

## REVOLT OF THE DEPLORABLES

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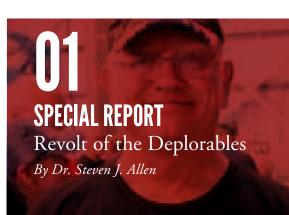
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## **SPECIAL REPORT**



#### **REVOLT OF THE DEPLORABLES**

An excerpt of Dr. Steven J. Allen's speech at the 2017 Mensa Annual Gathering By Dr. Steven J. Allen

Summary: On July 5, 2017, CRC's Dr. Steven J. Allen spoke at the Annual Gathering (national convention) of Mensa, the high-IQ society. The topic was the 2016 election, as analyzed in his forthcoming book, Revolt of the Deplorables: Inside the Greatest Upset in American Political History. In this excerpt from his speech, Dr. Allen discusses Hillary Clinton's loss in the 2016 presidential campaign, and notes that "She and her supporters have no one to blame but themselves."

I started out as a reporter when I was 16, working my way through school, so I've been writing about politics for a long time. Nothing compares to this election in terms of the stakes, and the twists and turns like a movie, including the surprise ending.

Through the fall campaign, most predictions were like this one, in the *Washington Post*, October 18, by a respected political analyst, Stu Rothenberg: "Trump's path to an electoral college victory isn't narrow. It's nonexistent."

We were assured that Trump's campaign had melted down (Fig. 1)...

that Republicans were fleeing the Trump disaster (Fig. 2)...

And the big concern was what those crazy Trump supporters would do *when* they lost (Fig. 3).

The week of the election, *conservative* magazines told us that Republicans were going to get blown up like Wile E. Coyote (Fig. 4)

or crushed by a Democratic wave (Fig. 5)



Figure 1

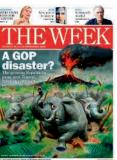


Figure 2



Figure 3

The *New York Times* estimated Trump's chance of winning the election at 15 percent chance, as of election day.

And as everyone knows, if there's only a 15 percent chance of something happening, it absolutely *cannot* happen. That's how it works—right?

This was on the newsstands election week (Fig. 6).

Trump would end up a loser... and Hillary Clinton would be "Madam President" (Fig. 7).

This was the *Newsweek* commemorative issue. A few copies got out. Oops. *[audience laughter]* I have one here. *[holds up magazine]* 

By the way, that "total meltdown" cover of *Time* won the magazine editors' award for cover of the year (fig. 1)... 'cause you never let truth get in the way of a good magazine cover!

Look, I get how they talked themselves into this mindset. Of the 270 electoral votes needed to win, 242 were in 18 states, plus the District of Columbia, that Democrats had carried in six consecutive elections. Pundits called it "The Blue Wall."

So Democrats started the race with an advantage of 140 electoral votes—242 versus 102—and needed only 28 more to win. That's how the experts saw it.







Figure 7

Dr. Steven J. Allen (J.D., PhD.) is vice president & chief investigative officer of the Capital Research Center.





Figure 5

On Election Day, Clinton aides on the campaign plane popped open a bottle of champagne. The *New York Times* gave her an 85 percent chance to win.

She had an 89 percent chance of winning Pennsylvania, a 93 percent chance of winning Wisconsin, and a 94 percent chance of winning Michigan.

She would lose them all.

At the Jacob Javits Convention Center in New York City, people gathered for a Clinton victory party. The center was the perfect choice, with a glass ceiling to recall the metaphorical glass ceiling often noted by Clinton, as a barrier to the advancement of women. Cannons were set up on either side of the main floor to shoot green confetti, to simulate the shattering of the glass ceiling.

At first, things seemed to be going as expected. States that were supposed to go to Clinton were going to Clinton, states that were supposed to go to Trump were going to Trump. There were happy people at the Clinton party, and a sparse crowd at the Trump party less than two miles away at the Midtown Hilton.

But around 9 p.m. Eastern, things began to change.

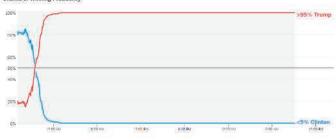
It wasn't just that Trump was doing better than expected in Ohio, winning easily, and in Virginia, where Trump led in the early returns before falling behind.

It was the *pattern* that was striking fear into the hearts of people in the Clinton campaign: Trump was doing better than expected among college-educated voters and women (he carried so-called "white" college graduates and "white" women), and he was winning by more than two-to-one among the "white" working class, the kind of people whose votes would decide the battleground states of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan—states that were part of that Blue Wall.

By 9:24 p.m., Clinton's 85 percent chance of victory had fallen to 59 percent.

At 9:31 p.m. Eastern, Trump became the front-runner. At 9:48, Maggie Haberman of the *Times* tweeted: "If Trump wins, it will be the upset of the last 50 years." By 10 p.m., Clinton's chance of winning was 37 percent.

Then the bottom fell out. Chance of Winning Presidency



NBC News producers were seen putting their heads down and sobbing.

This scene, we all remember.



I'm not making fun. I empathize with this. Everyone who's been in politics a long time has had an experience like this. The best feeling in politics is to win when nobody thought you had a chance, and the worst is the opposite.

In this case, it was made much worse by all the predictions, all the certainty.

What happened?

Let's start with the predictions of how states were going to vote. This is how the election turned out.



A lot of the problem, I believe, was wishful thinking on the part of the news media. Their own data showed that the election was close, but they chose repeatedly to interpret that data in the way they considered the most favorable.

#### **CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER**

During the campaign, I kept track of all the prognosticators, the Nate Silvers and Larry Sabatos, and the prediction markets where you could bet on the outcome. I came up with a way of digitizing their predictions so that predictions in different formats could be averaged together. And I consistently got this as the consensus prediction:



Again, this is what actually happened.



OK, I get that it's hard to see the difference. That's because they're not that different.

The only differences between the consensus prediction and the reality were Florida and North Carolina, which were seen as leaning Clinton's way, and the three Rust Belt states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin, which were seen as solidly in her corner. I'll throw in the 2nd district of Maine, which got its own electoral vote, but which many prognosticators ignored as a separate entity. (Nebraska and Maine are the two states that split their electoral votes.)

Without those states, Trump loses 215 electoral votes to 323.

Of the 91 votes [on the list above], he needed 55 to win. Basically, he needed to win Florida and North Carolina, that's 44 votes, plus one of the other three states. (If it was Wisconsin, he would need the one vote from the 2nd District of Maine to get to 270, which is why his campaign put so much effort toward that one part of one state.) Now, in the world of professional campaign consultants, there's a respect—a grudging respect—for people on the other side who are smart, who know their stuff. Sometimes, after a campaign, you'll run into folks from the other side, and you'll swap war stories.

Every four years, the Kennedy School at Harvard hosts a get-together for the campaign managers on the two sides in the presidential campaign.



This year turned into a near-shouting match. You can see the expression on Kellyanne Conway's face. Part of that tension stemmed from the fact that the Democrats were pushing the "racist/sexist/homophobe/Islamophobe" angle and "Russia Russia Russia," but part of it, I'm told, was that the Trump side didn't have much respect for the Clinton side as professionals in the field.

The Clinton people just weren't very good.

One of the clear contrasts was the ability of each campaign to get its message out.

Donald Trump, beyond anything else, is the master of branding.



...Trump this, Trump that, to the point that the name is a big part of the value of his assets.

In the 1990s, there was a point at which his business empire was falling apart. There was a deep recession. People weren't going to Trump's Taj Mahal casino in Atlantic City. The Plaza Hotel and the Trump Shuttle were in bad shape financially. He and his companies reportedly owed \$3 billion. As one author put it: "Bankers held gigantic meetings at Trump Tower with, like, 40 banks all sitting around in a room, Donald very sober..."

The bankers' problem was that Trump's assets were worth more with his name on them than in foreclosure. So they were stuck with him. And he got enough time to rebuild his fortune, and write a sequel to *The Art of the Deal* entitled *The Art of the Comeback*.

It tells you something about how the members of the media elite see things, that, in the joint biography of Trump and Clinton on PBS, this part of the story is presented as Trump snookering people, and getting out of his debts, with the suggestion that he's not really a businessman, and there's this ominous presentation, zooming in on black-and-white pictures, tilting the camera angle, building the drama, the sense of Trump as Caligula. I'm sitting there watching it and thinking, "Wow! That guy's clever!" Lots of people lost their fortunes back then, and Trump survived because he understood the value of branding.

Perhaps the best branding effort of this campaign harkened back to the Reagan campaign of 1980.

EAGAN

FOR PRESIDENT

Let's make America great again.

Anyone notice anything about this poster?

#### [audience laughter]

"Make America Great Again." Trump started using the slogan on November 7, 2012, the day after Mitt Romney lost to President Obama. Trump registered it with the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office five days later.

So Trump had a simple, four-word slogan, one that tied him to the most popular Republican president of

recent decades... One that conveyed a clear message that resonated with lots of people, and that could fit on hats.

It was so recognizable that people just started calling it MAGA.

All his themes could be played as variations on the theme. At the Republican National Convention, each day had a theme like "Make America Safe Again" or "Make America Work Again."

Now to the Clinton campaign. Does anybody know what this is?

That's the list of 84 slogans proposed for the Clinton campaign.

A fair chance to get abend" Your family is her fight" A fighting chance for families A new promise for a new time "Progress for the rest of us" logether we're strong Strongth for all our fan ulding a fairir futura to ioting ahead together foring Ahead. Togethe Juture worth lighting s stronger America one t Ffing us up. Moving us f Valion America work. To You've samed a fair shot' You've earned a fair shot' wnew promise for a new time \* An America built for you." Putting America to work for you" Strength and fairness? enewing America's promise usewing our basic bargain." Ime for a better bargain." laking America work for you Progression people A new bargain we can toant on." Real Farness: Real Schutons" New Solutions Real Results" A stronger America for a new day America's strength. America spr "No Quit" tick weeking for syour turn ronger at home" or an America that lead our future. Your terms." Our Families, Our Future "Move ahead' thair chance for their fight for fail three for famil Get ahead. Stay ahead." Familiesfirst" Fairnessfor a'f our familie "Keep moving" "Unleash apportunity" "Mass up" ecure die Fodure'' or your family. For America's A new bargain for a stronger America" It's about time, and it's about you." The description ilding a fairer future ur family. Her fight\* ur future (shee firth) (linib higher) Rise Op" Tighting for Exerness: Fighting for you. "Ihe's potyour hack" Your future: Her fight." "An Amurica that works for you." America gets strong whe A better bargain. For all 'Next begins with you" t's about sou." Iuilding a better b Grength you can o A better bargain for a better to Fairness worth the fight" Fairness first." gth you can court o shot and a fair dea

There were 85 on the list, but one appeared twice.

"Progress for the rest of us"... (Wasn't that in Seinfeld?? Oh, that was Festivus.) "Move up"... "Move ahead"... "Keep moving"...

"No Quit"...

And my favorite... "Next begins with you." (No, it doesn't.)

[audience laughter]

I thought of Teddy Kennedy's 1979 interview with Roger Mudd of CBS News in which Kennedy was unable to answer the question, "Why do you want to be president?"

So, Hillary Clinton runs against the guy who wrote the book on branding.

...OK, the guy who *wrote the foreword and first chapter* of the book on branding

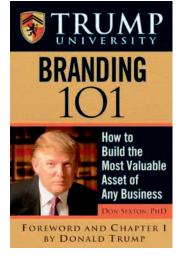
#### [audience laughter]

... the guy who picked his campaign slogan *four years before the election*, so that everything the campaign did could be tied to the slogan... and the best her campaign can do is throw words together almost at random.

To illustrate this, I did a

couple of word clouds. Here is Hillary's slogan... slogans.







#### [audience laughter]

Something about "Progress making a better America stronger as we move ahead into the fight for future times for our families..." or whatever. Also "new" and "fair."

Here's the word cloud for Trump's campaign.

Twice as much money is not enough of an advantage if you don't know what your message is.



OK, so why was the Clinton campaign so sloppy?

Part of it, I think, was the overconfidence.

Part was something you see throughout the Clintons'

careers, of putting people in key positions based on loyalty rather than competence.

Think of Craig Livingstone, who was put in charge of personnel security at the Clinton White House.

Hundreds of raw FBI files on Republicans were found at the



White House, and Livingstone was either responsible or he was the fall guy, depending on which version you believe.

The point is that, this is the person in charge of checking out the people who work at the White House. And he had no known qualifications, except as a bouncer and as a limo driver for the Clinton campaign. I met him at one point; he seemed like a nice guy, but had no business in that job.

This lack of seriousness, I think, played a role in the WikiLeaks affair, which did a major blow to the Clinton campaign.

As far back as 2008, during the Obama transition, Denis McDonough, the Obama chief of staff, warned Clinton operative John Podesta about discussing sensitive matters on unsecure systems. He said, "I know I'm like a broken record on this, but I think we should arrange a briefing on the cyber threat for all associated with your effort. We have a real security threat on our stuff here."

The Clinton campaign turned down help from both the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security. In fact, the FBI warned Democrats of Russia hacking at least as far back as September *2015*.

The Clinton campaign's attitude toward cybersecurity is reflected in the username and password on the desktop computer of campaign chairman John Podesta. Can you guess?

Username: jpodesta... and password: p@ssw0rd

#### [audience laughter]

Then there's the phishing that may have changed the course of history. On March 19 of last year, the IT folks in the campaign got an alert that someone in Ukraine was trying to change the password on Podesta's Gmail account. It was a fake warning, with a fake password-reset page that would capture his password.

Responding to the warning that had been forwarded to him, IT employee Charles Delavan wrote: "This is a legitimate e-mail."

He later said that he meant to type, "This is an *illegitimate* e-mail."

#### [audience laughter]

...which, I think, may make Delavan the Bill Buckner of American politics.

This is a picture of Julian Assange, the WikiLeaks guy.

So what was in the WikiLeaks?

A lot.

- That there was collusion between the news media and the Clinton campaign, everything from unethically

running stories by the campaign for approval, to leaking debate questions.

- That the Democratic National Committee had taken the side of Hillary against Bernie, which led to the resignations of the chair, the CEO, the CFO, and the communications director.
- That even Chelsea was concerned about improprieties at the Clinton Foundation, which led one of Bill Clinton's aides, Doug Band, to snap back that she hadn't been such a stickler when the Foundation was helping pay for her wedding.
- That Hillary told Chelsea, immediately following the Benghazi attack, that the attack was by "an Al Qaedalike group"—not that it was a spontaneous attack caused by a YouTube video critical of Islam, which was the lie that the Obama administration pushed.

In the WikiLeaks documents...

- There were insults directed at conservatives who converted to Catholicism, and a discussion of the need to reform the Catholic Church ideologically, and talk of going after Bernie Sanders based on his religion, and the revelation that the Clinton campaign in 2008 focus-group-tested a question about the Muslim background of Barack Obama's father.
- There was a memo detailing what was referred to as "Bill Clinton, Inc.," showing how the Clinton Foundation and Clinton Global Initiative helped provide a huge income for Bill Clinton. (Remember that the Clintons made something like \$240 million in 15 years after Bill left the White House.)
- There was discussion of \$12 million from the King of Morocco that was contingent on Hillary attending a Clinton Foundation summit in Morocco. (Remember the separate revelation by the Associated Press that, of the non-government individuals who met with or had phone conversations with Clinton while she was secretary of state, in the two years for which records were released, 55 percent were Clinton Foundation donors, at an average of \$1.8 million each.)
- Another involved the Clinton Foundation accepting a \$1 million gift from the terrorism-funding governor of Qatar while Hillary was secretary of state without informing the State Department about such things, as she had promised. The money was a 65th birthday present for Bill.

- We learned that President Obama connected with Hillary through the private e-mail system, meaning he seems to have known about the setup.
- There was her meeting with Brazilian bankers, for which Clinton was paid \$225,000, at which she admitted that, "My dream is a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders." Various so-called fact-checkers had called Trump a liar for saying that that was Hillary's position.
- We learned of a speech in which Hillary discussed the need for a politician to have both a "public position and a private position" on policy.
- We learned that the lowering of prices for AIDS drugs for people in poor countries, the biggest thing about which the Clinton Foundation bragged, was—as some of us had suggested part of an implicit deal, not to put pressure on companies to allow generic AIDS drugs, or reduce prices, in the U.S. and Europe.
- And that Hillary, in a paid speech in 2013 said that Jordan and Turkey "can't possibly vet all those refugees so they don't know if, you know, jihadists are coming in along with legitimate refugees."

There's lots more, but you get the point.

None of this would have come out, if they'd been more careful.

Another sign of just how badly the Clinton campaign was run, is that the Clinton people actually brag that they won the popular vote while losing the electoral vote.

Bragging about winning the popular vote is kind of like the 1960 New York Yankees bragging that they had twice as many hits in the World Series as the Pittsburgh Pirates. That would be true... but the Pirates won.

By the way, Nixon got more popular votes than JFK in 1960—and nobody cares. (If you don't believe me, read my November 2013 article on the Capital Research Center website, on how votes in Alabama were miscounted.)

In a presidential campaign, saying you won the popular vote but lost the electoral vote is nothing to brag about. You may not like it, you may not think it's fair, but it's how the game is played. (By the way, sometimes people say that the electoral college is unique, but it's actually similar to the Parliamentary system in the U.K., Canada, and other countries, where the popular vote doesn't determine the national leader.)

Remember: This is the *second time* that Hillary Clinton won the popular vote and lost the election. The first time

was when she got more votes than Barack Obama for the Democratic nomination. The Obama people carefully studied the primary map, understood the rules, and maximized their resources to pick up delegates.

On the other hand, as reported by *Time* magazine: During a strategy meeting for the 2008 campaign, Clinton's chief strategist, Mark Penn pointed to California on the calendar and predicted that Clinton winning all of California's delegates would put her over the top. But that would only happen if California was a winner-take-all state, which it wasn't, which any political professional should have known.

In 2016, Bernie Sanders got 43 percent of the vote, and 46 percent of the real delegates—the non-superdelegates—an indication that the Bernie people were better at the game of picking up delegates than the Clinton people, and might have snatched the nomination away had it not been for the superdelegates. (People like me consider the existence of superdelegates to be cheating, and, years ago, when I was on the rules committee of the Republican convention, we voted to get rid of them.)

As the general election approached, the incompetence of the Clinton campaign became more apparent.

Here's a report, from the newspaper *Politico*: "Everybody could see Hillary Clinton was cooked in Iowa. So when, a week-and-a-half out, the Service Employees International Union started hearing anxiety out of Michigan, union officials decided to reroute their volunteers.... They started prepping meals and organizing hotel rooms."

But when they called Clinton headquarters, "Brooklyn was furious. Turn that bus around, the Clinton team ordered SEIU. Those volunteers needed to stay in Iowa to fool Donald Trump into competing there, not drive to Michigan, where the Democrat's models projected a 5-point win [right up until] the morning of Election Day."

One Democratic operation explained: "They believed they were more experienced, which they were. They believed they were smarter, which they weren't."

Another example of how smart the Trump campaign was: Trump came to Minneapolis during the last week of the campaign. The experts ridiculed the trip. No Republican had won Minnesota since 1972. Indeed, Trump ended up losing it by a point and a half. What the experts didn't bother to notice was that people in central Wisconsin often watch Minneapolis television. Campaigning in Minneapolis helped him carry Wisconsin.

Democrats' miscalculations in Wisconsin go back several years.

In that state—birthplace of much of 20th Century liberalism, and of government-employee unions— Governor Scott Walker had pushed through changes that weakened government-employee unions. The changes led to huge protests at the state capitol—100,000 protesters, it was said—and recall campaigns directed at Walker, his lieutenant governor, Republican state legislators, even judges. Republicans ended up winning—keeping the governorship, the legislature, and the state supreme court. Emboldened, they passed a Right to Work law, meaning that no one could be forced to join or pay dues to a union as a condition of employment.

Walker and his allies were forced to build a political machine like nothing Republicans had ever seen before in that state. (It helped Ted Cruz beat Trump in the state's primary, but then was crucial in Trump winning the state in November.)

Critically, the reforms cost the unions some \$600 million in dues over five years, money that probably would have made the difference in the 2016 election in that state.

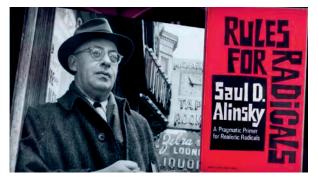
Still, it was in play. Trump won it by less than 23,000 votes, while the Green Party candidate Jill Stein got 31,000.

Hillary did not visit Wisconsin *once* during the fall campaign.

...which led to [a] snarky headline [in the *Washington Examiner*: "Hillary Clinton blames voter suppression for losing a state she didn't visit once during the election."

Finally, let's look at perhaps the most critical blunder by the Clinton campaign: the attack on the "Deplorables."

I know where it came from.



Saul Alinsky, the great political provocateur, propagandist, organizer—Hillary Rodham wrote her thesis on him and he called her his "friend"—one of Alinsky's "rules for radicals" as he called them was to demonize your opponents.

"Ridicule is man's most potent weapon"—that was one of his rules. Another: "Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it." In other words, go after people, not institutions, because people can be hurt, cut off from their support, easier than you can hurt institutions. Paint people as just bad, beyond the pale; create their images for them.

Once there was a group of students planning to disrupt a speech by George H.W. Bush when he was U.N. ambassador, during the Vietnam War. They were going to picket or disrupt his speech. Alinsky said, no, dress up like members of the Ku Klux Klan, and whenever Bush says something in support of the War, cheer and wave signs saying "The KKK supports Bush." ...which is what they did, to great success.

So, one tactic is to look at your opponent's millions of supporters, find someone who is despicable, and make that the image that sticks in people's heads.

The Clinton campaign tried that with its attack on the so-called "alt-right." They were able to do that in part because the term "alt-right" has had different meanings to different people over the years. It included gays for Trump and atheists for Trump and others who might not have been welcome at conservative gatherings in the past. But the term was also taken up by some really creepy people. Understandably and with some justification, the Clinton campaign focused on the creeps, and managed to convince themselves that this was *half* of all Trump supporters.

Speaking to a crowd of rich people in New York—it was an LGBT fundraiser with Barbra Streisand—Hillary on September 9 said this:

"You know, to just be grossly generalistic, you could put half of Trump's supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables. Right? The racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic — you name it."

The crowd laughed and applauded.

That last part, "racist, sexist," and so forth, she said in a singsong tone, almost as if she didn't really believe it, or maybe she was just tired of saying it.

Now, she followed this up with comments that were perfectly reasonable... that, although the Deplorables are "irredeemable," "that other basket of [Trump supporters] are people who feel that the government has let them down, the economy has let them down, nobody cares about them, nobody worries about what happens to their lives and their futures, and they're just desperate for change."

"They don't buy everything he says, but he seems to hold out some hope that their lives will be different.... Those are people we have to understand and empathize with as well," Hillary said. One of Allen's Rules is, It's the sound-bite that counts. Mitt Romney had a point in 2012 about the "47 percent" who don't pay income taxes and might not be reachable with a tax-cut message—but his point was drowned out when he seemed to be attacking nearly half the population.

Worse for Hillary, her comments reminded people of what Romney had said, so it had resonance.

And it gave Trump supporters an identity, as the targets of the condescension of privileged people.



The ridicule went on and on. The one [image in the lower left hand corner of the collage above] is actually a Trump campaign ad.

#### [audience laughter]

... If you don't understand why Trump people felt so mistreated, and were so quick to identify as Deplorables, you may have missed the Facebook memes that were going around, even early in the year, like these.



And you should know that Trump's comment about the poorly educated came in a speech after he beat Marco Rubio in Nevada among almost all ethnic, income, and educational groups, and he was listing them all, and said, "We won with poorly educated. I love the poorly educated." The libertarian magazine *Reason* responded with [a headline on their blog that read]:

"Trump: I love the poorly educated. So should the other candidates." (emphasis added)

Here's something else: the utter hypocrisy of that attack on Trump and his supporters.

According to general-election exit polls in 2008 and 2012, people without a high school diploma were, by far, *Barack Obama*'s strongest education cohort. Obama carried them by 28 points in 2008 and 29 points in 2012. In both elections, Obama's share of the vote declined as one moved up the educational ladder. The pattern was broken only in the most-educated cohort, made up of people who had done postgraduate work.

Among income groups, Obama carried *only* the lowest, those making under \$50,000 a year. But in each election he won that group by such a large margin, 60 to 38, that it carried him to victory.

We shouldn't be surprised to see a study like this one, which the folks at Breitbart News crowed about: "How she lost: Study reveals near half of Clinton's 'deplorables' once supported her."

There was a time when liberals like Eleanor Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Bobby Kennedy cared about the poorly educated.

About four years ago, the Center for American Progress (John Podesta's think tank, closely tied to Hillary Clinton) joined with other leading progressive groups to launch the "Bobby Kennedy Project" to improve the Democrat's outreach to working class voters.

The effort was quietly abandoned soon after. A contributing factor to the project's demise was the perceived risk of moderating current positions of the Democrat Party to attract working class voters.

University of Virginia political scientist Geoff Skelley explained: "At this point, the tradeoffs they might have to make to attract more working-class white voters may not be worth the cost in irritating the constituencies of their current coalition."

In other words, it wasn't worth it, if you had to be associated with *those* people.

There's a fellow named Emmett Rensin who used to write for the liberal online publication *Vox*. He's definitely a Trump-hater. Last June, he was suspended for tweeting "If Trump comes to your town, start a riot." That day, a violent anti-Trump protest broke out in San Jose, California.

But Rensin had an important insight about this campaign. He wrote an article in April 2016 that warned that Trump might win, largely because of what he called "The smug style in American liberalism."

He wrote, "Finding comfort in the notion that their former allies were disdainful, hapless rubes, smug liberals created a culture animated by that contempt." And, he said, "The wages of smug is Trump."

Since the election, Hillary Clinton has been asked why she lost. Fox News put up [a chart] ridiculing her response. She said she took responsibility but blamed:

- •Comey and the FBI
- •Putin and the Russians, and Trump for colluding with them, and "anti-American forces"
- •Bad polls and people who assumed she'd win
- •Misogynists
- •The New York Times (for writing about the e-mails)
- •Netflix (too many anti-Clinton documentaries, "8 of the top 10")
- •The Democratic Party for being broke and not having good data
- Facebook and Twitter and purveyors of Fake News, including "content farms in Macedonia"

... and others.

But the fact is that she and her supporters have no one to blame but themselves.

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# **SPECIAL REPORT**



#### INTRODUCING INFLUENCEWATCH.ORG

CRC's online encyclopedia of special interests is set to launch in late August By Kristen Eastlick

**Summary**: This August, CRC will launch a massive effort to provide open-sourced, well-referenced profiles of special interests that influence lawmakers, the media, researchers, academics, and the general public: **InfluenceWatch.org** will be the most comprehensive website to date, examining those who influence public policy. It will explore the funding, interconnections, histories, and agendas of those individuals and groups leading national messaging campaigns on public policy issues.

As you know from reading this publication, a wide array of organizations, foundations, and movements operate with the specific mission of influencing the public policy process. But as communications efforts become more diverse and sophisticated, it's increasingly difficult to separate the good from the bad, the bad from the worse. Later this month, Capital Research Center, America's investigative think tank, will launch a new website designed to help those who want to know more about the advocacy groups behind the messages we hear every day, blaring out at us from every corner of the mediasphere.

### WHY INFLUENCEWATCH.ORG?

When a reporter at an establishment media outlet uses Google to research any free-market, conservativeleaning organization, he or she almost immediately finds an unflattering profile of the group on the website SourceWatch. Described sometimes as a "watchdog," and other times cited with no descriptive at all, Source Watch is actually maintained by the Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) a group we explained—and exposed in a June 2017 *Organization Trends*. CMD uses their website as a kind of secret smear campaign to negatively brand those generally right-leaning organizations with which it disagrees.

Several efforts have been made by groups on the right to create a similarly authoritative source that provides a fair-minded view of left-wing organizations. But no single



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effort has been completely effective and accessible to the general public. CRC's new resource is designed to be comprehensive, regularly updated, and written in a manner that's accurate and measured—while still thoroughly documenting the radicalism of any individuals and groups profiled. InfluenceWatch will bring unprecedented transparency to the funding, motives, and interconnections of the entities profiled.

### THE PROJECT

As you already know, CRC has accrued over 30 years of data on left-wing advocacy organizations, the labor movement, environmental activists, anti-American foundations and donors, and other key influencers and communicators. In an effort to make InfluenceWatch.org as effective as possible, CRC has tapped into our deep well of knowledge to help create both the infrastructure and the individual profiles that will power the site.

For the first phase of the project, CRC has developed a massive list of featured profiles on the following types of influencers—both on the left and the right:

Kristen Eastlick is CRC's vice president of programs.

**Charitable organizations:** many groups are set up as public charities. As a part of their activities, they are allowed to engage in awareness campaigns to educate a variety of audiences. These groups, organized under section 501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, are subject to strong regulations governing their activity—including a ban on political campaign messaging. In exchange for accepting these rules, donors to these groups deduct contributions from their taxable income to the extent permitted by law. For example, CRC is a charitable organization, as is the Center for American Progress. InfluenceWatch will profile thousands of such organizations.

**Private foundations:** Charitable organizations that do not receive a substantial portion of their income from the general public or government (defined by IRS rules) are private foundations. These 501(c)(3) organizations must report all information about their assets to the IRS and are generally prohibited from lobbying government entities. They do, however, provide significant funding to other organizations for public education and other types of advocacy. InfluenceWatch will examine those connections. The Bradley Foundation, for example, is a well-known donor in the free-market movement, while George Soros's Open Society Foundations is known for donating to radical left-wing causes.

InfluenceWatch will bring unprecedented transparency to the history, motives, and interconnections of all entities involved in the burgeoning advocacy movement.

**Social welfare organizations:** Groups that focus on legislative and grassroots advocacy (also known as 501(c)(4) s) are allowed to lobby without many restrictions from the IRS. However, contributions to these organizations *cannot* be deducted from the donor's taxes. These organizations have increasingly engaged in political advertising—lawful as long as political activity is not the group's primary purpose. For these organizations, InfluenceWatch will look at both types of activities and analyze the funding streams that enable them to pursue their goals.

Labor unions: Organizations that represent workers in specific industries are set up to engage in collective bargaining on behalf of those workers over wages, benefits, and working conditions. Unions regularly engage in lobbying and are allowed to intervene in elections as long as that election activity isn't the primary focus of the



InfluenceWatch.org will explore the funding, interconnections, histories, and agendas of individuals and groups leading national messaging campaigns on public policy issues.

organization. InfluenceWatch will particularly focus on the legislative and political activity of these organizations.

**For-profit organizations:** InfluenceWatch will profile companies that regularly engage in political or legislative activity (like Goldman Sachs) as well as firms usually hired by candidates and issue advocacy organizations for services—like Catalist, a "grassroots" group started by former Clinton advisor Harold Ickes.

**Political campaign organizations:** Political parties and political action committees exist to elect candidates; InfluenceWatch will explore the various connections between campaign employees, donors, and other organizations. InfluenceWatch will also look at the activity of SuperPACs.

**Government agencies:** Over time, many agencies have become increasingly powerful in regulating massive sections of the American economy. InfluenceWatch will look at those agencies, their activities, and the officials who have directed policy—and how outside organizations are connected at all levels.

**Trade associations:** business leagues and trade organizations are designed to serve the industry or the profession that unites their membership. Those groups regularly engage in policy and political activity—whether through traditional lobbying or through openly supporting/ opposing candidates or parties.

**Individuals and activists:** The complex nature of issue advocacy today includes what are called revolving doors. In other words, individuals often move between and among the various entities described above, and many political operatives—think David Brock—are connected to multiple organizations and candidates. InfluenceWatch will explore all of these connections in depth. **Movements:** Movements like Black Lives Matter, Occupy Wall Street, and Fight for \$15 reflect the joint efforts of multiple charitable organizations, social welfare groups, activists, foundations, and sometimes even government agencies. InfluenceWatch will link together the various organizations and individuals that collaborate to form these influential and potentially disruptive radical movements.

Immediately when it launches, InfluenceWatch.org will include basic information on a wide variety of organizations and individuals in more than 3,000 entries—including a description, an image, and (for nonprofit organizations) information publicly available from the IRS. In addition, InfluenceWatch will post in-depth profiles for approximately 10 percent of entries, with the number of full profiles growing over time. These profiles will include in-depth analysis, links to related individuals and organizations, and critical information on the groups' funding sources. And even while new profiles are added, existing profiles will also be regularly updated as we learn more about their activities.

#### **HOW DID WE BUILD INFLUENCEWATCH?**

While CRC has always made use of an internal knowledge base, InfluenceWatch will also maintain a crack team of more than 40 outside writers. These skilled craftsmen will draft profiles of various organizations, then work with in-house editors to hone the profiles and maximize the reliability of all information provided on the site.

InfluenceWatch.org will include basic information on a wide variety of organizations and individuals in roughly 3000 entries when it first launches.

The profiles are submitted, reviewed, and edited by CRC's in-house team before being uploaded to the website. Of course, InfluenceWatch pledges to constantly update its postings as new information becomes available.

On the technical side, CRC has worked closely with expert web developers to create a flexible and easily maintained site into which new information may be posted automatically at any time. This semi-automated process will keep the site current and increase its relevance in the years to come.

In future phases, InfluenceWatch will grow by expanding the number of organizations profiled; we will also



The complex nature of issue advocacy today includes what are called revolving doors; many political operatives—think David Brock—are connected to multiple organizations and candidates.

provide more automated data to each profile as necessary. And through a partnership with OpenTheBooks.com, InfluenceWatch will include data on the amount of federal monies (contracts, grants, payments, etc.) received by the various non-profit entities and for-profit corporations profiled. Here are a couple of examples provided by our friends at OpenTheBooks, which should give you a taste of things to come: Their analysts have learned that the Audubon Society receives lamb-slaughtering and tobacco subsidies, while a corporate entity of Minister Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam receives farm subsidies! Needless to say, as our reach increases, we will continue to grow our roster of talented external writers, editors, and web designers.

In time, we hope InfluenceWatch will become a powerful and necessary tool for the entire freedom movement in our country. In the American tradition of fair play, it will allow equal documentation and balanced analysis of both friends and foes. The site will be promoted to journalists who report on public policy issues, particularly those who cover advocacy groups. We are confident that InfluenceWatch will become the premier research tool for everyone looking to understand who is influencing whom among our nation's top policymakers.

So, at the end of this month, please log on to InfluenceWatch.org! Its launch will usher in a new era for CRC and promises to become the engine driving our activity for the next decade.

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

# LABOR WATCH



#### **GOVERNMENT UNIONS AFTER WISCONSIN**

*Reform on the march* By Michael Watson

**Summary**: Unlike private-sector unions—which create an adversarial relationship between the labor union and the employer—public sector unions operate under a different dynamic. Indeed, public sector unions are in a unique position to "elect their bosses," and they've aggressively done so by contributing almost exclusively to Democratic candidates. As a result, states like California, Connecticut, and Illinois, are now facing financial crises that threaten to bankrupt these states. But reform—like measures taken in Wisconsin and elsewhere—is increasingly possible.

On June 5, 2012, government worker unions suffered a potentially fatal defeat following the collapse of their vicious campaign to recall Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker and Lt. Gov. Rebecca Kleefisch. The unions were out to get Walker and Kleefisch for supporting reforms to government worker collective bargaining, but despite over \$14 million spent by Big Labor to topple the targeted politicians, both prevailed. Walker increased his majority from 124,638 votes to 171,105 votes—this victory confounded pundits' eager projections that a higher voter turnout would favor his union-backed opponent. And in 2014, Walker and Kleefisch were reelected, this time by over 130,000 votes.

The Wisconsin reforms (known as the Budget Repair Bill or "Act 10") broke the back of government worker unions who had long controlled the state where they were first recognized in 1959. Thanks to provisions that gave public employees a choice over whether to keep their unions or not and protection from having political dues withheld from their paychecks by the state, membership in the state's government worker unions tumbled. The *Wisconsin State Journal* found that union membership in both public and private sectors in the state fell by 136,000 from the passage of Act 10 through 2016. The Budget Repair Bill also made a major impact on Wisconsin state and local spending, especially regarding employee compensation.

In fact, losing Wisconsin was a major setback to the nation's government employee unions and a blow to the



In 2011, more than ten thousand people from all across Wisconsin marched on the state capitol to protest Gov. Walker's proposed budget repair bill that would eliminate collective bargaining rights for public employees, among other things.

progressive left to whom they provide major financial, organizing, and manpower muscle. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, four out of the top ten organizations contributing to federal candidates are major unions with substantial public-employee membership: The Service Employees International Union (SEIU), National Education Association (NEA), American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and American Federation of Teachers (AFT). All of these groups give over 97 percent of their contributions to Democratic candidates and liberal organizations.

But the success of Wisconsin's government worker union reforms has shown a path forward for policymakers looking to balance state budgets, support employee rights, and push back against leftist aggression.

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#### THE HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT WORKER UNIONS

Government worker collective bargaining is recognized at the federal level and for at least some state and municipal employees in all states except Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Collective bargaining is the practice by which unions organize workplaces and, upon a showing of majority support from voting employees, receive the privilege of negotiating contracts on behalf of all the employees.

In a private-sector workplace, collective bargaining sets up the familiar adversarial relationship between the labor union and the employer, with each negotiating for a greater share of the business's revenues. In the government sector workplace, this dynamic does not exist. As a result, the practice of collective bargaining by government employees has long been controversial. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a letter to the National Federation of Federal Employees national convention, wrote:

> All Government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. It has its distinct and insurmountable limitations when applied to public personnel management. The very nature and purposes of Government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with Government employee organizations. The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by their representatives in Congress.

George Meany, the founding president of the united American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, was also skeptical of government worker collective bargaining: "[I]t is impossible to bargain collectively with the government," he famously wrote. The AFL-CIO Executive Council resolved as recently as 1959 that "government workers have no right [to collectively bargain] beyond the authority to petition Congress—a right available to every citizen."

However, the labor movement would abandon that position shortly after those comments. In 1958, New York City mayor Robert Wagner granted government worker unions collective bargaining privileges. Wisconsin became the first state to do the same the following year—just as the AFL-CIO resolved that government worker unions did not have special rights. (It should not be surprising that one of the reasons Wisconsin took that action was the precarious



George Meany (left), the founding president of the united AFL-CIO, was skeptical of government worker collective bargaining: "[I]t is impossible to bargain collectively with the government," he famously wrote.

political situation of the state's Democratic then-governor, Gaylord Nelson, who received critical support from government workers' unions.) By the mid-1960s, the federal government and over 20 states had recognized collective bargaining for government workers.

Currently, 47 states allow at least some government employees to unionize and bargain collectively; indeed, in recent years government employees have made up a majority of union members, although the most recent figures show private-sector members retaking the lead. This resurgence can be ascribed to economic recovery increasing private union membership, while various reforms have led to declines in government worker unionism.

Sadly, with collective bargaining comes its evil stepsister: forced dues collection. Twenty-two states allow unions to force all employees represented by unions to pay union fees. Under a 1977 Supreme Court decision, Abood v. Detroit Board of Education, government worker unions are not allowed to collect fees for explicit political and lobbying programs, but they may collect forced fees for "representational" purposes. However, the practice remains hotly contested. Indeed, all government worker union activities may reasonably be seen as political, considering how much government employees are paid (or how hard they work, or what their pensions look like) necessarily affects the rest of public policy. The Supreme Court divided on the question in 2016 after the death of Justice Antonin Scalia, but is likely to address the question again now that newly appointed Associate Justice Neil Gorsuch returns the bench to nine seats.

### **ELECTING THE BOSS**

Even as laws have changed, the problems that Roosevelt and Meany—among others—identified are still with us. Government employment presents what economists call a "principal-agent problem"—the situation that arises when one side with a financial stake (in this case taxpayers) is represented at the bargaining table by actors with different interests (here, politicians and civil-service managers). Government worker unions exploit this problem by intervening heavily in politics in order to "elect their bosses."

#### Unions Keep Cities and School Boards under Control

Of course, government worker unions are perhaps most powerful at the local level, where they work to choose the politicians with whom they will negotiate contracts. Mayors, school board officials, and city councilors seek out the endorsement of government worker unions, which comes with the support of government worker union political machines. Chosen candidates of the public unions receive support from dozens of door-knockers and major advertising campaigns aimed both at union members and the general public.

Even municipal electoral calendars favor government worker unions. The generally liberal-leaning analysts at Nate Silver's website FiveThirtyEight looked into the scheduling of school board and municipal elections, which are often outside normal Congressional and Presidential election cycles. They found that—much to their liberal readership's shock progressives *will* engage in "voter suppression." Government worker unions, especially teachers' unions, encourage the scheduling of municipal and school elections outside of statewide and federal general elections, and evidence shows "that off-cycle elections lead to higher salaries and better health and retirement benefits" for government workers. This can be described as a reasonable proxy for union power.

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Big-city mayors seeking power frequently court the aid of government worker unions. In the five largest cities in the country, government labor unions strongly backed the mayors of Los Angeles (Eric Garcetti), Houston (Sylvester Turner), and Philadelphia (James Kenney) for election in their most recent campaigns. New York's Bill de Blasio wasn't government unions' first choice, but has proven a loyal Big Labor ally in office. Only Chicago's Rahm Emanuel, who has struggled to combat the influence of the Chicago Teachers Union on city budget and education policy, saw government unions oppose him.

Even where public policy seeks to curtail the influence of government worker unions over the election of their bosses, union money finds a way: Major cities in Arizona including Phoenix, Mesa, and Glendale have rules that prohibit city employees' unions from contributing to candidates in their own municipal elections. However, the *Arizona Republic* recently identified a scheme set up by firefighters' unions, which saw their own PACs contributing to union-friendly candidates in other municipalities in return for reciprocal support in their own cities' elections.

The results are unequivocally clear; they were identified in a 2013 University of Pennsylvania study that showed challengers running with union support were not only more likely to win, but also more likely to adopt union-friendly policies in return.

#### Government Worker Unions Wreck State Finances

Unfortunately, government worker union political activities are not confined to the local level. Unions have always been heavy contributors to ballot initiative campaigns and liberal candidates; naturally when they get their men into office they expect the repaying of favors. Connecticut, California, and Illinois show an inordinately strong public worker union influence on their state governments. It follows that the financial situation in all three of these states hover somewhere between collapse and dire.

Connecticut, despite having one of the richest populations in the United States, is a fiscal basket case. The libertarian Mercatus Center cites Connecticut as the state with the second-worst cash solvency situation in the union. (Though, admittedly, if one includes the bankrupt U.S. territory of Puerto Rico, Connecticut becomes third-worst—small consolation!) In May, the state was given a credit downgrade by Fitch Ratings to A+, third-worst of the fifty states. States with poor credit ratings have to pay higher interest rates to compensate investors for the risk of default or bankruptcy.

Currently, Connecticut projects a budget deficit of over \$2 billion, barring fundamental and unlikely changes to state finances. Under former progressive darling Gov. Dan Malloy (D), the Connecticut legislature has passed massive tax increases; still the budget refuses to balance. This failure led Malloy to propose budget cuts and state workforce reductions, which drew bitter opposition from the state worker unions that had backed Malloy's campaigns. Those state worker unions have allies in high places: State House Speaker Joe Aresimowicz (D-Berlin) is an employee of the government worker union AFSCME.

California burns in a similar fiscal hell, though slightly cooler as its Fitch bond rating adds up to a slightly better AA-. Despite a 2012 tax increase passed with over \$22 million in public employee union support that was extended in 2016 with an additional \$26 million in union backing, the Golden State's pensions are desperately underfunded. A Stanford study found the funding gap exceeded \$1.2 trillion, or over \$30,000 for every resident of the state! Government worker unions in California have been so successful in winning generous pension benefits that one study found the average pension for a full-career government worker exceeded the average private-sector annual pay in the state.

The fiscal situation in Connecticut and California is very bad, even terrible, but no state suffers more from the effects of government worker union contract demands than Illinois. The Land of Lincoln holds the worst bond rating of any state, only one step above "junk bond status," as of press time. Some estimates suggest that government worker pensions could take up more than one quarter of state revenues annually through 2044.

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Longtime Illinois House Speaker Michael Madigan (D-Chicago) can be considered the engineer of the state's pension woes. Barring a single two-year interruption, he's served as speaker continuously since 1983. A longtime servant of union interests, Madigan was behind a number of government worker pension bills that have sent Illinois crashing over the fiscal cliff. Such service to the unions has its rewards: He received over \$1.1 million in contributions from government worker unions from 2002 through 2015, not counting contributions to the Illinois Democratic Party that Madigan solicited in his role as state party chairman.



A longtime servant of union interests, Madigan (center, pictured here at an event sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Labor) was behind a number of government worker pension bills that have sent Illinois crashing over the fiscal cliff.

A minor attempt at pension reform under former Gov. Pat Quinn (D) failed, overruled by the Illinois Supreme Court in 2013. Quinn was subsequently ousted in favor of Republican Bruce Rauner and in 2014, Madigan went back into the unions' service. At their urging, Madigan declared war on Rauner's "turnaround agenda," a package of spending reforms and collective bargaining changes that the new governor had vainly hoped to enact.

But in "Madiganistan" (a term coined by City College of New York professor Daniel DiSalvo in Chicago's City *Journal* magazine last fall), the Governor does not govern; Madigan and his government worker union cronies run the show. The state budget has remained at a multi-year impasse, with Madigan and the unions arrayed against Rauner, blocking the "turnaround agenda" at every turn. Meanwhile, Madigan has moved even more aggressively to further entrench union power: In 2016, he tried to use his statehouse super-majorities to pass an arbitration bill backed by Illinois' state AFSCME council that would have curtailed Rauner's constitutional power to dictate contract terms during a negotiating impasse. This time, however, Madigan and AFSCME suffered a rare Springfield defeat: One of Madigan's members abstained from the veto override vote, killing the measure and provoking a primary challenge successfully backed by Madigan and his union allies. A second effort saw a second defection and a second defeat, but Madigan and his unions continue to block Rauner's reforms and have vowed to unseat him in 2018.

#### FIGHTING BACK: REFORM AFTER WISCONSIN

Wisconsin may have been the first state to clip the wings of government worker union collective bargaining—but it seems the gyre has turned and it will be far from the last. (The state itself has not abandoned further reform; Wisconsin later added a right-to-work law to its reform arsenal, stripping unions in both the government sector and the private sector of the power to collect forced fees from non-members.)

In 2017, Iowa Governor (now U.S. Ambassador to China) Terry Branstad (R) and state legislators enacted their own package of government-sector collective bargaining reforms modeled on Wisconsin's. The Iowa bill requires nonpublic safety government worker unions to face periodic recertification elections, forbids collective bargaining for non-wage benefits, and restricts government worker unions from automatically deducting dues from paychecks.

The election of President Donald Trump has also created an opening at the federal level for reform to collective bargaining for government employee unions. Vice President Mike Pence reportedly met with Gov. Walker in February to discuss changes to federal employee bargaining. Current law prohibits bargaining over wages and benefits, but federal unions can bargain for protection from firing. This practice has been criticized for exacerbating the scandalous conditions at Veterans Affairs hospitals. Of course, the VA workers' union, the American Federation of Government Employees, opposed a bipartisan VA reform bill that eased the path to terminating bad workers.

Anti-forced-fees litigation has also proceeded to the Supreme Court: Illinois, like a handful of other Democratic-controlled states, had deemed Medicaid-funded in-home caretakers "public employees for the purposes of collective bargaining," allowing the Service Employees International Union to "skim" compulsory dues from their reimbursement checks. Nationwide, the skim is estimated to net the SEIU roughly \$200 million in annual revenues.

But in 2014, the Court held in a 5-4 decision authored by Justice Samuel Alito that caregivers could not be forced to pay union fees. The Court found that the arrangement by Illinois and the SEIU designating caretakers as employees did not form a true employer-employee relationship with the state. The ruling, titled *Harris v. Quinn*, failed to overturn the purported collective bargaining arrangement entirely, but it did raise hopes that *Abood* itself could be overturned, thus prohibiting forced union fee payments in the public sector nationwide. By 2016, SCOTUS was prepared to hear *Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association*; court-watchers expect the new conservative-leaning majority to overturn *Abood* and give right-to-work protections to the entire government sector.

The core of the argument in *Friedrichs* was slightly different than the argument in *Harris*: The plaintiff, a California schoolteacher who dissented from the political program of the California Teachers Association—one of the most powerful interest groups in the state—asserted that providing any financial support to the union amounts to compelled political speech, which the Supreme Court consistently prohibits. Unfortunately, before the case could be decided, Associate Justice Antonin Scalia died. The Court then deadlocked 4-4, defaulting to a lower-court decision that had upheld forced fee payments.

With the subsequent appointment of Associate Justice Neil Gorsuch to the high court, numerous cases have been filed to challenge the forced fees. The most notable, *Janus v. American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 31*, currently lies before the Supreme Court awaiting a decision as to whether the court will take the case.

CC The "skimming" of compulsory dues from the reimbursement checks of union members, nationwide, is estimated to net the SEIU roughly \$200 million in annual revenues.

Beyond right-to-work protections and further collective bargaining reforms, opponents of public sector unions' power to lock taxpayers out of the decision making process have taken steps to refocus the spotlight on negotiations: Proposition 104, passed by a wide margin in Colorado in 2014, requires school boards that engage in collective bargaining with teachers unions to open their negotiation meetings to public scrutiny. Idaho enacted a similar disclosure law in 2015 by an unopposed vote in its state legislature. According to the Freedom Foundation, which is pushing a similar measure in Washington State, thirteen states have some requirement for at least a degree of open negotiations.

Advocates of open public negotiations, including the Independent Institute and Freedom Foundation, hope that shining a light on negotiations will increase direct tax payer



On the fourth day of the government shutdown in 2013, activists from The American Federation Of Government Employees (AFGE), SEIU, US Action, Creedo Action and other groups and their supporters rally and march.

input into public spending priorities. Open negotiations allow the average citizen to watch their agents—public officials—and hold them accountable if they fail to represent taxpayers' interests.

Reformers have also taken aim at the dubious practice of government-funded "release time" or "official time." This is the practice of continuing to pay the salaries of government workers in union roles from taxpayer money while they do the union's rather than the people's business. The Competitive Enterprise Institute has estimated that at least 1,000 federal employees paid by the taxpayer spend *all* their time on labor union business. The federal Office of Personnel Management found that official time costs the taxpayer \$162.5 million per year, while saving the unions the same amount, as they don't have to pay the wages of people working on union matters.

Numerous states also allow for official time (called "release time" at the state level). State constitutional "gift clauses" however, open an avenue for challenging these state worker union privileges. These clauses, included in 47 state constitutions, prohibit subsidies to private entities including, in theory, labor unions.

Arizona is among the states with a "gift clause" that offers unions release time privileges. This practice provoked a lawsuit filed by Phoenix residents and supported by the Goldwater Institute. Despite favorable decisions in the lower state courts, the Arizona Supreme Court ruled 3-2 in 2016 that the gift clause did not prohibit release time. The Goldwater Institute has continued its efforts in other states: Cases challenging release time in Texas and New Jersey are currently pending.

### **UNION COUNTERATTACKS**

Government worker unions and their allies in the broader liberal movement have rigorously opposed efforts to protect taxpayers and government employees who oppose the progressive agenda. After failing to reverse Walker's reforms in the expensive "Battle of Wisconsin," unions have chosen several coordinated approaches to reverse the momentum of labor reform. Some have backfired catastrophically, while others have proven even more dangerous to the conservative employee freedom agenda.

The 2012 election is remembered as a good one for labor, since Democrats retained the Presidency and control of the U.S. Senate. However, labor unions in Michigan, the ancestral heartland of private-sector unionism, sought to pre-empt labor reform in the state by passing the "Protect Our Jobs" Initiative, known as Proposal 2. For good measure, the SEIU backed another measure, Proposal 4, which would overturn the state government's reversal of a home healthcare "dues skim" like the one the Supreme Court would rule on in *Harris v. Quinn*.

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During government-funded "release time" or "official time," taxpayers fund the salaries of government workers while they do the union's business.

Proposal 2 failed, despite a massive, multi-million dollar campaign to pass the deceptively named initiative that would have voided an estimated 170 state laws and 18 state constitutional provisions. Had it passed, Michigan would have been barred forever from enacting a right-to-work law. As it turned out, the vote wasn't even close: While President Obama carried the state 54 percent to 45 percent, the union-backed ballot measure went down 58 percent to 42 percent. Proposal 4 was also defeated, and the SEIU's secretive effort to hide its financial support for the measure incurred a \$199,000 fine for its Healthcare Michigan local from Michigan campaign finance regulators.

But that wasn't the end of Michigan labor's pains: Emboldened by Proposal 2's emphatic defeat, state legislators passed and Gov. Rick Snyder (R) signed a right-to-work law that applied to both private-sector and government-sector workers in the state. For all state and municipal contracts entered into after March 27, 2013, unions would not be able to collect compulsory agency fees.

The SEIU has also fought back against the effects of *Harris v. Quinn*. As our Michael Hartmann reported in May, the Freedom Foundation, a free-market think tank in the Pacific Northwest, has come under sustained legal attack from the SEIU. The Freedom Foundation uses state open records laws to identify home-care workers whom the Foundation could inform of their *Harris* rights to opt out of dues payments.

These efforts are paying off. Freedom Foundation claims that they have persuaded thousands of in-home caregivers to exercise their *Harris* rights and deprive the SEIU of millions in undeserved skimmed dues. These activities have led the SEIU and the Washington state Attorney General—who received campaign contributions from the SEIU—to wage an outrageous lawfare campaign against providing this information.

What is the goal here? Clearly, to bankrupt the Freedom Foundation under a mountain of legal fees. This laudable free-market group has already incurred \$1.4 million in costs; the litigation continues with no end in sight. However, this harassment campaign has the potential to backfire on Big Labor: The SEIU, ordered to hand over numerous internal documents in the discovery process, has opened itself to unwanted scrutiny and a Freedom Foundation counter-suit.

#### CONCLUSION

Government worker unions, a bad idea from their inception, can now see into the future and it doesn't look great for them: According to the Union Membership and Coverage Database maintained by economists from Georgia State University and Trinity University, the march of reform has caused a precipitous plunge in government employee union membership. In Wisconsin, for example, before Walker's 2011 reforms, 187,000 government workers were union members and an additional 11,000 were covered by collective bargaining and forced to pay agency fees. By 2016, membership numbers had plummeted to 91,000 and the right-to-work law meant that agency fee payers would eventually reach zero.

Given the opportunity to leave or abolish their unions, half of Wisconsin government union members chose to walk or had their unions dissolved. Michigan's SEIU healthcare local—the dark heart of the dues skim—saw a decline in membership from over 55,000 to fewer than 11,000 after the skim was abolished and right-to-work passed in 2013. These reforms increase the power of taxpayers at the bargaining table and increase the ability of state governments to deliver balanced budgets without increasing taxes.

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

# **DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION**



#### **ANNE FRANK'S TRAGIC LEGACY ABUSED BY THE LEFT**

How the Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect abuses its namesake's memory By Hayden R. Ludwig

**Summary:** The Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect (AFC) is a political attack group posing as a Holocaust education organization. The AFC has evolved from a quiet nonprofit into a personal propaganda machine for its flamboyant executive director, Steven Goldstein—who uses Anne Frank's tragic victimhood and Holocaust imagery to advance its anti-Trump agenda.

## INTRODUCTION

If there's one group that proves the American Left can make anything rotten, it's the Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect. Don't let that name fool you; this is a run-of-themill example of a group co-opted and retooled by the Left into a hard-driving propaganda machine. Under new ultrapartisan ownership, it's become a self-anointed one-man crusade against anti-Semitism and other -isms, sporting a slick, heart-tugging moniker aimed at garnering as much mainstream media coverage as possible. There's only one problem—a big one—the Anne Frank Center has nothing to do with Anne Frank. Instead, it's a partisan attack dog aimed at assailing the Donald Trump administration.

Anne Frank is, of course, a powerful symbol of the lives lost in the Holocaust, and a source of education to millions about the danger of tyranny. Unlike the young German Holocaust victim it takes its name from, however, there is nothing genuine about the Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect (AFC). It has changed its name, its leadership, and its mission statement to the point where it has become unrecognizable from its original iteration. Even the first AFC—supposedly founded in 1959 as the American Friends of the Anne Frank Center—has dubious connections to the young German-Jewish girl who died in the concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen, Germany, in 1945.

The AFC claims Anne's father, Otto Frank, established the organization in New York; yet officials at the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds (which owns the rights to her diary) in Switzerland deny the connection. The facts are hazy. The wife of AFC's first



If there's one group that proves the American Left can make anything rotten, it's the Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect.

president relates, "I think my husband met with [Otto Frank] once or twice." Members of the original staff claim the AFC was started in 1977 (when it achieved its IRS 501(c) (3) status). Grayson Covil, the AFC's executive director in the 1980s, puts it plainly: "I don't believe that Otto Frank started the American Friends of the Anne Frank Center."

For an organization that was supposedly founded less than six decades ago by a world-renowned Holocaust survivor, the Anne Frank Center sure has a hard time proving where it came from.

In almost every regard, too, the AFC is vastly different from the public image it cultivates. It has no mass membership or scholarly board. It isn't Jewish, and it doesn't seek to educate about the Holocaust. In fact, it's

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difficult to find *anything* about the group that isn't illusion or flat-out lie, with one exception: the Anne Frank Center has exceptional Left-wing credentials.

#### **SEAN SPICER: HOLOCAUST DENIER?**

On April 11, White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer delivered remarks on the chaotic Syrian Civil War:

We did not use chemical weapons in World War II. You had someone as despicable as [Adolf] Hitler who did not even sink to using chemical weapons.

Strictly speaking, Spicer was correct; the sarin gas used to murder victims of the Nazi death camps was never defined as a "chemical weapon." During the Nuremberg Trials after World War II, Albert Speer, the German Minister of Armaments and War Production, testified that the Nazis purposely avoided using chemical weapons in warfare in order to avoid like retaliation and, in his own words, "international crimes which could be held against the German people after they had lost the war." Ironic as his statement was, the prosecutors understood the difference between chemical weapons used in combat and the sarin gas employed in the death camps.

Spicer was referencing Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and the dictator's use of deadly gas on Syrian citizens, but for the Left-wing press it was tantamount to denying the Holocaust.

The run of Democratic hacks—Nancy Pelosi and Barbra Streisand, to name a few—launched a predictably shrill salvo calling for Spicer's resignation. Spicer quickly offered his heartfelt apologies, explaining he had been referring to the use of sarin gas in combat, not in the setting of Nazi "holocaust centers." This second slip-up (he should have said "concentration camps") earned the beleaguered press secretary yet another round of phony lamentations as the Left howled aghast and rent its collective clothes.

It was political opportunism; even MSNBC host Chris Matthews stated in 2013 that Adolf Hitler didn't use chemical weapons, and he was never called a "Holocaust denier." But one voice rose above the general cacophony. Safely ensconced in cosmopolitan New York City, Steven Goldstein—executive director of the Anne Frank Center launched a flurry of social media attacks implying Spicer is a Holocaust denier:

> BREAKING NEWS: SEAN SPICER DENIES HITLER GASSED JEWS DURING THE HOLOCAUST. MR. PRESIDENT, FIRE SEAN SPICER NOW.



*"BREAKING NEWS: SEAN SPICER DENIES HITLER GASSED JEWS DURING THE HOLOCAUST. MR. PRESIDENT, FIRE SEAN SPICER NOW."* 

On Passover no less, Sean Spicer has engaged in Holocaust denial, the most offensive form of fake news imaginable, by denying Hitler gassed millions of Jews to death. Spicer's statement is the most evil slur upon a group of people we have ever heard from a White House press secretary.

The vitriol emanating from an outlet named for a 15-year old Holocaust victim took many by surprise, even on the Left. The AFC is tiny, and before mid-2016 was hardly known outside of its New York headquarters. But this wasn't the first time its vocal new executive director had assailed the Donald Trump administration for its supposed anti-Semitism. On January 27, the White House released its International Holocaust Remembrance Day statement and came under immediate fire from Goldstein:

> [Trump's] statement today is a pathetic asterisk of condescension after weeks in which he and his staff have committed grotesque acts and omissions reflecting Antisemitism, yet day after day have refused to apologize and correct the record. Make no mistake: The Antisemitism coming out of this Administration is the worst we have ever seen from any Administration.

What was the President guilty of? The statement left out the word "Jew" in its attempt to honor the myriad groups victimized by the Nazis. After the Left spent decades expanding Holocaust education to include non-Jewish



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victims (such as homosexuals and gypsies) in order to universalize the tragedy, it's rich that Trump could be accused of anti-Semitism for neglecting to mention Jews in his 117-word statement.

Never mind the fact that it was a Jewish aide descended from Holocaust survivors who wrote the statement. It is anti-Semitism in Goldstein's eyes—and this from an organization with "Mutual Respect" in the name. So who is Goldstein, and what does the AFC actually advocate for?

#### **A NEW MISSION**

Prior to 2016, the AFC was a sleepy educational charity with a staff of less than ten that ran its little storefront museum in New York City. All that changed when the AFC was made the target of a hostile Left-wing takeover. Ten members of the original 21-person board were replaced, and the original staff quit or were fired. In their place came the usual cadre of whingy stage actors, hardened Democrat campaign veterans, and "social justice warriors." Their staff biographies veritably sparkle with leftist slogans; they *really* want you to know they are "staunch social justice advocate[s]" who fully realize "the fight for total equality is never over."

Even former staff—hardly staunch conservatives themselves—admit the AFC has taken a radical turn. Yvonne Simons, former executive director and herself a vocal progressive, noted that the board of directors "changed its mission after my 10-year tenure."

The prior board chair was replaced with Peter Rapaport, a Manhattanite and private-wealth manager. Rapaport, in turn, led the push in June 2016 to appoint Steven Goldstein as executive director to the new Anne Frank Center. Since that time, Goldstein has closed the AFC's modest museum, slapped the words "Mutual Respect" onto the name, and waded it shrilly into the fetid bog of Left-wing activism.

Like many co-opted outlets, the AFC hardly conceals its real motives. It only halfheartedly tries to blend in among legitimate anti-Semitism organizations, and admits it isn't Jewish. William Shulman, president of the respected Association of Holocaust Organizations (AHO), divulged in an interview that the AFC is "inactive" in the AHO beyond paying its dues. Not that the AFC has a problem with this; Rapaport fully admits that "it isn't our focus to be pro-Jewish or to be just a Holocaust-education [organization]." After all, why would anyone assume that the *Anne Frank Center* had anything to do with the Holocaust?

The new AFC apparently felt strong enough about the Jewish connection that it almost immediately dissolved the last thing actually linking it to Anne Frank—its advisory board of Holocaust experts. Goldstein explained the move with specious credulity: "Nobody knew what their purpose was." As everyone knows, the last thing a nonprofit dedicated to combating anti-Semitism needs are Holocaust experts.

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Forty-seven states allow some government employees to unionize and bargain collectively; sadly, with collective bargaining comes its evil stepsister: forced dues collection.

#### **ACTIVIST LEADERSHIP**

But this isn't Goldstein's first foray into the fever swamps of Left-wing hysteria.

Steven Goldstein (b. 1962) is a political activist from New Jersey. His degrees are from elite, typically Left-wing universities: Brandeis University (B.A.), Harvard (M.A., Public Policy), the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, and Columbia Law School.

Goldstein is a longtime Democratic Party operative, starting out as co-campaign manager in 2000 for Sen. Jon Corzine (D-NJ), then as press secretary to Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), followed by a stint with Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-NY), and last as a counsel to the U.S. House Judiciary Committee. In the early 2000s Goldstein worked as a television producer for NBC. In 2004 he founded Garden State Equality, a New Jersey same-sex marriage campaign. He left in 2013 when Rutgers University-Newark hired the activist to be its Associate Chancellor for External Relations. Bizarrely, Goldstein briefly owned Attention America, a now-defunct Manhattan public affairs firm that was approached by the bin Laden family in October 2001, seeking a PR company to distance themselves from Osama bin Laden, following the 9/11 attacks.

This self-proclaimed "Harvey Milk of New Jersey" (taken from a June 2016 interview with the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*) first wormed into the national spotlight in 2006 during the Laurel Hester debacle. Hester, a police lieutenant in Ocean County, NJ, diagnosed with lung cancer, had sought to extend survivor benefits to her lesbian partner. Goldstein leaped at the chance to showboat—in his words, to flash his "sense of camp." He claimed the County's decision to extend Hester's benefits to her partner as a personal victory, which would lead to the 2015 feature film *Freeheld*, where Goldstein is played by actor Steve Carell. In the movie Goldstein is portrayed as a self-serving ideologue bent on making an issue of survivor benefits into a broader gay marriage campaign—to the point where he nearly costs Hester her victory.

David Smith, the AFC's deputy executive director, also has a long history in Left-wing politics. Smith notes his time working for Goldstein as deputy executive director for Garden State Equality. He touts his "extensive background in Democratic political campaigns," and served as a delegate to the 2008 Democratic National Convention in Denver.

If these two sound like the B-team still learning on the job, they're finding success in bamboozling much of the media into believing they're real Holocaust experts. Together, Goldstein and Smith are prepared to take the AFC to new lows in the vague but tireless quest to "call out prejudice, counter discrimination and advocate for the kinder and fairer world of which Anne Frank dreamed."

#### **ANNE FRANK: SOCIAL JUSTICE WARRIOR**

Or so they say. It's difficult to imagine exactly what kind of world this little girl would have embraced and defended. Anneliese Frank was born in Frankfurt, Germany, on June 12, 1929, but lived most of her life in Amsterdam, where she penned the diary that made her name synonymous with Holocaust tragedy. In July 1942, the Frank family went into hiding in the secret annex of a building on Prinsengracht, in Amsterdam. They survived cooped up there until August

ANNE FRANK FONDS'

Goldstein has inanely called Anne "one of the greatest feminist and social justice leaders in history." Implying that this fifteenyear-old led the charge to fight "sexism, racism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, [and] bias against the differently abled" is patently absurd.

1944, when they were discovered, arrested, and sent to the concentration camp at Auschwitz, Poland. Anne was soon relocated to the camp at Bergen-Belsen where she died, likely from a combination of exhaustion and typhus in early February 1945.

Otto Frank was a key mover in the effort to make his daughter's diary famous. In 1963, he founded the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, Switzerland, where he'd relocated following Germany's defeat in May 1945. After his death in 1980, the Fonds continued as the legitimate owner of Anne's diary and related materials.

It is true that Otto Frank actively promoted his views on racial tolerance after the war; but the earliest Anne Frank organizations were apolitical. The AFC, though, would have you believe that the Frank family lived on the bleeding edge of 21st century progressive politics. Goldstein has inanely called Anne "one of the greatest feminist and social justice leaders in history." Implying—if not flatly stating—that this fifteen-year-old led the charge to fight "sexism, racism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, [and] bias against the differently abled" is patently absurd. Worse, it creates immoral equivalents between modern "victims" of phony hate crimes and actual Holocaust victims.

Goldstein and his toadies are hardly the first to appropriate the Holocaust tragedy for their own political ends, but their use of Anne Frank as a generic fill-in for any and all social justice campaigns is especially galling. It is, in the end, terribly convenient for the AFC that Anne cannot speak for herself; otherwise she might sound suspiciously *unlike* the social justice guerrilla the AFC has made her out to be. It's hard to know, for example, what Anne might have felt upon seeing a man wearing a dress claiming to be a woman who used to be a man—but being the product of a middleclass background in an era before the general acceptance of such shenanigans, she probably wouldn't have reacted in a positive way.

Still, a little history couldn't stop Goldstein from bravely posting his vitriol across social media, where the AFC has twisted and warped Anne Frank into a screeching "snowflake" commando armed with her trusty hashtags. "Some ask: How dare you use Anne Frank's name to stand up for Muslims as you would for everyone else?" the AFC wrote in one post. "We respond: You haven't a clue as to what Anne Frank stood for." What? Who could have imagined in 1945 that Anne Frank would one day be a fullthroated defender of Black Lives Matter, or a bare-knuckle brawler taking on the supposedly racist proponents of Islamophobia?

(\(\screwedge)\) The AFC would have you believe that the Frank family lived on the bleeding edge of 21st century progressive politics.

This kind of revisionist invective would be comical if it weren't so cynical: Rolf Wolfswinkel, an actual Anne Frank scholar and former member of the AFC's expert board, doesn't conceal his distaste for the new bulked-up, progressive Anne: "To believe that Anne Frank is a sort of Mother Teresa, or a universal symbol of tolerance and goodness—I don't see it in the diary..." he writes. "By taking the Jewishness out of the Holocaust, are we still talking about the same thing?"

#### ANOTHER FRONT IN THE WAR AGAINST TRUMP

On its Twitter banner, the AFC displays an image with a smiling Anne superimposed on a photo depicting crying Arab children and *hijab*-sporting Muslims. "America denied immigration to refugee Anne Frank," the caption reads, "Open your heart to refugees and immigrants today." The image was created in response to President Donald Trump's lawful and constitutional executive order temporary halting immigration from six terrorist-breeding countries in the Middle East. Goldstein's minions wasted no time in decrying the "RACIST MUSLIM BAN" and peppering AFC's social media with what passes for witty commentary in leftist circles.

That a young Jewish victim of anti-Semitism is cast as the poster-child for "victimized" anti-Semites in the Middle East is an irony Goldstein likely can't fathom. But like the AFC in general, the outrage over anti-Semitism is a Potemkin village; the real fight is with President Trump.

Steven Goldstein has taken it upon himself to wage holy war against the Trump administration. A vocal Hillary Clinton supporter during the 2016 election, he is quick to assail the Republican Party while attempting to disguise himself behind the veil of nonpartisanship. In March, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson gave a speech in front of department employees, referring to African slaves as "immigrants:"

> There were other immigrants who came in the bottom of slave ships, who worked even longer, even harder, for less, but they too had a dream that one day their sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters, great grandsons, great granddaughters might pursue prosperity and happiness in this land.

It was hardly the stuff to spark revolution. "This is as offensive a remark as it gets," an outraged Goldstein nevertheless pronounced. "You do not get a pass because you are African-American, any more than President Trump gets a pass for his delayed and sometimes nonexistent responses to [anti-Semitism] because he has Jewish relatives." A devastating salvo, to be sure, yet one which raises a question: why should Steven Goldstein, a white Jew, be more offended at a remark about black slaves than Ben Carson, the descendant of African slaves? Moreover, Carson's words have the weight of the English language behind them. Webster's Dictionary defines "immigrant" as "a person who comes to a country to take up permanent residence."

### A BRIDGE TOO FAR...LEFT?

It's a rare and entertaining spectacle, but on occasion even leftists turn on each other: In this case, Steven Goldstein may have pushed the envelope beyond what the conventional Left is prepared to accept.

In spring 2017 the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam released a statement distancing itself from Goldstein's political comments:

The Anne Frank [House] is a museum and an educational organisation [sic]. We too see social developments that cause us great concern, including

an increase in antisemitic [sic] incidents and other forms of discrimination. We stay out of the political playing field, and see it as our task to achieve our mission—combating anti-Semitism, racism and discrimination—through our educational activities.

The world of nonprofits dedicated to educating about anti-Semitism is crowded, and for the most part, attempts to stay removed from controversy. But, of course, the Anne Frank Center isn't a real part of that world, judges David Benkof, a Jewish historian. "Armed with a great organizational title," Benkof writes in the *Daily Caller*, "incendiary but readyto-print quotes; and a gullible media slavishly lapping it all up, Goldstein is finding tremendous success" promoting his "civil rights" warrior career aspirations.

Neither is the center-Left *Atlantic* magazine buying the AFC's narrative. "[B]ecause it talks a big game and wields the name of Anne Frank, the media has awarded [the AFC] authority it never earned." Even the Anti-Defamation League—another organization co-opted by the Left—refrained from accusing Sean Spicer of Holocaust denial.

Nevertheless, it isn't clear that the belligerent Anne Frank Center 2.0 is having any effect on the Trump presidency. Far from undermining the administration, Goldstein's frequent eruptions seem to have galvanized the President and his supporters.

Following a spate of bombing attacks on Jewish community centers in early 2017, the AFC launched yet another round of invectives accusing Trump of committing "grotesque acts and omissions reflecting Antisemitism [sic]." This time, however, the Donald responded. In a mid-February press conference, Trump condemned the violence, adding, "It won't be my people" who would be discovered as the perpetrators. "It will be the people on the other side."

Predictably, the Left imploded. Jonathon Greenblatt, chief executive of the Anti-Defamation League and a longtime Obama operative, said, "We are astonished by what the President reportedly said." Sen. Chuck Schumer called the comments "absurd and obscene." Debbie Wasserman-Schulz, the disgraced former head of the Democratic Party, characteristically blabbed: "[Trump has] given license and permission to anti-Semites" and "opened the floodgates" to anti-Semitic attacks. Steven Goldstein blasted Trump's prediction as "anti-Semitism in itself."

Then, in March, police charged Juan Thompson, an African American Left-wing journalist, for making bomb threats against Jewish sites and organizations in the United States; later that month Israeli police arrested a Jewish Israeli-American teenager for doing the same—both likely "false flag" attacks designed to smear the reputation of President Trump, his supporters and other conservatives. But the Left was deafeningly silent on the motivation behind these miscreants' activities and quickly let the matter drop.

Despite the rhetoric, there is no evidence to support the narrative that Donald Trump's supporters are responsible for a rise in anti-Semitic crimes, if indeed there has been a rise—the data is thin on this question. A Pew Research Center poll conducted in February found that Republicans and evangelical Christians are more favorable towards Jews than Democrats are—and they've grown even *more* affectionate since Election Day.

That doesn't stop the endless, apoplectic accusations of anti-Semitism. In a typical tweet, Goldstein accused Dr. Sebastian Gorka—a Hungarian-American member of Trump's national security advisory staff—of having links with a neo-Nazi outfit in Hungary. In fact, Gorka's family hid Jews during the Holocaust. The "crime" which brought him under fire is his tough stance on fanatical Islamists; ironically, the same zealots who quite vocally seek the violent death of Jews.

In the rush to defame the Right for fictional crimes by blanketing the Trump administration in accusations of anti-Semitism, however, the Left has made some interesting revelations. Alan Dershowitz, a liberal author and notable Harvard professor, nailed it:

> [This] guy who claims to be the head of the [Anne] Frank Center [Goldstein]... is a total phony. There is no such thing, this is a minor institution with no credibility within the Jewish community. He is constantly trying to get headlines by overblowing everything.

[Sean Spicer] screwed up. And he apologized from his heart, and I am prepared to give him a pass on this. You know who I am not prepared to give a pass on this? The Democratic National Committee.

They have immediately decided to [politicize] this.... This is the same Democratic National Committee, who has as co-chairman Keith Ellison, who didn't recognize the fact that he was working for an anti-Semite, [Louis] Farrakhan. This is just hypocrisy and I think we should not make politics out of this.

Dershowitz is right, of course, save for one thing: the Left intends to "make politics" out of *everything*. What these radicals have unwittingly done, though, is uncover their own anti-Semitic transgressions.

It was former President Barack Hussein Obama who authorized a staffer to call Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin "Bibi" Netanyahu "chickens\*\*t." It was Obama who lectured the Jewish state endlessly on the right of Palestinians to build settlements on Jewish land and negotiated Israel into a corner by all but rubber-stamping Iran's nuclear program. Obama's first Secretary of State, the choleric Hillary Clinton, called Bill Clinton's 1974 congressional campaign manager a "f\*\*\*ing Jew bastard."

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In his last act as President, Obama's second Secretary of State, John Kerry, refused to veto a United Nations Security Council resolution declaring Jews have no connection with East Jerusalem—managing to malign millennia of Jewish history, permanently damage Israeli national security, and secure his boss's place as the most anti-Israel president in modern U.S. history. The Simon Wiesenthal Center ranked the move the most anti-Semitic incident of 2016.

#### TRUMP THE PHILO-SEMITE

Contrast that with Donald Trump, whose brief time as president has already brought tangible victories to Jews in America and Israel.

For one, pro-Israel Jews and gentiles hold key positions in the Trump administration. His pick for U.S. ambassador to Israel is David Friedman, the devout Orthodox son of a New York rabbi and a brilliant economist, physicist, and legal scholar. (In contrast, the British ambassador to Israel is blandly touted for being openly gay; the French and Canadian ambassadors are lauded for being female; and none of them are Jewish.) Trump's highly competent Secretary of the Treasury, Steve Mnuchin, is Jewish. Jason Dov Greenblatt, the administration's special representative for international negotiations, is a longtime personal friend of Trump who has been described by a leading American rabbi as a serious Jew and devoted friend of Israel.

Nikki Haley, former South Carolina governor and the Trump administration's U.N. ambassador, has made combating the U.N.'s ubiquitous anti-Semitism her goal as the new "sheriff in town." "I am here to underscore the ironclad support of the United States for Israel," Haley said, "I'm here to emphasize the United States is determined to stand up to the U.N.'s anti-Israel bias." On June 13, Haley criticized a report issued by the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, calling it the "latest example of the Human Rights Council singling out Israel rather than focusing on the world's actual human rights abusers."

Donald Trump has familial reasons to sympathize with the tribe. Jared Kushner—the President's beloved son-inlaw and trusted adviser—is a Modern Orthodox Jew. His wife, Ivanka, converted to Judaism from Presbyterianism shortly before their marriage in 2008, and the couple has raised their children in the Jewish faith; decisions apparently supported by Trump.

Of course, these facts are meaningless to zealots like Steven Goldstein. Goldstein and his cronies remain convinced beyond all evidence to the contrary that they're living in an alternate reality perpetrated by a conservative cabal. In a February 2017 CNN panel, a growling Goldstein was reduced to sputtering rage at the mere mention of Donald Trump:

> CNN contributor Kayleigh McEnany: "So, you think the President does not like Jews and is prejudiced against Jews? You think that about the President of the United States?"

Steven Goldstein: "You. Bet."

McEnany: "Does he hate his daughter? Does he hate his [son-in-law]?"

Goldstein: "You know what, Kayleigh? I am tired of commentators like you from the Right trotting out his daughter, trotting out his son-in-law, as talking points against the President's anti-Semitism. They are Jewish, but that is not a talking point against anti-Semitism..." And on it goes. But just like the rest of the Left's impotent attempts to slander the Right, these cries of "anti-Semitism" fall on deaf ears. In an op-ed to *The Hill*, Rabbi Dov Fisher points to the "professional Democrat Jews" who are as "false as the Fake News they spread about the President of the United States:"

> If these leftists are so concerned about anti-Semitism, why is it that so many among them never once sought to protect me or Israel from Barack Obama or John Kerry? When Obama and Kerry combined to imperil Israel by entering into an horrific deal with Iran, they were quiet.

They do not condemn the anti-Semitism of an Al Sharpton, nor challenge why an Obama began his second Presidential campaign by meeting with Sharpton's organization.

This President of the United States, Donald Trump, is the most philo-Semitic President of my lifetime, perhaps in American history.... We Orthodox Jews know what anti-Semitism really is, what it sounds and feels like, at work and at play.

Israel has returned the warm feelings. A May 22 *Politico* piece notes that one in four Israeli Jews would vote for Donald Trump. A plurality thought he would be best at "representing Israel's interests" over the other 2016 candidates, including Hillary Clinton. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, a sincere friend of the Republican Party, said that "for the first time in many years and first in my lifetime, I see a real hope for change." Conservative Israelis in particular delight in Trump's tough stance on growing Iranian hegemony in the Middle East (Israel's most pressing concern), and his determination to eradicate the Islamic State. In his weekly address during Passover and Easter, a reverent Trump praised the "incredible people" of Israel who have "raised up the face of humankind." The state of Israel, he went on, "stands as a monument to their faith and endurance." And like Israel, "America is a nation of believers.... We have a beautiful country, an abundant countryside, and an amazing people with a truly bright and wonderful future.... As long as we have faith in each other, and trust in God, we will succeed."

#### CONCLUSION

The perennial war between statism and liberty is fought every day, and on countless fronts. The armed gangs which do the fighting go by many names and proclaim many -isms—environmentalism, social justice, anti-anti-Semitism, feminism—but they are bound up in the same insidious cause. Steven Goldstein and his cronies at the AFC may be small fry living in perpetual delusion, but they are also critical foot soldiers in the very real struggle to steal America from those who cherish it.

Sometimes they hide that goal successfully. Other times they don't—as with the so-called Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect, which Rabbi Fisher muses is "akin to someone forming a 'Martin Luther King Center' to sell discount tickets to baseball games and ski resorts."

I couldn't have said it better myself.

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## **GREEN WATCH**



#### THE ORGANIC BUREAUCRACY FAILS—NATURALLY

Government-certified "organic" food costs more and may come with pesticides and fecal contamination By Mischa Popoff

**Summary:** Think you're getting a good value when you buy organic food? Probably not. Bureaucrats at the USDA run an organics program that leads consumers to pay more for organic food than regular food—and take home a product more likely to make them sick.

This is the sad story of the decline and fall of organic farming brought about by the machinations of bureaucrats in Washington, D.C. American farmers lead the world in the production of affordable, safe, nutritious food, but those farmers are paying a heavy price for the damage politicians have done to organics.

The industry doesn't just advertise how good, pure, and natural it is, but also how bad, dirty, and unnatural nonorganic food is supposed to be by comparison. Yet organic food in America tests positive for synthetic pesticides a shocking 4 times out of 10, and food-borne illnesses caused by organic food occur at double the rate for conventional food.

Are American organic farmers to blame? No—as much as 80 percent of organic food is imported from abroad, right under the watchful eye of your very own U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The USDA tripled its organic budget and staffing under President Obama, and it currently requires no field testing of supposedly organic food, whether imported or domestic. The Obama administration also gave tens of millions of dollars in subsidies to the organic sector, all to preserve less than 1 percent of American farmland as organic. Indeed, the portion of domestic farmland devoted to organics flatlined during the Obama years.

### WASTEFULNESS

Here's a pertinent if sobering analogy: The price tag for America's new F-35 fighter jet is believed by many, including President Trump, to be a typical example of



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Washington's incompetence and waste. As everyone knows, the F-35 performed poorly during R&D; but had it turned out that the jet always exploded upon take off and the previous Administration kept this fatal flaw a secret for the last eight years but continued to fund the project, it would surely have qualified as political fraud of the worst sort.

The following table illustrates how regulatory oversight of America's organic program grew needlessly during the Obama Administration. Was this just more typical incompetence and waste in the swamp? Or something worse?

Mischa Popoff is the author of Is it Organic? (isitorganic.ca).

USDA/AMS NATIONAL ORGANIC PROGRAM (NOP) FUNDING		
Year	\$million	#staff
2002	1.6	6
2003	1.0	6
2004	1.6	5
2005	1.5	6
2006	1.5	7
2007	1.5	8
2008	2.7	14
2009	3.9	16
2010	6.8	28
2011	6.6	35
2012	6.9	33
2013	6.5	33
2014	9.0	35
2015	9.0	43
2016 (Enacted)	9.0	43
2017 (Requested)	9.1	43

Yes, \$9.1 million a-year might seem like a rounding error for Washington. But what these 43 organic staffers actually did will amaze and sadden you. Did they weed out fraud, make organic food better, and encourage more domestic organic production? Absolutely not, on all counts.

Yet organic imports from countries like China and Turkey grew steadily during Obama's years, a trend that, perhaps not surprisingly, coincided with increased incidents of organic food-borne illness. How could this be? Simple: Obama tripled the budget and staffing at the USDA's National Organic Program (NOP), but somehow failed to require field testing.

Roughly 40 percent of the organic food sold in America tested positive for prohibited pesticide residue during Obama's years, in two separate studies by two separate divisions of the USDA, conducted in 2010-2011 and 2015.

Meanwhile, organic farming's growth has stalled; just 0.7 percent of American farmland is organic, a rise of only 2 percent over the last eight years. This means organic farming in America actually grew at a slower rate than the American economy as a whole—a statistic that really hits home when you consider the anemic economic growth President Obama fostered during his tenure in office. Organic sales account for 4 percent of total food sales, more than five times the amount of land under organic management across America, revealing that American grocery retailers have come to rely on imported organic food 80 percent of the time. In short, President Obama's tripling of budget and staff at the National Organic Program and his failure to require field testing to keep everyone honest resulted in another make-work program, little more than progressive theater that did absolutely nothing to help American organic farmers. In fact, it hurt them. Meanwhile the leadership of the American organic industry continued its aggressive smear campaign on modern, science-based farming in America, pushing the radical viewpoint that such farming poisons the planet, farmers, and consumers.

It gets worse. Organic groceries accounted for 7 percent of all food recalls in America last year (per the *New York Times*), almost double what one would expect from organic sales, ten times what one would expect from America's organic acreage.

USDA organic inspections and certifications all occur independently of this \$9.1 million-a-year office, the NOP. Of course, no NOP staffer performs the duties of organic inspectors or certifiers; they merely keep an eye on those who do, by randomly auditing files generated by USDAaccredited for-profit and cooperative certifying agencies. There exists a mere 79 such agencies, employing just 160 independent organic inspectors on contract across America, and only 264 organic inspectors worldwide. Combined, this small, over-worked corps of contract inspectors account for all oversight of every American organic farm, processor, distributor, and broker/trader—including all importation of USDA certified-organic goods from abroad. And the 79 agencies, for which these inspectors work actually pay the USDA for the privilege of being audited, thereby putting zero drain on the Treasury.

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Roughly 40 percent of the organic food sold in America tested positive for prohibited pesticide residue during Obama's years.

So, what was \$9 million spent on year after year? Seriously, what do these 43 people do?

Miles V. McEvoy, Obama's top man at the NOP, claimed the staffing increases were necessary to ensure the integrity of the USDA-certified "Organic" label. But with recalls and imports going up, and the number of American organic farmers and acreage basically stagnant at two-percent growth, that claim seems undeniably wrong. Nevertheless, McEvoy's command at the NOP was never questioned by President Obama.



U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Agricultural Marketing Service (AMS) quality assurance programs tell consumers and businesses that an impartial, unbiased thirdparty has assessed the quality and verified various aspects of their products. USDA AMS inspectors provide a number of services spanning from visual inspection to taste testing.

Only organic finished-product was tested under the McEvoy regime, and at that, only 5 percent of the time. This testing covered pesticides alone; it didn't cover pathogens from manure which are the likely cause of the organic industry's shamefully high record of food-borne illness outbreaks. And, as noted, synthetic pesticides show up in almost half of organic food anyway, the integrity of which McEvoy's NOP was supposedly protecting.

#### **CERTIFIED FOR WHAT?**

Roughly 80 percent of Americans who buy organic food believe the term "certified" is based on some sort of objective verification process that ensures the authenticity and safety of the product bearing this lucrative labeling claim. After all, organic food sold in America is "certified" by none other than the U.S. Department of Agriculture so it must be genuine and safe, right?

#### TESTING FOR FECAL Contamination or gmos: What are the costs?

Costs of pesticide residue-testing done on just 5 percent of USDA certified-organic applicants are covered entirely by the private sector.

Many farmers make use of manure, but usually NOT on crops for human consumption. Only in the organic industry is manure routinely applied to fields growing crops for humans, a practice which can be detrimental to human health—even deadly, especially when manure is not fully composted. Even so, the USDA does not require field testing for possible fecal contaminants on the organic crops it certifies, even though such testing costs less than \$25 per episode.

Testing for GMOs is the only across-the-board organic testing in America's multibillion dollar organic industry, even though no one anywhere in the world, neither human nor animal, has ever fallen ill from consuming GMO foods. Costs for this useless testing are, again, borne entirely by the private sector.

Well, no again. It turns out that the National Organic Program (NOP)—written, negotiated, rewritten, and then rewritten some more during President Clinton's second term, and then finally signed into law in 2002 during President Bush's first term—is regulated by the USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service (USDA AMS).

Note: that's the Agricultural *Marketing* Service, not the USDA's services related to food safety and other consumeroriented concerns, such as its Research, Inspection, Nutrition, and Risk Management services, or even its Conservation service.

This certification system is supposed to protect farmers and consumers from the excesses, real or imagined, of modern-day industrial agriculture, including synthetic ammonium nitrate, fast-dissolving phosphate, herbicides, insecticides, fungicides, antibiotics, growth hormones, genetic engineering, nanotechnology, and pathogenic fecal coliforms. That's a lot of protection from a program which has focused exclusively on marketing since its inception at the federal level, with not so much as a nod to any actual field testing of organic crops and livestock.

McEvoy and his staff were not oblivious to the potential for fraud and gross negligence provided by their failure to require field testing. When they finally decided in 2010 to require privately-owned certifiers to begin testing their clients, just 5 percent of the time, they freely admitted that, "Without such testing, the potential exists that an operation's products may contain substances that are prohibited for use in organic products."

And they were clearly aware of the potential for fraud. At that time, their colleagues at the USDA were busily hatching a study, the 2010–2011 Pilot Study: Pesticide Residue Testing of Organic Produce, in which they would reveal that 43 percent of the organic food certified by the USDA contained prohibited pesticide residue.

Consider how people react when they find out they are being lightly supervised, if at all. If there were there no police cars sitting at strategic locations along the highway, no radar guns, no traffic cameras, what's to stop the average commuter from speeding? And what would happen to sports if athletes weren't regularly tested for using performanceenhancing drugs? McEvoy's team required testing of organic production just 5 percent of the time, with no stipulation that this testing be done in the field.

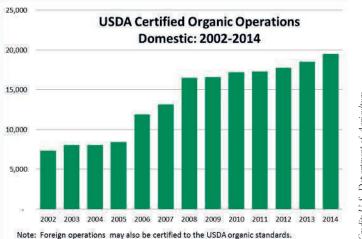
### **EXCUSES**

The industry gives a facile excuse for their eight-year delay in coming up with a few meager testing rules: "Although the Organic Foods Production Act [OFPA] of 1990 requires certifying agents to conduct periodic residue testing of organic products," they said, "we found that NOP officials did not incorporate these provisions into NOP regulations."

That statement is false.

The USDA was busily hatching a study in which it would reveal that 43 percent of the organic food that it certified contained prohibited pesticide residue.

America's National Organic Program (NOP, 2002) most assuredly *does* contain provisions for organic field testing (see USDA NOP § 205.670–205.671). But in an overly



The USDA claims that at the end of 2014, there were a record 19,474 certified organic producers in the U.S. and 27,814 certified organic operations around the world.

ambitious effort to foster rapid growth in the organic sector, these provisions were not enforced for either prohibited pesticides or fecal pathogens! This holds true during the Bush and Obama Administrations on both foreign and domestic organic crops.

The American organic sector runs on such dangerous absurdities: rather than simply testing organic crops in the field—consider how local health authorities periodically test restaurants to ensure food safety—exhaustive recordkeeping and record-checking is relied upon. This, even as the two studies mentioned above consistently revealed disturbingly high rates of non-compliance.

McEvoy and his many staffers need not have waited for either of the USDA's studies showing the presence of prohibited pesticides in organic food: the American Consumers Union (ACU) determined *nearly two decades ago* that one-quarter of American organic food contained prohibited substances (letter of April 10, 1998, from Jean Halloran of ACU to USDA NOP).

These findings prompted the ACU to urge the USDA to include the above-mentioned clauses on testing regulations in the NOP that would eventually pass Congress in 2002; clauses which McEvoy and his staff claimed were *not* incorporated into NOP regulations.

Keep in mind that the ACU exclusively tested end-product back in 1998, just as the USDA would in its studies in 2010-2011 and 2015. Had organic product been tested in the field, the results in all three cases would have been much worse, as most substances used in modern agriculture, whether herbicides or pesticides, dissipate rapidly. Synthetic fertilizers, for example, become indistinguishable from natural fertilizers once absorbed by a plant. As with professional athletes, accurate testing is all about timing: What's the use of testing Lance Armstrong for steroids ten years after his victory in the *Tour de France*?

Which brings us back to the snow job that was the USDA's 2010-2011 pilot study on organic pesticide-residue testing. In this report, Federal government staffers boasted that 96 percent of samples "were compliant with USDA organic regulations." Again, we test Olympic athletes *during* the Games; never after, because performance-enhancing drugs, just like pesticides, dissipate. A closer examination reveals that only a paltry 57 percent of samples "had no detected residues" during Obama's years; the other 43 percent, as mentioned above, contained disturbing degrees of prohibited pesticides. Disturbing if you happen to be part of the 80 percent of American consumers currently paying a premium for organic foods under the assumption they're free of synthetic pesticides, as advertised.

Usually, your local health board does not bother testing food that's been cooked. Health inspectors take raw samples, swab handling surfaces, and test these samples for pathogens. Likewise, organic production should be subjected to unannounced testing in the field for prohibited crop inputs and pathogenic compounds resulting from improperly composted manure. Instead, it's left to the discretion of forprofit and cooperative certifying agencies to test their clients' end product, which they do just 5 percent of the time.

#### THE AUTHOR'S FIELD STUDY: FRAUD IS THE CULPRIT

We know the USDA failed to perform field testing in its 2010–2011 pilot study because the authors admit that "organic produce samples were collected during the winter months in the United States," which is like testing Olympic athletes for steroids long after the Games, a few months after they've flown home.

Some defenders of the status quo in America's organic sector claim that finding synthetic pesticides in organic food is unavoidable due to spray-drift from conventional farms. But after I left the business of inspecting organic farms under contract for the USDA, I launched a first-of-itskind pilot project testing organic farms myself. The results were astonishing. All the organic farmers who were tested had perfectly clean results. Naturally, I collected samples in the field, never post-harvest. Under USDA standards there exists no such thing as a post-harvest organic farm inspection. The unavoidable conclusion here is that spray drift is a fiction and not what causes prohibited pesticides to be found in organic food. Rather, fraud is the culprit.

The organic industry's credibility is practically guaranteed by the federal government. In other words, the lunatics have taken over the asylum.

Remember that these agencies only make money when they *approve* a client's product for organic sale. So, one must ask whom are they choosing to test? Such latitude would not be tolerated in any other business, leading as it inevitably does, to conflicts of interest and favoritism, to say nothing of the potential for corruption and bribery.

### THE ATTACK ON GMOS

As everyone knows, the organic industry is at war with the latest innovation in farming: the use of genetically modified

organisms (GMOs). Their offensive is sustained and wellfunded. Not only do organic activists seek to forestall and someday eliminate the use of GMOs in food production by scaring consumers with labels warning of GMO content, they also seek to hamstring American farmers in their use of perfectly safe, time-proven technologies such as synthetic fertilizer and pesticides.

It is true that, when used to excess, these substances can in some cases harm humans and the environment. But to propose a full-sweep of organic production as an alternative ignores the much greater harm organic farming does to the environment, most notably that it requires far more land and fuel to produce the same amount of food, and that it results in the erosion of topsoil due to organic farmers being forced to till weeds instead of spraying them. In fact, many of the natural pesticides approved for organic use are more toxic than the synthetic ones used by conventional farmers.

Setting aside the occasional misuse of modern fertilizers and pesticides, GMOs have never been shown to cause harm to

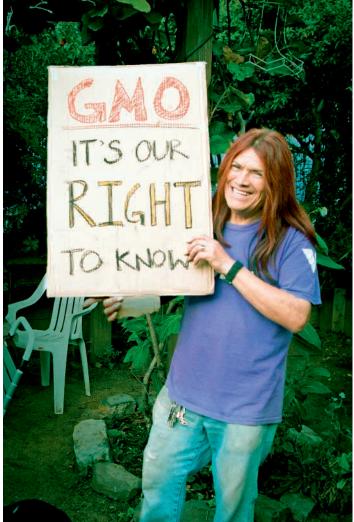
#### THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ORGANIC PRODUCTION AND PESTICIDES

Anyone who claims organic production is only 20 or 30 percent less productive than modern farming has failed to take fraud into account, along with the fact that the sparse number of organic acreage spread out across the country benefits from all the synthetic pest-control being carried out by nonorganic farmers, the same way children who are not vaccinated benefit from "herd immunity." (If, say, 98 percent of the population is vaccinated against a certain disease, it doesn't matter much whether the other 2 percent is vaccinated, because the diseasecausing agent can't spread.) The truth is, without neighboring conventional crops being sprayed with synthetic pesticides, most organic crops would fail.

anyone. As with any truly innovative technology, they are in a class by themselves, reducing and often eliminating the harm done to the environment by farmers. Sadly, though, the field of GMO research and development is in a holding pattern that can be ascribed to the tax-subsidized push-back from organic activists who claim, falsely, that GMOs might contaminate organic farms.

Organic activists who advocate for mandatory GMO labeling pretend they're merely supporting "informed consumer choice." They say they're just trying to provide an alternative for those concerned with the possible side effects of consuming GMO foods and foodstuffs that have been fertilized and sprayed with synthetic compounds. But, in the years prior to the USDA NOP becoming law of the land, the Organic Consumers Association's National Director Ronnie Cummins let the cat out of the bag:

> The challenge over the next months and years will be to see if organic consumers, environmental organizations, farm activists, churches, and public interest groups can build upon this tactical victory and begin making headway in the bigger battle—driving genetically engineered crops off the market all over the world, beginning to phase-out the most dangerous practices of industrial agriculture, and jump-starting the conversion of the majority of the world's agriculture to organic methods as soon as possible. (BioDemocracy News, February 2000)



As everyone knows, the organic industry is at war with the latest innovation in farming: the use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). Organic activists seek to eliminate the use of GMOs in food production by scaring consumers with labels warning of GMO content.

Also consider these two revealing quotations from America's leading organic lobby group, both of which have been scrubbed from the internet: "At the very minimum... There should be mandatory labeling of GMO foods, with the real goal of an outright, worldwide moratorium on GMO use in all agriculture." "Labeling GE foods is the way to...drive GE foods and crops from our food system." (Organic Trade Association Press Releases, January 2000 and November 2007)

Mandatory labeling of GMOs isn't about consumer choice. It's about ideology, a political ideology that over 99 percent of American farmers consider anathema, given their firsthand experience in growing our food. Despite the organic industry's loathing for modern, sciencebased farming in America, its credibility is practically guaranteed by the federal government. In other words, the lunatics have taken over the asylum.

We're not talking about another harmless marketing campaign urging people to feed their kids organic veggies. Washington's complicity in perpetuating the organic food scam fails; it fails through the absence of mandatory field testing to ensure safety rules are obeyed and fecal contamination is kept at a minimum. Capitol Hill also fails to answer baseless attacks against modern farming—itself the very foundation of organic marketing in America—and without so much as a nod to accepted science. No one gets a more convenient free ride than that from the feds: *We'll regulate you and let you use our USDA brand; all we expect in return is paperwork and auditing fees!* 

What sort of paperwork you ask? Exhaustive, tedious paperwork documenting the production of organic products from seed to the store shelf. And as long as evidence of unapproved methods or inputs cannot be found anywhere in this paperwork, the finished products are deemed "Organic." In other words, missing paperwork—not a failed lab result or lack of scientific testing—is all that can prevent billions of dollars of food from being labelled "Organic" under USDA's watch.

As such, organic food *isn't* marketed based on its purity, safety, or nutrition. The USDA's data indicate that that would be impossible. Organic food is marketed by the USDA and by nearly every public and private entity it oversees on the basis that it's *not* conventional (that is, not sprayed with man-made compounds and not containing GMO ingredients) at least, according to the easily falsified paperwork. Keep in mind the same USDA is also in charge of watching over conventional food production and the use of GMO technology on American farms.

CC Many of the 79 certifying agencies that grant USDA organic certification receive 1.5-3 percent of gross revenue from an industry worth roughly \$40 billion a year.

Much is made of the fact that the USDA insists on an annual onsite inspection of every organic farm and facility it certifies. However, the inspector (regardless of country) needs permission from the farmer or processor whose facilities he intends to inspect, and he makes an

#### CREATING MARKETABLE FEAR OF GMOS

Organic activists make the claim that organic foods are 100 percent GMO free, and federal officials look the other way. The only way being GMO free has any attraction in the marketplace is if consumers fear GMO technology. Therefore, most organic marketing "research" is focused on the singular goal of scaring consumers out of accepting GMO foods, even though two decades of research have produced no credible evidence anywhere in the world that GMOs are unsafe—especially in anti-GMO Europe.

appointment weeks in advance. Individual inspectors can be refused contracts to perform inspections by any USDA-certified organic entity, with no reason required. Additionally, organic inspectors working under USDA NOP standards, whether here in the United States or anywhere in the world, will spend the lion's share of their time filling out forms and reviewing an applicant's extensive records during this annual, non-surprise inspection.

As long as no one's looking, organic industry "stakeholders" and federal regulators have no incentive to discourage unscrupulous organic farmers around the world from using synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, growth hormones, or uncomposted manure. Nor are they compelled to discourage unscrupulous brokers and traders from comingling nonorganic product with organic, or from simply labeling non-organic food as organic. These days, the only ingredient fraudsters need to avoid is GMOs.

### PART OF A PATTERN

Many of the 79 certifying agencies that grant USDA organic certification to farmers and processors receive 1.5-3 percent of gross revenue from their clients—this "royalty" from an industry worth roughly \$40 billion a year. As noted, certifiers collect these royalties only on shipments they approve.

Also, the cost of the organics program is far more than the \$9.1 million a year it takes to run the organics office. Counting subsidies and "research" programs, the cost during the Obama administration came to more than a quarter-billion dollars. This is all thanks to the same special interests, bureaucrats, and politicians who brought you hydro-dam removals and reservoir drainage; outrageous subsidies and mandates for wind, solar, ethanol, and biofuels derived from algae; abuse of the "endangered species" designation; and attempted federal control over every single body of water across the land no matter how small, including ditches, puddles, and damp patches. One could simply ignore these meddlers, were it not for the fact that we're forced to fund them through our taxes and live with the botched-up results of their meddling and crony capitalism. Always on the attack, they are rarely challenged by politicians of either party.

At this writing, the USDA's organic office is considering new rules that will outline "stricter" humane treatment of organic livestock. Rest assured, these rules will be exploited to malign non-organic livestock producers by implying they aren't treating their livestock as humanely as their organic competitors. Needless to say, all livestock in America should be treated humanely by both organic and non-organic farming operations. Indeed, basic principles of animal husbandry have dictated humane treatment of livestock since the dawn of herding and farming for one simple economic reason: abused livestock result in less income for the farmer. Meanwhile, organic activists are trying to use federalregulatory oversight to prohibit the use of carrageenan, a natural trace processing ingredient in organic foods which helps make foods like ice cream smoother and hence tastier. They are doing so while lacking any evidence carrageenan is harmful. Organic activists are also considering including hydroponics under organic standards; this impulse flies in the face of the time-honored soil-building basis for organic farming, and is driven by the abject lack of domestic organic production.

As long as consumers believe organic food is worth more (that it is "wholesome," "natural," and "authentic," so certified by the USDA) no one making money in the organic sector will be obligated to *prove* organic food is worth the extra cost. Meanwhile, the interests of non-organic consumers, conventional and biotech farmers, processors, and wholesalers recede as the organic movement, with its knee-jerk opposition to modern farming, dominates the debate and sets the rules.

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

A project of Capital Research Center

## LIMATE 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.

## **BEST OF BOMBTHROWERS**

#### I AM FED UP!

By James Simpson

Summary: In 2016, CRC launched a new website, Bombthrowers.com, a blog about politics and the war for the hearts and minds of Americans from a conservative viewpoint. Like its name, the contributors to the blog do not hold back, and they take on anyone in the Washington establishment. The post below originally appeared on May 19, and, to date, has earned close to 365,000 page views, the most views across any of CRC's online platforms.

Trump leaked classified information! He tweeted something stupid! He is offending our allies and encouraging our enemies! He is a threat to national security and must resign now! Such are the fanatical ravings coming from the Lords of the Press, the Democrat Party, and a rogues' gallery of brain-dead Republicans.

I am absolutely sick to death of it!

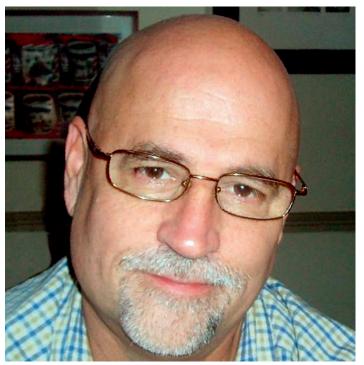
Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), that stalwart example of political grace, politesse, and comity, leveled his stern opinion: "In a week full of revelation after revelation—on a day when we thought things couldn't get any worse, they have," he said on the Senate floor. "I say to all of my colleagues in the Senate: History is watching."

The heroic John McCain, ever a voice of level-headedness, moderation, and grace, said that the White House scandals are rising to "Watergate-size and scale." Wow!

In an opinion piece, appropriately titled "No More Benefit of the Doubt," the formidable Erick Erickson himself said, "Frankly, if there is not a course correction soon, the President needs to consider resigning."

I have to ask: Are these people serious?

I have never, ever, ever seen such hyperbole in my entire life of watching this sordid melodrama called Washington, D.C., play itself out on the world stage. The cacophony is shaking the rafters. It is almost impossible to hear oneself think.



James Simpson

And after all, that is the goal isn't it?

For there has never, ever, in the twisted history of this stinking, corrupt, self-absorbed, self-deluded, seditious city, been a greater demonstration of fraud, hypocrisy, and knuckle-dragging stupidity.

EVER.

And that, my friend, is saying something!

After being treated to eight years of an almost daily assault on our economy, our Constitution, our culture, and our

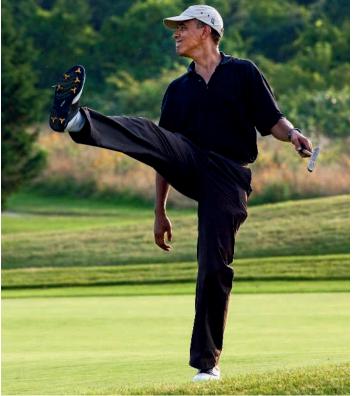
James Simpson is an investigative journalist, businessman and author. His latest book is The Red Green Axis: Refugees, Immigration and the Agenda to Erase America. CRC's senior vice president Matthew Vadum is the editor-in-chief of Bombthrowers.com. national security; where casual disregard for the rule of law and eye-popping corruption and scandals were so commonplace they rarely received more than passing comment; where the government was turned against our nation, using the IRS to target the president's political enemies and intelligence agencies launched an unprecedented, massive surveillance of our entire society, including reporters, private citizens, and politicians; where President Obama repeatedly insulted and betrayed our citizens and our allies, when those same allies—even, or perhaps especially, the Muslim ones got the message and began abandoning us like rats deserting a sinking ship; when meanwhile Obama was telling Putin, "I'll have more flexibility after the election," (has anyone questioned what he said to Putin *after* the election?); where we switched sides in the War on Terror-making mortal enemies like al-Qaeda and Iran our allies-while Hillary Clinton sold American foreign policy to the highest bidder by coaxing \$176 million from 16 foreign governments for the Clinton Foundation; where we went on an apology tour among nations like Cuba, which has been seeking to subvert our country for decades; where Obama gave away not billions, but trillions of dollars to Russia, Iran, the Muslim Brotherhood, and his political friends; where the White House could rely on a totally complicit press-in spite of illegal wiretaps of reporters-because so many press regulars were related to White House staff; where GOP politicians violated practically every single promise made to the citizens who worked tooth and nail to elect them by giving Obama every penny he ever asked for, and then some; or where we became exhausted watching completely useless, phony hearings, that never accomplished a single thing-not one conviction in a sea of corruption-where insipid Republican spinelessness was on daily display; Washington, D.C., now has something to be genuinely outraged about.

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There has never, in the twisted history of this seditious city, been a greater demonstration of fraud, hypocrisy, and knuckle-dragging stupidity.

Trump said something stupid.

Let's be clear, that is all there is. *None of the allegations* the Democrats scream about have been proven. Those who supposedly have evidence of Trump's alleged collusion with Russia and other nonsense steadfastly refuse to show their hand. Why? Because they don't have a hand to play, and in fact, are trying to redirect the gaze from their



Meanwhile Obama was telling Putin, "I'll have more flexibility after the election," (has anyone questioned what he said to Putin after the election?).

outrageous, criminal, unprecedented surveillance of the Trump campaign. We are still waiting for the intelligence community to divulge who among them has been illegally passing state secrets to press allies. Unlike Trump's occasional ham-handedness, *these are criminal acts for which they should go to jail.* 

Now that Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein has given the Democrats a special prosecutor in former FBI Director Robert Mueller, he needs also to be tasked to look into the leaking of classified information by Obama holdovers and the diabolical effort to undermine President Trump being carried out before our eyes by Trump enemies still buried within the government.

Furthermore, if telling now-fired FBI Director James Comey to lay off former National Security Advisor Mike Flynn is criminal, then where is the outrage when President Obama unilaterally halted the amply justified investigation into Hillary Clinton's serial wrongdoings? In fact, Trump, as president, can do that. He has the authority. And in suggesting that Trump obstructed the Flynn investigation, Comey may actually have violated the law. This entire campaign is seditious hubris.

#### As Greg Gutfeld said:

[E]lecting Trump, a disruptive force, was revolutionary. So now, what you're seeing is the counter-revolution, led by a frantic force that slept through the last nine years. The whole thing is silly and overwrought. It's like a Twilight movie with old, ugly people.

Washington survives on words. Actions mean little within the rarified D.C. air. But in the real world, deeds speak much louder than words. So what has Trump actually done? Has anyone stopped for a nanosecond to consider actions rather than words?

"So now, what you're seeing is the counter-revolution, led by a frantic force that slept through the last nine years." -Greg Gutfeld

While we are disappointed in his lackluster battle for control of the border—which we can blame at least partially on corrupt, absurdly overreaching federal courts-or the Obamacare debacle where the GOP establishment more than anyone else is responsible, once again, for betraying its promise to REPEAL the stinking, destructive, unconstitutional law, we can point to an unprecedented number of positive actions the Trump administration has already taken while this D.C. circus distracts us, to reverse the almost incalculable damage Obama did to our country during his eight years in office:

- Rolling back heinous Obama environmental regulations, including:
- Reversing Obama's war on coal
- Approving the Keystone Pipeline
- Neutering Obama's insane global warming agenda
- Rebuilding our military—reduced under Obama to pre-World War I levels
- Cutting funding for sanctuary cities
- Strengthened border enforcement—illegal Southern Border crossings have declined 74 percent since December.
- Strengthened law enforcement
- Standing up for law enforcement



Unlike Trump's seemingly compulsive need to tweet, his enemies' destabilizing, anarchistic efforts are pushing this country toward a crisis from which it may never recover.

- Standing up for Second Amendment rights
- Reducing regulations on manufacturers
- Placing a hiring freeze on federal employees
- Exiting the U.S. from the TPP
- Despite the court stay on Trump's executive order on immigration, refugee resettlement is down significantly, and-music to my earsthe corrupt, self-serving resettlement industry is wailing about its lost funding
- And much more

So the Washington hysteria grows, feeding on every new concocted outrage. But if you open your eyes, it is exactly as planned.

What we are really witnessing is an unprecedented effort to destroy this presidency. They have said that is their intention. And Republicans, not content to sit on the sidelines and watch their serially corrupt Democrat brethren and the Democrats' media and street thug allies wreak havoc, have jumped in to help out rather than get tarred with the same brush.

Washington's roar of reactionary discontent is simply the D.C. version of what we are seeing played out in town halls, airports, and public parks across the nation, where Antifa communist thugs are violently attempting to impose their own version of the Arab Spring. (If you recall, that misnamed effort at "direct democracy," i.e., mob rule, ushered in the Muslim Brotherhood-the kings of terrorism—that birthed al-Qaeda and practically every

other Islamic terrorist group in the world. Fortunately, saner heads prevailed in Egypt and the military intervened to save that country from drowning in what would have become a *sharia*-compliant, 7th century-style, brutal autocracy.)

Republicans and conservatives have

been attacked, poisoned, run off the road, threatened with guns, and savagely attacked in the press, but this all gets a yawn from the media.

We are indeed wading into dangerous waters.

But it is not because Donald Trump tweets out conflicting statements. Admittedly, he doesn't help his case by doing this. He should instead use his substantial powers of persuasion by taking to the bully pulpit and explaining what our domestic enemies—the Left, and the establishment that rolls over for them—is doing in this country.

Unlike Trump's seemingly compulsive need to tweet which detracts from the great things he has already done his enemies' destabilizing, anarchistic efforts are pushing this country toward a crisis from which it may never recover. They are truly threatening our nation's very existence.

Read more of the Bombthrowers series at Bombthrowers.com

A project of CRC's Dangerous Documentaries

## **ADAM CAROLLA**

**DENNIS PRAGER** 

No Safe Spaces, a documentary starring Adam Carolla and Dennis Prager and co-financed by CRC's own Dangerous Documentaries, will expose the safe space culture that is undermining American universities. No Safe Spaces will expose the sad state of free speech, the unwillingness of students to be challenged by new ideas, and "the grievance culture" of "safe spaces" that are undermining the intellectual foundations of American higher education.

SAFE

SPACES

Carolla—a well-known stand-up comedian, podcaster, and radio personality—and Prager—a syndicated radio talk show host who has been on the air for more than four decades—will travel to college campuses across the country interviewing students, professors, and commentators from both sides of the political spectrum.

*No Safe Spaces* is set to release in 2018. It will be directed by Justin Folk and produced by Mark Joseph. Scott Walter and Jake Klein are executive producers.

## **NOSAFESPACES.COM**





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