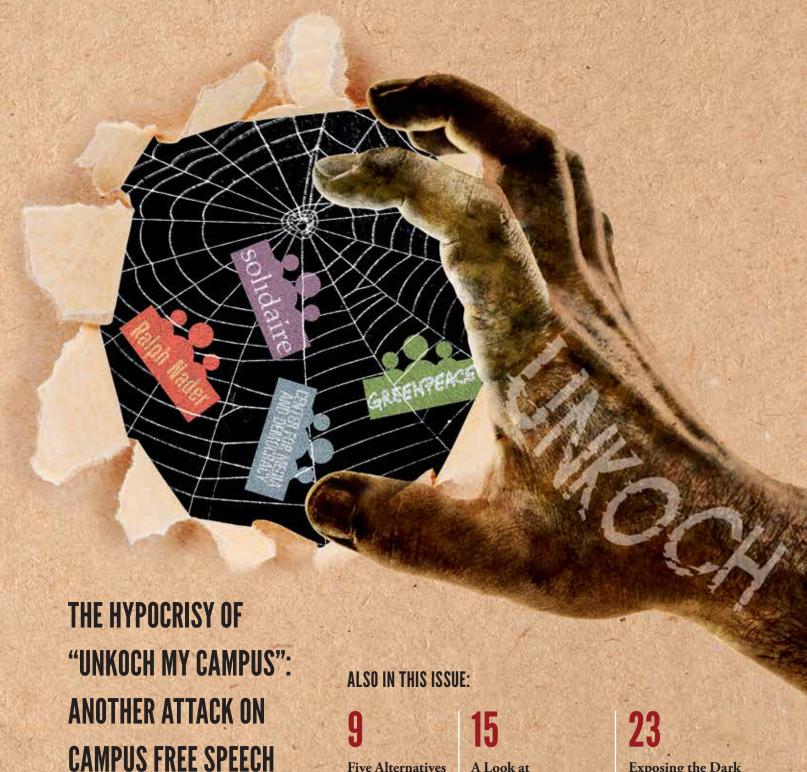


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CAPITAL RESEARCH



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Five Alternatives

to Gun Bans that

Can Save Lives

A Look at

Legislation

Labor's Signature

Exposing the Dark

Side of "Science-

Activism"

Is Your Legacy Safe?



An instructive and cautionary tale for our time.

—W.J. Hume, Jaquelin Hume Foundation

This is a must read for anyone thinking about establishing a private foundation.

—Linda Childears, President and CEO, The Daniels Fund

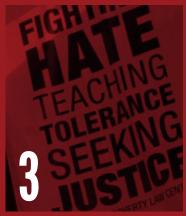
No, your legacy is not safe.

It is hard enough to give well when you're living. After you're gone, the odds of successful giving are stacked even higher against you. Entrepreneurial geniuses like Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Henry Ford were rarely tricked out of their money in business deals. But when they gave their money away, they failed to have their intentions respected.

This fascinating book covers the history of some of the biggest philanthropic mistakes and offers practical tips on how to protect your legacy. Everyone who wants to use their money to change the world needs to read this book.

Find it on Amazon





COMMENTARY

Extremist Southern Poverty Law Center Now Has Half a BILLION Dollars to Attack Conservatives

By Matthew Vadum

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

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By Christine Ravold

Want to know more about the donors, foundations, nonprofits, activists, and others working to influence public policy? Visit:



Launched by Capital Research Center in August 2017, InfluenceWatch will bring unprecedented transparency to the history, motives, and interconnections of all entities involved in the advocacy movement. Today, our growing website includes 4,500 pages and 300 full profiles, with more added each week.

COMMENTARY



EXTREMIST SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER NOW HAS HALF A BILLION DOLLARS TO ATTACK CONSERVATIVES

By Matthew Vadum

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is stockpiling close to half a billion dollars to blacklist conservatives, slander its critics, and redefine what "hate" means in America today.

As the Capital Research Center first reported, the SPLC disclosed in a new IRS filing that it had \$477 million in assets in October after taking in an astounding \$136 million that year. The year before, it had total revenue of \$58 million which means that total revenue skyrocketed over *200 percent* in a single year.

There has been no comparable leap in bigotry or poverty. Even vague statistics about so-called "hate crime" don't reflect such a massive shift. So why is the SPLC taking in more money than ever?

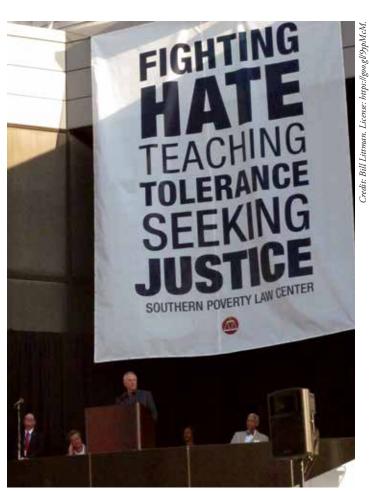
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The SPLC's involvement in YouTube's policing of mainstream conservative voices is just one example that ought to worry Americans.

Posing as a civil rights watchdog, the SPLC lumps mainstream conservatives in with fringe extremists, white-supremacists, and neo-Nazis as a matter of policy. According to the SPLC, opposition to open borders and multiculturalism initiatives is indicative of hate and all political expression of those views is "hate speech."

The SPLC's involvement in YouTube's policing of mainstream conservative voices is just one example that ought to worry Americans. The SPLC's Heidi Beirich confirms her group crushes non-leftist political expression as part of YouTube's "Trusted Flaggers" program. YouTube (owned by Google) has suspended the accounts of countless conservatives and *demonetized* them, that is, revoked their ability to collect ad revenues based on viewership.

An organization doesn't need to be hateful or violent to make it onto the center's Hate Map. The SPLC says a hate group "has beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics."



Posing as a civil rights watchdog, the SPLC lumps mainstream conservatives in with fringe extremists, white-supremacists, and neo-Nazis as a matter of policy.

Yet legitimate right-leaning organizations like the Family Research Council (FRC) and the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) have been labeled "hate groups," even though they adhere to conventional religious values.

The FRC's legitimate religion-based aversion to same-sex marriage and the ADF's good-faith defense of religious

Matthew Vadum is CRC's senior vice president. This op-ed first appeared in the Washington Examiner.

freedom and expression aren't hateful in any way. They are just the "wrong ideas" as determined by the SPLC.

"Sometimes the press will describe us as monitoring hate groups," former SPLC spokesman Mark Potok has said. "I want to say plainly that our aim in life is to destroy these groups, completely destroy them," using a "strictly ideological process."

In other words, as Potok admits, the SPLC polices *thought crimes*.

Against this Orwellian backdrop, the Center's stratospheric holdings are virtually unheard of in the world of tax-exempt 501(c)(3) political advocacy nonprofits.

If anything, the ascendency of President Trump has been good for the SPLC's bottom line. Fomenting outrage to turn a profit is the specialty of SPLC co-founder Morris Dees, a master fundraiser and longtime Democrat

insider. Dees spends his days whipping up hysteria over tiny fringe-right groups and falsely portraying President Trump as a racist, would-be fascist dictator.

JoAnn Wypijewski of the *Nation* once described Dees as a "millionaire huckster." Left-wing journalist Alexander Cockburn said Dees' fundraising letters have been "scaring dollars out of the pockets of trembling liberals aghast at his lurid depictions of hate-sodden America."

But sometimes the good guys triumph over the SPLC.

Recently, the SPLC deleted the "Field Guide to Anti-Muslim Extremists" from its website after Maajid Nawaz threatened legal action for including him on the list.



Left-wing journalist Alexander Cockburn said Dees' fundraising letters have been "scaring dollars out of the pockets of trembling liberals aghast at his lurid depictions of hatesodden America."

The document was originally posted in December 2016 "as a resource for journalists to identify promoters of hateful propaganda; but it included a number of liberal reformers such as Nawaz, a former Islamic extremist who has since dedicated his life to combating the hateful ideology," according to *National Review*.

Last fall, the Department of Defense's Office of Diversity Management and Equal Opportunity removed all SPLC-provided training material pertaining to extremist groups. In the documents, the SPLC compared Roman Catholics and Protestants to al-Qaeda.

Under pressure from Capital Research Center and other groups, GuideStar, whose website provides a massive database of information on other nonprofits, did an about-face and announced it would no longer flag nonprofits on its site that the SPLC labels "hate groups."

On the other hand, Twitter succumbed to leftist agitators and began purging users in December, according to SPLC-inspired criteria.

Such an ideological cleansing was needed at Twitter, the SPLC claimed, because "the racist 'alt-right'—a collection of far-right ideologies, groups and individuals who believe multicultural forces are using 'political correctness' to undermine white people" had rushed to the social media platform.

Of course, skepticism of multiculturalism and political correctness isn't extremist in any way. Conservatives today are naturally suspicious of both.

And that's what really enrages the radicals at the SPLC.

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Under pressure from Capital Research Center and other groups, GuideStar announced it would no longer flag nonprofits that the SPLC labels "hate groups."

FOUNDATION WATCH



A SWEETER FUTURE FOR GIRARD COLLEGE?

The Hershey Trust could redeem itself by rescuing another historic Philadelphia-area school

By Martin Morse Wooster

Summary: In the last issue of Capital Research magazine, Martin Morse Wooster explored the complicated history of the Hershey Trust which operates and funds the Milton Hershey School. Because of the unique structure of the bank—which owns a majority of The Hershey Company and all of the Hershey Entertainment and Resorts Company—manages a \$12 billion endowment. Managing such wealth is anything but easy. After a series of articles in the Philadelphia Inquirer in 2010 exposed problems related to the management of the Hershey School and the Hershey Trust, many began to wonder if the organization should look for other ways to put the vast Hershey fortune to good use: The Hershey School has a ready-made cause in Girard College, a similar organization that has been sadly mismanaged by the city of Philadelphia for over 150 years. Could there be a solution that might save both these venerable philanthropic institutions?

As I reported in an article appearing in Issue 3, 2018, the organization controlling the Hershey Company is the Hershey Trust, devoted to protecting the interests of the Milton Hershey School, founded as an orphanage in 1909 by philanthropist and chocolate millionaire Milton Hershey. Today, the school is a cost-free boarding school for children from lower income families. Indeed, with an endowment of over \$12 billion, the Milton Hershey School is wealthier than any secondary school in the U.S. Were the Milton Hershey School a foundation, its endowment would make it the third largest in the U.S., at \$12.2 billion, slightly less than the Ford Foundation's \$12.4 billion.

Unfortunately, Hershey's seemingly unlimited wealth has brought its share of problems. The Trust has experienced scandals ranging from excessive pay for directors and trustees and the inappropriate use of resources for real estate speculation, to the abuse of children at the school. Here's a thoughtful solution: Perhaps the Trust should expand the scope of its philanthropy beyond its range of current grantees. But if it were to do something with its billions other than run the Milton Hershey School, what should that something be?



The Hershey Trust is devoted to protecting the interests of the Milton Hershey School, founded as an orphanage in 1909 by philanthropist and chocolate millionaire Milton Hershey.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* polled readers on the same question after reporter Bob Fernandez exposed some of the excesses of the Milton Hershey School and the Hershey Trust, in a series of articles in late 2016. The respondents had all sorts of ideas about what the Hershey School and (or) the Trust should do. Suggestions ranged from the Trust's investing more in foster care to funding charter schools in Philadelphia. But the most concrete reform the readers suggested was some sort of merger or alliance with a small, historic Pennsylvania boarding school for elementary and secondary school students called Girard College.

Martin Morse Wooster is a senior fellow at the Capital Research Center. He has written extensively on the history of philanthropy. In addition to the three previous editions of his guidebook for modern philanthropy, How Great Philanthropists Failed and You can Succeed at Protecting your Legacy. Wooster also wrote Great Philanthropic Mistakes (Hudson Institute), Should Foundations Live Forever? (Capital Research Center), Games Universities Play: And How Donors Can Avoid Them (Pope Center for Higher Education Policy), among other books.

Credit: CBS Sunday Morn License

Girard: A Perfect Contrast to Hershey?

Like the Hershey School, Girard College was created by a great philanthropist for students from low-income families. But while the Hershey School has far too much money, Girard College has far too little.

The wealth that endowed Girard College came from Stephen Girard (1750-1831) a French immigrant who owned a fleet of merchant ships. When he died in 1831, he left \$7.5 million to the city of Philadelphia to endow Girard College—a titanic sum at the time, half as much as the federal budget. Even today, the school appropriately recognizes its formation as "an unprecedented act of philanthropy."

Stephen Girard's will has been a source of philanthropic controversy from the beginning of probate in 1831, through the 19th and 20th centuries and into the 21st. The first challenge to the will came from Girard's relatives, the Vidals, who wanted the will voided and the money given to them. The challenge eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1844, where the Vidals hired orator Daniel Webster to represent them. Webster, in a nine-hour speech lasting three days, chose to attack a clause where Girard said he would "enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatsoever in the said college; nor shall any such person be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the college."

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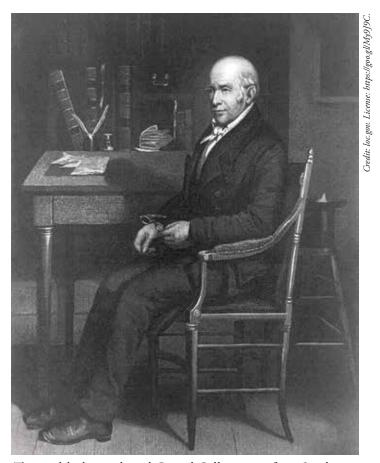
While the Hershey School has far too much money, Girard College has far too little.

Webster argued that America was a Christian nation, and Girard's will would promote atheism. Moreover, he said, Pennsylvania was not an "infidel state" but has "a Christian origin—a Christian code of laws."

But in *Vidal v. Girard's Executors*, the Supreme Court unanimously rejected Webster's arguments and upheld Girard's will. The case, for the first time, ensured that donor intent would be part of American law. Justice Joseph Story, writing for the majority, maintained that Girard did not stipulate Christianity would not be taught at Girard College, only that ministers would not be allowed to preach there. "In America, it has been thought," Justice Story wrote, "in the absence of any express legal prohibitions, that the donor

might select the studies, as well as the classes of persons, who were to receive his bounty without being compellable to make religious instruction part of these studies."

Girard's will, as originally implemented, limited the student body at Girard College to "poor white male orphans." (In those days, the term frequently meant "fatherless.") In 1965 a group of African-Americans decided to challenge this portion of Girard's directives. Martin Luther King Jr. led a march in front of the school, declaring that Girard College's walls would fall like the walls of Jericho. In Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Brown (1968) the Pennsylvania Supreme Court declared the racial restrictions of Girard's will void, a decision upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. The first African-American male students followed in September of 1968. In 1984, the gender restrictions specified in Stephen Girard's will disappeared, as did criteria regarding orphans. Today, Girard College, like the Milton Hershey School, admits students of both sexes from low-income households that may have one or both parents still living.



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When a City Is Executor of a Will

Girard, however, made a serious mistake when he requested that the city of Philadelphia administer his estate. The city, through its Board of City Trusts, proved to be a bad manager of the Girard Estate, which has a diversified portfolio, including a subdivision in South Philadelphia that surrounds a house that once was Stephen Girard's summer home. The estate's value in 2013 was \$230 million, a miserable rate of return on an estate that has been in existence for over 175 years. A 1997 *Philadelphia Inquirer* investigation found that during a decade when the stock market boomed, the Girard Estate lost a third of its value, as the Board of City Trusts invested the money in a coal-mining company, helicopter hangars, and a hotel, without getting the required permission from Philadelphia Orphans Court.

The first decade of the 20th century saw Girard College's budget decline by a million dollars a year, with most of the budget being used to maintain its splendid, but decaying buildings. Enrollment fell from 800 to 400 students between 2007 and 2013, and the school suffered from \$111 million worth of deferred maintenance.

Girard College administrators first responded to the budget crisis by eliminating weekend boarding, requiring its students to leave campus every Friday night. Then in 2013, they dropped a bigger bomb: The City Trusts of Philadelphia board of directors announced unless the school made dramatic changes, the Girard Estate would be spent out

by 2038. The board of managers of the City Trusts then petitioned the Orphans Court to allow Girard College to change from a boarding school for elementary and secondary school students into a day school that stopped educating students after the eighth grade. The high school, under this plan, would close.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, in an editorial, contrasted the Girard College battle with the ongoing struggles over the Barnes Foundation (another venerable Philadelphia institution, in this case an art museum created by Albert C. Barnes) which had been the subject of what can be described as a hostile takeover by the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Annenberg Foundation, and the Lenfest Foundation:

Tycoons hoping to better society from beyond the grave might consider living (and dying) somewhere other than Pennsylvania," the newspaper declared. "This is, after all, the state where Albert Barnes's idiosyncratic suburban art school was repurposed as a downtown museum, and where the school underwritten by Milton Hershey's fortune has been mired in inexplicable investments and state investigations.

(I discuss the Barnes Foundation case in my book *How Great Philanthropists Failed and How You Can Protect Your Legacy*, published by Capital Research Center.)

While the *Inquirer* endorsed the reductions, it declared that "as a Philadelphia trust, it has been overseen mainly by politicians and the politically connected" and that "Girard College has to change a long-standing trajectory that has it slowly building nothing out of something."

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Vidal v. Girard's Executors, for the first time, ensured that donor intent would be part of American law.

After the announcement, Girard College partially reversed its earlier decision, stating that the high school would stay open at least through the end of the 2014-15 school year. The College's leadership then faced a trial in Philadelphia Orphans Court during which Judge Joseph D. O'Keefe made two rulings: In January 2014, he denied the Girard College Alumni Association standing. Then, in August 2014, he proved himself a champion of donor intent by rejecting the City Trusts of Philadelphia's petition.

"The design of Girard College as a boarding school, intended to provide a residence, as well as an education, to

Students receive full scholarships (in excess of \$60,000 per year) to attend Girard College.

its students is reflected in the very terms of the will," Judge O'Keefe wrote, adding that under the terms of Stephen Girard's will, students should "remain in the college until they shall respectively arrive at between fourteen and eighteen years of age."

The City Trusts of Philadelphia announced that it would appeal Judge O'Keefe's decision, but the appeals failed; Girard College remains a boarding school for elementary and secondary students.

Today, enrollment stands at just over 300 students. Attendees receive full scholarships (in excess of \$60,000 per year) to attend the institution. Students, who must be "academically capable" live in gender and grade-level based groups. While they spend the week in the boarding school environment, they are sent home on Friday afternoons and return on Sunday night. According to the school's website:

In the spirit of Stephen Girard, Girard College educates the whole child. Nowhere is this more evident than in the residential program. Students learn life lessons about living in a community, enrich their school-day educational experiences, and pursue the school's core values of integrity, respect, self-discipline, compassion and responsibility.

In the April 2018 update I wrote a about the Milton Hershey School (available at CapitalResearch.org), I explained two possible modifications to the Hershey Trust that would empower its board to put the organization's embarrassing wealth to more meaningful use. The first adjustment would expand the geographic spending limit from the current footprint of Derry Township (a 27 square mile patch of land in south-central Pennsylvania where the

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The value of Girard's estate in 2013 was \$230 million, a miserable rate of return on an estate that has been in existence for over 175 years.

city of Hershey is located) to encompass all of southeastern Pennsylvania, including York, Lancaster, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia. As I wrote in my update, "Milton Hershey did not want to create a national organization with his fortune, he wanted to help his fellow southeastern Pennsylvanians." Second, the restrictions on limiting grants to the Milton Hershey School should be removed, as long as the restrictions on ensuring that the funds be used only for helping deserving low-income children get a good education remain in place. Perhaps Hershey's fortune could be used to create a private operating foundation, albeit one where the Milton Hershey School is the largest single recipient. In my view, the best way to ensure that Hershey's wealth is focused on the founder's original goal is for this operating foundation to fund scholarships that would enable any eligible student from southern Pennsylvania to pay half tuition at a qualified private school, including the quasi-private Girard College. Since the goal is to distort Milton Hershey's wishes as little as possible, scholarships would be a better vehicle for his wealth than either creating new charter schools or directly funding Girard College.



"The design of Girard College as a boarding school, intended to provide a residence, as well as an education, to its students is reflected in the very terms of the will," Judge O'Keefe wrote.

Clearly, Philadelphians—and philanthropically minded persons everywhere—can see the importance of preserving an institution like Girard College. The Hershey Trust should explore the possibility of using part of its endowment to aid that struggling school. But a better use of Milton Hershey's funds would be to award scholarships to worthy students than to fund Girard College directly.

Without some meaningful changes to its disbursement policies, the Hershey Trust's endowment will grow haphazardly, like an amoeba, an oddly unfortunate consequence of vast wealth that has in the past enabled scandal and financial impropriety.

Read previous articles from the Foundation Watch series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/foundation-watch/.

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SPECIAL REPORT



FIVE CHARITIES YOU CAN SUPPORT THAT WILL SAVE MORE LIVES THAN BANNING "ASSAULT" RIFLES

By Steve Warner

Summary: In the wake of highly publicized school shootings, Americans of all stripes wonder what can realistically be done to prevent such heartbreaking tragedies. Activists often point to legislation or political action to limit access to weapons. However, there are many proven measures that will save lives without compromising American's Second Amendment rights.

A few days after the ghastly massacre of 26 parishioners at a Baptist church in Sutherland Springs, Texas, on November 5, 2017, Senator Diane Feinstein announced that she and 22 other Senate Democrats were "introducing an updated Assault Weapons Ban for one reason: so that after every mass shooting with a military-style assault weapon, the American people will know that a tool to reduce these massacres is sitting in the Senate, ready for debate and a vote."¹

Three months later, following the February 14, 2018 mass shooting at Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, that left 17 dead including 14 students, Michael Bloomberg's Everytown for Gun Safety organization reported \$800,000 in unsolicited donations. Said Everytown's president John Feinblatt, "it's time to elect leaders who will finally act to save lives from gun violence." Former Supreme Court Associate Justice, John Paul Stevens also joined the chorus, calling for the repeal of the Second Amendment, which he dismissed as "a relic of the 18th century."

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There exist no media-driven, ultrahyped efforts to outlaw household chemicals, cars, or stairs.

Meanwhile, anti-gun proponents in the media continue to assign a surreal lethality to the "assault weapon." In *Rolling Stone*, Tim Dickinson lamented that while the gun makers have grown richer with an increase in AR-15 sales, "...the mass-market boom of the AR has been horrific for the rest



Everytown's president John Feinblatt said, "it's time to elect leaders who will finally act to save lives from gun violence." Former Supreme Court Associate Justice, John Paul Stevens called for the repeal of the Second Amendment, which he dismissed as "a relic of the 18th century."

of us."⁴ The Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence chimed in, declaring that assault weapons "popular among mass shooters...pose a distinct threat to the safety and security of the American people."⁵ And a weepy Jimmy Kimmel told his late-night audience, "Maybe I'm nuts, but I would like to think we could put politics aside and agree that no American citizen needs an M-16 or 10 of them."

But let's take a breath and ask a basic question: Do the numbers justify the panic? The gun-controllers' own go-to source for statistics suggests not: According to the non-profit Gun Violence Archive (GVA), 121 people were killed in 2017 in "mass shootings" with "assault weapons." GVA defines a mass shooting as "four or more people shot or killed in a single incident, not including the shooter," and an "assault weapon" as AR-15s, AK-47s, and "All variants defined by law enforcement." To provide some perspective from the 2015 Unintentional Injury Deaths report of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 121 Americans die every 22 hours from accidental poisoning, every 29 hours

Steve Warner is a freelance writer living in south Florida.



Senator Diane Feinstein announced that she and 22 other Senate Democrats were "introducing an updated Assault Weapons Ban...so that after every mass shooting...the American people will know that a tool to reduce these massacres is sitting in the Senate, ready for debate and a vote."

in motor vehicle accidents, and every 32 hours from falls.⁷ And yet, there exist no media-driven, ultra-hyped efforts to outlaw household chemicals, cars, or stairs.

Similar in appearance to the U.S. military's M-16 rifle, the semi-automatic AR-15 is scary to many Americans ignorant of its capabilities and actual frequency of use in mass shootings. As Michael Rosenwald pointed out in a 2016 Washington Post essay, "Lost in the diatribes about banning assault weapons is this inconvenient fact: the vast majority of mass shooters use handguns, not assault rifles, in their attacks. That includes Seung-Hui Cho, who used two handguns, including a Glock 19, in 2007 to kill 32 people at Virginia Tech University, the previous worst mass shooting in American history."

Needless to say, every human life lost to gun violence is a horrible tragedy. But banning "assault weapons" will not *necessarily* save lives: for those Americans genuinely passionate about reducing preventable deaths—especially of children—here is a short list of unsung charities that will save more lives this year alone than any ban on "assault weapons" would save in the next hundred.

Healthy Mothers, Healthy Babies Coalition of Broward County

Any mother who has given birth in a hospital anywhere in the U.S. in the past 25 years, has been given "Back to Sleep" or "Sleep Safe" training. Nevertheless, the CDC has reported that as recently as 2015 approximately 3,700 infants died from Sudden Unexpected Infant Death Syndrome (SUIDS). In 43 percent of SUIDS cases, the cause was determined to be the more commonly known Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), defined by CDC as "the death of an infant less than 1 year of age that cannot be explained after a thorough investigation is conducted."

Another 25 percent of SUIDS cases resulted from the accidental suffocation caused when soft bedding covers an infant's nose and mouth, or when an infant is put to sleep in a bed with an adult who while sleeping rolls on top of or against the infant. In the remaining 32 percent of the SUIDs cases, labeled "unknown," the causal investigations had not been completed.⁹

Doctors still can't say for sure what causes SIDS, but the National Institutes of Health reports a dramatic 50 percent reduction in cases during the first five years of the "Back to Sleep" campaign, 10 suggesting that many of past SIDS deaths could very well have been caused by accidental suffocation. Assuming conservatively then, that one-half of the "unknowns" and one-quarter of the SIDS deaths were actually caused by suffocation, that would mean more than 1,900 infants died in 2015 from very preventable causes. As medical experts learn more, that number will likely increase.

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In Broward County, Florida, home of Stoneman Douglas High School and ground zero for the "assault weapons" ban, SUIDS cases have been historically high.

In Broward County, Florida, home of Stoneman Douglas High School and ground zero for the "assault weapons" ban, SUIDS cases have been historically high. In response to this unfortunate distinction, Fort Lauderdale Fire and Rescue has teamed up with the non-profit Healthy Mothers, Healthy Babies of Broward County to create a program called Direct On Scene Education (DOSE), which trains all first responders to identify infant safe sleep hazards while responding to emergency and non-emergency calls. If Fire and Rescue personnel encounter an infant or expectant mother, they will quickly perform a "pediatric assessment" and provide a Baby Safe Sleep Kit. Hazards found in the home or in the infant's sleep space, are identified and removed; family members are educated as to why vigilance regarding an infant's sleep space is critical. Also, if a crib or other suitable sleep space is lacking, first responders will alert Healthy Mothers, Healthy

Babies which provides cribs, sheets, sleep sacks, and pacifiers to needy families at no charge.

DOSE has proved a very popular program and is now being run in seven other states. Its co-founder James Carroll, Captain of Fort Lauderdale Fire and Rescue says he "...hopes that someday it will become a standard of care in all fire departments to understand and recognize safe sleep hazards."

Sadly, Healthy Mothers, Healthy Babies and similar organizations around the country struggle to raise enough funds to keep up with the demand for cribs. In 2017, the Broward organization ran through its donations before the end of the year; caring staff members then dipped into their own pockets to buy more cribs.



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Make a Splash

Nearly 4,000 people drown in the United States every year. According to the CDC, drowning is the number one cause of unintentional deaths for children 1 to 4 years old and the number two cause of death for those 5 to 9 years-old. The From 2005 to 2009, the rate of unintentional drowning for black and Hispanic Americans was significantly higher than that of whites across all age groups. A 2017 study by the University of Memphis commissioned by the USA Swimming Foundation found that 64 percent of black children and 79 percent of children in families whose annual income is less than \$50,000 have low or no swim ability.

But there's a silver lining here; the University of Memphis study also shows a 5 to 10 percent improvement since 2010 in swimming ability for all children in the U.S.¹³ This is due in large part to initiatives like USA Swimming Foundation's Make a Splash, a program "which aims to provide every

child in America the opportunity to learn to swim—regardless of race, gender or financial circumstances." Local Make a Splash providers throughout the country have collectively provided free and reduced-cost swim lessons for nearly 5 million children since 2007.¹⁴

Of course, swim lessons alone won't prevent every accidental drowning, but a 2009 "case-control" study funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development found that taking formal swim lessons accounted for an 88 percent reduction in the risk of drowning in children 1 to 4 years old. In May 2017, Michael Bloomberg committed an additional \$25 million to his personal philanthropy's 2012 Drowning Prevention Program, though this funding was earmarked for Bangladesh and the Philippines. At the end of 2016, Make a Splash's total assets were \$36,229; Their subsidized swimming lessons cost as little as ten dollars per class.

Eddie Eagle

Accidental firearm deaths have fallen substantially in the last 20 years; this statistic courtesy of the National Safety Council and the CDC. During that same period, despite soaring gun sales, the per capita rate of accidental gun deaths has decreased nearly 50 percent. Nonetheless, GVA reports that there were still nearly 500 accidental—many would call them negligent—deaths from firearms in 2017. Curiously, Bloomberg's Everytown for Gun Safety does not actually offer courses in gun safety. And when contacted by this author, the nonprofit's representative could not provide recommendations for organizations that provide such training.

Meanwhile, according to a University of Washington School of Public Health study published in July 2017, in *Injury Prevention*, only 61 percent of firearm owners reported that they had received formal firearm training. The National Rifle Association (NRA), National Shooting Sports Foundation (NSSF), USA Shooting, and sporting goods stores, shooting clubs, and gun ranges across the country are trying to improve this statistic: The NRA's 125,000 certified instructors alone train nearly one million gun owners a year in safe handling techniques and basic shooting. The NRA's 125,000 certified instructors alone train nearly one million gun owners a year in safe handling techniques and basic shooting.

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Eddie Eagle focuses on four steps if a child comes across a gun: "Stop! Don't touch. Run away. Tell a grown-up."



According to the CDC, firearm suicides in 2015 comprised nearly two-thirds of all firearm fatalities that year. While the percentage of suicides involving firearms declined over the preceding 15 years, firearms were still used in over 50 percent of suicides in 2015.

By the end of 2017, the NRA's nonprofit foundation had introduced its Eddie Eagle GunSafe program to 29 million American children from pre-kindergarten through sixth grade. Developed by a task force of "educators, school administrators, curriculum specialists, urban housing safety officials, clinical psychologists, law enforcement officials, and National Rifle Association firearm safety experts," Eddie Eagle focuses on four easy-to-remember steps if a child ever comes across a gun: "Stop! Don't touch. Run away. Tell a grown-up."

Early childhood curriculum specialist Dr. Lisa Monroe of the University of Oklahoma created handy instructor guides. The program makes no "value judgments" about firearms; firearm ownership is never promoted. The NRA Foundation also promotes firearm safety through its sponsorships of basic firearm training courses, hunter education, and training to enhance marksmanship skills of those participating in the shooting sports, including the Boy Scouts of America, the Naval Sea Cadets, and high school Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) programs. The foundation also funds the Refuse to be a Victim program, providing materials and training to women on how to take proactive steps to avoid violent situations.

Project ChildSafe

Project ChildSafe—the NSSF's program dedicated to responsible gun ownership and safe storage of guns—has distributed 37 million free safety kits to date. These kits include a cable-style gun lock and safe gun handling instruc-

tions. While acknowledging that safe storage has not yet been widely studied, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) reports that current research suggests "following safe firearm storage practices reduces the likelihood of injuries and deaths." To get the message out and kits distributed, NSSF hosts gun lock distribution events in communities across the country; it has also created a public service announcement (PSA) called "Safety is a Habit," which airs on local TV and radio stations and is posted on billboards, websites, and various social media platforms. NSSF also partners with law enforcement, suicide prevention organizations, faith-based organizations, shooting sports groups, health care facilities, and youth organizations, including the Boy Scouts and the 4-H Club.²²

American Foundation for Suicide Prevention

According to the CDC there were 22,018 firearm suicides in 2015, comprising nearly two-thirds of all firearm fatalities that year. While the percentage of suicides involving firearms declined steadily over the preceding 15 years, firearms were still used in over 50 percent of suicides in 2015.²³ Acknowledging this tragic statistic and the reality that upwards of 30 percent of Americans have guns in their homes, the American Foundation for Suicide Prevention (AFSP) has taken the unconventional approach of partnering with the firearm industry, through their partnership with NSSF, in an aggressive bid to reduce firearm suicides. The AFSP has set an ambitious goal for the partnership to save 9,000 lives by 2025. To this end, they have created a Suicide Prevention

Toolkit aimed at firearm retailers, shooting ranges, and gun owners to help them understand the risk factors and warning signs associated with suicide and to know where to find assistance.

The AFSP carefully stays away from political action related to gun policy, and receives no funding from NSSF, firearm manufacturers, the NRA, or other gun lobbying organizations. But the AFSP is bullish on its unusual partnership: "By working with the National Shooting Sports Foundation, we are systematically disseminating suicide prevention education to thousands of gun retail stores, shooting ranges and gun owners nationwide." The AFSP argues that providing public education resources to the firearm-owning community will help get the word out to those "who may be concerned about a friend or family member who is feeling suicidal and who may be operating a firearm." In a similarly conciliatory acknowledgement, the NSSF echoes the AFSP's contention that "there is very strong evidence that when those who are suicidal do not have access to a chosen method for suicide, most do not typically shift to a different method." Both organizations seem to agree that an appropriate course of action is separating a suicidal person from his firearm through safe storage or temporary removal of the firearm from the home.

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Through its partnership with NSSF, the AFSP has set an ambitious goal to save 9,000 lives by 2025.

A great deal has been written elsewhere about the true motives of those who would ban "assault weapons." What the actual numbers show is that saving lives is not one of them. A recent report by Everytown admits as much:

The true picture of mass shootings in the U.S. is different than headlines suggest. While there are prominent attacks on public places—like the Pulse nightclub in Orlando—the majority of... shootings occur in the home, between spouses, partners, and family members. Furthermore, the fatalities...were not unavoidable. Often, the shooters never should have had access to a gun in the first place—either because they were prohibited from possessing firearms or they had recently exhibited dangerous behavior.

Indeed. Plenty of laws are already on the books and then some—just ask any gun owner in California, New Jersey,

Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maryland, Rhode Island, Illinois, Pennsylvania, or Washington, D.C.

While the nebulous term "assault weapons" makes for a good sound bite, it serves no purpose other than to inflame passions by injecting yet another emotional element into the gun control debate. There is a real danger here: over-heated, politically motivated gun control rhetoric exaggerates the harm done by Constitutionally-protected semi-automatic rifles, thus diverting sorely-needed attention and resources from more lethal perils.

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encountered Antifa, Trevor Loudon guides us through the history and ideas behind the Antifa movement, starting with Leon Trotsky and going all the way through the events in Berkeley, CA and Charlottesville, VA.

LABOR WATCH



LABOR'S SIGNATURE LEGISLATION

The "Workplace Democracy Act" would overhaul the National Labor Relations Act to favor unions

By Michael Watson

Summary: U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders and Big Labor-backed Democrats have proposed a radical change to the fundamental private-sector labor law of the United States, the National Labor Relations Act. The 83 year-old law, amended twice in the 1940s and 1950s to combat union abuses, governs the formation, operation, and powers of private-sector unions.

In early May, a group of pro-Big Labor Democrats led by self-described Democratic socialist former Presidential candidate Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont) introduced one of the most extreme economic policy proposals in recent history. Titled the "Workplace Democracy Act," the bill would restrict free speech, force employees to pay fees to unions by which they would rather not be represented, and functionally abolish the secret ballot vote on organizing unions by amending the National Labor Relations Act (NRLA)—the principal federal law governing the operation and organizing of labor unions in the private sector and their relations with management representatives.

Like the Workplace Democracy Act's predecessor, the Obama era's so-called "Employee Free Choice Act" (EFCA), the bill comes with a misleading title and a laundry list of favors to Big Labor—a key political patron of Sanders and the Democratic Senators who have co-sponsored his

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The Workplace Democracy Act comes with a misleading title and a laundry list of favors to Big Labor, and is, in fact, more extremist than EFCA.

measure. In many ways, the new proposal is, in fact, *more* extremist than EFCA, which would have certified union organizing through a public process (known as "card check") rather than the current system of mostly secret-ballot votes. EFCA died while facing a bipartisan filibuster in the then-supermajority Democratic-controlled Senate.



A group of pro-Big Labor Democrats led by self-described Democratic socialist former Presidential candidate Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont) introduced one of the most extreme economic policy proposals in recent history.

The First Laws Governing Unionized Labor

Prior to the New Deal and the passage of the original NLRA (sometimes called the Wagner Act after its chief sponsor, Sen. Robert F. Wagner (D-N.Y.)), collective bargaining was limited by court orders and rules, which allowed employers to choose not to hire union members or negotiate with unions.

However, during the Progressive Era the federal government began recognizing and establishing labor union privileges. In 1914, syndicate labor unionism—using anti-competitive practices to organize workers for mutual benefit—was legalized by the Clayton Act, which exempted labor unions from anti-trust laws. The Clayton Act did not require employers

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to negotiate with labor unions, but it did place restrictions on court orders to halt strikes and picketing. In 1926, Congress enacted its first nationwide labor relations law, the Railway Labor Act (RLA), to govern collective bargaining in the railroad industry to resolve a series of rail strikes.

After the financial crisis of 1929 initiated the Great Depression, political pressure for a national union law surged. In 1932, Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which prevented employers from adding provisions prohibiting labor union membership to employment contracts (also called "yellow dog" contract provisions) and restricted the use of court injunctions to end strikes.

After the election of President Franklin Roosevelt and the initiation of the New Deal economic central planning programs, a national collective bargaining law became a labor union priority. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the centerpiece legislation of the First New Deal, contained a collective bargaining provision. Unions, then organized into the American Federation of Labor (AFL), complained that NIRA had no mechanism for formalizing recognition of labor unions, enabling management to ignore the collective bargaining provisions.



New Deal Democrats in Congress fundamentally restructured American labor law through the passage of the original NLRA (Wagner Act), which labor unions supported as it guaranteed mandatory collective bargaining with a labor union organized under its provisions.

NIRA was found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in May 1935, spurring the AFL to push for a new national mandatory collective bargaining law. New Deal Democrats in Congress then fundamentally restructured American labor law through the passage of the original NLRA. Labor

unions supported the Wagner Act as it guaranteed *mandatory* collective bargaining with a labor union organized under its provisions. The law was signed in July and immediately challenged by business groups; after the "switch in time that saved nine"—when swing justices on the Supreme Court switched from striking down expansive New Deal central planning to supporting it after President Roosevelt threatened to "pack" the Court by expanding the bench and adding more New Deal-supporting Justices—the law was upheld in 1937.



During the Obama administration, the hyperpartisan NLRB overturned legal precedents which had stood for a combined 4,500 years.

The original Wagner Act contained five principal provisions: prohibiting management to "interfere, restrain, or coerce" employees seeking to organize for mutual benefit; prohibiting management from interfering in the internal administration of labor organizations; prohibiting employers from discriminating against employees based on union membership or union support, including strike action; prohibiting management retaliation against employees who made formal labor complaints; and compelling employers to bargain collectively with labor unions. The Act also established a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to prosecute and adjudicate these provisions outside of the regular federal court system.

The NLRA applies to the vast majority of private sector workplaces outside the agricultural, railroad, and airline industries. Collective bargaining in the railroad and airline industries is governed by the Railway Labor Act, a 1926 law passed as a compromise between labor and management interests in the railroad industry that was later extended to airlines and expanded to ensure mandatory collective bargaining; collective bargaining in the public sector is regulated by state laws, which vary widely.

Due in part to the prominence of African Americans among farm laborers in the 1930s and the strength of segregationist Dixiecrats in President Roosevelt's New Deal coalition, agricultural workers were excluded from the NLRA. While some states (most prominently California) have extended collective bargaining laws to farmworkers, the federal government has not.

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The Wagner Act also privileged striking, by guaranteeing the right of employees to "concerted activity" and protecting strikers from being fired.

The NLRB

The NLRB would go on to create a body of law expanding the NLRA's application and implications for the U.S. economy through its prosecution and judgment of violations of the Act, known as "unfair labor practices." The NLRB may also engage in regulatory rulemaking like a traditional arm of the executive branch.

The NLRB process is modeled on judicial procedure, but it is not a proper court system. NLRB cases are first heard by any of a series of administrative law judges (ALJs)—executive branch officials appointed to civil service-style positions by competitive examination. They are not Presidentially appointed Article III judges (the traditional federal judicial branch) or even Article I judges (special-jurisdiction legislative courts like the U.S. Bankruptcy Court) who rule on cases. Instead, NLRB ALJ decisions may be appealed to the five-member presidentially appointed board. By convention, the President's political party is guaranteed a one-vote majority on the five-member final tribunal—though Senate partisanship means that the Board is often short of members and that the established partisan majority may not exist in practice. (As of May 2018, there is a one-vote Republican

majority on the NLRB.) The President also appoints the head of the agency's prosecutorial arm (the General Counsel).

This explicit partisan structure results in frequent reversals in applicable legal precedent. During the Obama administration, the NLRB overturned precedents which had stood for a combined 4,500 years, and the NLRB under Republican control is seeking to restore a number of those precedents. For example, NLRB General Counsel Peter Robb advised the Board to withdraw "ambush election" regulatory procedures approved under the Obama administration. The NLRB is likely to overturn the Obama-era rule, passed at the urging of unions who sought to shorten the timeframe for advising employees of the potential downsides of unionization. (For more on the Trump-era NLRB's battles over precedents, see "Under New Management," *Capital Research*, Issue 1, 2018.)

Restraints on Management

One of the reasons that the AFL was disappointed by the collective bargaining provisions of the old NIRA was that employers were able to arrange management-controlled "company unions" even when companies did not ignore the collective bargaining provisions entirely. To ensure that organized labor would be able to compel management to bargain, the Wagner Act required employers to bargain collectively with any organization of a majority of employees' choosing—in practice, almost always a unit of a major national labor union.

The Wagner Act stipulated that a union would be formed for a so-called "bargaining unit" of employees in a similar-enough class of jobs if a simple majority supported the union. Under NLRA procedures, the union can demand (and in practice always demands) "exclusive representation" or "monopoly bargaining," which compels all members of the bargaining unit to be negotiated for by the union if the simple majority support threshold is met.

The Wagner Act also prevented employers from controlling or interfering in the unions of their company's employees; the provision has been interpreted to prohibit not only captive "company unions" but almost all non-adversarial employer-employee labor relations arrangements, most notably German-style "works councils."

The Wagner Act also privileged striking, by guaranteeing the right of employees to "concerted activity" and protecting strikers from being fired. A court decision in 1938 gave employers the ability to hire replacement workers but held that strikers must be reinstated if new positions opened after the strike ended.

*Continued on Page 20**



A LOOK BACK AT 20



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FEBRUARY



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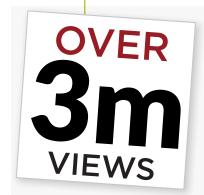
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Taft-Hartley also instituted a state option to allow employees who dissent from union activities but are forced to submit to union representation not to pay for union activities (known as right-to-work)—as of May 2018, 28 states have exercised that option.

Effects

The Wagner Act's passage led to an initial surge in union organizing. Unionization in the labor force peaked shortly after the end of the Second World War; since that time it has declined substantially in the private sector. Labor union militancy also spiked: The number of strikes rose through 1937 and surged again after the 1937-38 recession, reaching an all-time high in 1943.

Passage of the Wagner Act also upgraded and deepened the long-standing alliance between the labor unions and the Democratic Party. The old American Federation of Labor split in two, with John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers of America leading a new coalition calling itself the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The CIO formed a committee (deceptively named the "Non-Partisan League") to support President Roosevelt and his allies, who would keep the privileges unions won from the NLRA and appoint pro-union members to the NLRB. In the 1936 elections, the CIO and its member unions spent eight times what the AFL had spent on all national election campaigns from 1906 through 1928 combined.

Amendments

Because the original NLRA was so favorable to labor unions and unfair to employers and workers not wishing to be unionized or support union political and policy causes, it was substantially amended at the first opportunity that free-market conservatives had to fix it—the 80th Congress in 1947. The fact that the CIO's "Non-Partisan League" was a close ally of New Dealer President Harry Truman and his allies probably also helped Congressional conservatives prioritize labor law reform.

That year, the Labor Management Relations Act—better known as "Taft-Hartley" after its sponsors U.S. Sen. Robert Taft (R-Ohio) and U.S. Rep. Fred Hartley (R-N.J.)—was enacted to restore balance between labor unions, employers, and individual employees while combating union abuses that expanded after the passage of the Wagner Act. Taft-Hartley removed certain labor union privileges, codified rules for collective bargaining under the NLRA, prohibited union picketing against businesses not directly party to a labor dispute (known as secondary boycotts), and expanded the NLRB's jurisdiction over unfair labor prac-

tices by employers to unfair labor practices by labor unions. Taft-Hartley also instituted a state option to allow employees who dissent from union activities but are forced to submit to union representation not to pay for union activities (known as right-to-work)—as of May 2018, 28 states have exercised that option.

In the late 1950s, the NLRA was amended again after bipartisan Congressional investigations uncovered substantial criminal corruption of labor unions. The mafia influence over unions of the time was immortalized in the classic 1954 Academy Award-winning Marlon Brando film *On the Waterfront*, and Robert F. Kennedy kicked off his political career as the chief counsel of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in Labor and Management (called the McClellan Committee after its chairman, Arkansas Democrat John McClellan).

The McClellan Committee investigation culminated in the development of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959—known as the Landrum-Griffin Act after its sponsors, U.S. Reps. Phillip Landrum (D-Georgia) and Robert Griffin (R-Michigan). An Eisenhower administration-backed alternative to a weaker set of proposed financial disclosure rules proposed by then-Sens. John F. Kennedy (D-Massachusetts) and Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), the Landrum-Griffin Act established a series of extensive disclosures that labor unions must file on their expenditures and instituted a bill of rights for union members, which included protections of members' right to speak out on union matters without interference, to run for local union offices in secret ballot elections, and to a fair internal union discipline process.

The disclosures established under Landrum-Griffin require that labor unions must file for public review extensive accountings of their officer and staff salaries at all levels; membership and dues and fees rates; balance sheet information; and outside expenditures, classified by whether the purposes are representational, political or lobbying, contributions and gifts, administration, or overhead. These federally mandated annual reports—known as "LM-2s" after the name of the most extensive type of form filed by the largest unions—are available to the public (and therefore, to union members) through the U.S. Department of Labor Office of Labor-Management Standards. In recent years, the government has made the reports available online.

Proposed Changes

The NLRA has not been substantially amended since Landrum-Griffin in 1959. A series of technical amendments



The mafia influence over unions of the time was immortalized in the 1954 film On the Waterfront.

governing collective bargaining in healthcare were enacted in 1974, but the driving force of labor relations law in the interim half-century has been the fickle NLRB.

The desire to codify a more favorable labor relations regime and take it out of the immediate hands of Presidential election fate have led both the monopoly bargaining left and the free-market right to propose major revisions to the NLRA in recent years. Democrats have advanced proposals which would functionally remove secret ballot union organizing elections and mandate arbitration for initial contracts not subject to normal debate and ratification negotiations. Republicans have advanced proposals which would curtail the discretion of the NLRB and establish new procedural rights for employees subjected to union organizing.

The labor-left-Democratic proposals would reinstitute the culture of union coercion that prevailed before the 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments. In 2017, Bernie Sanders, a number of Democratic Senators with presumptive national ambitions, and U.S. Representative Mark Pocan (D-Wisconsin), and a number of his House Democratic colleagues introduced their misleadingly named "Workplace Democracy Act" (or Sanders-Pocan) which included not only two of the most pro-union and anti-employee provisions of the Obama-era EFCA, but also a number of even more extremist union privileges.

Like EFCA, the Sanders-Pocan bill would end secret ballot union organizing elections and replace them with public "card checks" which leave union members vulnerable to deception and intimidation. Under current law, unions wishing to organize circulate membership authorization cards in prospective bargaining units; once they get at least 30 percent of the employees to sign (in practice unions almost always wait until a majority or super-majority of employees have signed), the union demands to be recognized as the monopoly bargaining representative under this "card check." Often, union representatives do not make clear that employees who sign are *agreeing to join the union* rather than merely petitioning for an election; likewise, Big Labor's reputation for intimidation may lead reluctant employees to sign in the hope the union representatives leave.

Upon presentation of these signed cards, employers may but are not obligated to recognize the union and begin collective bargaining. If they refrain from recognizing the union, the NLRB oversees a secret-ballot election, with the union being

established if it receives more votes in favor than votes against. Both EFCA and Sanders-Pocan would require employers to recognize a union on the presentation of cards without the secretballot vote.

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Repealing the "right to work" laws enacted in 28 states has been Big Labor's top legislative priority for decades.

lion-dollar effort to organize McDonald's and other chain restaurants, hopes to use a wide interpretation of "joint employment" to forcibly unionize the sector. Sanders-Pocan would also codify

a developing liberal legal approach to classify more workers who currently operate as independent contractors—like Uber/Lyft drivers—as employees subject to union monopoly representation.

To counter the union-backed Sanders-Pocan proposal, free-market interests have proposed their own amendments to the NLRA. The Employee Rights Act (ERA), backed by a number of free-market institutions, would require secret ballot union authorization elections and end the default continuing recognition of previously authorized unions, requiring periodic "re-certification" votes. ERA would also increase union member control over unions' political programs by requiring unions to obtain members' affirmative consent before using dues money for political purposes. Other legislation, including the Workforce Democracy and Fairness Act and Save Local Business Act, would remove the NLRB's discretion to shorten election timeframes and redefine the "joint employment" standard.

While Congress has held committee hearings on the legislation, neither Congressional leadership nor President Trump has made a sustained effort to advance labor law reform. The imminent push by Sen. Sanders, his allies in the Senate Democratic Caucus, and Big Labor for their coercion bill ought to clarify the stakes and spur free-market legislators to action to protect employee rights.

American labor law has become the chaotic mess that it is because it is based on a labor-union backed framework that is now over 80 years old. While repeal of the NLRA may be constitutionally desirable (the Hoover Institution legal scholar Richard Epstein has criticized the New Deal-era precedents that allowed federal "police power" regulatory legislation like NLRA to stand), it is probably impractical. Instead, policymakers and advocates should look to proposals like ERA, the Workplace Democracy and Fairness Act, and the Save Local Business Act to curtail the NLRB's administrative state discretion and return power to the representatives of the people while returning free association rights to employees. The alternative is to allow Big Labor and the far left to devise further coercive proposals and wait until the fickle fortunes of politics allow them to enact them.

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In a provision also taken from EFCA, Sanders-Pocan would also settle initial contract negotiations through a "binding arbitration," giving a government mediator the power to unilaterally hand down a contract without the expressed consent of either the employer or the employees. Unions have sought this power in order to ease the establishment of bargaining and prevent de-certification of an unsuccessful union after the one-year bar on removing the union after an election expires. Establishing a new contract also establishes another legal bar to de-certification (known as the "contract bar") preventing removal of the union for three years except within a one-month window period preceding a contract expiration.

Sanders-Pocan would go even further than the EFCA in a number of key respects. Since the 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments, states have been able to prohibit "union security" agreements, by which employers agree that all employees forced by the NLRA to receive union representation pay the union agency fees, whether or not the employees wish to receive such representation. In practice, the union always demands this privilege where it is allowed, and repealing the "right to work" laws enacted in 28 states (as of May 2018) has been Big Labor's top legislative priority for decades.

The other extremist provision would repeal the Taft-Hartley Act prohibition on secondary boycotts. Left-wing organizations like labor unions often employ tactics that attack third parties for the actions of the real target; often, they take the form of demanding a prominent business cease funding a conservative organization or cause, or demanding an advertiser break off business with a conservative media property. Labor unions employed the secondary boycott to ruinous effect on industrial relations before the Taft-Hartley amendments prohibited the practice in the interests of preserving industrial peace.

The bill would also codify efforts by the Obama administration's NLRB to make franchise businesses easier to unionize using a controversial doctrine known as "joint employment." Under "joint employment," the national branding chain whose name is on the door—but which does not operate the store, assign hours of work, and interact with employees—is held jointly liable for the independent franchise operator's labor relations. The SEIU, which is engaged in a multi-mil-

DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION



MAD "SCIENCE"

Exposing the AAAS and the Dark Side of Science-activism

By Hayden Ludwig

Summary: The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) is the largest general science organization in the world; judging by the accomplishments of many of its members, it has contributed widely to our understanding of science and technology. But the association also has a long and painful history of "science-activism"—promoting ties to Marxist and other extremist groups, propounding junk science theories, and supporting draconian population control policies.

What if I told you there was an association that has a history of fraternizing with the Soviet Union, whose leadership once called for a totalitarian world government, and today promotes far-left political activism against conservatives, Christians, and traditional values? You might respond that there's no shortage of such groups, big or small.

But what if I told you that this same group touted itself as the largest nonpartisan scientific society in the world?

Meet the American Association for the Advancement of Science, or AAAS, which claims it wants to "advance science, engineering, and innovation throughout the world for the benefit of all people." Admittedly, judging by the feats of its 120,000 members—among whom are counted many distinguished scientists—AAAS has helped innovators improve our understanding of technology and the Earth.

Unfortunately, there's a darker side to the association's supposedly "nonpartisan" activism that stains the 171-year-old organization in radical politics and fuzzy science; worse, its origins date back to disturbing theories behind eugenics, population control, and the rejection of mainstream values.

Science-Activism, the Historical Perspective

The American Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1847 in Boston by a number of geologists and naturalists, and held its first meeting the following year at Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences. As the first national organization unifying scientists across all fields in the United States, it was created with the goal of raising further resources for scientific inquiry. The group grew from



"Scientists, who are better positioned than most to appreciate what is at stake in these political decisions," Holdren said, "surely have no less a right and responsibility than any other group to ensure their voices are heard in the political process." March for Science, Washington, D.C., April 2017.

its initial 78 founding members to over 2,000 by 1860; and while the outbreak of the Civil War closed it down temporarily, it was revived in 1866. It began to grow rapidly as barriers fell and non-scientists joined the AAAS, as well as practicing "elected fellows."

In 1900, the AAAS took over publication of *Science* (sometimes referred to as *Science Magazine*), a weekly peer-reviewed journal originally created in 1880 with financial assistance from Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell. The journal is still published today; in 2014, the last year for which statistics are available, circulation stood at roughly 570,400.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, AAAS began to shift away from funding advocacy for science toward policy activism. This was met with some internal disagreement.

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A 1919 meeting of the AAAS in St. Louis, Missouri, passed a resolution that "scientific men should not discuss matters relating to acute political questions on which public opinion is divided." Throughout the interwar period, the AAAS mostly encouraged scientists to stay aloof from politics. That opinion began to change in the 1920s, however. As one more policy-minded member wrote in *Science* in January 1920, scientists have a duty "to throw the light of truth on the field of political discussion." He continued:

He [the scientist] may find honest people doubting his integrity or his intelligence. He himself is only too well aware of his liability to error. But in the face of all this, he must and should persevere, knowing well that his feet are set upon the path of progress.

This melding of science and politics rapidly gained ground in the lead up to World War II. In 1938, the AAAS elected Harvard Medical School physiologist Walter Bradford Cannon as annual president. Cannon, a Soviet sympa-



In 1938, the AAAS elected Harvard Medical School physiologist Walter Bradford Cannon as annual president. Under Cannon, the AAAS began to express sympathy for the Soviet Union as a model of the scientific economy and society of the future. Capitalism, meanwhile, was criticized as primitive.

thizer, was a leading voice in a number of vaguely scientific, politically fashionable organizations, including the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, a volunteer association of American doctors and nurses who aided the leftist Spanish Republican Army during the vicious Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. (That army received the equivalent of \$405 million in modern U.S. currency and hundreds of small arms, war materiel, artillery, tanks, and aircraft from the Soviet Union.) In 1935, the year before the Spanish Civil War broke out, Cannon visited the Soviet Union, where he purportedly made "friendly remarks" about the repressive communist country, then ruled by Joseph Stalin. In 1943, Cannon became president of the American-Soviet Medical Society, which promoted closer relations with the USSR, until its dissolution in 1949 with the start of the Cold War, due to lack of funding. (It's worth noting, too, that at this time the FBI responded to the overt Marxism of many AAAS leaders by opening a 700-odd-page file on the organization.)

Under Cannon, the AAAS began to express sympathy for the Soviet Union as a model of the scientific economy and society of the future. Capitalism, meanwhile—which they argued had supposedly culminated in the racialism of National Socialist Germany—was criticized as primitive. According to historian Peter. J. Kuznick, these science-activists viewed the United States during the Great Depression as

a nation of alienated victims, lacking control over their destinies, [whereas] the Soviets appeared to be a nation of self-conscious individuals, willfully and deliberately constructing a rational, humane society. Instead of the moral hebetude and obliquity of avaricious bourgeois civilization, the Soviets projected universal sodality predicated on individual contribution to the common good. Instead of saturnine pessimism and the yearning for the satisfactions of bygone days, the Soviets extended the hope of a new world.

Rise of the American Association of Scientific Workers

The perfect world supposedly represented by Soviet-style communism was one the science-activists at AAAS couldn't wait to put into practice. In 1936, the AAAS and its British counterpart hosted a U.K. conference in which members called for a "Magna Carta of Science" and a "Supreme Court of Science." Radicals pushed for ever greater science-activism, leading to the creation of the American Association of Scientific Workers, or AASW. The AASW, an "uneasy alliance of liberals, socialists, and communists" (as one observer

described it), sprang from a 1938 meeting of the AAAS in direct response to the rise of fascism in Europe.

The group apparently operated as the AAAS political wing for the duration of its existence. As CRC vice president Dr. Steven J. Allen has noted (Green Watch, June 2014), at least seven well-known scientists serving as AAAS presidents during the period of 1931-1951 were also members of the AASW: AASW co-founder Franz Boas, Karl T. Compton, Walter Cannon, Arthur Compton, Anton J. Carlson, Howard Shapley, and Kirtley Fletcher Mather. Three even served as presidents of the Soviet front group.

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In the late 1930s, branches of the AASW sprang up at universities in New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and New Haven (Yale). According to Kuznick, the association attracted many eminent, propaganda-minded American scientists, who produced "radio programs and operated a science press service" as well as a mountain of conferences advocating for supposedly scientific policy changes, including socialized healthcare.

As was common in the pre-World War II West, communists often used anti-fascism as a cover for their own foreign loyalties. The AASW's Soviet influence grew so apparent, however, that in the late 1930s the socialist philosopher Sidney Hook denounced the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy and the AASW as "Stalinist Outposts," criticizing their members' affinity for the Soviet Union. (FBI reports unearthed after the Cold War confirm his suspicions.)

American communists remained dedicated anti-fascists—at least until the Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pact was signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939. The pact, which was finalized just nine days prior to Germany's September 1 invasion of Poland, allied two murderous totalitarian dictatorships: Adolf Hitler's Germany and Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union. Unfortunately for American communists, it also muddied the waters of anti-fascism. How should they respond to peace between fascism and communism? Sydney Hook explained it succinctly. In a 1940 letter to then-AAAS president Walter Cannon, Hook quoted an ex-communist and disillusioned AASW member on the Pact:

After the Nazi-Soviet Pact the AASW changed its political slogans and interests in exactly the same way as did the American Communist Party or the American Youth Congress [another group with socialist leadership]. The boycott of German goods, their chief topic at meetings, the slogans "Fight Hitler" and "Collective Security" and related catch phrases [sic] were suddenly dropped like burning embers and silence on foreign affairs accompanied by Keep America Out of War campaigns took their place.

"Before the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the AASW, although quite vehement about persecution of scientists in Germany and Italy," Hook added, "carefully refrained from any criticism or protest against the just as ruthless persecution of non-conforming scientists in Russia. Since the Pact, it is silent about Germany, too."

While World War II raged in Europe, the rising communist faction within the AASW successfully pushed for an American "peace resolution," which was featured in the May 3, 1940, issue of *Science*. The AAAS/AASW recommended "the wholehearted and unceasing support of all reasonable programs which seek a better understanding of the causes of war, which will preserve peace for the United States and bring peace to the world." "American scientists," the resolution read, "can best fulfill their share of this responsibility [as men of progress] if the United States remains at peace"—in other words, American neutrality regarding war with Nazi Germany. More than five hundred scientists signed the peace resolution, which then-AASW president Anton J. Carlson forwarded to President Franklin Roosevelt. Exactly one week later, Germany commenced its invasion of France.

It should be said that the scientific community split over such peace resolutions and over U.S. involvement in the war—a debate the AAAS/AASW were too quick to wade into. Anti-Hitlerists who favored war with Germany like Alfred E. Cohn argued in the *New York Times* that "there are intolerable situations to which men of certain beliefs will not care to submit, they have no choice except to resist with force." This argument fell largely on deaf ears in the increasingly left-wing AASW. This was compounded by the United States' declaration of war on Germany on December 11, 1941, which permanently split the group in two.

The AASW continued to support the Soviet Union through the Cold War—opposing the so-called "red scare" and U.S. nuclear weapons testing—albeit with diminishing influence. Among its more famous members were chemists Harold Urey and Linus Pauling, and physicists J. Robert Oppenheimer (of Manhattan Project fame) and Robert S.

Mulliken. The AASW still exists today. In 1985 it changed its name to the U.S. Federation of Scholars and Scientists (UFSS), but its affiliation with the AAAS remains in place.

Red Science?

One documented communist front group connected to AAAS and AASW was the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW). The group originated in 1946 in Great Britain as a collection of mainly French, British, and American Marxist scientists backed by the Soviet Union, according to a 1972 congressional inquiry. It operated as a pro-Soviet organization opposed to NATO's testing of nuclear weapons. Its initial president was Jean Frédéric Joliot-Curie, a French communist and son-in-law to the famed discoverer of Radium, the Polish-French scientist Marie Curie.

Roger Dittmann served as WFSW's executive board member and its United Nations representative. Dittmann, who became professor of physics at the California State University, Fullerton, in 1964, is also a former executive board member of the Pacific Division of the AAAS. (Interestingly, WFSW survives today as an official partner of UNESCO. The group's website makes no mention of its socialist history, instead innocently maintaining that it "engages in struggles for peace and disarmament, solidarity between peoples, social and sustainable development, and for a world economic order.")

Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action, or SESPA, was another prominent far-left group to infiltrate the AAAS during the Cold War. The organization's origins are unclear; but according to former members Sue Tafler and Kathy Greeley it began in 1969 when "a caucus of dissident physicists introduced an antiwar [sic] resolution at the American Physical Society convention." Those physicists soon joined with another group of scientists in California and various Boston-based engineers to form SESPA. The group published a magazine—*Science for the People*—documenting much of its activity, which called itself "a vehicle for antiwar analysis and activity."

Almost from the start SESPA activists set their sights on infiltrating various science groups, like the National Science Teachers Association, the American Chemical Society, and the Eastern Psychological Association. A 1972 Washington Post article by Victor Cahn documented SESPA's attempt to "enlist the 27,000-member American Physical Society" to oppose the Vietnam War. SESPA conspiracy theorists bizarrely charged "that the government has already used weather modification as a weapon in Indochina, and has made geophysical war a 'high-priority project.'"

One of SESPA's top targets was the AAAS. According to Tafler and Greeley, "[r]eorganization of the AAAS itself has been one immediate goal of [the group]." Confirming their point, the March 1972 issue of *Science for the People* featured a cartoon of a dejected AAAS scientist following a grizzled, peace sign-adorned hippie wielding a sign that read, "Science for the People!" Captioned above the scientist were the words, "The times certainly are a'changin'."

The takeover campaign initially saw members protesting outside AAAS's annual conventions, but beginning in 1976 SESPA altered its AAAS-related tactics from Hippie-inspired protest to professional courtship. Activist Steve Cavrak co-headed SESPA's 1976 AAAS Coordinating Committee, which "targeted" AAAS Boston conference attendees with a "Research for the People" workshop and leaflets "revealing the class nature of science, and showing how the current crisis reinforces this class character." As Cavrak later bragged in the May 1976 edition of *Science for the People*:

At the AAA\$ [sic] meeting, we met a lot of people who are interested in working with Science for the People. We have names, chapter contacts, and a national organizing committee. We have activity groups and ideas for new activity groups. It is important that all of us help bring the two together; that we all take part in building a science for the people.

The magazine celebrated SESPA's "six-year tradition" of organizing at the annual AAAS meetings; in fact, that edition was entirely geared around the group's participation in the conference. Britain's Nature wrote at the time that "Science for the People—a radical group that can see very little right in American science, it seems—has almost made it into the Establishment of the AAAS." The AAAS officially recognized the group in 1976—and it was welcomed by many in AAAS's leadership.

"I think the kids have finally discovered what AAAS is all about," then-AAAS board chair and anthropologist Margaret Mead said. "AAAS has had 'science for the people' since before they were born."

In April 1970, SESPA was placed on a classified FBI watch list as a "revolutionary activity or New Left" organization, according to hundreds of documents released by the FBI in 2007 as part of a FOIA request. The declassified reports reveal a number of SESPA-organized demonstrations opposing U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War staged in the early 1970s at various universities like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). During these demonstrations, activists passed out leaflets decrying "moral irresponsibility at

MIT" for purportedly supporting military research during the Vietnam War. One of those protests led to the founding of the left-wing Union of Concerned Scientists.

Interestingly, reports made in 1971 by undercover FBI agents declassified in the mid-1990s reveal more of SESPA's campaigns to "non-violently take over the AAAS convention[s]" in Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago. The reports also confirm that "the AAAS has granted SESPA a major portion of the convention in order to appease their [SESPA's] past tactics." Confidential sources and former members of the Communist Party USA also reported to FBI agents that SESPA's Chicago chapter, the Science for Vietnam group "is coordinating SESPA's program

of furnishing scientific information and research to the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," or communist North Vietnam, during the war.

According to another *Science for the People* article, the "Science for Vietnam project grew out of a visit to Hanoi in December 1970 by Richard Levins as part of a delegation of western scientists sponsored by the World Federation of Scientific Workers." As one *Science for the People* article put it:

The Science for Vietnam project is one way in which scientists can give practical as well as symbolic meaning to a people-to-people peace with Vietnam. It is a start of reparations to a country that is being *devastated* in our name [emphasis original]. By openly collaborating with those whom our Government [sic] calls the enemy, it dissociates us from the war and serves notice that we are looking for new ways of resisting...

Science for the People even published a running list of items "needed for struggle against U.S. imperialism" in Vietnam, asking readers to submit materials requested by North Vietnamese scientists such as oscillographs, microbial stamps, and seismographs. Tafler and Greeley noted that Science for Vietnam had multiple chapters soliciting such requests in several U.S. cities—in other words, advocating treason by aiding and abetting the enemy during wartime.

Richard Levins, who died in January 2016, was a Harvard University professor and an avowed Marxist. An article by Levins in the July/August 1986 edition of the Marxist publication *Monthly Review* confirms his political views. Another article in that issue further connects the AAAS to SESPA:

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"Members of SESPA were then invited to make a presentation at the 1969 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) to be held in Boston."

George Salzman, professor emeritus at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and a self-described "anarchist physicist," wrote in his online blog in September 2006 that, besides himself, SESPA was initially headed by scientists like Charles Schwartz, Richard Lewontin, John Beckwith, and Steve Cavrak—all future university professors (and at least two of them AAAS fellows).

Other contributors to *Science for the People* included future professors and/or notable scientists Ruth Hubbard, Kostia

Bergman, Garland Allen, Phil Bereano, Theodore Goldfarb, Chandler Davis, Edward Loechler, Jeanne Gallo, Ragni Piene, Dave Kotelchuck (later appointed to the Obama administration's Advisory Board on Radiation and Worker Health), and John Froines (a chemist and Students for a Democratic Society member who was tried for making an incendiary "stink bomb" at the so-called 1969 Chicago Conspiracy Trial; he later served as OSHA's Director of Toxic Substances in the Carter administration), and outspoken communist and economist Scott Nearing. Many of these individuals later became AAAS fellows.

Interestingly, the FBI reports also detailed abuses of Democratic politicians. In the 1971 convention, former Johnson administration Undersecretary of State William Bundy "was interrupted at various times by shouts of obscenities and arguments by members of AAAS, SESPA, and VVAW [Vietnam Veterans Against the War]" while speaking before a collection of Vietnam War veterans. In the same convention, SESPA activists "attempted to disrupt Senator [and former vice president] Hubert H. Humphrey as he spoke" before AAAS conventioneers. Later, George Salzman flippantly confirmed the report: "In my mind is a photo of Hubert H. Humphrey being 'bombarded' by paper airplanes thrown by you know who."

The Tradition Continues: Today's Radicals in High Places

The AAAS has a revolving annual presidency given to AAAS fellows and notable scientists across numerous fields. After

the election, they spend one year as president-elect, a second as president, and a third as chair of the AAAS board of directors. Neuroscientist Susan Hockfield, current president of the AAAS, formerly served as president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with the Koch Institute for Integrative Cancer Research, and as a director for General Electric and Qualcomm.

The board of directors for 2018–2019 has a number of Obama administration connections: in addition to Susan Hockfield, it includes incoming president Margaret Hamburg, the Obama administration's U.S. Food and Drug Administration commissioner; and Obama's Secretary of Energy, Steven Chu. It also includes board treasurer Carolyn Ainslie, vice president for finance and treasurer of Princeton University; AAAS chief executive officer Rush D. Holt; and a collection of other scientists and professors.

CEO Rush Holt is responsible for much of the organization's day-to-day operations. Holt, the son of former West Virginia Senator (1935–1941) Rush D. Holt, Sr., a socialist-turned-conservative Democrat-turned Republican. Holt, Jr. represented New Jersey's 12th district in Congress from 1999–2015. He succeeded longtime AAAS CEO Alan Leshner in 2015 and continues Leshner's advocacy for leftwing policies.

Holt's advocacy is markedly anti-Trump: under his watch, AAAS partnered with the anti-Trump March for Science in March 2018; he signed a letter urging the President to rescind his 2017 executive order temporarily blocking immigration from certain terrorist-ridden countries; he criticized the administration's "disregard for science...[for] falling behind a new reality" following the 2018 State of the Union address; and he blasted the administration for "abdicat[ing] our leadership role" by withdrawing from the Paris Climate Accord.

Holt is not the first AAAS chief to espouse science-activism. Under the leadership of his predecessor, Alan Leshner, the ostensibly science-motivated organization applauded President Obama's 2014 decision to reestablish diplomatic ties with communist Cuba, that bastion of independent thought and scientific inquiry. Leshner was also markedly anti-Christian, lecturing school boards for choosing to teach (catastrophic man-made) climate change as a "controversial issue" instead of immutable truth; and preaching against teaching intelligent design alongside evolutionary theory in classrooms. As Leshner wrote in 2006, the AAAS, "America's largest general science society, says fact and faith can happily co-exist—just not in science classrooms, lest we confuse tomorrow's innovators about what is and isn't science."





Holdren was wrong in all his dire predictions, and humanity has proved more resilient and inventive than he conceived in 1969. But that didn't stop Holdren's co-author, biologist Paul Ehrlich, from further evangelizing their gospel of population control.

Politicizing Science

Examining AAAS's past presidents and CEOs long radical history reveals a pattern of political extremism, association with Marxist groups, and political activism masquerading as science. Take the case of environmentalist John Holdren who served a term as AAAS president from 2006-2007, and as board chair from 2007-2008. A 13-year tenured professor at the University of California at Berkeley, Holdren taught anti-nuclear and global warming policies—but he's perhaps best-known for advocating for global population control measures. In 1969, the then-25-year-old Holdren co-published an article in the science journal *BioScience* entitled "Population and Panaceas: A Technological Perspective" in which he argued that

No effort to expand the carrying capacity of the Earth can keep pace with unbridled population growth....[I]t cannot be emphasized enough that if the population control measures are not initiated immediately and effectively, all the technology man can bring to bear will not fend off the misery to come.

"[T]here is a tendency among the public, nurtured on Sunday-supplement conceptions of technology, to believe that science has the situation well in hand," Holdren continued. "Today more than one billion human beings are either undernourished or malnourished, and the human population is growing at a rate of 2% per year."

An unsustainable trend? Perhaps not. World hunger has declined by 216 million hungry people since 1992. World poverty has also declined from over 60 percent of the Earth's population in 1970 to roughly 9.6 percent in 2015—a drop of over 50 percent in a generation. Simultaneously, the world average GDP per capita has increased from \$5,165 in

1970 to \$10,418 in 2015. And in the five decades since Holdren's dire warnings first surfaced, the global population has more than doubled.

Holdren was (happily) wrong in all his dire predictions, and humanity has proved more resilient and inventive

than he conceived in 1969. But that didn't stop Holdren's co-author, biologist Paul Ehrlich, from further evangelizing their gospel of population control.

Ehrlich's infamous 1968 book, *The Population Bomb*, sensationalized theories of imminent human starvation and global ruination. According to Ehrlich, famine would prevail worldwide, diseases would sweep away whole continents of people, and social upheaval would finish the job on Mankind. But who did Ehrlich blame for overcrowding the planet? The opening scene of *The Population Bomb* might have an answer. It describes an Ehrlich family cab ride through "a crowded slum area" in Delhi, India, in 1966:

The streets seemed alive with people. People eating, people washing, people sleeping. People visiting, arguing, and screaming. People thrust their hands through the taxi window, begging. People defecating and urinating. People clinging to buses. People herding animals. People, people, people, people....[S]ince that night, I've known the feel of overpopulation.

As science journalist Charles C. Mann later pointed out in *Smithsonian*, a little over 2.8 million people lived in Delhi in 1966. Compare that with the 8 million people living in Paris, France, in that same year. "No matter how carefully one searches through archives, it is not easy to find expressions of alarm about how the Champs-Élysées was 'alive with people,'" Mann wrote. "Instead, Paris in 1966 was an emblem of elegance and sophistication"—a far cry from Delhi's apparent Third World vulgarity that so shocked and horrified Ehrlich.

In a 1970 CBS News interview, Ehrlich took his alarmist claims one step further, saying that "most of the people who are going to die in the greatest cataclysm in the history of man have already been born. Sometime in the next 15 years,

the end will come."It's worth noting that the world population when Ehrlich stated his case was just under 3.7 billion people; by 1985—the expected year of civilizational collapse—it had risen to 4.85 billion. Today it stands at around 7.4 billion people.

As Charles C. Mann pointed out, a little over 2.8 million people lived in Delhi in 1966, compared to the 8 million people living in Paris, France, that same year.

Ehrlich himself was ridiculed by many as a "neo-Malthusian," referring to the warnings of the 19th century British scholar Thomas Malthus, who warned that population growth was outpacing growth in food production. Nevertheless, the preaching of Holdren

and Ehrlich found fertile ground in the social reengineering world, which took their calls for severe policies to be "initiated immediately and effectively" as scripture.

The result was, in no uncertain terms, barbarie en masse. The Association for Voluntary Sterilization, United Nations Population Fund, Planned Parenthood, the Population Council, and other organizations leveled gruesome policies on developing nations. Many Third World governments mandated the use of contraceptives, sprinkled birth control pills across rural villages via helicopter, fixed healthcare workers' salaries to the number of IUDs they inserted into women, and sterilized millions of people—often forcibly. It culminated, of course, in communist China's infamous "one-child policy," which was often enforced with compulsory abortions.

And in case you thought that these policies were confined to countries with apparently nightmarish hellscapes like Ehrlich's India, think again. Consider this quotation from Holdren and Ehrlich's 1972 book, *Human Ecology: Problems and Solutions*: "Political pressure must be applied immediately to induce the United States government to assume its responsibility to halt the growth of the American population."

In the face of "the greatest crisis the United States and the world have ever faced," the duo proposed a slew of chilling new solutions to the so-called "population bomb." These included pressuring "pregnant single women to marry or have abortions," instituting a two-child limit for families, and—momentarily revealing their totalitarian impulses—combining global agencies into "a Planetary Regime—sort of an international superagency for population, resources, and environment [to] control the development, administration, conservation, and distribution of *all* natural resources [emphasis theirs]." In a 1977 textbook, *Ecoscience: Population, Resources, Environment*, Ehrlich and Holdren offered a brutal solution to the problem of overpopulation:

Adding a sterilant to drinking water or staple foods is a suggestion that seems to horrify people more than most proposals for involuntary fertility control.... To be acceptable, such a substance would have to meet some rather stiff requirements: it must be uniformly effective, despite widely varying doses received by individuals, and despite varying degrees of fertility and sensitivity among individuals; it must be free of dangerous or unpleasant side effects; and it must have no effect on members of the opposite sex, children, old people, **pets, or livestock** [emphasis added].

Nevertheless, John Holdren was later awarded the MacArthur Foundation Prize Fellowship (also known as the MacArthur genius award) and senior research positions at prestigious laboratories and institutions such as Lawrence Livermore and the California Institute of Technology. He has served on the board of the MacArthur Foundation (a notable left-wing funder), and is a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the Council on Foreign Relations. He even served as chair of the executive committee of the Pugwash Conferences, which brought Western scientists together with their Soviet counterparts (and sundry embedded KGB intelligence officers) to promote "peace" between East and West. Holdren remains an elected fellow of the AAAS.

In 2009, the Obama administration appointed Holdren to serve as Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, Director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, and co-chair of the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. He used his podium to try to "muster the political will for serious evasive action" in order to halt the threat of global warming.

He cropped up again in an April 2017 speech following the so-called March for Science in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. It was pure science-activism: "Scientists, who are better positioned than most to appreciate what is at stake in these political decisions," Holdren said, "surely have no less a right and responsibility than any other group to ensure their voices are heard in the political process." He proposed dedicating 10 percent of scientists' and engineers' time to "educating policymakers and the public on issues such as climate change, protecting the world's oceans and public lands," and other environmentalist aims. It's their duty, Holdren continued, because President Donald Trump "has not given any indication or awareness of the role of science in government, or the role of government in science."

Paleontologist and evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould served as AAAS president in 2000. Following his death from



Famed anthropologist Margaret Mead served as AAAS president in 1975. Mead first gained prominence for her 1928 book Coming of Age in Samoa, which depicted life among the Samoans of Ta'u Island as a paradisiacal, irreligious Eden free from repressive sexual mores.

lung cancer in May 2002, Gould was widely mourned; but his memory also found a peculiar home in forlorn obituaries across revolutionary socialist and communist websites.

The Marxist publication *Monthly Review* hailed Gould as active in the New York Marxist School (now the Brecht Forum) and the anti-Vietnam War movement and insisted the longtime liberal "identified himself as a Marxist." *Socialism Today*, the Socialist Party's magazine, praised Gould for "apply[ing] a broadly-Marxist method of analysis to evolution" and "continually campaign[ing] against creationism." Solidarity—an organization founded in 1986 and opposed to "the capitalist system and its destructive impact on humanity and the planet"—celebrated "Gould's thinking about science [which] was deeply infused with his humanist and socialist commitments."

A biographical website, StephenJayGould.org, praises the paleontologist's career but neglects mentioning his affiliations with socialist and communist organizations like SESPA. Gould's 2002 obituaries in leading newspapers—such as the *New York Times*, the *Economist*, and the *Los Angeles Times*—brushed off references to allegations of his Marxism, if they bothered to mention it at all (most didn't).

Only Britain's *Guardian* even mentions his involvement in the "radical science movement."

But in its own obituary, Solidarity also mentions that "Gould was on the fringes of a movement of left-wing scientists which in the 1970s called itself 'Science for Vietnam,' later becoming 'Science for the People.'" In fact, a January/ February 1988 special issue of *Science for the People* lists Stephen Jay Gould as a member of its editorial advisory board. Further research reveals Gould was a panelist in at least one Socialist Scholars Conference.

Gould, the son of a Marxist, seems to have publicly danced around his affiliation with radical groups—insisting he was a "card-carrying liberal in politics." But America's socialists, it seems, are only too happy to claim him for their own. As the pastor David A. Noebel put it in 2007, "Stephen Jay Gould ultimately may not have been an atheist or a Marxist, but nearly his whole life argues in favor of both positions."

Shall the Clay Question the Potter?

Not all of AAAS's leaders have been crypto-communists and eugenicists, of course. Some were merely scientific charlatans.

Famed anthropologist Margaret Mead served as AAAS president in 1975. Mead, an American academic celebrity, first gained prominence for her 1928 book *Coming of Age in Samoa*, which depicted life among the Samoans of Ta'u

Island as a paradisiacal, irreligious Eden free from repressive sexual mores—like those against wanton bisexuality, public masturbation, illegitimate children, prostitution, and divorce. Such, Mead hinted, was the *natural* state of Man; everything else is just a social construct. "Romantic love as it occurs in our civilization, inextricably bound up with ideas of monogamy, exclusiveness, jealousy and undeviating fidelity," she wrote, "does not occur in Samoa."

Sloppy fact-checking was too-quickly labeled "classical research" by Margaret Mead and many in the scientific community.

The dewy-eyed New York Times hailed Mead's book as "unbiased in its judgment, richly readable in its style...a remarkable contribution to our knowledge of humanity." It sold hundreds of thousands of copies, making it the most widely read book on anthropology for forty years. That changed in 1983, when New Zealand anthropologist Derek Freeman (who had lived in Samoa since 1940) published Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth. It turns out, Freeman discovered, that the Samoans shared the same stigmas against premarital sex

and infidelity as every other culture on Earth. A 1988 documentary based on Freeman's work cited one of the Samoans Mead had interviewed five decades earlier:

We girls would pinch each other and tell her we were out with the boys. We were only joking but she took it seriously. As you know, Samoan girls are terrific liars and love making fun of people but Margaret thought it was all true.

Nevertheless, Mead's book paved the way for her to join the AAAS and the American Anthropological Association as "the most famous anthropologist in the world." She's frequently listed as one of the greatest anthropologists and female scientists of the twentieth century. The Society for Applied Anthropology offers an annual Margaret Mead Award. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter posthumously awarded Mead with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Her face appeared on a 1998 USPS postage stamp. Someone even named a crater on Venus after her.

Mead's Marxist-tinged teaching that infants are essentially moldable putty was welcomed by numerous behavioral psychologists. It seemed to greenlight as "scientific" the promotion of sexual promiscuity, cultural relativism, atheism, and other favorite topics of the Left. In reality, Mead's approach to anthropology—which her husband, Luther Cressman, later criticized as always "If it isn't, it ought to be"—proved to be confirmation bias disguised as science. Sloppy

fact-checking was too-quickly labeled "classical research" by Mead and many in the scientific community. Mead's own purported attraction to casual sex and bisexual relationships romanticized the otherwise ordinary reality of Samoan sexual attitudes. Her dislike of religion further cemented her argument that profligate islanders were guilt-free atheists—and not the "devoted polytheists" and, later, pious Christians they actually were.

Funding

With expenses of \$101.3 million in 2015, revenues exceeding \$103 million, and assets totaling \$156.6 million, the AAAS is clearly a heavyweight.

According to data from the website Foundation Search, the organization received just under \$60.7 million in 352 grants between 1995 and 2016. Most of that money came from a number of large foundations, including the Golden

Family Foundation, a New Jersey-based 501(c)(3) private grantmaking foundation responsible for the AAAS's largest donations: \$5.3 million in 2003 and \$4.4 million in 2015 (\$9.9 million in total, including additional grants). Other major funders to the AAAS include the left-leaning David and Lucile Packard Foundation (nearly \$5 million); Larry Ellison's—founder of the technology firm Oracle—Lawrence Ellison Foundation (\$5.1 million); the Maryland-based Howard Hughes Medical Institute (\$1.5 million); and smaller donations from the MacArthur Foundation, Verizon Foundation, Moore Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Joyce Foundation (whose board once included Barack Obama).

But AAAS's biggest funder is the federal government. Between 2008 and 2017, federal funding to AAAS averaged over \$3.3 million annually, with grants ballooning from \$2.92 million in 2016 to over \$13 million in 2017. Data from the website USA Spending (managed by the Office of Management and Budget) shows AAAS received \$27.9 million in 451 contracts between 2004 and March 2018. Of this sum, the largest contracts were given to AAAS by the Department of Health and Human Services (largely from its sub-agency, the National Institutes of Health) and the Department of Homeland Security. AAAS received another \$41.5 million in 25 grants between 2011 and December 2017, of which an overwhelming majority (\$35.5 million) came from the National Science Foundation.

Conclusion

What do you get when you cross science with politics? Would that it were a joke; in reality, the science-activism of the AAAS threatens both scientific inquiry and American public policy.

Modern science developed out of an appreciation for the freedom to pursue independent thought, guided by respect for the Christian moral landscape that fathered it. Early scientists like Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton were as devoted to the study of God as they were to His creation. The rigorous scientific method they developed reveals a devotion to the search for ultimate truth—a search their progressive-minded successors have swapped for political ends. Phrenology (identifying one's personality by the bumps on their skull), eugenics (human selective breeding), and racial biological supremacy theories are all examples of the more dangerous agendas pushed by science-activists.

Perhaps the AAAS could learn something about the prudent pursuit of truth from the famed astronomer and almost-Lutheran minister Johannes Kepler, who penned the words of his own epitaph shortly before his death in 1630:

> I used to measure the heavens, Now I must measure the earth. Though sky-bound was my spirit, My earthly body rests here. ■

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ORGANIZATION TRENDS



UNKOCH MY CAMPUS HAS A TRANSPARENCY PROBLEM

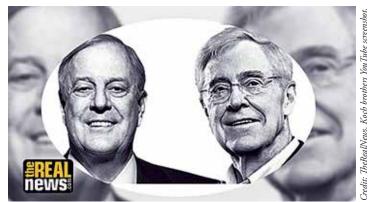
By Christine Ravold

Summary: UnKoch My Campus prematurely claimed a victory in May when donor agreements between George Mason University and the Charles Koch Foundation revealed the conditions under which grants were made to the university. But before UnKoch My Campus throws stones about "dark money," it needs to come clean about its own funding and agenda.

Usually, few object to philanthropists contributing to support American higher education. But if a university or individual faculty member receives support from the Charles Koch Foundation (CKF), then it suddenly becomes grounds for a conspiracy theory involving so-called "dark money." All it takes is a small group of Marxist leaders and help from a few left-wing mainstays like Greenpeace, the Center for Media and Democracy (CMD), and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

Leftist interests organized under the "UnKoch My Campus" banner target the Charles Koch Foundation, which is associated with classical liberal philanthropist Charles Koch. The left-wingers claim to see malicious intent from Koch and its "corporate interests" to take over higher education. Most recently, suspicious students with the support of the UnKoch network demanded copies of donor agreements made between CKF and George Mason University (GMU), believing that CKF exerts undue influence at the public university. Scrutiny fell most heavily on the Mercatus Center, an independent, market-oriented economic research center which has a close relationship with GMU's famed economics department.

The university released expired donor agreements, which GMU President Angel Cabrera claimed "fall short of the standards of academic independence I expect any gift to meet." The editorial board of the *Washington Post* went a step further and urged George Mason to release all the gift agreements made between the university and the Charles Koch Foundation, since the expired donor agreements appeared to show the Koch Foundation's grants gave the foundation a say in hiring or firing decisions at the university. However, the *Post* was forced to "clarify" that the grants only allowed the foundation a say in hiring or firing positions at the



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Mercatus Center—which operates independently from the university and does not receive taxpayer funds. As Jim Geraghty noted in *National Review*, the story of malign influence and threats to academic freedom spun by the far-left groups backing UnKoch fell apart upon close examination.

Many public universities have agreements with donors similar to those between GMU and CKF. Ironically, UnKoch My Campus is unconcerned about the influence of illiberal-left organizations, which easily outspend the Koch Foundation in higher education grants. It seems that UnKoch My Campus only objects to big-dollar donors when those donors fail to meet a certain ideological test—a test predicted by UnKoch's staff background and organizational partners.

Christine Ravold is the communications officer for the Capital Research Center.

Disclosure: The author participated in the Charles Koch Institute's Koch Associate Program in 2015-2016, which is funded largely by the Charles Koch Foundation. The Capital Research Center is a partner in both the Koch Internship and Koch Associate Programs.



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Anti-Capitalist Sentiment and Organizational Allies

This apparent discrepancy makes more sense when one considers that UnKoch My Campus is deeply integrated with organizations on the far left and staffed by radical anti-capitalists. Legally, UnKoch My Campus is a project of Essential Information—a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization founded by Ralph Nader in 1982. Essential Information's projects focus on "providing provocative information to the public on important topics neglected by the mass media and policy makers."

UnKoch My Campus has a small staff. Three of the four staff members co-founded the organization in 2014: Lindsey Berger, Connor Gibson, and Ralph Wilson. The fourth member, Samantha Parsons, founded Transparent GMU—which spearheaded the lawsuit against GMU demanding public release of donor agreements between the university and the Koch Foundation.

The three founders have professional left-wing pedigrees, including internships and jobs with the Sierra Club, Greenpeace, and the Center for Media and Democracy, which has previously received generous gifts from George Soros's

Foundation to Promote an Open Society. Rather conveniently, Greenpeace and CMD are public partners of UnKoch My Campus alongside the American Federation of Teachers government worker union.

This alliance of leftist organizations is intentional. Ralph Wilson, the apparent prime mover of the UnKoch movement, posted on his Facebook Page in 2014 that Koch made a perfect target to unite the interests of unions, environmentalists, and anti-capitalists.

Left-wingers claim to see malicious intent from Koch and its "corporate interests" to take over higher education.

Earlier in 2012, Wilson addressed Florida State University's (FSU) Center for Participant Education (CPE), an on-campus organization with a history of far-left activism, with which Wilson was heavily engaged. A video available online shows Wilson giving a "class" denouncing the Koch Brothers—all but forming the future talking points of UnKoch.

It's worth noting that the CPE receives university funding for its activities as a bureau of the FSU student government. That means that taxpayers incubated UnKoch My Campus and paid for this partisan programming and its vacuous "alternative curriculum."

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Wilson makes no secret of his openly Marxist sympathies. While involved with CPE, the organization hosted events on "The Five that Survived—Cuba, China, Vietnam, Laos, and Democratic Korea," highlighting the Communist regimes which outlasted the Soviet Union, and a screening of the liberal documentary, Koch Brothers Exposed. Wilson associates with leaders from explicitly Marxist organizations, including the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, and participated in Occupy Tallahassee. In a 2014 interview with the socialist publication *Liberation*, Wilson admits that his Marxist ideology motivated his attacks against the Koch Foundation.

Wilson may have been the architect for UnKoch, but his other two cofounders brought professional activism, organizing, and research to help him build a campaign with national influence.

Co-founder Lindsey Berger spent two years at CMD as a campaign strategist and researcher. In 2016, UnKoch and the CMD jointly released a report criticizing the Koch Foundation's campaign for criminal justice reform. Lisa Graves, senior fellow and former executive director of CMD, serves on the advisory board of UnKoch.

In addition to cultivating Lindsey Berger, Greenpeace appears to have incubated investigative researcher Connor Gibson. Gibson's work for Greenpeace, specifically his research into the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), the State Policy Network (SPN), and the Koch Foundation, as well as "the surge of requests from college students" led him to the conclusion that American universities should purge Koch support. However, the relationship between Greenpeace and UnKoch is a bit cozier than it looks. After all, Gibson is paid by Greenpeace to do work that directly feeds into his position with UnKoch. A page on Greenpeace's website makes it clear that UnKoch became independent from Greenpeace in 2017, leading one to wonder how close the relationship was prior to 2017.



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UnKoch Lacks Fiscal Transparency

Because UnKoch is legally a project of Essential Information and not its own nonprofit, it does not file a distinct tax return (known as a Form 990) with the IRS. Looking at its parent organization doesn't tell the public much about who is pulling UnKoch's financial strings. But it offers a few clues.

According to Foundation Search, since 2014, Essential Information has received grants from the Tides Foundation, which is famous for its ability to funnel money from influential donors to radical organizations while protecting the identity of the original giver. CMD has also received gifts from Tides and similar pass-through funding vehicles; when conservative and libertarian donors employ such methods, CMD denounces the contributions as "dark money."

Tides isn't the only such entity contributing to Essential Information: The group has received gifts from the Bank of America Charitable Gift Fund as well. In 2015, UnKoch also received a grant from the Solidaire Network, which funds progressive direct-action organizations and has close ties to the liberal donor network Democracy Alliance. Solidaire has a number of giving vehicles to help donors fund new organizations and put infrastructure into fledgling movements.



The Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) has received gifts from Tides and similar "donor-advised funds;" when conservative and libertarian donors employ such methods, CMD denounces the contributions as "dark money."

UnKoch also solicits individual donations on its website. An old "join us" page on the UnKoch Website directs donors to a 404 error page—the defunct URL shows: "https://centerformediaanddemocracy.salsalabs.org/unkoch mycampus/index.html." This suggests that at some point, Center for Media and Democracy was handling at least some of the funds for the UnKoch campaign. At the bottom of this page, UnKoch dubiously mentions:

*Anybody listed on our Staff page as an employee of a partner organization, such as Greenpeace USA or the Center for Media and Democracy, is paid by their respective employer and not by any grants made to UnKoch My Campus.

Your support goes directly to people solely focused on this campaign. Thank you!

Donations in Context

Education is one of America's favorite philanthropic sectors. Giving to higher education exceeds \$40 billion a year. When UnKoch and its Greenpeace, union, and CMD "partners" denounce the influence inherent in charitable giving, they fail to put CKF's generous \$60 million in context with the rest of American higher education gifts. The Ford Foundation alone gives ten times what the Koch Foundation does in a year to higher education. Yet the Left is not urging universities to reject grants from Ford.

Perhaps that's because Ford funds the "right" kind of programs. The Ford Foundation pioneered the first women's

studies programs by giving gifts to colleges and universities. The first wave of grants were successful, but many educators wanted more. Feminists wanted the coursework sprinkled throughout the curriculum. So, in 1989 Ford gave away another \$800,000 in grants to universities to "integrate research and teaching on American minority women into undergraduate courses in the liberal arts."

In light of this obviously ideological philanthropic strategy by one of the largest liberal foundations in existence, on what grounds should Charles Koch, who supports classical liberalism and free markets, be prohibited from funding centers and programs exploring these very ideas? Economics is the most overlooked subject in undergraduate curricula, and programs like the Koch-supported ones at George Mason are poised to reduce the very real crisis in American economic illiteracy.

Likewise, left-wing education groups (like, to choose one at random, the American Federation of Teachers) decry decreases in government education spending, but when the wrong entrepreneur gives back to higher education, they cry foul and instigate protests at the expense of a campus's academic freedom and intellectual diversity.

UnKoch maintains that CKF is hostile to academic freedom and what's worse, that the foundation subscribes to a shadowy theory of social change. (UnKoch may want to update their website, because CKF has a new and better articulated public website describing how the foundation views societal problems—and their solutions.) Of course, the Ford Foundation—which made grants to Essential Information

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as recently as 2015—also is interested in strategic giving and creating theories of social change. So does the Solidaire Network. ("Social change" is, frankly, just a buzzword used by philanthropy wonks for ideologically motivated changes to public policy.) Given its penchant for economic study, CKF has a slightly wonkier vision, but it is far from malicious, and is no cause for universities to turn away opportunities to expand their offerings or enhance their campus's reputation for producing research.

Live and Let Them Give

If UnKoch My Campus is genuine in its concern for outside influence in public education, then it's seriously underestimated the scale of the problem. Charles Koch's money is only *a fraction of a percent* of all private giving to higher education. The Tides Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and plenty of individual givers have just as much "undue influence" in American universities and it would be impractical and downright feckless to forego funding that expands opportunities for students across the country.

But, of course, the group's concern probably isn't genuine. Backed by the furthest fringes of the professional Left, UnKoch exists to silence business and free-market interests, making the group's accusations that CKF threatens academic freedom risible hypocrisy. The only threat Koch-funded research centers and economic departments pose on campus is to the incumbent left-wing intellectual orthodoxy. In truth, it is the Center for Media and Democracy, Greenpeace, and the American Federation of Teachers (through the UnKoch campaign) who are advocating against open intellectual debate.

Certainly, those running and funding UnKoch have their own agenda, to which they are entitled. The fact that they are affiliated with known illiberal and leftist organizations

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may be coincidental and secondary to the message they espouse. The lack of transparency around their funding (which Ralph Wilson erroneously described as grassroots and organic) shouldn't be used to discredit their organization—just as those in conservative and libertarian circles shouldn't be tarred and feathered over associations or relationships. (Conservative and libertarian circles are small, after all.) However, UnKoch is happy to use such fatuous relationships to discredit and cow the Charles Koch Foundation and its grantees.

Until UnKoch and its partner organizations are willing to fully disclose their donors and funding sources, they should instead consider that they benefit from the same rights and protections they accuse the Koch Foundation of exploiting.

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