermeasures and keeping pace with adversaries’ advances in technology. In other words, if you could not field a perfect system, and *cheaply*, it was not worth the attempt! Consider that premise as a guiding principle for any other field of government engineering or research, much less for building the world’s greatest military. And in the same breath, UCS also argues that the deterrent force of the U.S. nuclear arsenal makes missile defense unnecessary—even as the group advocates for nuclear disarmament!

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

UCS, again hearkening back to its anti-military roots, strongly advocates U.S. nuclear arms reduction, if not outright disarmament. It has strongly supported the Iran

Nuclear Agreement and the New START Treaty with Russia. It has predictably promoted aggressive nuclear disarmament with little to no concern for verification or compliance by U.S. treaty/agreement partners. USC says “more needs to be done” in terms of U.S. nuclear arms reductions, but UCS does not identify a minimum threshold for a U.S. nuclear deterrent. Does it have one?

OBAMA & UCS’S NUCLEAR & MISSILE DEFENSE AGENDA

The Iran nuclear deal, the New START Treaty with Russia, and the 2009 cancellation of missile defense sites in Poland and the Czech Republic represent the Obama administration’s legacy in arms control policy and strategic defense. These initiatives’ objectives match the leftist, anti-defense, and anti-nuclear agenda of UCS.

As the Wall Street Journal opined at the time, while the Obama White House claimed the missile defense site cancellations were driven by new threat assessments of Iranian missile capabilities, the decision was likely driven as much or more by the infamous “reset” of U.S.-Russian relations in Obama’s first term, particularly with respect to garnering Russian support for an Iranian nuclear deal (which the administration ultimately obtained).

- Obama on missile defense: “I will cut tens of billions of dollars in wasteful spending. I will cut investments in unproven missile defense systems. I will not weaponize space.”
- Obama on nuclear weapons: “I will set a goal of a world without nuclear weapons. To seek that goal, I will not develop new nuclear weapons. I will seek a global ban on the production of fissile material.... I will negotiate with Russia...to take our forces off hair-trigger alert.”

CONGRESSIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE ACTION AND WHITE HOUSE OPPOSITION

Congress annually passes a military budget bill known among Washington hands as the “National Defense Authorization Act,” or NDAA. The bill prescribes policies and budget levels for literally thousands of programs and projects at the Pentagon, as well as setting service members’ pay and benefits, and provides for the operation and maintenance of literally everything that goes into sustaining the United States military.

The most recent NDAA for the current fiscal year (2017) included provisions to broaden the scope of the National Missile Defense Act of 1999. Most significantly, it removed restrictions on missile defense programs that required them to be “limited” in their scope—that is, national missile defense was only to be directed toward a “limited” threat. (Never mind that America’s potential enemies likely don’t consider themselves commensurately “limited.”)

In our present era of loosely verified arms control agreements and aggressive nuclear states like the People’s Republic of China, North Korea, Iran, and Russia, extending our defensive capability would seem to fall firmly in the category of common sense. Yet these kind of Congressional efforts probably spurred UCS to issue a 2016 broadside attacking the ground-based missile defense (GMD) system that it prefers to call a “national missile defense” (NMD) system. The report, by characterizing GMD as “national” and insisting that the system be either perfect or worthless, distorts the program into a technical failure, and predictably, a budget disaster.

“

In our present era of loosely verified arms control agreements, extending our defensive capability would seem to be common sense.

Depending on the arbitrary standard it chooses to apply, UCS claims either six or nine tests of the GMD system have “failed.” An MDA fact sheet gives an overall testing record of 74 successful of 91 (“hit to kill”) overall program tests (of which GMD is but one part, and is credited with 9 successful out of 17 GMD tests). At a minimum, UCS has taken one component of the overall missile defense program and applied its own arbitrary standards and measures of “success” to propagate a misperception of the program.

In addition to its cuts to missile defense funding, the Obama administration objected to Congress’s extension of the scope of missile defense programs, and the President issued another among his serial veto threats to the National Defense Authorization Act. Remarkably, given its timidity in the face of other threats by Obama, Congress actually stood its ground, and Obama signed the bill on his way out the door in December 2016.



Erika Gregory & Carl Robichaud, “Reimagining the Nuclear Threat,” a multimillion-dollar, two-year pilot program of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, et al.

Interestingly, a review of the UCS website since this development finds it oddly silent on this victory for stronger missile defense policy.

UCS STAFF AND FUNDING

UCS’s policy staff is organized along typical nonprofit organization lines. Its policy experts on nuclear issues and “global security” typically have academic and government credentials. Among its nuclear/global security staff, only two do not have doctorates or hard science degrees.

UCS is led by Keith Kimmel, whose short bio proclaims him “an expert on climate change and environmental issues.” In fact, every staffer on its “Leadership” page boasts some variation of climate, environment, or ecological expertise (save the Director of Communications, typically a media professional, the Chief Development Officer, a fundraiser, and the Chief Administrative and Financial Officer).

The co-directors of the UCS Global Security Program are Drs. Lisbeth Gronlund and David Wright. Both earned doctorates in physics at Cornell. Both were Social Science Research Council-MacArthur Foundation fellows. Wright’s fellowship was at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, but his UCS bio does not specify any particular area or field. Gronlund’s fellowship took place in international peace and security at the University of Maryland and was followed by a postdoctoral fellowship in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Defense and Arms Control Studies Program. Unlike their colleagues at UCS, they may possess some technical expertise in technologies their organization routinely derides.

UCS funding comes from numerous foundations and other benefactors, but the most generous known contributors to the organization are the Energy Foundation, Bright Horizon Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

According to IRS filings, the following philanthropies have given grant money to UCS:

- Energy Foundation (\$17,155,200 since 1999)
- Bright Horizon Foundation (\$11,585,000 since 2002)

“

Considering the constant danger of nuclear weapons proliferation, why would President Obama reject congressional efforts to address these vital threats?

- William & Flora Hewlett Foundation (\$6,280,000 since 2002)
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (\$5,731,450 since 1999)
- Foundation for the Carolinas (\$4,000,550 since 2004)
- David and Lucile Packard Foundation (\$3,718,510 since 2000)
- Joyce Foundation (\$2,271,667 since 1998)
- Ploughshares Fund (\$1,127,117 since 2003)
- Ford Foundation (\$1,040,000 since 2000)
- Pew Memorial Trust (\$1 million since 2002)
- George Soros's Open Society Institute and Foundation to Promote Open Society (\$809,000 since 2006)
- Carnegie Corp. of New York (\$754,900 since 2000)
- (Ted) Turner Foundation (\$612,000 since 2000)
- W.K. Kellogg Foundation (\$600,000 since 2013)

UCS's funders all place heavy emphasis on environmental programs, with the exception of the Ploughshares Fund, which focuses nearly exclusively on nuclear proliferation and disarmament.

THE TWISTED HISTORY OF UCS

By Dr. Steven J. Allen

“Progressivism” is a political ideology based on the belief that society should be governed by well-credentialed “experts.” It’s a belief-system that is highly attractive to those scientists who double as political activists. In Progressive culture, scientist-activists’ political beliefs, no matter how nonsensical, are taken seriously because of their expert status. Often, that occurs whether or not they are experts in any field of study related to a specific political issue.

An expert on laser beams might be wrongly considered an expert on U.S. energy policy, an expert on transistors might be wrongly considered an expert on the biological differences between “races” of mankind, or a sociologist or science historian might be wrongly considered an expert on Global Warming.

The online encyclopedia Wikipedia notes the logical fallacy known as argument from authority. “An argument from authority (Latin: *argumentum ad verecundiam*), also called an appeal to authority, is a common type of argument which can be fallacious, such as when an authority is cited on a topic outside their area of expertise or when the authority cited is not a true expert.”

The danger of this logical fallacy is clear from the fact that scientists took leading roles in the movements behind white supremacy, eugenics, prohibitionism, Nazism, communism, zero-population-growth, and other extremist ideologies.

The UCS has roots in the reaction of scientist-activists to possession of atomic weapons by the United States.

Scientists in the U.S. atomic bomb project during World War II had been recruited largely from Ivy League schools and other institutions where left-wing extremist political views were accepted as mainstream. Many of these scientists were strong supporters of the project because they assumed the bomb would be used against Hitler and the Nazis, who had double-crossed the scientists’ Soviet allies and were intent on destroying the Soviet Union (which Progressives saw as a sort of motherland). U.S. atomic scientists feared and believed that they were in a race with the Nazis, who were working on their own version of the A-bomb. But the Nazis never built a bomb, and the U.S. bomb wasn’t finished in time to be used against Hitler. Instead, it was used to bring about the defeat of Japan. Importantly, U.S. supremacy—based to a great degree on its sole possession of the atomic bomb—limited the expansion of the Soviet Empire in the aftermath of the war.

Thus, left-wing scientists who had worked feverishly to build the bomb to defeat Hitler and the Nazis, now saw their handiwork used to block Stalin and the Soviet Communists. This, to many of them, was infuriating. Their disappointment and anger grew when the Soviets got the bomb, a development that made possible a two-sided nuclear war. Why, the scientist-activists asked, would the U.S. threaten the world with atomic warfare, when the Soviets (in the scientist-activists’ view) posed little or no threat to other countries? Surely, U.S. policymakers must be mad!

Out of these concerns grew a network of atomic scientist-activists that produced the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* and the Federation of Atomic (later, American) Scientists in 1945; the Emergency Committee

of Atomic Scientists, which included notables like Albert Einstein, Leo Szilard, and Linus Pauling, in 1947; and Szilard and Matthew Meselson's Council for Abolishing War/Council for a Livable World in 1962, which claimed that year's election of George McGovern to the U.S. Senate as its first victory. The Union of Concerned Scientists, a science-themed political group founded in 1969, was a second-generation spin-off of this movement.

UCS was originally made up of scientists so left-wing that they considered mainstream-liberal science groups too moderate. In particular, the scientist-activists who would found the UCS were opposed to the practice of many academics of doing classified research or of working directly for the U.S. government (which, in the Vietnam War era, they considered imperialist).

On March 4, 1969, scientist-activists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and some 30 other colleges and universities protested the sponsorship of research by the U.S. government. Spokesmen for the Science Action Coordinating Committee declared that

Some scientists consider their activity [i.e., their involvement in the protest] to be a "strike;" by this they signify a vote of no-confidence in the ability of the Government to make wise and humane use of scientific and technical knowledge. They are temporarily withholding their services in the manner of a French general strike.

Implicit is the possibility of greater non-cooperation if the Government continues to develop and deploy such weapons as ABM, MIRV, SCAD, and CBW, while neglecting pressing social and environmental concerns.

Some of these scientists are also protesting the involvement of their universities in defense projects or their overdependence on Department of Defense funding mechanisms.

Others consider their action as a research stoppage...a personal commitment toward reforming a set of Government policies that have resulted in the growing power and influence of the military-industrial complex.¹

Among the supporters of the non-research campaign were prominent members of the scientists/"peace" movement, including Meselson, physicists Hans Bethe and Herbert York, biologist George Wald, and linguist Noam Chomsky, along with Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), who would be the Democratic nominee for president in 1972.²

The UCS was the organization that grew out of the March 4 protests. In the years since, UCS has provided a scientific cover to false views on such topics as ballistic missile defense and the alleged vast conspiracy to cover up catastrophic man-made global warming.

—Steven J. Allen

1 Feigenbaum, Joel and Ira Rubenzahl, "Science Event at M.I.T.," letter to the editor, *The New York Times*, February 27, 1969, p. 40. A collection of material related to the "March 4 Movement" appears in Allen, Jonathan, editor, *March 4*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1970.
2 Bengelsdorf, Irving S., "Scientists to Halt Work for a Day of Introspection," *Los Angeles Times*, March 3, 1969, p. C1.

CONCLUSION

To recap, for nearly the last half-century the Union of Concerned Scientists has openly promoted an anti-military, anti-nuclear weapons, and anti-strategic defense agenda. It does so from the belief that our military, our nuclear arsenal, and our strategic defenses pose dire threats to the planet and divert support from research that moves away "from the present emphasis on military technology" in order to focus on "the solution of pressing environmental and social problems."

Given his progressive politics, it makes sense that President Obama's strategic nuclear and defense policies and arms control agenda dovetailed with the UCS's advocacy. His policy disagreements with a Republican Congress culminated last year in a standoff over missile defense policy and funding, and a concomitant veto threat. Americans who want to understand his views on these issues need more context than what was provided in the "statements of administration policy" the White House issued on the the House and Senate defense bills for the current fiscal year. Considering the constant danger posed by nuclear weapons proliferation and by other weapons of mass destruction, why would the President reject congressional efforts to address these vital threats? Did Obama share the UCS's outlook that funding of these critical defense programs divert resources from environmental and social problems that are more dire?

Recent North Korean nuclear tests and the emergence of nuclear "first use" policy in the first presidential debate between presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump gave these issues further urgency. Afterward, then-Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter reiterated the U.S. policy against "no first use." And with Obama's commitment to missile defense *and* nuclear deterrent cuts, how much confidence could Americans have genuinely had in strategic defenses?

Since the U.S. presidential election, North Korea has executed two ballistic missile tests in two months (February and March). Russia has brazenly deployed intermediate-range, nuclear-capable (if not in fact presently nuclear-armed) missiles in violation of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty of 1987 (INF Treaty), first reported (also in February) by the *New York Times*. The *Times* now reports that the Obama administration was aware of a separate INF Treaty violation dating back to 2013! Had U.S. missile defenses been deployed in Europe as planned in 2009, their effect on Russian missile deployments, not to mention ones *prohibited by treaty*, would seem worthy of consideration.

In response to the most recent North Korean missile launches, the Trump administration has begun deployment of its Theater High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system to its ally, South Korea. The White House website also now commits to the development of state of the art missile defense systems. With Congress currently considering a new defense bill and more defense spending increases expected from the Trump administration, prospects for upgrading the U.S. nuclear deterrent and missile defenses appear vastly improved. Unfortunately, thanks to Obama's funding cuts and the success of UCS's contrived analyses in frustrating U.S. strategic defenses, too much of the new resources flowing to our diminished military will be devoted to, in effect, playing catch-up. We can only hope that the Trump administration has arrived in enough time to assert itself and, where necessary and feasible, deploy existing systems and capabilities, all the while beating back the incessant nay-saying of UCS.

UCS and its funders openly embrace a progressive agenda that for the last eight years has found consistent reflection in U.S. defense policy. Was that policy coincidental, or was its objective to downgrade nuclear forces and missile defenses in favor of the UCS's (and President Obama's) "environmental and social" priorities? If the U.S. is to reassert its strategic advantage over myriad bad actors around the globe, the Trump administration should also plan to confront those facing it at home like the Union of Concerned Scientists.

(For a complete list of sources, see the online version of this article at bit.ly/2syBzwC.) ■

Read previous articles from the Organization Trends series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/organization-trends/.

A project of Capital Research Center



CLIMATE DOLLARS

HOW ONE FLAWED STUDY FOOLED THE MEDIA AND
POISONED THE DEBATE ON CLIMATE CHANGE

In a widely cited 2014 study, sociologist Robert Brulle purportedly exposed a "climate change counter-movement" of center-right groups "distort[ing] the public's understanding of climate change." He calculated that from 2003 to 2010, these nonprofits recorded revenues averaging "just over \$900 million" annually—a number that led to media claims that, "Conservative groups spend \$1bn a year to fight action on climate change."

A Capital Research Center study cuts Mr. Brulle's calculations down to size: Not only is Brulle's assessment off by 93 percent, the resources of environmentalist groups and government agencies overwhelmingly dwarf those of skeptics. To learn more about the climate debate, visit www.ClimateDollars.org.



LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

Environmental group or Democratic campaign heavyweight?

By Kevin Boyd, with additional reporting by Hayden Ludwig

Summary: *Supposedly a grassroots organization dedicated to combating climate change, the League of Conservation Voters is a frontline funnel for ultraliberal “dark money” candidates and causes.*



**LEAGUE OF
CONSERVATION
VOTERS**

Officially, the League of Conservation Voters (LCV) is a 501(c)(4) environmentalist organization based in Washington, D.C. But under the guise of holding lawmakers “accountable” regarding environmental issues, the LCV makes use of a network of 34 state affiliates to promote a radical far left agenda. It has earned a reputation as a “dark money heavyweight,” funding extremist causes in secret by taking advantage of Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations which permit politically active nonprofits to limit the disclosure of donors.

The LCV’s roots go deep. Founded in 1969 by environmentalist David Brower to advocate for stricter environmental regulations, it was a little-known single-issue organization until 2012. Since then, it has morphed into a highly active agitation group aimed at defeating Republican politicians in national and state elections.

RAPID GROWTH AND LEFT-WING ACTIVISM

The Center for Responsive Politics has identified the LCV as one of the top-spending, non-disclosing groups involved in federal politics. Just a few years ago, though, they were still a relatively minor player. What caused them to metastasize?

The LCV supported Democrats in the 2012 general election to the modest tune of \$2,605,809, the largest portion of which went to defeating Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney (\$1,099,450). Two years later, however, according to Federal Election Commission records presented by OpenSecrets.org, the League’s funding exploded: The 2014 midterms saw the LCV spend \$8,987,431 to defeat Republican Thom Tillis in the North Carolina

Under the guise of holding lawmakers “accountable” regarding environmental issues, the LCV makes use of a network of 34 state affiliates to promote a radical agenda.

U.S. Senate race—to no avail, Tillis won. They dropped another \$15,666,771 million on the 2016 election; of that, \$8,299,525 was spent against Republicans and \$7,367,246 was spent to help Democrats. The bulk of their monies, as expected, went toward supporting Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton (\$6,281,871).

But who is funding this shadowy outfit? LCV officers informed the FEC in 2012 “that all expenditures were paid for by money from its ‘general treasury funds.’” League Spokesman Jeff Gohringer claims his organization receives contributions from over a “half-million supporters across the country.” But a review by the Center for Public Integrity shows considerable backing from various progressive agitators and big-league environmentalist nonprofits: One of these, the Green Tech Action Fund, gave the LCV \$2.6 million in 2012. That same year, The Advocacy Fund – the campaign arm of the ultraprogressive Tides Foundation – gave an additional \$2 million. The LCV has increasingly benefitted from huge donations from prominent Left-wing players, to wit: \$3 million from Boston investor Robert Grantham; \$3 million from the Environment America Action Fund; \$500,000 from Bain Capital’s Joshua Bekenstein, and \$400,000 from the Democratic-run Senate Majority PAC.

Kevin Boyd is a writer in Washington, D.C. Hayden Ludwig is a communications assistant at Capital Research Center.

Credit: LCV website. License: <https://goo.gl/0qddE8>.

The two largest single contributions to the LCV in 2016 were from Dustin Moskovitz—co-founder of Facebook and Asana—and his wife, Cari Tuna. Each gave the League \$2.5 million. In 2014, the indispensable liberal George Soros and the AFSCME donated \$500,000 apiece. Tom Steyer’s NextGen Climate Action backed the LCV (\$775,000), as did Michael Bloomberg (\$200,000) and the Senate Majority PAC (\$350,000).

HYPOCRITICAL ATTACKS AGAINST SO-CALLED “DARK MONEY”

During the Senate confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice nominee Neil Gorsuch, Senator Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) decried the “dark money” supporting Gorsuch’s confirmation. Richly, Whitehouse has himself been a willing recipient of “dark money”—accepting \$20,000 in campaign contributions from the League of Conservation Voters.

“

Donors can—and do—give to the LCV’s general treasury fund, where the money is donated anonymously.

This is only a part of a larger development in the LCV’s evolving strategy. While political campaigns and PACs must regularly report funding, the FEC’s rules are less strict concerning certain social welfare nonprofits. As such, the League of Conservation Voters is only required to disclose the names of donors who give for the specific purpose of funding political advertisements. Donors can—and do—instead give to the LCV’s general treasury fund, where the money is donated anonymously.

LCV LEADERSHIP

Gene Karpinski became President of the LCV in April 2006, but he has a history in the organization’s administration and political outreach.

Karpinski’s Democratic credentials are impressive. After obtaining his J.D. from Georgetown Law Center in 1977, Karpinski joined the ultraliberal think tank Public Citizen as its field director. In 1981, he moved into a role with the Colorado Public Interest Research Group (a state affiliate of PIRG), an environmentalist, anti-corporate nonprofit. Karpinski then briefly served as field director for People For



Karpinski was one of those anointed left-wing activists invited to address the Democratic National Convention.

the American Way before returning to the United States Public Interest Research Group (the national lobbying arm for PIRG) as executive director. He held that position for 21 years while simultaneously serving on the LCV board of directors and its political committee before joining as president. During the 2016 election, Karpinski was one of those anointed left-wing activists invited to address the Democratic National Convention.

Carol Browner, LCV board chair, and a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress, is a former Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, a position she held for eight years during the Clinton era. Around this time, she also worked with Senator Al Gore and with the now-defunct Citizen Action—a radical liberal group active in the 1980s and early 1990s, with roots in the 1960s-era Indochina Peace Campaign. In the early 2000s, Browner became a founding member of Madeleine Albright’s Albright Group before being appointed Director of the Office of Energy and Climate Policy for the Obama administration. The elimination of that position by Congress in the 2011 budget forced her to make the jump to the board of the League of Conservation Voters, where she maintains close ties with many of her old friends, which is to say socialist groups and globalist organizations.

Former New York Congressman Sherwood Boehlert is the board’s vice chair and token Republican. A lobbyist for the Accord Group, a government relations consultancy with professional ties to the EPA and various environmentalist organizations, Boehlert has a reputation as a GOP moderate. He was a major proponent of the acid rain provisions in the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, and pushed for more rigorous Corporate Average Fuel Economy

Credit: The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights.
License: <https://goo.gl/rZnJn>.

(CAFE) standards. Asked about his biggest environmental victory, Boehlert responded:

“I suppose the biggest victory looking back was acid-rain regulation. That was my addition to the Clean Air Act amendments signed into law by President George Herbert Walker Bush, which launched the nation’s war on acid rain. That’s my legacy. That proved the success of a cap-and-trade system in which polluters buy and sell the right to pollute, and it is now the basis of international climate strategy.”

Unsurprisingly, Boehlert endorsed Hillary Clinton for president in 2016, and was one of 30 former Republican congressmen to denounce Donald Trump in an open letter.

An unsavory mélange of extremist environmentalist groups is also represented on the LCV board. Among these are such beacons of temperance as Earthjustice, the Natural Resources Defense Council, NextGen Climate, Green Latinos, and The Wilderness Society.

“

In 2016, the LCV endorsed 16 Democrats for U.S. Senate and 58 for the House of Representatives, and were vocal supporters of Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign.

And in keeping with the League’s role as a progressive outlet, several hard Left groups—the Turner Foundation, the Hip Hop Caucus, Bloomberg Philanthropies, and Rockefeller Family & Associates—can also be found sitting beside Carole Browner at the long, glossy conference table in the LCV boardroom.

WOULD-BE LEFT-WING PLAYER

The League of Conservation Voters regularly coordinates with other Left-wing outfits on environmentalist and anti-corporate issues. Typically, these are thinly-veiled “pro-conservation and pro-jobs” projects; reality reveals an unbending allegiance to the Democratic Party and its allies. In total, the LCV endorsed 16 Democrats for U.S. Senate and 58 for the House of Representatives, and were vocal supporters of Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign. The LCV also produces an annual “National Environmental Scorecard” which scores members of Congress on clean air, energy, and land use. “Climate change deniers” and



Carol Browner is a former Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, a position she held for eight years during the Clinton era.

“polluters,” needless to say, are regularly assailed as anti-environmental nut jobs. In 2016, the average Senate score was 50 percent, and the House average was 43 percent.

On November 2, 2016, the LCV released a joint press release with Emily’s List and the Latino Victory Fund in support of Democrat Nanette Barragán’s race for the California 44th Congressional District. “Barragán is committed to protecting the air, water and health of her constituents over the profits of corporate polluters and we are proud to stand with her in this race and push back against these outrageous attacks,” the LCV said in the release. Barragán previously served on the Hermosa Beach City Council, where her great accomplishment was upholding a ban on local oil drilling in 2015. This moratorium could cost the city \$627 million in lost revenues over the next three decades. Worse, the city was contractually obligated to pay the oil company a \$17.5 million fee as compensation for the ban—and this at a time when its annual operating budget is only about \$40 million.

All these financial losses however didn’t stop Barragán from claiming victory: “Barragán understands there’s nothing more important than the health of our families and community. That’s why she stood up to the big oil companies and helped win the fight to keep them from oil-drilling in our neighborhoods and off our beaches.” And yet, despite the vast sums it launders for the Democratic Party, the League doesn’t have an especially strong track record in getting liberals elected. Here are some examples of good money wasted:

In October 2016, the LCV and the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund issued a joint endorsement of Democrat

Credit: Third Way Think Tank. License: <https://goo.gl/BFDxpV>.

Matt Heinz for Arizona's 2nd Congressional District, calling him a "strong environmental ally" and promising he'd build on his "strong record" in Congress. Heinz lost to Republican incumbent Martha McSally, 57 percent to 43 percent. In preparation for the 2016 presidential election, the LCV partnered with the United Steelworkers Union to establish a joint super PAC, the New American Jobs Fund (NAJF). This Fund dropped \$4 million in the Nevada, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania U.S. Senate races.

In partnership with NAJF, the Sierra Club and the Environmental Defense Fund, the League of Conservation Voters co-sponsored a \$1.85 million media blitz aimed at defeating Republican Nevada Senate candidate Joe Heck. Anti-Heck ads, released in English and Spanish, flooded the airwaves, tying Heck to Donald Trump, racism, and climate change denial. Though Democrats did manage to hold Harry Reid's Nevada seat by a thin margin of less than 2.5 points, LCV's gobs of money were not very well spent here.

“

“Climate change deniers” and “polluters” are regularly assailed as anti-environmental nut jobs.

Meanwhile, LCV releases an annual report of the “dirty dozen,” a list of politicians—all Republicans—the group hopes to defeat. In 2016, those politicians included:

Presidential candidate Donald Trump; Colorado U.S. Senate candidate Darryl Glenn; Nevada U.S. Senate candidate Joe Heck; North Carolina U.S. Senator Richard Burr; Ohio U.S. Senator Rob Portman; Pennsylvania U.S. Senator Pat Toomey; Wisconsin U.S. Senator Ron Johnson; Colorado Congressman Mike Coffman; Florida Congressman David Jolly; Minnesota U.S. House candidate Jason Lewis; Nevada Congressman Cresent Hardy; and Texas Congressman Will Hurd.

Of these, the LCV only succeeded in defeating four—Glenn, Jolly, Heck, and Hardy—not a great return for their investment.



Credit: Ben Stanfield. License: <https://goo.gl/22jRC6>.

Catalist—run by Harold Ickes, a close associate of the Clintons—has received millions of dollars in investments from George Soros.

CONTROVERSIES

The League of Conservation Voters, as you might have guessed, has been accused of employing shady election tactics. In 2012, a Contra Costa County, CA, online news site reported that a group connected to the LCV Education Fund had sent one of the site's readers a “voter registration form” and urged them to fill it out. When the reader contacted the county registrar of voters, he was told no such form had been sent at all—an incident widely reported on the city's news outlet, Claycord.com.

Ken Tomlinson, the former editor-in-chief of *Reader's Digest*, hit the nail on the head when, in an October 2010 *Daily Caller* op-ed, he accused the LCV of being more interested in promoting left-wing causes than in environmental protection. In particular, he took issue with their firm support of then-Congressman Tom Perriello, a support that prompted him to ask a disturbing question: “Why in the world is the League of Conservation Voters joining with the far-left Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in a desperate attempt to re-elect one of George Soros's favorite congressmen?” Tomlinson cited the LCV's rigid leftist partisanship, faulty polling data, and oodles of funding from liberal elders, and concluded that the League only cared about preserving traditional Democrats— not local

conservation. As it turned out, Perriello was beaten soundly in the 2010 elections, leaving us to wonder who at LCV actually decides where money should be spent.

“

The LCV releases an annual report of the “dirty dozen,” a list of politicians—all Republicans—the group hopes to defeat.

Like many progressive organizations, the League of Conservation Voters employs a company called Catalist to provide its voter lists and data. Since 2006, Catalist has received millions of dollars in investments from George Soros; it’s run by Harold Ickes, a close associate of the Clintons. Catalist, however, has recently come under fire for attempting to evade campaign finance laws by providing unions and Democrats with its information at a discounted price. This, it’s been argued, creates in effect an in-kind contribution that goes unreported to the FEC. Unsurprisingly, Catalist only sells its data to left-wing groups. (See CRC’s October 2012 Organization Trends article on Catalist.)

CONCLUSION

The League of Conservation Voters is a progressive dark money manipulator fronting as a single-issue ecological outfit. Like the radicals who fund it, the LCV is concerned with dramatically redrawing the political map to suit far Left special interests. ■

Read previous articles from the Green Watch series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/green-watch/.



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

WWW.CAPITALRESEARCH.ORG

**CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER WELCOMES
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.**

Please send them to
Contact@CapitalResearch.org or
1513 16th Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
202.483.6900