



# CAPITAL RESEARCH

## NEO PHILANTHROPY: How The Left Funds Voter Registration

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### CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER

1513 16th Street NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202.483.6900

**CapitalResearch.org**

Contact@CapitalResearch.org

Internship inquiries are welcome.

Publisher, Scott Walter  
Editor-in-Chief, Kristen Eastlick  
Editor, Christine Ravold  
Photo Editor, Gayle Yiotis

Cover design: Lori Schulman



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## ORGANIZATION TRENDS

NEO Philanthropy: How The Left  
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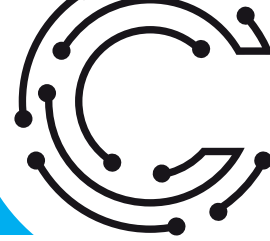
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## PARTISAN GERRYMANDERING: COURTS SHOULD KEEP OUT OF THE DEBATE

By Hans von Spakovsky & Michael Watson

Surprise: The supposedly nonpolitical bill to change how districts are drawn would . . . help Democrats.

For the past few years, liberals have been pushing the courts to declare that partisan redistricting—the consideration of politics when drawing the boundaries of legislative districts—violates the Constitution. In fact, we are awaiting a decision from the U.S. Supreme Court on this issue in two cases out of Maryland and North Carolina.

We hope that the Court will refuse to involve itself in the political thicket of the redistricting process. Engaging in politics does not violate the Constitution. Besides, the solution to gerrymandered districts should come from state legislatures, not the courts.

The allocation of representatives in a state legislature or in the U.S. House of Representatives is a fundamental political question that cannot be resolved without political considerations. Democrats know this, which is why they are demanding major revisions to the way elections are held for the U.S. House of Representatives in their H.R. 1 bill—major revisions they could exploit to increase their political power. Funny, they never complained about partisan redistricting that favored the Democratic party when they controlled a majority of state legislatures.

H.R. 1, the For the People Act of 2019, passed the House in March on a party-line vote. It would take away the constitutional authority of state legislatures to draw the boundaries of their congressional districts and would require states to set up supposedly “independent” redistricting commissions. The Democrats and their allies claim that this provision would ensure that congressional redistricting, when considered on a statewide basis, would not “unduly favor or disfavor any political party.”

It wouldn't? A purportedly “independent” redistricting commission already draws congressional districts in California, and that state's “citizens redistricting commission”—explicitly “grandfathered” by H.R. 1—drew *more unrepresentative* districts than did partisan Republicans in Texas.

“*Engaging in politics does not violate the Constitution.*”



Credit: Geography. License: <https://bit.ly/31XGx2f>.

*For the past few years, liberals have been pushing the courts to declare that partisan redistricting—the consideration of politics when drawing the boundaries of legislative districts—violates the Constitution.*

A recent report by the Capital Research Center (CRC), “The Myth of Nonpartisan Districts,” which one of us authored, demonstrates this using real-world election results for the House of Representatives. CRC investigators applied a simplified version of the procedure many countries use to allocate their representatives to the European Parliament, a proportional representation formula known as the “D’Hondt method.”

If one takes the stated view of H.R. 1's authors, then a state with multiple congressional seats “should” elect a delegation of representatives whose Democratic-to-Republican ratio more or less matches the proportion of the total votes cast

*Hans von Spakovsky is a former member of the FEC. Michael Watson is Capital Research Center's research director and managing editor for InfluenceWatch.*



Credit: Brennan Center for Justice. <https://bit.ly/2g7Tg00>.

*We hope that the Court will refuse to involve itself in the political thicket of the redistricting process. Besides, the solution to gerrymandered districts should come from state legislatures, not the courts.*

in the state for Democrats and Republicans. In other words, liberals are pushing the idea that the Constitution guarantees proportional representation to the political parties—an absurd notion.

But going with that argument, how did California, long a model for left-of-center electoral “reforms”—including independent redistricting commissions, top-two primaries, and extended voting periods—perform on that standard? Exceptionally badly, election after election. In all the election cycles studied, California returned more Democrats than would be proportional, by at least 9 percentage points—five of its 53 seats—in each election.

In its 2018 election, California produced a dramatically disproportionate result: It returned the Democrats an “extra” ten seats relative to the statewide vote proportion, a boost of 18 percentage points to Democrats compared with their vote share. Meanwhile, the partisan gerrymander-ers in Texas sent only four “extra” Republicans, boosting the GOP less in absolute terms and as a share of the state delegation than California’s purportedly nonpartisan system boosted Democrats.

Interestingly, given the Democrats’ insistence that H.R. 1 must be passed in order to remedy “Republican gerrymandering,” the report found that the present Congress already has essentially the same partisan breakdown that it would have if the 2018 vote totals had been run through a D’Hondt allocation calculator to allocate state congressional delegations: The Democratic caucus would have 235 members, the exact number that it has today.

That outcome was helped along by one little-remarked effect of attempting to maximize a party’s seats by drawing advantageous districts: If political winds change, a district

map drawn in one party’s favor might end up backfiring—the “dummymander.” In 2018, that fate befell New Jersey Republicans. Their formerly helpful district maps with suburban voters distributed in many districts returned four more Democrats than a proportional vote would have, as suburban voters who had previously supported Republicans defected to Democrats amid a changed political environment.

While discussion in the metropolitan-elite press has focused on Republican-controlled states such as North Carolina, Democrat-drawn district lines in Connecticut and Massachusetts successfully prevented the GOP from winning a single seat in either of those states for an entire decade, despite vote proportions suggesting the Republicans “should” have won seats in those states each year.

Now, this is not to recommend actually adopting European-style proportional representation, which violates fundamental principles of American democracy and provides political parties with more rights than individual voters. If it were actually used in a real-world U.S. election, that change would probably cause voters to change their behavior. If proportional representation were adopted, both parties would probably splinter unpredictably into competing independent factions, creating even more gridlock.



*Liberals are pushing the idea that the Constitution guarantees proportional representation to the political parties—an absurd notion.*

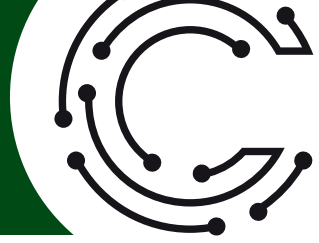
Instead, the study by the Capital Research Center shows that the proposals demanded by H.R. 1 are not in the interest of increasing the representativeness of Congress. Instead, they advance the political power of the Democratic party and its aggressive, well-funded litigation machine.

What this experiment shows is that there is no “scientific” way to determine how communities should be represented and how political ideals should be contested. Claims that this or that system for drawing the boundary lines of state and congressional districts is “nonpolitical” are a myth. ■

*This article originally appeared in the National Review Online on June 23, 2019.*

*Read previous articles from the Commentary series online at <https://capitalresearch.org/category/commentary/>.*





## ANTI-HUMANIST ENVIRONMENTALISM

By Ken Braun

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**Summary:** *Is the Foundation for the Carolinas really a nefarious left-wing philanthropy? It's hard to tell, in part because the most prolific "philanthropist" who uses the Foundation's charitable investment accounts gives almost exclusively to radical environmental groups and their even darker cousins, population control groups. Learn how the Foundation's largest giver turns philanthropy—literally the "love of mankind"—on its head through his nonprofit giving.*

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Most conventional left-wing climate alarmists don hero capes as if they're Batman come to save the greedy people of Gotham from themselves. They preach that radical restrictions on the production of low-cost energy and other drastic austerity measures are needed to salvage humanity from the ravages of runaway global warming. These would-be saviors' good intentions are hard to refute, even as there are compelling arguments against both their Doomsday predictions and the economically ruinous solutions they propose.

But where these supposed superheroes have come to rescue people from the dangerous planet, there is a group of equally cartoonish climate alarmists with a much darker agenda. For this more villainous cabal, saving the planet itself is the singular priority, with humanity—like fossil fuels and plastic straws—looked upon as just another harmful input to be reduced.



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*Today, Fred Stanback Jr.—heir to the Stanback Headache Powers fortune—has gone into the business of inflicting metaphorical headaches rather than curing real ones.*

Meet Fred Stanback, Jr., the 89-year-old North Carolina billionaire whose misanthropic ideology has led a *Knoxville News* reporter to aptly call him a “proponent of anti-humanist



Credit: Duke Sanford School. License: <https://bit.ly/2LpMZ28>.

*Meet Fred Stanback, Jr., the 89-year-old North Carolina billionaire whose misanthropic ideology has led a Knoxville News reporter to aptly call him a “proponent of anti-humanist environmentalism.”*

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environmentalism.” At some point roughly a century ago his father, Fred Stanback, Sr., went into business with his pharmacist uncle, Thomas “Dr. Tom” Stanback, the inventor of what would become “Stanback Headache Powders.” Today Fred Jr., with his share of the fortune that ensued (enhanced as a result of his friendship and early investment with Warren Buffett), has gone into the business of inflicting metaphorical headaches rather than curing real ones.

His eclectic philanthropic portfolio includes top-donor status at dozens of stereotypically leftist environmental organizations (examples include: the Environmental Defense Fund and the Environmental Working Group), a handful of strident immigration restrictionists (Federation for American Immigration Reform and NumbersUSA), several promoters of abortion access (Planned Parenthood South Atlantic), and—just in case the distaste for humanity wasn't clear enough—population control advocates such as Population Connection and the Population Media Center.

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*Ken Braun is a senior investigative researcher for Influence Watch and CRC.*

Exactly how much he has given to this agenda is something of a mystery because a lot—perhaps most of it—has been sent through the Foundation for the Carolinas, a North Carolina-based donor-advised fund. Donor-advised funds redistribute charitable funds as the donors of the money request. The Foundation for the Carolinas provides this service for 2,700 individuals and organizations. It is public knowledge where the Foundation gives donations, but it is not required to publicly divulge how much an individual donor—such as Stanback—gave nor where he wanted it sent.

This financial subterfuge, whether done deliberately to cover his trail or not, has had the effect of limiting knowledge of Stanback's people-pruning agenda. Despite his easily mid-nine-figure giving range (perhaps even exceeding a billion dollars), most politically savvy Americans still have never heard of Fred Stanback.

But small clues hint at a huge amount of money.

Two years ago, the *Los Angeles Times* reported on a single \$397 million donation from Stanback to the Foundation for the Carolinas that took place in 2014. Records show total giving from all donors to all recipients through the Foundation for the Carolinas of \$2.1 billion for grant years 1999 through 2017. So, putting that single 2014 donation from Stanback in perspective, it equaled almost 20 percent of the Foundation's combined giving *over nearly two decades from all sources*.

And it is highly likely the 2014 donation was the continuation, not the beginning, of a nine-figure (or more) giving commitment from Stanback to his Foundation for the Carolinas account. For example, even before 2014, media accounts and other reports tied Stanback as an important donor to Population Connection (formerly Zero Population Growth), the Sierra Club Foundation (as well as Sierra's former legal arm, EarthJustice), NumbersUSA, the Rocky Mountain Institute, the Union of Concerned Scientists, and Planned Parenthood South Atlantic.

Just these six Stanback-supported organizations, fitting his anti-humanist agenda, received at least \$278 million from the Foundation for the Carolinas over the grant years 1999 through 2017. And there are 46 other such organizations (49 in all), which together account for 37 percent of total Foundation for the Carolinas giving for those years. In total, they account for \$780 million. Most or potentially close to

all of that could be reasonably suspected to have come from Stanback or his family.

Stanback's known giving through the Foundation for the Carolinas is so large it is difficult to distinguish the Foundation as having an agenda for its other donors outside of Stanback's personal giving.

Just one left-wing climate alarmist organization named the Southern Environmental Law Center (SELC) received at least \$175.4 million from Foundation for the Carolinas during the 1999 through 2017 grant years, dwarfing the

\$153 million given to every church and other house of worship in the religion category from all the other 2,700 Foundation for the Carolinas-managed accounts. Media reports credit Fred Stanback as responsible for at least \$50 million of the donations to the Southern Environmental Law Center. And since Stanback, his wife, *and* his son each sit

on the Law Center's "President's Council," it's reasonable to suspect even more Stanback family money has gone to the organization.

The Southern Environmental Law Center's "priority projects" are a blizzard of lawsuits aimed at impeding the use of any form of low-cost and abundant energy: coal, natural gas, oil and even nuclear energy (which produces zero carbon emissions). In one telling example, the Southern Environmental Law Center tried to impose restrictions on biomass energy—the use of wood pellets that are sometimes used in place of coal to fuel power plants. "In response to increasing demand from Europe," says the Center's website, "the wood pellet industry is focusing on sourcing wood from the Southeastern United States."

While that nicely explains the "what" of the issue, the lawyers at SELC shy away from the "why." While on paper many European states have a goal of getting rid of carbon emissions by shifting to "renewable" energy, in practice they have carved out a loophole for burning wood, which—as anyone ever caught on the downwind side of a campfire knows—produces a substantial amount of carbon dioxide. Putting a lie to the myth that wind and solar power are the zero carbon replacements of the future, the European Union is currently getting 60 percent of its "renewable" power from biomass—and importing lots of it from the United States.

What we have here is mostly irrational energy expectations—that of the climate alarmists in EU nations—running

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*The Southern Environmental Law Center's "priority projects" are a blizzard of lawsuits aimed at impeding the use of any form of low-cost and abundant energy.*



afoul of the *completely* irrational expectations of the climate alarmists at the Stanback-supported Southern Environmental Law Center. It's a twist on an old political joke that the left-wing doesn't know what the far-left wing is up to.

Another "Friend of Fred," via the Foundation for the Carolinas is Population Connection. Formerly known as "Zero Population Growth," it was co-founded in 1968 by Paul Ehrlich, the "patient zero" of discredited climate and population alarmism. Around the time of Zero Population Growth's creation, Ehrlich predicted "the end" would come within the ensuing 15 years, which he defined as an "utter breakdown of the capacity of the planet to support humanity." Fifteen years later, 1983, the world's population had grown from 3.5 billion to 4.7 billion, while famine death rates in the 1980s had plunged downward more than 90 percent, as compared to the 1960s.

This Doomsday cult—despite being laughably wrong and now using a different name—continues to rake in money from a few wealthy humanity-hating cranks, with \$83.6 million in reported revenue during grant years 2002 through 2017. Because the Foundation for the Carolinas is responsible for a peculiarly large one-third of this total—\$28.8 million—it is reasonable to suspect the name "Stanback" is behind most (or all) of this giving to Population Connection.

## The Stanback Headaches

While climate alarmists have often been indifferent to (and even supportive of) shrinking the human species through abortions, doing so by way of punishing undocumented aliens and restricting immigration is a much harder fit within the broader left-wing political agenda. Organizations taking Stanback's money for climate alarmism advocacy have found it comes with headaches attached due to the association with the rest of his anti-humanist agenda.

A 2017 editorial from the *Atlanta Daily World*, a newspaper serving the African American community, questioned the Foundation for the Carolina's willingness to fund Stanback's "controversial population-control groups" and a "network of extreme anti-immigration groups." Pressed to justify the giving pattern on behalf of what is likely their biggest client,



Credit: Ilka Hartmann. License: <https://bit.ly/2xpEqRqX>

*Another "Friend of Fred," via the Foundation for the Carolinas is Population Connection. Formerly known as "Zero Population Growth," it was co-founded in 1968 by Paul Ehrlich, the "patient zero" of discredited climate and population alarmism.*

a Foundation spokesperson is quoted in the editorial claiming the foundation does not "pass judgment or take a political stance on our donors' grantmaking."

A more problematic bit of explaining fell upon the Nicholas School of the Environment at Duke University. Stanback has been a longtime and presumably very generous donor to the Nicholas School since at least 1995 when he helped it establish an internship that bears his name. Today, Stanback interns may receive up to a \$6,000 stipend to spend a term providing assistance to many of the usual suspects within the stridently left-wing environmental movement: Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and the Center for Public Integrity.

But in 2013 *IndyWeek*, a weekly newspaper in North Carolina, revealed Stanback had been personally selecting the programs eligible for Nicholas

interns and that since 1998 there had been a total of 41 interns sent to the Federation for American Immigration Reform, NumbersUSA, the Center for Immigration Studies, and Progressives for Immigration Reform. These are all Stanback-supported advocates of immigration restriction that would seem a curious fit for an institution claiming to be "one of the world's premier schools for the study of environmental science and policy."



*In 1968, Ehrlich predicted "the end" would come within the ensuing 15 years, which he defined as an "utter breakdown of the capacity of the planet to support humanity."*

*IndyWeek* reported none of these immigration policy groups (except for the last one) "lists the environment as a primary focus" and that their "annual reports contain little information about the environment at all."

The newspaper also unearthed other points from Stanback's donor history that poured more gasoline on the fire of left-



Credit: License: <https://bit.ly/2CwNtU0>.

*The Smokey Mountain News identified Stanback as “one of The Wilderness Society’s largest donors in North Carolina,” and The Wilderness Society’s 2014 annual report credits him as a “\$100,000 or more” donor for just that year.*

wing angst. He once donated \$1,000 to English Language Advocates—an organization that promoted English as the only official U.S. language. And he ponied up \$5,000 to disseminate *The Camp of the Saints*, a 1973 work of dystopian fiction portraying mass immigration from the developing world destroying Europe.

The ensuing controversy caused the Nicholas School to remove the immigration restrictionists from its intern program and to impose more careful oversight regarding Stanback’s future selections. Stanback reportedly agreed to the changes, but defended his initial choices, stating “the majority of population growth in the U.S. is coming from immigration (mostly illegal) and few other environmental organizations are addressing this issue; I think students of the environment need to know about this.”

The previously mentioned Population Connection seems to have survived the cut and is still listed as eligible for Nicholas School interns. Today, the people-phobic organization formerly known as Zero Population Growth is particularly proud of its “Population Education” program (PopEd) which preaches that “population growth affects everything on our planet” and that our “connection to the planet’s degradation is inescapable” to K-12 students. Their 2017 annual report boasts that this gloom and doom portrayal of humanity as a plague was burrowed into the brains of 3 million children, plus 14,000 current and future teachers.

People were again the center of the problem when another Stanback-inflicted headache was visited upon Brent Martin, a former regional director of The Wilderness Society. In 2015, Martin engineered a nature preservation agreement for a North Carolina national forest that would have also preserved the area for mountain bikers, horseback riders, and other outdoor hobbyists. But, according to a 2017

report Martin gave to the *Smokey Mountain News*, even the preservation of nature for the enjoyment of people became a problem when Fred Stanback found out. Martin says it cost him his job.

The *Smokey Mountain News* identified Stanback as “one of The Wilderness Society’s largest donors in North Carolina,” and The Wilderness Society’s 2014 annual report credits him as a “\$100,000 or more” donor for just that year. The Foundation for the Carolinas gave the Society at least \$1.7 million during grant years 2004 through 2017.

Martin told the newspaper that a disgruntled local activist who opposed the collaboration with recreational users “managed

to get to one of the biggest donors in North Carolina [i.e., Stanback] and, in turn, the President of The Wilderness Society.” Martin alleges a meeting took place between Stanback and the president of The Wilderness Society, and that the Stanback-supported Southern Environmental Law Center—originally a party to the forest preservation agreement—soon retracted its support.

The Wilderness Society soon reversed course and abandoned Martin’s agreement, but according to the *Smokey Mountain News* he “refused to turn his back on all the work and trust he had built while working on the agreement and was forced to resign from his job.”

## What is the Real Agenda?

If the fiasco with The Wilderness Society went down as Martin alleges, then the mad destruction of an otherwise sensible nature preservation compromise begs a question regarding what truly motivates Stanback. Unlike those self-appointed superheroes who seek to save the people from climate change, does he primarily just detest the notion of sharing the world and has used the climate alarmists as useful idiots to help him impose population control?

One clue is the portrayal of Stanback in a 1998 memo credited to John Tanton, controversial former president of Zero Population Growth (now Population Connection) and founder of the Federation for American Immigration Reform and other Stanback-supported advocates of immigration restriction. In this portrayal, saving the planet is just a sales pitch for paring back the people: “Stanback feels that he must spend his time on environmental matters rather than population matters, which are his primary interest,



*Like Stanback, the Center for Biological Diversity leans toward the darker “anti-humanist” policies, particularly denouncing what they call “runaway population growth.”*

simply because the environmental matters are the ones that are in tune with the general public.”

Speaking of immigration in 2013 (according to a *Los Angeles Times* account) he said “Numbers of people affect the environment,” and they “want all the nice things that the rest of us have, but America can’t take all the poor people in the world.”

Another memo credited to Tanton, this one supposedly following a meeting with Stanback in 1995, has the billionaire mentioning he had funded the promotion of the RU-486 abortion pill. He certainly has a matchless record of supporting access to abortions for would-be mothers living close by him. Planned Parenthood South Atlantic credits “Fred & Alice Stanback” as “\$1 million+” donors for fiscal year 2015–16, the only people or organizations so recognized at that giving level. And Planned Parenthood Health Systems, a separate North Carolina affiliate of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, thanks the Stanbacks for \$1.3 million given in 2013—once again, far above all other listed donors for that year.

Similarly, a sometimes-recognizable strain in the DNA of the climate alarmist organizations fueled by Stanback dollars is a downright kooky fear of creating new humans. Otherwise best known for the left-wing environmentalist lawsuits engaged in by its more than four dozen attorneys, the Center for Biological Diversity also promotes a “Population and Sustainability Program” that strives to deliver its population scolding with light-hearted humor, but achieves “really-weird-hilarious” instead.

The Stanbacks are one of just three named donors at the highest giving level in the Center for Biological Diversity’s 2012 annual report, and the Foundation for the Carolinas has given at least \$12.2 million since 2010.

As noted at the outset, most climate alarmist organizations position themselves as superheroes out to save the planet for

humanity, and shy away from the population control zaniness. But like Stanback, the Center for Biological Diversity leans toward the darker “anti-humanist” side. Recognizing this is a minority opinion, they say “runaway population growth is too often ignored by the public, the media and even the environmental movement” but “we can still save wildlife, by choosing to stop hogging the planet.”



Credit: ui:User: Fred Elbel 743. License: <https://bit.ly/2XGndFr>.

*In a 1998 memo credited to John Tanton, the controversial former president of Zero Population Growth (now Population Connection), portrayed Stanback’s “saving the planet” sales pitch as a way to pare back the human population.*

Their population control effort includes “Endangered Species Condoms,” prophylactics packaged with pithy slogans that come off both creepy and amusing: “Don’t go bare—panthers are rare.”

Profoundly odd preaching from a March 2019 newsletter encourages “male sports fans” to go in groups of friends to undergo “team” sterilizations.

“March Madness is upon us,” writes the director of the program. “And as all the number one seeds prepare for the tournament, it’s time to think about whether you want your own seeds to advance.”

Similarly strange was the October 2015 “Get Whacked for Wildlife” promotion, in which they offered t-shirts to men who told their stories after participating in “World Vasectomy Day.”

And in case the humor doesn’t work, the people preaching biological diversity

will give you more direct warnings against increasing human diversity: “Each additional child increases your carbon legacy by 20 times what you could save over a lifetime of recycling, switching to low-voltage light bulbs and driving a hybrid car—combined.”

Remember the late Whitney Houston, who sang “I believe the children are our future...”?

Rest in Peace Whitney: Fred Stanback and friends have decided children are the *pollution*. ■

*Read previous articles from the Green Watch series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/green-watch/](https://CapitalResearch.org/category/green-watch/).*



*A project of Capital Research Center*



# CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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



## CAIR PARODIES ITSELF WITH NEW ISLAMOPHOBIA REPORT

By James Simpson

**Summary:** *The Council on American-Islamic Relations has a history fraught with questionable associations and dubious claims related to Islam and terrorism. In its latest report, CAIR targets numerous nonprofit groups and grantmakers for “funding hate.” But these so-called “Islamophobic” groups are not hate groups at all—unless you use the definition of “hate” promoted by the discredited Southern Poverty Law Center. This careful analysis of CAIR’s report will debunk many of the organization’s central arguments.*

“Islamophobia” is the latest in a long list of contrived “phobias” invented by the Left and its Muslim allies to continue the progressive movement’s long tradition of shaming and vilifying its critics. It is an intellectually dishonest response to legitimate criticism that has reduced political discourse to shrill name-calling without substantive debate or justification.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) recent report, “Hijacked by Hate: American Philanthropy and the Islamophobia Network” is a case in point. The report, released in April 2019, claims that “traditional American charities, foundations, and philanthropic institutions are being used to anonymize and funnel money from powerful donors to the Islamophobia Network.”

The existence of an “Islamophobia Network” is dubious on its face, but the report goes on to argue that “Islamophobia” is a \$1.5 billion enterprise that needs to be stopped with education, auditing, and implementing policies to halt the funding of certain nonprofit groups that CAIR deems to be “Islamophobic.”

Here’s the problem. Islam’s critics are dedicated to *principle* and acknowledging the *facts* before them. Hard questions about Islam’s treatment of women, approach to free expression, and tendency to inspire Islamic terrorism deserve thoughtful and rational responses.



Credit: Alisdare Hickson. License: <https://bit.ly/2WScXh>

*Islam’s apologists cry foul and accuse their critics of “Islamophobia” without addressing good-faith concerns about human rights, national sovereignty, or religious tolerance. Many groups on the Left make this tired and predictable retreat to name calling.*

Instead of grappling with these uncomfortable questions, Islam’s apologists cry foul and accuse their critics of “Islamophobia” without addressing good-faith concerns about human rights, national sovereignty, or religious tolerance. Many groups on the Left make this tired and predictable retreat to name calling.

The Southern Poverty Law Center made millions off this rhetorical maneuver, so it’s no surprise that it helped CAIR produce “Hijacked by Hate.”

*James Simpson is an investigative journalist, businessman, and former economist and budget examiner for the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB). His latest book is The Red Green Axis: Refugees, Immigration and the Agenda to Erase America.*



One of the report's main authors is Heidi Beirich, current director of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project and is responsible for the SPLC's "Hatewatch" blog, which peddles in rhetoric hostile to conservative Christians and the First Amendment writ large.

Respected scholars and advocates including Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Charles Murray, and others have had their work smeared because of their critiques of Islam and Middle East theocracies. Maajid Nawaz, founder and director of the Quilliam Institute, obtained a \$3.4 million settlement against the SPLC for calling him an "anti-Muslim extremist," while he is actually known for arguing that "Islam is a religion of peace." He also claims that extremists have hijacked the religion—the same thing groups like CAIR claim.

Individuals on the hate list are listed casually with skinheads, neo-Nazis, and similar groups in an attempt to discredit their work. And they aren't alone. Adjacent to the "Hatewatch blog" is the SPLC's Hate Map, which plots "hate groups" on a map of the United States.

Despite being widely discredited, the SPLC continues to enjoy a privileged position in the media, which regularly treats the organization as the national expert on hate and extremism. This influence has been very destructive to targeted groups and individuals.

Domestic terrorists have attempted to murder group members and even U.S. Congressmen listed among the SPLC's dubious resources. The Family Research Council is a mainstream Christian conservative group that is *still* listed as a hate group by the SPLC, even after homosexual activist Floyd Corkins shot a security guard at the Council's headquarters in Washington, D.C. When answering questions after being taken into custody by police, Corkins, who had intended to murder as many FRC employees as he could, and smear their faces with Chic-Fil-A sandwiches, indicated that he used the SPLC as a resource before planning his attack.

The 2017 Congressional baseball team shooter, James T. Hodgkinson, died before he could be questioned, but he followed the Law Center on Facebook. The SPLC gave cursory coverage to the incident saying only that Hodgkinson was "consumed by anti-Trump anger," and failed to address the Center's possible role in radicalizing the shooter.

The SPLC manipulates data to deliberately misinform, misdirect, and foment fear. "Highjacked by Hate" is no different.

The whole report is a phony construct, designed to simply advance and legitimize the use of the word "Islamophobia," and further demonize groups and individuals critical of CAIR with the ultimate goal of silencing those who oppose CAIR's subversive agenda.

## What Is Islamophobia?

CAIR doesn't exactly say. That is actually understandable, because it allows them to leave it open to broad interpretation. One of their supporters was honest enough to define the term in a Facebook post (which, incidentally escaped the notice of Facebook's censors, unlike some posts critical of Islam). Here's a screen shot of the post:



This fairly exhaustive list includes words that the terrorists themselves use to describe their own actions. According to his bio, Esam Omeish is "chief of General and Laparoscopic Surgery" at INOVA Alexandria, Virginia, hospital. He is a former leader of the Muslim Students Association and the Muslim American Society—both prominent Muslim Brotherhood groups. He is also a founding board member of the Dar al Hijra mosque in Falls Church, VA. Omeish is also director of the Washington Trust Foundation, a holding company for over \$5 million in real estate owned by CAIR, which describes its mission as "to support the charitable purposes of the CAIR Foundation." Would it be "Islamophobic" to call this a conflict of interest?

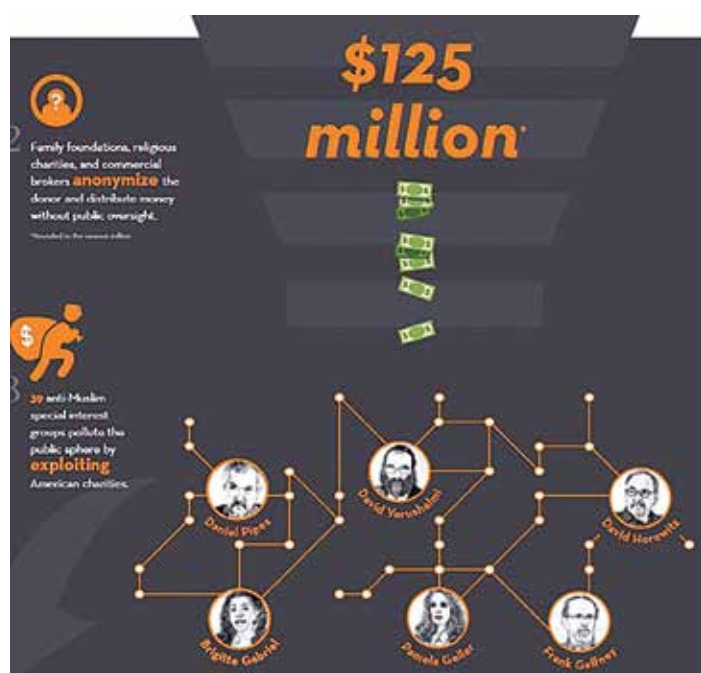
It must be added that Omeish's definition parallels that found in U.N. Resolution 16/18, *Combating intolerance, negative stereotyping and stigmatization of, and discrimination, incitement to violence and violence against persons based on religion or belief*. The U.N. signed 16/18 in 2011, the result of a decades long effort by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)—comprised of 56 nations and the Palestinian Territories, the second largest intergovern-





*According to U.N. Resolution 16/18, not only can you not criticize any aspect of Islam, but to do so is tantamount to “incitement to violence.”*

mental organization in the world—to enact blasphemy laws through the U.N. According to 16/18, not only can you not criticize any aspect of Islam, but to do so is tantamount to “incitement to violence.” Hillary Clinton supported 16/18, as did Barack Obama.



## Committing Fraud with Numbers

CAIR ominously claims there is a vast, “dark” network of foundations funding what it calls the “Islamophobia network.” They include talented scholars and passionate advocates. To make their case CAIR—again, with the SPLC’s help—claims to crunch numbers from nonprofit tax returns of all the groups in this supposed “Islamophobia Network.”

CAIR claims that six particularly nefarious individuals, Daniel Pipes of Middle East Forum, Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy, Brigitte Gabriel of ACT for America, David Yerushalmi of the American Freedom Law Center, David Horowitz of the David Horowitz Freedom Center, and Pam Geller of the American Freedom Defense Initiative, have received \$125 million from various funders.

CAIR adds that the financial support comes from a web of so-called “dark money” foundations, many of which, *ominously*, do not disclose their donors. (It is worth noting that there is no legal requirement for these nonprofits to do so, and CAIR similarly does not disclose its funding sources.)

## Deconstructing the Fraud

CAIR goes out of its way to make it difficult to fact check its own report. First, CAIR names the people identified as so-called “Islamophobes” in this chart, not the organizations receiving the amounts of revenue later tallied. So you have to root around the report’s small print to get to the truth. This is intentional. You first have to identify the organizations represented by the individuals named, and then you must find the IRS tax returns showing income the groups received. CAIR does not cite or provide links to the tax returns that supposedly prove their assertions anywhere in the document. All readers should demand to know whether CAIR used verified publicly available documents or just made the whole thing up?

The report’s authors assume most readers will likely accept what CAIR’s assertions and move on. While non-profit tax returns (filed on IRS Form 990 Return of Income Exempt from Taxation) are publicly available, not many Americans know where to find them or how to read them to perform a basic fact-check—nor do they have the time.

The following is a table listing revenue and assets of those six “Islamophobe” organizations from their most recent tax returns. (Because all IRS Form 990 returns are often filed as much as two years after the end of the organization’s fiscal year, and organizations use different fiscal years, these filings are for 2016 or 2017, whatever is most recently available):

CAIR’S \$125 MILLION ISLAMOPHOBIA NETWORK

	Revenues	Net Assets
ACT for America	\$128,631	\$1,053,938
American Freedom Defense Initiative	\$405,658	\$516,119
American Freedom Law Center	\$1,276,078	\$530,871
Center for Security Policy	\$6,548,493	\$1,967,835
David Horowitz Freedom Center	\$5,976,459	\$650,572
Middle East Forum	\$4,361,751	\$5,463,633
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$18,697,070</b>	<b>\$10,182,968</b>

Obviously, this does not add up to \$125 million. CAIR would have to add over 7 years of income from *all these groups combined* to arrive at that \$125 million figure. Adding up three years of receipts for these groups—as CAIR has done elsewhere in the report—yields \$55.5 million, not even half of \$125 million. So how did CAIR arrive at \$125 million? They don't explain.

Putting the SPLC/CAIR analysis side-by-side with the actual publicly available documents thoroughly debunks this claim. But more analysis shows how utterly absurd it is.

Consider, for example, that the SPLC's "Hate list" treats each of ACT for America's 500-odd nationwide chapters as a single standalone entity. These are all volunteer groups that receive no money at all. If ACT took its annual income of \$128,631 and distributed it evenly to the local chapters they would receive about \$257 each.

But the report also singles out the leaders of these organizations in this section, rather than the organizations for a second reason. It is a deliberate, premeditated effort to target those people in an ongoing effort to destroy their reputations, discourage funders, and as an object lesson to scare less brave souls who might otherwise be inclined to speak out or help out. As we have seen with other instances of SPLC-inspired violence and the emergence of the fascist Antifa, these people and their families' very lives can be threatened.

## More Tactics of Misdirection

The CAIR Islamophobia report borrows from a method the SPLC and other leftists use all the time. They take a quote from a targeted opponent and present it without context. For example, of ACT for America, CAIR ominously states:

ACT for America stages nationwide marches against 'sharia law.'

Why is that so unacceptable? CAIR and other Muslim organizations partner with communist groups like Black Lives Matter and join them in anti-American street protests all the time. Does anyone attempt to stop them? More to the point, is protest illegal?

ACT's legislation and agendas include: combating terrorism, defending constitutional freedoms, immigration reform, supporting military and law enforcement and defending Israel.



Credit: David Shankbone. License: <https://bit.ly/2FixtBL>

*Is protesting sharia—i.e., Islamic law—a bad thing? It condones things like female genital mutilation, polygamy, and child brides.*

The report also quotes a 2017 White House national security strategy paper:

Jihadist terrorists such as ISIS and al-Qa'ida continue to spread a barbaric ideology . . . These jihadist terrorists attempt to force those under their influence to submit to Sharia law.

Is this not an accurate statement about these groups? Of course it is. Should this not be included as any sober analysis of the threats America faces today? It was listed among a number of other legitimate national security concerns as part of an overall national defense strategy. But by presenting it all alone as an example of "Islamophobia," CAIR avoids the debate—which they would lose—and assumes that readers will conclude that there is something intrinsically wrong with the statement.

## The \$1.5 Billion Xenophobia Network

CAIR then darkly describes a wider "xenophobic" network of 39 groups that have received \$1.5 billion over three years. The report itself lists 46 groups, not 39, another mistake, so attributing the income to this smaller number overstates their income.

## CAIR'S \$1.5 BILLION XENOPHOBE NETWORK

		Latest 990 Revenues	Net Assets
1	Christian Broadcasting Network	\$308,099,729	\$142,691,721
2	American Future Fund	\$29,401,632	\$2,838,387
3	American Center for Law and Justice	\$22,801,099	\$1,224,787
4	American Family Association	\$19,068,393	\$28,683,191
5	Foundation for Defense of Democracies	\$9,039,436	\$18,973,604
6	Center for Security Policy	\$6,548,493	\$1,967,835
7	Middle East Media Research Institute	\$6,262,533	\$1,532,913
8	David Horowitz Freedom Center	\$5,976,459	\$650,572
9	National Review Institute	\$5,689,857	\$9,660,370
10	Concerned Women for America	\$5,596,942	\$191,832
11	Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting	\$5,363,477	\$7,632,375
12	Middle East Forum	\$4,361,751	\$5,463,633
13	American Civil Rights Union	\$3,119,465	\$1,250,047
14	Clarion Project	\$3,005,986	\$2,074,817
15	Gatestone Institute	\$2,159,819	\$120,750
16	Investigative Project on Terrorism	\$2,056,982	-\$137,257
17	Eagle Forum & Defense Fund (10 Chapters)	\$1,810,441	\$29,351,809
18	Religious Freedom Coalition	\$1,529,083	\$438,276
19	Lawfare Project	\$1,392,062	\$790,780
20	American Freedom Law Center	\$1,276,078	\$530,871
21	Christian Action Network	\$1,098,170	\$80,590
22	Ayaan Hirsi Ali Foundation	\$977,774	\$469,142
23	America's Survival	\$926,543	\$56,465
24	Proclaiming Justice to the Nations	\$855,141	-\$31,598
25	Freedom of Conscience Defense Fund	\$823,586	\$198,501
26	Forum for Middle East Understanding	\$707,394	\$2,728,224
27	Endowment for Middle East Truth	\$583,490	\$374,700
28	Facts and Logic About the Middle East	\$519,707	\$824,086
29	Americans for Peace and Tolerance	\$454,388	\$221,859
30	American Freedom Defense Initiative	\$405,658	\$516,119
31	Florida Family Association	\$209,043	\$48,125
32	Security Research Associates	\$206,766	-\$34,319
33	Unconstrained Analytics	\$200,000	\$3,775
34	American Freedom Alliance	\$191,533	\$25,569
35	American Islamic Forum for Democracy	\$180,977	\$39,245
36	Citizens for National Security	\$178,627	\$173,310
37	Global Faith Institute	\$148,077	\$25,254
38	Straight Way of Grace Ministry	\$140,889	\$29,005
39	Foundation for Advocating Christian Truth	\$131,872	\$20,961
40	ACT for America	\$128,631	\$1,053,938
41	Jihad Watch	\$121,908	\$70,159
42	Christians and Jews United for Israel	\$85,325	\$90,520
43	Oak Institute	\$60,724	\$76,580
44	Conservative Forum of Silicon Valley	\$60,043	\$65,912
45	Society of Americans for National Existence	NA	NA
46	Americans for America	NA	NA
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$453,226,591</b>	<b>\$261,650,360</b>



Sure enough, these 46 groups' annual revenue totals almost \$454 million, based on the latest year reported by IRS tax returns. So, for three years it does indeed add up to almost \$1.4 billion—not quite \$1.5 billion, but close enough. CAIR does not list the income of each individual group, but rather only the total for all groups. Looking at the table, it becomes apparent why.

Two thirds of the \$1.4 billion goes to just one organization: Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN). CBN is a Christian television channel responsible for the widely broadcasted television program, The 700 Club. It is one of the oldest and longest running programs in the nation, and it covers a wide range of issues from a Christian perspective.

Including CBN is dubious at best. CBN coverage runs the gamut, and is far more interested in Christian evangelism than questioning Islam. If being Christian is enough to be considered "Islamophobic" than CAIR and the SPLC are missing thousands of Judeo-Christian groups.

But including CBN serves a specific purpose. It is the only way to inflate the numbers enough to use the "B" word. And then you still have to add up three years. If the report omits CBN the total shrinks down to \$145.9 million a year. Spread across the 46 organizations—excluding CBN—gives an average annual revenue of \$3.2 million each—a comparatively modest sum in the nonprofit landscape.

Look at the table again. Besides CBN, there are only three groups that receive more than \$10 million annually: The American Future Fund, The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), and the American Family Association.

The American Future Fund is a group that promotes "conservative, free market ideals." Is that "Islamophobic" too? The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), is the organization formerly directed by current Trump lawyer Jay Sekulow. It was founded in 1990 to be the conservative answer to the ACLU. The American Family Association is another socially conservative Christian organization ("haters" according to the SPLC).

The *National Review* also makes CAIR's list. Founded by William F. Buckley, the *National Review* is one of the oldest, continuously running conservative publications in the U.S., and it focuses on all aspects of public policy. It has also



*Concerned Women for America is another conservative organization and the largest women's organization in the U.S.—larger than the Left's National Organization for Women.*

become a holdout for many never-Trumpers. Given their obvious political leanings, SPLC/CAIR should be celebrating it.

Concerned Women for America is another mainstream conservative organization and the largest women's organization in the U.S.—

larger than the Left's National Organization for Women, although most citizens do not know this. Again, this group concerns itself with all issues relevant to women from a conservative perspective. Note also, that while its latest tax return shows revenue of \$5.6 million (which includes \$1.6 million from its 501(c)(4) Action Fund), it saves very little, with net assets of less than \$200,000.

Note also David Yerushalmi's American Freedom Law Center, with a scant \$1.3 million in revenues. It has engaged in court battles with CAIR on numerous occasions and has never lost—suggesting the real reason CAIR targets this group in particular. Much more about this later.

But there's more. Of the 46 organizations listed in the "Islamophobia" report, 25 of them collected less than \$1 million in the latest year reported. The group average is \$332,000. Some received little or nothing at all. Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum Legal Defense and Education Fund, has amassed a large (\$24.6 million) asset base over the decades to finance its expensive legal and education programs. But most operate on a shoestring budget with one or a few paid employees, so this "vast network" is beginning to look more like a paper tiger.

Most of these organizations are ideologically conservative and/or Christian, with little obvious coordination that could point to a "network." And to the extent that any do interact, it is over *national security*, not "Islamophobia."

The CAIR report also lists income—over three years to make it look more outrageous—for David Horowitz (\$1,690,000), Frank Gaffney (\$886,000), and Pam Geller (\$821,000) describing them as "profiting from hate."

On the other hand, CAIR's founder and national executive director, Nihad Awad, earned \$734,000 over three years. So, can we then imply that Nihad Awad is profiting from terrorism? From subversive, anti-American activities? From defamation?

The SPLC has made hundreds of millions destroying individuals and organizations they hate through defamation. So

how much do SPLC's leaders make? Over the most recent three years (so the numbers will be comparable), CEO Richard Cohen made \$1,173,839; co-founder and Chief Trial Counsel Morris Dees made \$1,185,099 before he was ousted amidst a sexual and racial discrimination scandal; even Heidi Beirich—the report's author—made almost half a million (\$494,191) in that time span.

The news media, Hollywood, education establishment, and a major political party are owned by the radical Left and are more than willing to echo defamatory messages hatched by groups like the SPLC. So, it's a pretty good business model. All you need do is abandon all ethics, morality, and interest in the truth.

But the fact is that nonprofit CEO's of all stripes make a very respectable living, so once again, CAIR has painted a false image to defame its political enemies. For perspective, Juan Sanchez, a leftwing leader connected to many Latino open borders groups, is President and CEO of Southwest Key, one of the largest government contractors resettling illegal alien minors now flooding the border. Over the past three years, Sanchez has received compensation totaling \$2,953,338—99 percent of which was paid by U.S. taxpayers.

## CAIR's Red/Green Axis Network

Now let's look at CAIR's network of allies. I have dubbed this network the Red/Green Axis. It's big and commands billions of dollars in assets and revenue. Researchers have no need to add multiple years of revenue to find billions of dollars.

So how much does CAIR take in annually? On its own, CAIR receives \$14 million through its foundation and network of offices, and has amassed \$11.6 million in net assets, rivaling what the *six* "Islamophobe" nonprofits pull in, and outpacing them in assets.

The Islamic organizations listed to the right are some of the most prominent, but by no means the only U.S. Islamic groups with possible ties to terrorist organizations. They are almost all part of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood network. The U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations is included because, despite its tiny income during its formative years, it has become an important umbrella organization for the U.S. Brotherhood since its 2015 founding.

Also, as noted earlier, the Washington Trust Foundation is run by Esam Omeish, who has close ties to CAIR.

ACCESS, (the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services), describes itself as "the largest Arab Amer-

## CAIR'S MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR RED/GREEN NETWORK

Islamic Groups	Annual Revenues	Net Assets
ACCESS	\$27,488,567	\$37,871,650
CAIR & CAIR Foundation	\$14,026,522	\$11,663,463
Islamic Circle of North America	\$8,351,219	\$20,337,153
International Institute of Islamic Thought	\$7,559,412	\$963,220
Muslim American Society	\$4,381,563	\$3,676,152
Muslim Legal Fund of America	\$3,576,412	\$71,496
Islamic Society of North America	\$3,481,603	\$1,601,028
Muslim Advocates	\$2,376,533	\$1,553,085
MPAC Foundation	\$2,093,657	\$1,084,022
Pillars Fund	\$1,906,122	\$2,015,940
Constitutional Law Center for Muslims	\$1,700,636	\$17,225
Muslim Public Affairs Council	\$1,552,024	\$417,529
North American Foundation of Islamic Services	\$1,248,598.00	\$814,284
Council of Islamic Organizations	\$937,397	\$611,099
EMGAGE Foundation	\$740,752	\$199,613
Assembly of Muslim Jurists in America	\$330,871	\$384,048
U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations	\$100,795	\$3,434
Washington Trust Foundation, Inc.	\$13,896	\$4,923,358
North American Islamic Trust*	NA	\$300,000,000
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$81,866,579</b>	<b>\$388,207,799</b>

Collaborators & Supporters		
American Civil Liberties Union	\$380,810,055	\$470,408,742
ACLU Foundation	\$146,251,550	\$342,625,524
Southern Poverty Law Center	\$136,373,624	\$449,834,593
Anti-Defamation League	\$65,971,077	-\$16,541,031
Industrial Areas Foundation	\$6,028,449	\$4,792,009
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$817,301,334</b>	<b>\$1,639,327,636</b>

\* Assets a plug number based on news reports. No public information exists.

ican community nonprofit in the United States.” It is very active in its home base of Dearborn, Michigan, but nationally as well.

Besides ACCESS and CAIR, one of the most prominent groups is the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT). The IIIT is believed to have coined the phrase “Islamophobe” in the early 1990s. According to declassified FBI memos from the 1980s, the IIIT was also behind the creation of many prominent Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the U.S., including the Muslim Students Association, the Islamic Society of North America, and the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT).

Groups like the Islamic Society of North America, Muslim American Society and Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), have multiple branches and ancillary organizations, for example ICNA’s Institute of Islamic Studies. The table adds up the revenues and assets from each branch, based on their individual tax returns. These cannot be directly linked in the table, but can be verified by a Guidestar.org search.

The North American Islamic Trust does not report its income, claiming exemption as a “religious” organization. However, in its own words, “NAIT holds titles to the real estate assets of Islamic centers and schools in more than forty States,” and one quarter of all mosques in the nation. Terrorism expert J. Michael Waller estimates NAIT owns more like 50-79 percent of American mosques. These properties are estimated to be valued in the hundreds of millions of dollars. NAIT even receives farm subsidies from the federal government for some of its land, but grows no crops. NAIT also runs a sharia compliant stock fund, the Iman Fund, valued at \$109 million as of 2018.

The North American Islamic Trust is closely associated with its founding organizations, the Muslim Students Association and the Islamic Society of North America. A declassified 1988 FBI document found NAIT was involved in:

- A “secret agenda” to spread the Islamic revolutions to all non-Muslim nations including the U.S.
- Attempting to influence U.S. policies towards Iran and other nations where the Muslim Brotherhood operates

Despite its small size, the Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America is a very influential organization that issues

fatwas and otherwise dictates to American Muslims how to remain sharia compliant in an infidel nation. According to Islam Expert, former DHS investigator Philip Haney, “The current AMJA leadership structure includes six members of the Leadership Council (*aka* Majlis Al-Shura, or the Shura Council), nearly all of whom are graduates of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, plus eight Scholars, 46 Experts and 41 Members. Combined together, this roster of 100 Islamic scholars is a Who’s Who of prominent Muslim Brotherhood leaders and *Salafi* Muslims affiliated with the Global Islamic Movement.”

CC —————  
*Today, where the Left  
and its Muslim allies  
are constantly seeking to  
expose, doxx, and threaten  
philanthropists, who can  
fault donors for wishing  
to keep their charitable  
activity anonymous?*

CAIR and its allies regularly work with the Industrial Areas Foundation, (founded by Saul Alinsky of *Rules for Radicals* fame), SPLC and the ACLU. SPLC received \$136.4 million in FY 2017, according to its latest tax return, and has amassed net assets of almost *half a billion dollars*. As it worked with CAIR on its report, the SPLC spent a big part of its time focused on vilifying groups like ACT and the Center for Security Policy.

The ACLU also works side-by-side with CAIR in legal actions of interest to local Muslim groups. ACLU’s vast resources and multiple field offices throughout the U.S. allow it to be at the beck and call of CAIR and groups like it when needed, and independently challenge laws and policies that CAIR opposes, like President Trump’s various travel bans from nations that sponsor terrorism.

Recall that CAIR’s report included the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) in the “Islamophobia Network.” Comparing it side-by-side with the ACLU draws a *stark* distinction in funding and subsequent influence. There is literally no comparison. The ACLU also gets paid by the federal government when it wins certain cases.

But CAIR’s network of allies spans the breadth of the far Left network. The following is a list of groups that CAIR collaborated with this year to block President Trump’s efforts to secure the U.S. southern border. So, for CAIR to characterize itself as a tiny “civil rights” organization fighting against a vast “Islamophobic” network is literally the polar opposite to the truth. CAIR is part of a vast Red/Green network, fueled with billions of dollars in foundation money, and dedicated to the evaporation of the United States as the secure, prosperous constitutional republic that has inspired nations across the globe and served as a magnet for immigrants seeking a better life, for over 200 years.



## CAIR Collaborators

350.org	Fair Immigration Reform Movement	Ohio Indivisible 15
5 Calls	Families Belong Together	Peace Action
ACLU	Flip Florida	People Demanding Action
ACLU of NM	Franciscan Action Network	People For the American Way
Act.tv	Global Exchange	People's Action
Action Group Network	Herd on the Hill	Peoples Climate Movement
Action Together Massachusetts	iAmerica Action	Poligon Education Fund
Action Together Network	Immigration Hub	Postcards for America
Action Together SEMA	Indivisible	Public Citizen
Advancing Justice – Asian Law Caucus	Indivisible Chicago	Race Forward
AFSCME	Indivisible Columbus District 3	RAICES
Alianza Nacional de Campesinas, Inc.	Indivisible Front Range Resistance	Rainforest Action Network
America's Voice	Indivisible Indiana District 2	Resistance365
American Federation of Teachers	Indivisible Kings County	Resistbot
American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee	Indivisible Madison	RISE Stronger
Arab American Institute	Indivisible NAPA	Rogan's List
Bay Resistance	Indivisible Santa Barbara	Saratoga Progressive Action
Bend the Arc: Jewish Action	Indivisible SF	Sierra Club
Bernie Sanders Brigade	Indivisible SF Peninsula and CA-14	Southern Border Communities Coalition
Blue Future	indivisible Washington's 8th District	Southland Resistance
CAIR Minnesota	Indivisible: Ohio District 12	STAND CNJ
CAIR New York	J Street	Stark Indivisible
CAP Action	Jeffco CAN	T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights
Center for Popular Democracy	Jewish Alliance for Law and Social Action Impact	The Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition
Central New York Citizen Action	La Union del Pueblo Entero	The Harry Potter Alliance
Chispa	League of Conservation Voters	The Revolutionary Love Project
Church World Service	Milwaukee County Poor People's Campaign	The Wisconsin Poor People's Campaign
Council on American-Islamic Relations	MomsRising	UltraViolet
CREDO	Muslim Advocates	United Action for Idaho
Daily Kos	Muslim Peace Fellowship	United Vision for Idaho
Defending Rights & Dissent	National Council of Jewish Women	United We Dream
Delaware Common Cause	National Immigrant Justice Center	Westchester Citizen Therapists
Democracy for America	National Immigration Law Center	Win Without War Coalition
Democrats.com	NextGen America	Working Families Party
EqualVoteLocal	Northern Nevada DSA	

## Dark Money Foundations— Most Fund the Left

CAIR next attacks the foundations that donate to these evil, Islamophobic groups:

Readers of this report will be as dismayed as its authors to learn that the same organizations that fund fundamental American institutions such as the Boy Scouts, American Red Cross, and the Salvation Army are also responsible for providing funding to anti-Muslim, Islamophobic groups.

The report cites certain “donor advised funds” like Schwab, Fidelity, and Vanguard, as though they were somehow

directly responsible for the activities of any group funded by these institutions. These “charitable investment accounts” allow donors to remain anonymous while donating to funds destined for charitable purposes. In today’s hyper-partisan atmosphere, where the Left and its Muslim allies are constantly seeking to expose, doxx, and threaten philanthropists, who can fault donors for wishing to keep their charitable activity anonymous?

Upon further inspection, the accusation falls flat. CAIR itself gets money from Schwab and Proteus, both donor advised funds, according to Foundation Search. And while it has not received funds from Fidelity or Vanguard, the Islamic Society of North America did (\$176,600 from Fidelity, \$79,500 from Vanguard). The U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations, Islamic Circle of North America,



Credit: WND TV/Screenshot. License: <https://bit.ly/2x8lp6a>.

## CAIR the Domestic Branch of a Foreign Terrorist Organization

It's important to note that CAIR was originally founded in 1994 as the domestic front group for the Palestinian terrorist group HAMAS, with Nihad Awad as director. CAIR, the Islamic Society of North America, and the North American Islamic Trust are also unindicted co-conspirators in the 2008 Holy Land Foundation terror-financing trial, the largest U.S. trial of its kind.

*CAIR was originally founded in 1994 as the domestic front group for the Palestinian terrorist group HAMAS, with Nihad Awad as director.*

Muslim Public Affairs Council and the Muslim Legal Fund of America have also received donations from Fidelity and/or Schwab donor advised funds.

In fact, Vanguard, Schwab, Fidelity, and other donor advised funds service donors who give to left-leaning groups. The donations these financial institutions make to religious and right-of-center groups are tiny by comparison. So CAIR's characterization of donor advised funds is yet another fraudulent misdirection in this report. The true goal is to intimidate those funds from facilitating transactions to CAIR's political enemies.

CAIR also complains that the California Community Foundation donates to the American Freedom Alliance, Concerned Women for America, and other such "evil" groups.

But CAIR California got \$55,000 from the California Community Foundation in 2013, according to the Center for Public Integrity. The Muslim Public Affairs Council received almost \$200,000 from CPI. CAIR California also received funds from both the Silicon Valley and Orange County Community funds, Wells Fargo, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, and the Women's Foundation of California.

The \$5.5 billion Rockefeller Foundations regularly fund Muslim Brotherhood groups. Last but not least, CAIR and its allies have access to George Soros's Foundations For Open Society, which currently list a combined \$13.8 billion in assets. Virtually all of the listed Muslim organizations benefit directly or indirectly from Soros largesse. The Islamic Society of North America alone received \$625,000 between 2011 and 2016.

Court documents revealed in the Holy Land Foundation terror financing trial further established connections with HAMAS among CAIR, the Islamic Society of North America, the North American Islamic Trust, and other U.S. Muslim Brotherhood groups. A judge in the case concurred that CAIR was connected to HAMAS, and Nihad Awad himself was recorded in 1994 publicly describing his decision to support HAMAS. CAIR and the other groups remain on the list of unindicted co-conspirators, and avoided prosecution only because their indictments were squelched by the Obama Justice Department.

Furthermore, CAIR, like every other Muslim Brotherhood group in the U.S., now takes its orders directly from Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, as Turkey has become the de facto leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. This is odd, because Russia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates have all declared the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization.

But Turkey makes no bones about supporting the terrorist group HAMAS. As described in the recent publication *Ally No More: Erdoğan's New Turkish Caliphate and the Rising Jihadist Threat to the West*:



*Since when does a "civil rights advocacy" organization get to dictate what our defense establishment can study, especially since Islamic terrorism is a major and demonstrated threat our nation faces today?*

President Erdoğan has neither concealed his support for HAMAS nor been slow to act when HAMAS has called upon AKP [the acronym for Turkey's Justice and Development Party] leadership and required his assistance. As will be shown later, USCMO senior leadership led by Secretary General Oussama Jammal and CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad has pledged its fidelity to Erdoğan. Despite the conviction of several former CAIR officials for various crimes related to jihad terror, CAIR officials have repeatedly refused to denounce HAMAS as a terrorist group.

CAIR director Nihad Awad is center front of the photo below where U.S. Muslim Brotherhood leaders came to meet directly with Erdoğan in 2016. Awad has since met with Erdoğan in 2017 and 2018. Why has CAIR not registered as an agent of a foreign government? For that matter, why hasn't it been declared a terrorist group?

Consider that Zakat, a tithe of 2.5 percent of one's wealth for those who qualify, is an obligatory component of the Ramadan celebration, to be paid before the Eid prayer ending Ramadan.

What most people don't realize, and Muslim leaders are quick to deny, is that 1/8th of Zakat must go to support jihadi operations. This includes all methods used to establish Islamic hegemony across the globe: terrorism, terror support, subversion and propaganda—anything that advances the Ummah.



*Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in New York to attend the 71st session of the UN General Assembly, met with representatives of the Muslim community in the US. Sept 13, 2016. CAIR director Nihad Awad is center front.*

Credit: Unknown. License: <https://bit.ly/2WVnNSO>.

John Guandolo is a former Marine combat veteran and decorated FBI officer who, according to his bio, “created and implemented the FBI’s first Counterterrorism Training Program focused on the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Doctrine, and the global Islamic Movement ...” Guandolo went on to found Understanding the Threat, an organization that

provides threat-focused strategic and operational consultation, training, and education for all levels of government agencies and the private sector. Today, Guandolo instructs law enforcement agencies throughout the U.S. about threats to national security, including threats related to Islamic terrorism.

According to Guandolo, CAIR receives Zakat donations, and all of it goes to this category. Guandolo explains:

Sharia [Islamic law] states the eight (8) categories are: (1) the poor; (2) those short of money; (3) zakat workers; (4) those whose hearts are to be reconciled; (5) those purchasing their freedom; (6) those in debt; (7) those fighting for Allah; (8) travelers needing money.

Specifically, category 7 is defined in sharia as: “Those Fighting for Allah.” ... [M]eaning people engaged in Islamic military operations for whom no salary has been allotted in the army roster, but who are volunteers for jihad without remuneration. They are given enough to suffice them for the operation, even if affluent; of weapons, mounts, clothing, and expenses for the duration of the journey, round trip, and the time they spend there, even if prolonged.” [Um dat al Salik, Book H Zakat, H8.17]

The North American Islamic Trust describes frankly how it uses income generated from the properties it holds as a form of zakat:

The property is then used for purposes that are shariah compliant. Essential to the scheme is that the corpus of the property remains intact while income derived therefrom, or the property itself, is used for diverse Islamic causes as a sadaqa jariya (recurring, continuous or on-going charity) including socio-economic, *military, or political purposes* for the benefit of Muslims as well as non-Muslims [emphasis added].

Significantly, those convicted in the Holy Land Foundation trial were all convicted of using Zakat to support Islamic terrorism conducted by the Palestinian terrorist group HAMAS.

## CAIR's Real Agenda: Attacking Its Most Threatening Opponents

Interestingly, Understanding the Threat is not one of the 47 listed as a part of the “Islamophobia Network,” and Guandolo gets mentioned only in the small print of CAIR’s Islamophobia report. However, CAIR relentlessly targets Guandolo.





*CAIR relentlessly targets John Guandolo, an expert in the threat of Islamic terrorism. CAIR, SPLC, and the ACLU pile on, both in written reports and relentless efforts to stop his training program. They warn law enforcement agencies not to hire him and publicize their objections to his training and speaking events.*

CAIR, SPLC, and the ACLU pile on, both in written reports and relentless efforts to stop his training program. They warn law enforcement agencies not to hire him and publicize their objections to his training and speaking events.

David Bores, a retired Army Colonel and former chief of police, also provides instruction free of charge to both law enforcement and civilians on Sharia crime. CAIR and its allies also routinely attempt to block his training, aggressively attacking members of law enforcement and aligned organizations that decide to host him. CAIR is assisted in its efforts by mainstream news organizations like *Newsweek*.

CAIR could gain some credibility by forcefully denouncing terrorism. But they don't. Instead they work aggressively to undermine law enforcement efforts to ferret out jihadis in the U.S., and attack anyone who associates Islam with what these and other Islamic terrorist groups do.

CAIR recently demanded the US Army War College drop Raymond Ibrahim, a noted scholar on the history of Islam, from its list of lecturers. Since when does a "civil rights advocacy" organization get to dictate or limit what our defense establishment can study, especially since Islamic terrorism is a major and demonstrated threat our nation faces today?

Rather than ignore or push back against this outrageous demand, the War College has cancelled Ibrahim's presentation, using a flimsy excuse about timing. That is a frightening demonstration about the power of words, and shows why, despite its obvious dishonesty, CAIR is willing to hang "Islamophobe" over the heads of such organizations. Many will fold out of fear of criticism—and our soldiers are denied critical information as a result.

The day after the San Bernardino attacks which left 14 dead, CAIR ushered Syed Raheel Farook before the media cameras. Raheel is the brother of gunman Syed Rizwan Farook, and he struggled to explain how his brother could do such a thing. CAIR then went on to smear Tea Party groups that had warned local city council members about the threat of Islamic terrorism *mere days before*. Raheel was later convicted of immigration fraud as part of a scheme that involved Enrique Marquez, the neighbor who supplied weapons to the terrorists.

Even if you make the claim that these terrorists practice a distorted version of Islam, why wouldn't CAIR want law enforcement to take every action it could to protect Americans instead of thwarting its efforts? Has CAIR facilitated any undercover work at the mosques where most terrorist activity gets stirred up? Perish the thought! They *defend them*.

Furthermore, is protesting sharia—*i.e.*, Islamic law—a bad thing? It condones things like female genital mutilation, polygamy, and child brides. CAIR is litigation-happy and uses frivolous lawsuits almost daily to challenge American laws, national security efforts, and seeks to carve out exceptions that will accommodate sharia in direct contravention of our Constitution.

CAIR Chicago brags of having launched almost 5,500 suits in its 15 years of business, with 396 in 2018 alone. Jaylani Hussein, director of CAIR Minnesota, recently bragged of 360 lawsuits in 2017.

CAIR recently lost a three year lawsuit in Oklahoma, where it had attempted to frame a gun club for discrimination. David Yerushalmi's American Freedom Law Center, which CAIR targets in its report, represented the defendant. The gun club owner stated in court, that following the Chattanooga, Tennessee, terrorist attack in July 2015, where five servicemembers were killed:

On October 23, 2015, Plaintiff Raja'ee Fatihah, a board member for the Oklahoma chapter of CAIR—an organization that federal, state, and foreign governments acknowledge has ties to terrorism—went to Defendants' gun range armed with a loaded (round in the chamber) military-issue handgun strapped to his side, a military-style rifle slung over his shoulder, magazines loaded with approximately 140 rounds of 9 mm ammunition, a concealed recording device in his pocket, and a dangerous agenda: to create a controversy with armed individuals at the gun range, hoping that he would *not* be allowed to fire his weapons so he could file this meritless lawsuit and run to the media with his pre-arranged "Islamophobia" narrative, knowing that the liberal media would

willingly serve as an echo chamber for his spurious claim of discrimination.

The range owners determined Fatihah was threatening the safety of its customers, its employees, and the community, and was in violation of clearly posted range rules. He was therefore prevented from using the facility.

Significantly, the range rules explicitly stated that the club would not knowingly assist in the training of any terrorist. Following the March terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, the club posted a sign stating:

**In case you were wondering (or had questions),  
“terrorist” includes the following:**

al Qaeda	Antifa
CAIR	Hamas
Hezbollah	HLF
IAP	ISIS
ISNA	KKK
Muslim Brotherhood	NAIT
Neo-Nazis	Taliban
White Supremacist	

**If you support or are associated with any of these  
organizations, do not enter these doors!**

In court the owners defended their right to exclude anyone associated with terrorism in any way, stating:

With regard to Mr. Fatihah’s association with terrorist organizations, we learned from the Internet that he is a board member of CAIR-Oklahoma. We have produced, and included in our summary judgment filings, numerous documents from the public record connecting CAIR with terrorists, including documents from the Holy Land Foundation criminal trial where the presiding judge stated in his written opinion that the United States government “*produced ample evidence to establish the associations of CAIR, ISNA and NAIT with HLF, the Islamic Association for Palestine (‘IAP’), and with Hamas.*” We incorporate all these documents and exhibits into this response. Hamas is officially designated as a foreign terrorist organization by the U.S. government. The United Arab Emirates, a U.S. ally, has officially designated CAIR a terrorist organization. We also produced information about a recent resolution from the Arkansas House of Representatives setting forth CAIR’s ties to terrorists.

On April 23, 2019, the lawsuit was dismissed *with prejudice*.

This June, the American Freedom Law Center won another important 11-year-long case *against* CAIR in Virginia. This was a lawsuit launched by the AFLC on behalf of three victims of a “massive fraud first carried out, and then concealed by CAIR.” Settlement amounts were undisclosed but according to AFLC, its clients were “very happy” with the outcome.

In 2015, CAIR released a report about the increased frequency of hate crimes targeting mosques. But there are also reports of some mosque fires being set by Muslims intentionally, hoping to create more strife and division. CAIR might have mentioned another similar incident at the Savoy Masjid Mosque in Houston. The Council initially demanded that fire be investigated as a hate crime. However, that one was set by a devout Muslim who attended the mosque many times daily. CAIR has since moved on.

Why doesn’t CAIR ever mention the almost routine Islamic terrorist attacks occurring around the world? They keep claiming terrorism is not part of Islam, which is a “peaceful religion.” If terrorism is not part of Islamic ideology, there are a lot of misinformed Muslims killing people for no reason.

## Conclusion

This SPLC/CAIR report is yet another towering example of Red/Green Axis propaganda. CAIR Chicago just announced its new Lantern Project. This is a website very similar in design and intent to that of the SPLC, but will focus on “Islamophobia.” CAIR intends the project to be an ongoing effort—CAIR’s very own version of the SPLC—to identify, vilify and doxx its opponents.

While CAIR hopes to undermine its political enemies by intimidating funders with its “Islamophobia” report, it has actually done more to undermine its own cause. As documented herein, it is a study in false and misleading statements designed to undermine the financial support for those it hates, not least of which are organizations that have been successfully exposing CAIR for what it truly is.

In CAIR, we are not dealing with a “social welfare” or “civil rights” organization. CAIR and its Muslim Brotherhood network, is a domestic enemy, determined to first remove those of us exposing its true, ugly underbelly, then join with the Left in “*eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and ‘sabotaging’ its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers...*” ■

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**We've  
reached...**

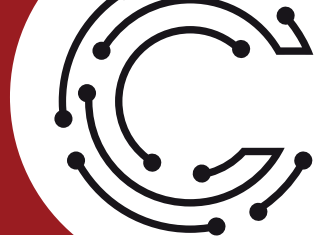
**12.4**

**MILLION PEOPLE**

**and counting...**







## BOOK EXCERPT: *BY HOOK OR BY CROOK:* *THE SHADY PAST AND DISTURBING FUTURE OF THE CLINTON FOUNDATION.*

By Martin Morse Wooster

*This summer, CRC will be publishing By Hook or By Crook: The Shady Past and Disturbing Future of the Clinton Foundation. Written by historian Martin Morse Wooster, it is an examination of the complete history of the Clinton's "charitable" efforts, from the 1997 founding of the William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation through the Clinton Global Initiative project to the Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation of today. The excerpt below is Chapter 2 of the book, a look at years 2009–2013.*

**T**he years when Hillary Clinton was secretary of state were, at the time, surprisingly quiet. The press largely accepted Hillary Clinton's statement that Bill Clinton "was not the secretary of state" and for the most part did not question Bill Clinton's speeches or whether the organizations or individuals paying him exorbitant fees were doing so to curry favor with Hillary Clinton. A few questionable donors made the news, including middleman Victor Dahdaleh and hotel owner Sant Chatwal. But the press's failure to adequately cover the Clinton Foundation between 2009–2013 was one reason the subsequent revelations of misconduct in this period were so damaging.

"Ms. Clinton's parents have had an interesting way of celebrating major events. When each of them turned 60—he in 2006, she in 2007—the birthday became an occasion for serious rattling of the cups, with the money going to her political campaign or his foundation.

"Nothing like that, we have to believe, is about to happen when Ms. Clinton, 30, and her longtime beau, Marc Mezvinsky, 32, take their vows. Of course, there is no way to be sure about this. This wedding has been shrouded in such ostentatious secrecy—if that's not oxymoronic—that anything is conceivable. Where is WikiLeaks when you really need it?"

—Clyde Haberman, on Chelsea Clinton's wedding (2010)



Credit: Hillary Clinton. License: <https://bit.ly/2JNtY7x>.

The fundamental problem of the Clinton Foundation is that the foundation is a magnet for foreigners who may well wish their grants to be used to persuade Bill or Hillary Clinton to do things they would otherwise not do—whether or not foreign donations influenced Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was a major theme of the 2016 presidential contest.

*Martin Morse Wooster is a senior fellow at the Capital Research Center. He has written extensively on the history of philanthropy. Wooster is the author of How Great Philanthropists failed and You Can Succeed at Protecting Your Legacy (Capital Research Center), Great Philanthropic Mistakes (Hudson Institute), Games Universities Play: And How Donors Can Avoid Them (Pope Center for Higher Education Policy), among other books.*

As we've seen, the fundamental problem of the Clinton Foundation is that the foundation is a magnet for foreigners who may well wish their grants to be used to persuade Bill or Hillary Clinton to do things they would otherwise not do. The issue of whether or not these foreign donations influenced Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was a major theme of the 2016 presidential contest.

But during the four years Hillary Clinton served as secretary of state, the press had a simple rule about the Clinton Foundation's donors—they ignored them. They unquestionably accepted Hillary Clinton's claim that the Clinton Foundation had nothing to do with the creation of U.S. foreign policy. Indeed, with the notable exception of the Clinton Foundation's activities in Haiti, the press largely kept quiet about what the Clinton Foundation was doing.

Both the *New York Times Magazine* and the *Washington Post* noted firewalls that Bill and Hillary Clinton said they put in place. *New York Times* Washington correspondent Peter Baker flew with Bill Clinton on a trip to Colombia and Peru in March 2009. Clinton explained to Baker that he cleared his foreign trips in advance with national security adviser Jim Jones. "I say, 'Look. I've been invited to this place. These people will be there. Do you want me not to go?' If they want me to make any points on their behalf, I'll do it." In addition, Clinton said he spoke with Vice-President Joe Biden about once a week and occasionally spoke with Obama administration officials such as Carol Browner, Lawrence Summers, and Rahm Emanuel, who had served in the Clinton administration. He said he had spoken to President Obama only once.

Clinton also observed that when trying to reach his wife, "I can't always get hold of her. They changed all her phone numbers, and her phone doesn't work inside the State Department building." He added, "If she asks, I tell her what I think. And if there's something that's going on that I feel that I have a particular knowledge of, I say that."

For the South American trip, Clinton flew on Frank Giustra's MD-87 plane, which Baker described as having "bedroom and shower, gold-plated bathroom fixtures, leather upholstered reclining seats, flat-panel TVs and original paintings on the cabin walls. The blankets are emblazoned 'Giustra Air.'"

Baker did not ask Giustra if he was doing business in Colombia but reported that Giustra was still bothered by the 2008 reports about Kazakhstan. "Being called all these things by all these people who never met me—let's just say this: I will never go into politics," Giustra said. "That's a contact sport. He [Clinton] accepts the world he lives in." A report in the *Washington Post* in November 2009 discussed the firewalls the Clintons said they put in place. Bill Clinton



Bill Clinton's "such a great asset, do you want to say, 'you've been president. Now go back to the farm?'"

— Lawrence Korb

didn't go to the State Department very often and did not take part in an official State Department trip during the first ten months of Hillary Clinton's tenure as secretary of state. When Hillary Clinton moved to Washington, Bill Clinton remained in Chappaqua.

In August 2009, during a trip to Congo, a student asked Hillary Clinton about her husband. "He is not the secretary of state," Hillary Clinton declared, adding that she was "not going to be channeling my husband." However, she told a Thai interviewer in June 2009 that she did occasionally discuss foreign policy issues with Bill Clinton, "because I really value his advice. But he's so busy in his charitable activities right now that there's no real connection between what he's doing and my official capacity."

The only area where the *Washington Post* found overlap between Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's policies and those of the Clinton Foundation was in Northern Ireland. When the State Department named Declan Kelly the economic envoy to that region, Kelly asked Bill Clinton for help. Bill Clinton devoted a session of the 2009 Clinton Global Initiative to a panel on Northern Ireland where he and Kelly spoke; Kelly told the audience this was "a massive assistance to me in my role" as economic envoy. Kelly's role in creating Teneo and promoting his clients at the Clinton Global Initiative was not known in 2009.

Bill Clinton, the Center for American Progress's Lawrence Korb told the *Boston Globe*, "is in an impossible situation. If he steps out, or does things like Carter in the Middle East or Africa, does he undermine his wife? On the other hand, he's such a great asset, do you want to say, 'you've been president. Now go back to the farm?'"

Bill Clinton began 2009 with one bit of unfinished business. One of his major backers after he left the White House was investor Ron Burkle, who ran a company called Yucaipa. The company had three investment funds. Clinton was an adviser to two of them and was a partner in a third, along with Burkle and Dubai Investment Group (YGP), which the *Wall Street Journal's* John R. Emshwiller reported was "an entity that was part of the business empire of Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al-Maktoum," Dubai's ruler. The Yucaipa foreign fund had paid Clinton \$12 million as a partner and the other two funds had paid him \$8 million as an adviser.

In 2007, the Yucaipa foreign fund decided to invest in Xinhua Finance Media, a company with connections to the Chinese government. Bill Clinton declined to participate in that investment and began withdrawing from Yucaipa. Clinton was waiting for a final payment from the company that was as much as \$20 million, but which he decided to skip.

Clinton's connections to Yucaipa and the Dubai government, Emshwiller reported, "attracted scant scrutiny during his wife's confirmation process despite it being Mr. Clinton's most direct financial tie to a foreign leader."

The Clinton Foundation next helped bail out Hillary Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign by spending \$274,000 on the campaign's donor list. "We are always looking for ways to expand that donor base," an anonymous spokesman for the Clinton Foundation told the *Wall Street Journal*.

## 2009 Foreign Donor Controversies

Occasionally, the press even reminded readers of the Clinton Foundation's questionable donors. One case took place in October 2009, when Canada's McGill University awarded Bill Clinton an honorary doctorate. Clinton gave an hour-long talk, saying, "The great thing about not being president anymore is that you can say anything you want." Thanks to Victor Dahdaleh, a McGill alumnus and trustee who was also a Clinton Foundation trustee, Clinton gave the talk for free: Dahdaleh had given the foundation over \$1 million. (It was Dahdaleh who placed the doctoral sash over Bill Clinton at the ceremony.)

Marc Weinstein, vice-principal for development and alumni affairs at McGill, told the *Montreal Gazette* "we knew we had an alumnus who was working very closely with Mr. Clinton and who was a personal friend. Somehow, all the stars were aligned and the alumnus was able to persuade Mr. Clinton to come. There was no cost, no fee, no transaction whatsoever."

The *Gazette* noted, however, that Dahdaleh was being investigated by the Justice Department at the time on charges that companies he owned had helped the Australian subsidiary of Alcoa get a contract to supply alumina to Bahrain's state-owned aluminum-smelting company by bribing Bahraini officials. Dahdaleh and the company he owned, Dadco Group, were never charged with bribery in the U.S.

He was, however, charged in Britain in 2011, when he surrendered his passports and agreed to nightly confinement in his London home. Dahdaleh was acquitted in 2013 after two prosecution witnesses refused to testify and a third changed his testimony. However, Dahdaleh's British defense attorneys used in his defense a doctrine called "principal's consent," which said that Bahraini officials knew about the payments and that such payments were normal business practice in Bahrain at the time.

Alcoa, however, was found guilty of bribing people in Bahrain in 2014 and was fined \$384 million. A 2016 investigation by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the *Toronto Star* of the financial records known as the Panama Papers found that Dahdaleh was known as "Consultant A" in the Justice Department's case against Alcoa. According to the Justice Department, "Consultant A" between 2005-2009 bought alumina from Alcoa of Australia and sold it to Alba, marking up the cost by \$188 million, even though the middleman never actually handled the alumina. The Justice Department charged that "Consultant A" used some of the markup "to enrich himself" and spent "\$110 million in corrupt payments to Bahraini officials." Between 2002 and 2004, the Justice Department charged, Dahdaleh used another company he owned as a middleman between Alcoa and the Bahrainis, earning \$79 million in fees in those two years.

Controversy also swirled over the Alavi Foundation, an Iranian-backed, American-based nonprofit that donated between \$25,000 and \$50,000 to the Clinton Foundation in 2008. In November 2009, the federal government seized many of the foundation's assets, with U.S. Attorney Preet Bharara declaring that the foundation has "effectively been a front for the government of Iran." The *Washington Post* reported in 2003 that "U.S. law enforcement and intelligence officials believe Alavi and its related institutions are a vehicle through which the Iranian regime keeps tabs on Iranians here, obtains data about U.S. technology, promotes Tehran's views on world affairs, provides gathering places for pro-Iran activists and channels money to U.S. academics to gain a friendly reading on Iran." In 2017 a jury ordered the seizure of the foundation's most valuable asset, 60 percent of a skyscraper on 650 Fifth Avenue worth as much as \$800 million. The government already owned the remaining 40 percent of the skyscraper after its nominal owner, Assa Corporation, was found in 2013 to be a front for Iran's Bank Melli. (As of 2018 the seizure was being appealed.)



*2009 Clinton Foundation donors over \$25 million: Gates Foundation, Frank Giustra, and UNITAID, with contributors in the \$10 to \$25 million range including the Australian and Norwegian governments and the Hunter Foundation.*



## 2010 Donor Controversies

In January 2010, the Clinton Foundation listed its donors for 2009. Contributors of over \$25 million included the Gates Foundation, Frank Giustra, and UNITAID, with contributors in the \$10 million to \$25 million range including the Australian and Norwegian governments and the Hunter Foundation. This was the last time the press examined the annual list of Clinton Foundation donors while Hillary Clinton was secretary of state.

Only one questionable Clinton Foundation donor made the news in 2010. Clinton Foundation trustee Sant Chatwal, a hotel magnate, was accused by three Indian businessmen who were his contractors of having them abducted in 2009 from the opening of a hotel in Cochin, India, and forcing them to sign statements that they would pay him 800,000 pounds.

In 2014, Chatwal was convicted of witness tampering and making \$180,000 in illegal campaign contributions between 2007 and 2011, which included donations to Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign in 2008 as well as to Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Connecticut) and Rep. Kendrick Meek (D-Florida), who lost to Marco Rubio in a 2010 Senate contest. Chatwal contributed \$200,000 to Hillary Clinton's successful Senate bid and chaired "Indian Americans for Hillary" in 2008. Prosecutors said that Chatwal made a deal with contractors to have them pad invoices to allow individual donors to avoid limits to campaigns. In December 2014, Chatwal was sentenced to three years probation, fined \$500,000, and required to perform 1,000 hours of community service.

In one secretly recorded conversation, Chatwal told an informant that when politicians "are in need of money...the money you give then they are always for you. That's the only way to buy them, get into the system."

Emails released by Judicial Watch in August 2016 show that on July 16, 2009, Huma Abedin emailed Chatwal about Hillary Clinton's trip to India. "Just checking in," Abedin wrote. "I'm sure you know we will be in Mumbai on Sat and Sun Delhi Sun night and Monday What are your plans?"

"Thanks for getting back to me," Chatwal responded. "First of all Heartiest Congratulations for your engagement (to Anthony Weiner) I read about it in the Indian newspaper

CC

*"...the money you give then they are always for you. That's the only way to buy them, get into the system."*

—Sant Chatwal

I am heading for New Delhi tonight I won't be in Mumbai I will see you in Delhi How about dinner at your favourite restaurant Bhukhara Sunday night pls see if I could be part your list for the invites in Delhi Function. I will be staying in Maurya Sheraton.

"U will definitely be included," Abedin responded. "We are doing an event in Gurgaon on Sunday afternoon and then Pusa which is an outdoor farm event. Those might be hard for you. Right?"



Credit: prabhisurya. License: <https://bit.ly/3Gy2b9r>

*In 2014, Sant Chatwal was convicted of witness tampering and making \$180,000 in illegal campaign contributions between 2007 and 2011, which included donations to Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign in 2008.*

"Maybe our town hall at Delhi University on Monday? Also doing an embassy event Taj Monday morning. Does that work?"

"Would love to do dinner, not sure yet which night. But Sunday would be ideal. I'll email u on Saturday when I know more. Ok?"

"I just landed in Delhi," Chatwal responded on July 17, 2009. "Pl put my name down for every Function it will be fun to watch Hillary's Visit."

Emails released by Judicial Watch in February 2017 show that on November 12, 2009 Chatwal sent an email that was forwarded to Huma Abedin. "As you know," Chatwal wrote, "(Indian) Prime Minister Dr. Mammohan Singh and President Obama are having a State Dinner. Any possibilities to include me and my wife for this dinner? If so, that would be really great. But if not, that's ok too I

totally understand."

Huma Abedin responded a day later. "So nice to hear from you!" she wrote. "Was going to send you an email myself. We have no control over the White House state dinner. But, Hillary is hosting the state lunch for the prime minister with vice president Biden at the State Department and you should be receiving your invitation to that soon. Will be the same day, Nov. 24th. Hope all is well."

Chatwal attended both the lunch and the dinner.

The Clinton Foundation received a boost in 2010 from the Canadian Revenue Agency, which declared that Canadians could make tax-deductible contributions to the Clinton Foundation. Canadian law generally prohibits citizens of that country from making tax-deductible donations to foreign charities. In fact, the Clinton Foundation was only the sixth foreign nonprofit to receive this Canadian tax exemption, joining two foundations created by the Aga Khan, two organizations in the U.S. and Britain promoting Canadian studies, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The *Globe and Mail* noted that this tax exemption would enable Frank Giustra to take personal tax deductions on his donations to the Clinton Foundation. The Clinton Giustra Sustainable Growth Initiative, which had assets of C\$12.6 million as of 2010, was a Canadian nonprofit legally separate from the Clinton Foundation.

## 2011: A Quiet Year and a Happy Birthday

There were two major events in 2011 that affected the Clinton Foundation. As we've seen, the foundation formed an alliance with the Gates Foundation on funding to combat AIDS. The Clinton Foundation formed a second alliance, this time with Michael Bloomberg and the Bloomberg Philanthropies, to deal with programs designed to combat climate change.

Bloomberg and Clinton were scheduled to present the alliance at a meeting of climate change activists in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Bloomberg told the *New York Times*, "I have always thought we should have a relationship based alphabetically on our last names." According to an anonymous source at the Clinton Foundation, Bloomberg "...came to us. What are we going to do, fight them? They have the money; the golden rule applies," which the *Times* explained was "as in, he who has the gold, rules."

As we'll see, while the Clinton Foundation and the Bloomberg Philanthropies did occasionally work together on projects, their most lasting legacy came in 2017, when the Bloomberg Philanthropies took over and rebranded the Clinton Global Initiative.

Bill Clinton turned 65 in 2011, and Bill, Hillary, and Chelsea Clinton spent an October weekend partying in Los Angeles. Donors who contributed between \$500,000 and \$1 million got a weekend brunch at the home of Haim and Cheryl Saban and an afternoon of golf with Bill Clinton. Even \$50 donors could get nosebleed seats in the Hollywood Bowl.

The high point of the weekend was "A Decade of Difference: A Concert Celebrating 10 Years of the William J. Clinton



Credit: Matt Johnson. License: <https://bit.ly/32hXBPQ>

*Bill Clinton turned 65 in 2011, and Bill, Hillary, and Chelsea Clinton spent an October weekend partying in Los Angeles. Donors who contributed between \$500,000 and \$1 million got a weekend brunch at the home of Haim and Cheryl Saban and an afternoon of golf with Bill Clinton.*

Foundation," which featured Usher, Bono, Stevie Wonder, and Colombian singer Juanes.

Lady Gaga declared that she was having her "first real Marilyn moment" serenading the former president, adding, "I always wanted to have one, and I was hoping that it didn't involve pills and a strand of pearls." She changed the song "Bad Romance" to "Bill Romance," and concluded by telling Clinton, "I love you and your hot wife."

The singer also altered the lyrics of her song "You and I" for the Clintons, singing, "Somewhere, something about this place, somewhere about American eyes when a Clinton makes us all feel safe. Somewhere something about a cool, Arkansas guy, yes, something about—Hillary, Billary, that's your new celebrity name—to the Clintons, you and I."

"I thought, 'My God, I get Lady Gaga, and I will have a heart attack celebrating my 65th birthday,'" Bill Clinton said.

Also shown at the concert was "Clinton Foundation: Celebrity Division," a sketch directed by Christin Trogan and written by Alex Fernie for the comedy website Funny or Die. The premise is that a bunch of celebrities led by Ben Stiller are gathered in a room for a brainstorming session. Kristen Wiig declares that the foundation should launch a "Global Breathing Initiative" in which everyone holds his or her breath for a minute a day to reduce carbon dioxide. Ted Danson says the foundation should encourage people to "perform 72,000 hours of entrepreneurial initiative," until Stiller says, "You're just reading from a Clinton Foundation brochure." Sean Penn just wants people to stop stealing his lunch from the staff refrigerator. Jack Black takes out a

guitar and sings, “The Clinton Foundation, fighting global issues with business-minded solutions/A decade of difference is a whole lot of difference, it’s ten whole years of difference.”

The phone rings, and it’s Bill Clinton, who praises everyone and tells them to come up with more ideas. Except it’s not Bill Clinton, but Kevin Spacey. Clinton then enters his office and sees Spacey.

“What did I say about making crank calls from my office?” Clinton scolds.

“Ummm....don’t do it?” Spacey says.

“Don’t do it...without me!” Clinton says, smiling and holding a bag with Sean Penn’s sandwich.

## 2012: Year of Transition

In 2012, the Clinton Foundation had one of the quietest years in its history. The foundation started one new program, working with Verizon, General Electric, and Tenet Healthcare on programs to advance wellness programs in corporate workplaces. The foundation also had one disastrous fundraising party and had to deal with one new questionable donor, this time from Australia. And it also had to adjust to Chelsea Clinton’s increased prominence in the foundation and begin working out what Hillary Clinton’s role in the foundation would be after she left the State Department. The issue that was to be so explosive in 2016—whether Clinton Foundation donors had tried to influence Secretary of State Hillary Clinton—did not arise in 2012.

The questionable Australian donation to the Clinton Foundation came from the Global Carbon Capture and Storage Institute, established by the Australian government in 2009 following a memorandum of understanding between the Clinton Foundation’s Clinton Climate Initiative division in 2008 and the Australian government to fight climate change. A 2012 investigation by *The Sunday Age* found that this nonprofit had been allocated A\$235 million by the Australian government and spent A\$122 million, including A\$10 million in a grant to the Clinton Foundation and A\$54.3 million on “operational expenses,” such as first-class travel to conferences in France and Japan, where the institute’s staff stayed in five-star hotels. “*The Sunday Age*,” Lenore Taylor reported, “believes there is deep concern about what Australia is actually achieving from these contracts” to fight climate change.

A second Clinton Foundation grant by the Australian government of A\$550,000 in September 2012 to deal with capturing carbon dioxide in Kenya was denounced by the

opposition Liberal Party environment spokesman Greg Hunt, who said, “It’s completely inappropriate for the Treasurer (i.e., the treasury secretary) to be playing in partisan US politics” by giving money to the Clinton Foundation in a presidential election year.



*At a 2012 fundraiser for Bill Clinton, one patron said, “there was perspiration dripping off the walls and the place absolutely stank. It was like walking into a cave.”*

The disastrous fundraiser for Bill Clinton occurred in London in May 2012, where guests paid 125 pounds for a standard ticket or 1,000 pounds for a chance to meet Bill Clinton at a space near the Old Vic Tunnels. Many patrons spent an hour and a half waiting to get in, and when they arrived, one patron told the *Daily Telegraph*, “there was perspiration dripping off the walls and the place absolutely stank. It was like walking into a cave.” The patron said he left after an hour because “the place was too crowded, too unpleasant, and nothing had happened.”

The next day Clinton held another fundraiser, this time with the Prince Albert II of Monaco Foundation, at the Hotel de Paris Monte-Carlo in Monaco. There he was photographed with two porn stars: Brooklyn Lee, star of *Babysitter Diaries 5* and *Secretaries 4*, and Tasha Reign. Lee tweeted her photo with the president to her 85,000 followers.

The event was co-sponsored by the Reuben Foundation, headed by David and Simon Reuben. A 2004 report in *The Observer* noted two connections between the Reubens and other Clinton Foundation donors—they had worked on projects with Sir Tom Hunter and, according to the World Bank, had founded their company, Trans-World, with a \$2 million loan from Marc Rich.

During 2012, Bill Clinton also continued his site visits to Africa. Much of these trips had now become routine. *New York Times* reporter Amy Chozick, traveling with Bill and Chelsea Clinton in southern Africa in September 2012, noted that Bill Clinton had learned to use the Zulu word *sawubona* (“I see you”) as an introduction, so that Zulus could respond with *ngikhona* (“I am here”) in reply. He also loved to replay the conflicts of his presidential years over and over, and discussed his decision to send Black Hawk helicopters to Somalia



in 1993 so often that his staff would tell people, “you got Black Hawked,” whenever he talked about Somalia.

Chelsea Clinton was also on the trip, as part of her increasing role in the Clinton Foundation. “The exposure,” Chozick reported, “is part of her deliberate evolution into a more public and less press-averse figure.”

“As she’s been exposed to the foundation and to what her father’s doing with his post-presidential life,” Hillary Clinton’s deputy chief of staff, Huma Abedin, told *Vogue*, “I think a light switched on: This is the legacy I’m going to inherit. To say that it is an incredible one is an understatement. She now knows that in 20, 30 years, everything about her father’s legacy is in her hands. It’s going to be Chelsea’s responsibility to carry that torch.”

Charlie Rose interviewed Chelsea Clinton at the 2012 Clinton Global Initiative meeting. “I’m not impervious to the fact that my dad turned 65, 66, gosh—he just turned 66—and my mom turns 65 next month. And my father has lived longer than any man on either side of his family in memory.... With my work at CGI and the Clinton Foundation and working more in my father’s world and taking on more responsibility, I’m starting to work with him and hope that I will help them continue to work all the harder, all the longer.”

“What do you hope people come away with by coming to the Clinton Global Initiative?” Rose asked.

“I hope that people come away feeling empowered,” Chelsea Clinton said. “That candidly you don’t have to be Bill Clinton and have a platform like this, or Bill Gates and have, you know, almost infinite resources to muster towards a commitment, of defining a specific objective and metric to hold one’s self and one’s partners accountable towards reaching that objective that people will be truly invigorated to apply that thinking and that approach toward whatever it is that they really care about locally or globally.”

However, the future of the Clinton Foundation didn’t yet rest with Chelsea Clinton, but with Hillary. When she announced in the spring of 2012 that she would not serve in a second Obama administration, she invited speculation about what she would do next. “I’m looking forward to working as hard as I can until the end of my tenure as secretary of state,” she said at a press conference in Copenhagen in May 2012, “and then will look forward to some time to collect myself and spend it doing just ordinary things that I very much am looking forward to again, like taking a walk without a lot of company.”

“No politics?” a reporter asked.

“No politics.”



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/2LdEgJn>

Washington Post deputy political editor Anne Kornblut reported that the speculation about whether Hillary Clinton would run in 2016 was starting to rise: “more than a half a dozen Clinton friends and advisers” were split about whether she would run. Kornblut noted it was likely that Hillary Clinton would be involved in the Clinton Foundation in some capacity.

“My mom is even more vehement in private than in public, if that’s possible, about leaving at the end of President Obama’s first term,” Chelsea Clinton told the *New York Times* in July 2012. “She wants to go back to being a professional advocate for women and girls.”

But *Washington Post* deputy political editor Anne Kornblut reported that the speculation about whether Hillary Clinton would run in 2016 was starting to rise. She noted it was likely that Hillary Clinton would write a book and be involved in the Clinton Foundation in some capacity. But “more than a half a dozen Clinton friends and advisers, past and present, who talked candidly about her prospects” were split about whether she would run.

Kornblut observed that other likely Democratic presidential candidates—Maryland Gov. Martin O’Malley, New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo, Vice President Joe Biden, Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano, Sen. Kristen Gillibrand (D—New York)—had to start preparing immediately after the 2012 election, but “Clinton, because of her political network and experience, could decide as late as 2015, although that would surely frustrate donors and the other contenders.”

Anne E. Kornblut spent nearly 2,000 words speculating about Hillary Clinton’s future. She did not mention the problem of the Clinton Foundation and its donors. ■

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## NEO PHILANTHROPY: HOW THE LEFT FUNDS VOTER REGISTRATION

By Hayden Ludwig

**Summary:** NEO Philanthropy is one of the Left's best-kept "dark money" secrets. Commanding hundreds of millions of dollars, the group plays a key role in "incubating" dozens of new activist groups and coordinating left-wing efforts to alter the landscape of American politics in the 2020 census.

Not all "dark money" funders are created equal.

In our latest profile of the Left's leading "dark money" grantmakers, we chart the reach of NEO Philanthropy—a massive clearinghouse instrumental in moving nearly \$390 million to activist groups and liberal think tanks since 2010.

But unlike other left-wing "dark money" groups—such as the Tides Foundation or Arabella Advisors' nonprofit network—NEO Philanthropy is also a strategy hub for the institutional Left's biggest target: the 2020 census. Through its arms, NEO coordinates the flow of huge amounts of "dark" cash to the nonprofits pushing expanded voter registration, turnout, and anti-voter ID efforts.

It's a story born out of the "consumer activism" of the 1970s, the same period which gave rise to hundreds of so-called "public interest" groups that continue to dominate left-wing politics today. And though NEO Philanthropy has changed its leadership, mission, and even its name, one characteristic has remained constant: its unique position as the Left's "dark money" coordinator of choice.

### A Clearinghouse Is Born

NEO Philanthropy's roots go back to the activism of the 1970s, a period that birthed much of the modern institutional Left. The secret is in the group's original name—



*NEO Philanthropy is a strategy hub for the institutional Left's biggest target: the 2020 census.*

Public Interest Projects—which bears a striking resemblance to another major product of that era: the Public Interest Network, famous for campus-based Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs). Both NEO and the PIRGs emerged from the left-wing "consumer activist" movement spearheaded by Ralph Nader, leader of the so-called "Nader's Raiders" and founder of numerous community organizing nonprofits still at large.

As CRC has documented in "Secrets of the Public Interest Pyramid," the PIRGs form a complex web of over a hundred research, fundraising, and lobbying groups controlled by a handful of veteran "Nader's Raiders." Central to this scheme are the PIRGs themselves: nonprofits that lobby for expanded state regulations largely using fees pocketed from university students who unwittingly vote to support their school's PIRG chapter.

*Hayden Ludwig is an investigative researcher at CRC.*

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Today, NEO Philanthropy and the PIRGs apparently have little connection, but when Donald Ross founded NEO Philanthropy in 1983 the PIRGs were something akin to NEO's older brother. Ross co-crafted the PIRG model alongside Nader in their 1971 book, *Action for a Change*, a sort of "how-to" manual for what would become the PIRG network.

From 1973 to 1982, Ross was the founder and executive director of New York State Public Interest Research Group (NY-PIRG), which he reportedly grew to 180 staffers operating out of 31 offices. Under Ross, NY-PIRG pushed for a range of policy changes, including a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants and abolition of nuclear energy—a popular position of the 1970s environmental Left. (Decades later, Bloomberg reported that a young Ross had led "two of the largest anti-nuclear rallies in U.S. history.")

This activism was funded largely through student fees voted on by students across the New York state university (SUNY) system. A 1975 copy of the newspaper *Albany Student Press*, for instance, quotes Ross calling NY-PIRG the "pioneer of mass involvement of students."

Nader himself brags about Ross's work on his personal website, writing that under Ross NY-PIRG was "probably the most significant activist group in the state of New York." He even credits Ross with the creation of door-to-door canvassing, a practice continued by the PIRGs today and which arguably forms the bedrock of the national PIRG network's funding:

One innovation, pioneered by NY-PIRG, that has been adopted by many other PIRGs is the use of door-to-door canvassing as a means to raise money, educate the public and organize grassroots support. The canvass has allowed the PIRGS to reach out to the local community as well as to students. With both student and citizen members, the PIRGs nationwide enjoy the support of more than one million people.

NY-PIRG continues to be something of a heavyweight among its peers. According to Brooklyn College Environmental Science Professor David Seidemann, the group is so successful at raising money from state universities—largely through the support of sympathetic faculty who give the group "unique campus privileges"—that NY-PIRG now "raises more money than all other campus student groups," to the tune of \$1 million diverted in *mandatory* student fees each year. In 2012, then-New York attorney general Andrew Cuomo even awarded the group a \$10 million state grant—



Credit: Sage Ross. License: <https://bit.ly/2xmsGdE>.

*Both NEO and the PIRGs emerged from the left-wing "consumer activist" movement spearheaded by Ralph Nader, leader of the so-called "Nader's Raiders" and founder of numerous community organizing nonprofits still at large.*

more than twice its budget—to promote its national advertisement campaign.

Ross himself may have crossed paths with NY-PIRG's most famous alumnus, Barack Obama, who worked as a full-time community organizer for the group from February to May 1985 while attending Columbia University. While it's impossible to say for sure, it's worth recalling that Ross—NY-PIRG's founder and indelible mastermind—maintained close connections to the group even after he left, through which he may have crossed paths with the young Obama. Ross, a lifelong New Yorker, left his position as NY-PIRG director to lead Citizen Action New York, another group founded by Nader.

It's from this murky sea of Naderite groups that "Public Interest Projects"—the original name of NEO Philanthropy—emerged. Ross formed the group in 1983, shortly after leaving NY-PIRG to head Citizen Action. Details surrounding its creation remain scarce, but in an interview in 2015 NEO president Michele Lord revealed that:

The name Public Interest Projects was essentially picked out of a hat. **The original founder, Donald Ross, wanted the organization to be under the radar so that people wouldn't necessarily know what it did.** Before I came, we were always in the back, never in the front. Once we started developing our work, the name became confusing to people. It didn't say who we were, and it didn't say anything about our values [emphasis added].



From 1985 to 1999, Ross was chief administrative officer for the Rockefeller Family Fund, which funds activist groups. Then in 1984, he and NY-PIRG legislative director Arthur Malkin started an Albany-based lobbying firm, Malkin & Ross, which was hailed in 2003 as “one of Albany’s top 10 lobbying firms.” Sometime after, the duo expanded to Washington, D.C., with M&R Strategic Services, which services many major groups on the Left—including NEO Philanthropy. Perhaps ironically, the former “people’s movement” activist is now a wealthy political consultant catering to a “who’s who” of the Left’s political elite. In 2010, Ross and his wife, Helen Klein Ross (well-known poet and novelist), even purchased a \$1.5 million historic Connecticut mansion (“Hollywood”) and spent two years and \$2.2 million renovating the 160-year-old building.

Naturally, Ross is well-connected. From 2004 to 2009, he was a member of the Greenpeace board of directors, serving as chairman for multiple years. Ross was also a board member for the League of Conservation Voters from 2004 to 2010.

Interestingly, a July 2014 report by the U.S. Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works recorded that Ross was part of “a narrow set of individuals whose careers are part of the fabric of the far-left environmental movement . . . [who] exercise outsized influence regarding the distribution of funds” by groups like “Environmental Grantmakers Association, Democracy Alliance, and others.”

## The NEO Model

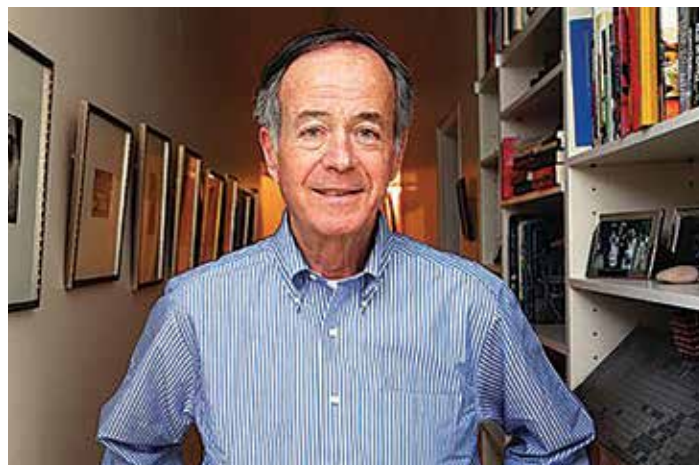
Little is known about what kind of projects NEO Philanthropy sponsored in its early days, but according to Michele Lord it was always intended to serve as an incubator for other left-wing groups that weren’t prepared to pursue tax-exempt nonprofit recognition by the IRS. In Lord’s words, NEO was “the backroom for lots of organizations that didn’t have their own 501(c)(3) [status].”

From 1983 until the 2000s, NEO Philanthropy (or Public Interest Projects, as it was then known) was a relatively modest operation. In 2001, for example, the group reported revenues of \$3.8 million; but in 2017, that figure was \$45 million, an increase of roughly 1,400 percent in just 16 years.

Around 2008, NEO Philanthropy adopted its current name in a larger effort to rebrand itself as a key part of the institutional Left. Along with the name change came a substantial shift toward “alliance building” with major foundations, namely the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Ford, Knight, Mertz Gilmore, and Open Society Foundations.

These and other grantmakers would provide continual funding to dozens of “fiscally sponsored projects” all hosted by NEO Philanthropy.

Now in its prime, NEO Philanthropy fulfills two key roles as part of the institutional Left: as a pass-through organization, moving millions of dollars each year to activist nonprofits from left-wing mega-funders; and as a fiscal sponsor or “incubator,” generating dozens of new groups which live under the NEO aegis.



*Donald Ross co-crafted the PIRG model alongside Nader in their 1971 book, Action for a Change, a sort of “how-to” manual for what would become the PIRG network.*

Credit: Democracy Forward/renshot. License: <https://bit.ly/307nGXu>

## NEO as a “Dark Money” Pass-Through

Unlike most major funders such as the Rockefeller and MacArthur Foundations, NEO Philanthropy doesn’t generate most of its money. Although a minority of its annual revenues every year come from investment- and program-related income, the vast majority of NEO’s funding originates as grants from major grantmakers on the Left.

NEO’s largest funders are private foundations, including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Evelyn & Walter Haas Jr. Fund, George Soros’s Foundation to Promote Open Society, Unbound Philanthropy, and the Ford, JPB, MacArthur, Bauman, Tides, W.K. Kellogg, Susan Thompson Buffett, and Mertz Gilmore Foundations.

Between 2010 and 2017 (the latest available year), NEO Philanthropy reported a staggering \$337.8 million in revenues and \$314 million in expenditures. It’s growing rapidly, too. In 2007, for instance, NEO reported earning \$23 million; a decade later in 2017, that figure had grown to over \$58 million, an increase of nearly 150 percent.

Moving tens of millions of dollars each year makes NEO an effective pass-through organization able to mask the flow of cash from major foundations to the hundreds of think tanks, legal nonprofits, and activist groups NEO supports.

Strictly speaking, the loosely defined term “dark money” typically applies to 501(c)(4) nonprofits which aren’t required to disclose their donors. But because NEO Philanthropy and the NEO Philanthropy Action Fund work in tandem, NEO itself might be described as “dark money-esque.” (It’s worth noting that the IRS requires 501(c)(3) public charities like NEO Philanthropy to disclose grants, though they may withhold the names of their grantors.)

The NEO Philanthropy Action Fund, however, is a more classic example of a “dark money” funder. Like it’s 501(c)(3) sibling, the 501(c)(4) Action Fund is a pass-through for other left-wing nonprofits, particularly for environmentalist groups. The Action Fund is significantly smaller than NEO Philanthropy, though, reporting \$10 million in 2017 revenues compared with its sibling’s more robust \$58 million.

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*In NEO president Michelle Lord’s words, NEO was “the backroom for lots of organizations that didn’t have their own 501(c)(3) [status].”*

As a 501(c)(4) nonprofit, the Action Fund isn’t required to disclose its donors, obscuring the source of much of its funding—hence the “dark money” designation. Discovering its donors is consequently difficult.

However, it’s clear that the Action Fund has received significant funding—nearly \$22 million between 2009 and 2010, in fact—from Atlantic Philanthropies, the Bermuda-based foundation known for funding massive 501(c)(4) “dark money” operations in the United States. Because Atlantic Philanthropies isn’t U.S.-based, it isn’t required to file annual reports with the IRS, nor is it subject to the usual restrictions American foundations face in granting to 501(c)(4) lobbying groups.

And that’s critical to Atlantic Philanthropies, which famously moved \$50 million to the vaguely named Civic Participation Action Fund in 2016 to help Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign. In 2010, Atlantic Philanthropies funneled over \$47 million to Health Care for America Now, a “dark money” lobbying group created by the Left to push the passage of Obamacare through Congress. (Also worth

noting is Atlantic Philanthropies’ former president, Gara LaMarche, who is now president of the Democracy Alliance, a high-level funding coordination network associated with NEO Philanthropy.)

While information on NEO Philanthropy Action Fund’s donors are scarce, it does report its grant recipients—most notably the League of Conservation Voters, Environmental Defense Action Fund, Planned Parenthood, For Our Future Action Fund, Tom Steyer’s NextGen Climate Action, American Bridge 21st Century, Environment America, and the Sierra Club.

## NEO as an Incubator

But not all grants to NEO Philanthropy pass through the organization. Many of them are used to finance NEO’s own fiscally sponsored projects.

So what is fiscal sponsorship? Under IRS rules, nonprofits are allowed to provide practical support to other nonprofits, paying for administrative services or managing their annual financial reports, usually in exchange for a small cut of earmarked donations. This kind of sponsorship is best applied to new startups which lack the resources to manage their operations themselves.

NEO Philanthropy, however, practices a different kind of fiscal sponsorship known as “incubation.” Under the NEO model, new groups are incubated that live and operate under the umbrella of its 501(c)(3) nonprofit status while awaiting their own nonprofit determination letter from the IRS—a process that can take months. The incubated group is treated as a “project” or “program” of NEO Philanthropy until it’s eventually spun-off as a standalone nonprofit.

Fiscal sponsorship is a common practice among nonprofits on the Left and the Right since it’s an efficient way to create new organizations, and many funders provide limited fiscal sponsorship services. The donor-advised fund provider DonorsTrust, for instance, has helped develop a number of conservative and Christian nonprofits.

But unlike DonorsTrust, incubation is NEO Philanthropy’s bread and butter. Michele Lord herself has called NEO a “bridge” between activists and grantmakers, providing both with numerous groups to push a left-wing agenda.

It’s important to recognize that NEO’s dual roles as a pass-through funder and an incubator are complementary and related. Many of the grants given to NEO are made in support of its projects. You can think of it as a kind of non-profit startup service: give NEO the cash and it’ll incubate

a project of your choice, complete with staff, a website, and office space in its New York headquarters. And depending upon the client's intent, that startup may or may not grow into a fully-fledged nonprofit.

At the same time, NEO often makes grants to activist groups and think tanks through three grantmaking "Funds," which are explored in detail below. Think of these three Funds as line-items on NEO's budget—ways to delineate how the "dark money" from NEO's mega-funders is distributed to the hundreds of organizations it supports.

While no exhaustive list of its projects exists, NEO currently hosts some 60 such projects, according to its website. To date, CRC has identified over half of them.

Some of NEO's past projects are now independent nonprofits, like Define American, which advocates for a path to citizenship for immigrants living in the U.S. illegally. Similarly, the environmentalist media website InsideClimate News began life in 2007 as a NEO project; in 2014, it "detached from its fiscal sponsor" to become a standalone 501(c)(3) nonprofit.

Complementing this incubation work is the NEO Philanthropy Action Fund, the group's 501(c)(4) lobbying arm. Like other incubation groups, the Action Fund is NEO Philanthropy's "little sister," hosting the "advocacy" arms of a number of NEO Philanthropy's projects to form a 501(c)(3)-501(c)(4) pair. For example, MPower Change is an Islamic immigration advocacy group created by radical activist Linda Sarsour in 2016. It's also a project of NEO Philanthropy, while the group's advocacy arm, MPower Change Action, is hosted by NEO Philanthropy Action Fund.

Why host two related projects? Splitting the pair allows each to maximize the advantages of NEO Philanthropy's 501(c)(3) status and NEO Philanthropy Action Fund's 501(c)(4) status: donations to the former are tax-deductible for donors, while the latter can spend a higher percentage of its funds on lobbying. And because MPower Change and MPower Change Action are *projects*, not standalone nonprofits, their budgets are effectively invisible—drops in the vast ocean that is NEO's budget.

The NEO model means it can host dozens of projects without ever revealing *exactly* how much it spends on each project, or which of its numerous donors funded which project.

## The NEO Nest

While NEO Philanthropy claims to support some 60 projects, many of them are difficult to identify as fronts for their fiscal sponsor. To date, CRC has identified some 30 projects of NEO Philanthropy and the NEO Philanthropy Action Fund. Many of these projects target specific ethnic minorities or identity politics interests.

NEO Philanthropy manages a handful of projects targeting gay, lesbian, and transgender issues, some of which are no longer in operation. The now-defunct Federal Agencies Project, for instance, pushed for expanded domestic partnership benefits for federal employees. Notably, in 2014 the Federal Agencies Project co-authored a report alongside the Center for American Progress, which identified strategies for increasing LGBT enrollment in Obamacare. While the project was active, the Civitas Public Affairs Group managed the project. Civitas Public Affairs is a Washington, D.C.-based consultancy founded by veterans from the gay marriage group Freedom to Marry, the Gill Foundation, and the now-defunct Gill Action Fund.

NEO also manages a number of projects which target specific ethnic and religious minority groups. MPower Change is perhaps the most notable of these groups as it was founded by the radical Islamic activist Linda Sarsour, who also works prominently in the Black Lives Matter

movement and the anti-Israel Left, including the extremist Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR). MPower Change and its lobbying arm, MPower Change Action, push voter mobilization and registration campaigns to increase Muslim voter turnout in elections. It's also been involved in a number of far-left protests, including demonstrations in 2018 to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

The National Black Workers Center Project advocates for higher minimum wage laws. Its board of directors mainly consists of representatives from other minimum wage advocacy groups as well as the SEIU and NAACP. Movement Law Lab is a NEO Philanthropy project created in conjunction with Pierre Omidyar's Democracy Fund, George Soros's Open Society Foundations, the Ford Foundation, and Echoing Green, a nonprofit funder. The Lab acts as a channel for foundations to provide paid fellowships to new litigation nonprofits run by ethnic minority activists, what the Lab calls "movement lawyering." Fellowships can run as

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*NEO Philanthropy's four most prominent projects were never intended to leave the nest. Together, they form the meat of NEO Philanthropy's work in tilting American elections left.*



high as \$10,000 and involve workshops intended to teach future activists how to form new litigation nonprofits.

NEO Philanthropy supports a number of women's groups. Women Who Dare supports "women entrepreneurs of color" through online business schools and networking events paid for by NEO Philanthropy and its donors. Reproaction, however, is a pro-abortion activist group that runs hit pieces on pro-life advocacy groups, including Students for Life and the annual March for Life. Like other pro-abortion groups, Reproaction adamantly favors preserving *Roe v. Wade*—the group attacked the confirmation of Justice Brett Kavanaugh to the U.S. Supreme Court last year.

The Women's March Network is perhaps the best-known project of NEO Philanthropy, even if NEO's involvement in it is not widely published. Following the 2017 Women's March, a number of groups claiming the March's mantle sprung up, each independent of one another. The NEO-supported Women's March Network is one of the more prominent such groups. Today, the Network runs a number of campaigns, voter mobilization in the 2018 midterm election, and the March 2017 "Day Without a Woman" gun control protest.

## Committees and Collaboratives

NEO Philanthropy's four most prominent projects, however, were never intended to leave the nest. These are its "funder collaboratives": the Shelby Response Fund, State Infrastructure Fund, Four Freedoms Fund, and Funders Committee for Civic Participation.

Together, they form the meat of NEO Philanthropy's work in tilting American elections left. Each of the collaboratives—so named because they draw together major grant-making foundations—focuses on a different aspect of U.S. election law: weakening voter integrity laws, increasing election turnout, and even altering the demographics of the American electorate itself.

## Shelby Response Fund

The Shelby Response Fund is rather dramatically named. It was birthed in reaction to the 2013 Supreme Court decision in *Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder* which struck down certain parts of the 1965 Voting Rights Act as unconstitutional for requiring local governments to obtain preclearance with the U.S. Justice Department prior to changing voting laws.

Under those provisions, states in areas with historically low turnout among ethnic minorities (primarily in the South)

had to await federal review of every change in their voting laws, even when decades later voter turnout and registration had reached a near-parity. The Supreme Court's 5-4 decision in favor of Shelby County amounted to a major change in election law and a victory for states' rights. As Chief Justice John Roberts wrote in the Court's opinion:

If Congress had started from scratch in 2006, it plainly could not have enacted the present coverage formula. It would have been irrational for Congress to distinguish between States in such a fundamental way [as the Voting Rights Act did] based on 40-year-old data, when today's statistics tell an entirely different story. And it would have been irrational to base coverage on the use of voting tests 40 years ago, when such tests have been illegal since that time. But that is exactly what Congress has done.

Yet while conservatives celebrated the decision, liberals were aghast. The Brennan Center for Justice wrote that *Shelby County* "opened the floodgates to laws restricting voting throughout the United States." The *New York Times* characterized the decision as the culmination of a 50-year effort by Republicans "to undercut or dismantle [the] most important requirements" of the Voting Rights Act. *The Atlantic* didn't hold back in a piece entitled, "How *Shelby County v. Holder* Broke America," charging the Supreme Court with "set[ting] the stage for a new era of white hegemony."

In reality, the *Shelby County* decision enabled states like Texas, Ohio, and North Carolina to implement voting integrity laws which likely otherwise would not have gotten past attorney general Eric Holder's Justice Department, including voter ID requirements and purging registered voters who hadn't voted in six consecutive years and failed to confirm their residency.

Enter the Shelby Response Fund, whose goal was "protecting voting rights"—read: fighting voter integrity laws—"in states formerly covered under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," which the Supreme Court found unconstitutional. While the Fund was always housed at NEO Philanthropy, it was really the product of startup cash from a bevy of left-wing funders and litigation groups: the MacArthur Foundation, George Soros's Open Society Foundations and Foundation to Promote Open Society, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), Southern Coalition for Law and Justice, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and the Advancement Project. Later supporters included the Ford Foundation, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and Native American Rights Fund.

While it's virtually impossible to identify exactly how much money was granted to the project (owing to its status as a fiscally sponsored project for NEO Philanthropy), data from the service FoundationSearch shows eight grants totaling \$4.7 million between 2014 and 2015 to NEO "for the Shelby Response Fund." Soros's Foundation to Promote Open Society was the single largest grantor and provided nearly 40 percent (\$1.8 million) of the funds during that period. The Ford Foundation gave another \$1.4 million to the venture.

The Shelby Response Fund mostly serves as a vehicle to funnel money through NEO Philanthropy to allied litigation nonprofits. A 2015 report by the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, for instance, plainly detailed \$92,000 that MALDEF gave it for "post-*Shelby* litigation," using the Fund as a "pass-through." A 2015 Open Society Foundations board meeting report noted that litigators sponsored by the Fund spent two weeks in North Carolina arguing against the state's "monster bill" (HB 589), which established voter ID requirements and eliminated out-of-precinct voting. (The law was passed but was struck down by a federal appellate court in 2016.)

But you won't find a website for the Shelby Response Fund or many details on its activities. In fact, a search for the Fund on NEO's website reveals nothing on the group.

Yet the Fund has friends in high places. In 2014, President Barack Obama nominated Karen Narasaki—director of the Shelby Response Fund—to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the body which recommends "civil rights" legislation to Congress. While the nomination was noticed by many conservative groups, NEO merely called her "a consultant on a project focused on . . . *Shelby County v. Holder*."

## State Infrastructure Fund

Like the Shelby Response Fund, the State Infrastructure Fund was created in reaction to a left-wing defeat, this time in the 2010 midterm elections, which saw the Republican Party retake the House of Representatives. Unlike Shelby, though, NEO trumpets the more innocuously named State Infrastructure Fund.

"The first step toward a healthy and fully participatory democracy," the Fund's website reads, "is to ensure that all eligible Americans . . . are engaged, empowered and cast a ballot that counts in every election." In effect this means targeted litigation of so-called "voter suppression" laws in fourteen states: Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

And while the Fund is vague about what exactly it does, an archived version of its website notes its past campaigns, including opposition to "suppressive laws like voter ID and proof of citizenship, language access issues and racial and partisan gerrymandering." The Fund also claims its members helped defeat North Carolina's so-called "monster bill" in 2016 when a federal court struck the law down. It also targets states with large Asian American/Pacific Islander and Latino populations for voter registration and mobilization drives, since those demographic groups generally support Democrats. The Fund even has a hotline (866-OUR-VOTE) for callers to check their voter registration status and registration deadlines.

As such, the State Infrastructure Fund regularly siphons money to litigation groups that challenge election-related laws, though it doesn't engage in litigation itself. As one NEO representative said in 2016:

Litigation is important because it offers you the first opportunity to stop something bad from happening through an injunction. A lot of foundations hate litigation because they think it is a money pit. But litigation has been a very important tool. If it were not for all the great legal defense funds and other litigation groups, we would be in much worse shape.

That interview identified MALDEF as a NEO grantee, calling it "a dream team of voting rights litigators," adding that NEO makes grants to over ten such litigation groups while helping to coordinate which organizations tackle which lawsuits.

Last year, the Fund claimed to be involved in more than 75 election-related lawsuits. And while it's careful to avoid overt partisanship, the Fund's interest in "civic participation" looks awfully ideological when its supporters are revealed. Consider that the State Infrastructure Fund receives grants from a range of major foundations on the Left, including the Ford, Open Society, Bauman, Kresge, and Mertz Gilmore Foundations, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Wallace Global Fund. To date, it claims to have granted \$60 million to allied groups.

Lisa Versaci is director of the Fund. Versaci is the former Florida state director for the agitation groups People for the American Way and EMILY's List. Most notably, though, she was the managing director for the Committee on States, the state-level counterpart to the Democracy Alliance, a network of top-tier funders on the Left. The Committee and the Democracy Alliance might be described as the ultimate "dark money" groups on the Left; while neither makes grants directly, they instead serve as a coordination hub for doling out vast sums to favored left-wing groups. The

groups' membership includes high-ranking officials from major labor unions, the Democratic National Committee, Public Interest Network president Doug Phelps, George Soros, Tom Steyer, and others.

## Four Freedoms Fund

The Four Freedoms Fund is one of NEO Philanthropy's older "donor collaboratives," created in 2003. Unlike the State Infrastructure and Shelby Response Funds, Four Freedoms attacks what it calls "anti-immigrant ordinances" created by conservative legislators with the ultimate goals of expanding immigration to and "civic integration" of newly naturalized citizens in the United States. To that end, the Fund has described itself as "one of the largest funders of pro-immigrant movement groups throughout the country."

Startup funding for the project came from the usual suspects: \$2.8 million in total from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (which provided \$1 million) and the Ford, Open Society, Mertz Gilmore, and Knight Foundations. The Fund is currently supported by 14 grantmakers, including the Joyce Foundation, Gates Foundation, Unbound Philanthropy, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and California Endowment.

Notably, the Four Freedoms Fund is co-managed by Geri Mannion, a program director for the Carnegie Corporation, and Taryn Higashi, executive director of Unbound Philanthropy, a grantmaker that primarily supports immigration groups. Higashi previously worked on immigrant programs for the Ford Foundation and is an advisory board member of the Open Society Foundation's International Migration Initiative. Anita Khashu, founding director of the Vera Institute of Justice's Center on Immigration and Justice, is NEO Philanthropy's program director for the Four Freedoms Fund.

The Fund takes its name from President Franklin Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech, delivered in 1941 before the Congress, in which he identified four key universal freedoms: the freedom of speech and expression, the freedom to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. (Craig McGarvey, a consultant for the James Irvine Foundation, reportedly suggested the name.) Naturally, the Four Freedoms Fund has four primary goals:

1. Advocating for state- and local-based policies "supporting immigrant integration";
2. Touting the "political and social contributions of immigrants" to policymakers;
3. Expanding federal immigrant "integration policies"; and
4. Encouraging naturalization and civic integration of recent immigrants through English-language programs, education, and voter registration.

That last part—voter registration—is key, and probably the reason the Fund targets five immigrant-heavy or electorally important regions: southern California, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Florida.

Although they're required to stay nonpartisan—that is, not aligned with a political party—IRS rules permit 501(c)(3) nonprofits to register U.S. citizens to vote (though the specifics vary by state). Those nonprofits aren't allowed to tell registrants who to vote for, yet inevitably groups with ideological agendas like the Four Freedoms Fund champion their work as "civic participation" with a wink and a nudge.



*The Four Freedoms Fund is highly critical of any effort to tighten border controls, attacking the American immigration system as "broken" and "regressive" for detaining and deporting illegal immigrants.*

While it wouldn't be accurate to call the group pro-open borders, the Four Freedoms Fund is highly critical of any effort to tighten border controls. It's attacked the American immigration system as "broken" and "regressive" for detaining and deporting illegal immigrants. It's also provided support to groups that call for the abolition or defunding of ICE, such as the

more extremist Detention Watch Network. Predictably, it attacked Arizona's 2010 immigration law as "draconian" for requiring non-citizens to carry proper documentation and authorizing state police to arrest illegal aliens for failing to do so, calling Arizona "the epicenter of state-based anti-immigrant legislation."

The Four Freedoms Fund has championed passage of the DREAM Act, a perennial bill proposed by Democrats which would grant permanent residency to numerous aliens living in the U.S. illegally. It's also lambasted both Republicans and the Obama administration for expanding resources for border security and immigration law enforcement, including laws requiring local law enforcement to fingerprint detained



illegal aliens before transferring custody to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). In 2017, the Fund wrote of former President Obama:

Despite the incongruity of deporting people who would be eligible for relief under proposed legislation, in his first term Mr. Obama's administration deported as many immigrants as the administration of George W. Bush did in two terms; over two million have been deported, more than the number of deportations in the United States from 1892 to 1997.

The Fund has arguably had its greatest successes at the state level. One of its grant recipients, the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, successfully pushed for the state to adopt an executive order on immigrant integration in 2015, registering 80,000 newly naturalized citizens to vote, and assisting 10,000 non-citizens in obtaining American citizenship.

Similarly, the New York Immigration Coalition, a Four Freedoms Fund grantee, by one report registered a massive 230,000 newly naturalized citizens to vote between 1998 and 2008. Another grant recipient, Families for Freedom, provides legal services to illegal aliens facing deportation.

One of the Fund's more recent developments is support for greater gay and lesbian immigration into the country. In 2017, it sponsored a report entitled *Out of the Closet, Out of the Shadows* which noted that the Four Freedoms Fund "work[s] at the intersection of immigrant rights, LGBTQ rights and racial justice." The report claimed that "75 transgender inmates are housed by [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] each night and account for one in five victims of sexual abuse within the detention center network."

In 2011, the Fund awarded its "Freedom from Fear" award to Tania Unzueta and Reyna Wences, two lesbians living in the country illegally, for the couple's role in organizing the 2010 National Coming Out of the Shadows Day, a march intended to encourage gay and lesbian non-citizens living illegally in the country to announce their status as illegal aliens.

### Funders Committee for Civic Participation

Perhaps no project quite illustrates the role NEO Philanthropy plays on the Left better than the Funders Committee for Civic Participation.

For one thing, while it's made up of mega-funders, the Committee doesn't make grants itself. Instead, it's a donors' affinity group—a kind of organizing body for top-tier grant-makers to coordinate spending on election-related activities. In this way, the Funders Committee bears some resemblance



*The Committee publishes a map to what it calls "Integrated Voter Engagement," a kind of flowchart for how to mobilize "to win effective public policies."*

to the Democracy Alliance—a Committee member—which also coordinates spending but does not itself make grants to other groups.

The Funders Committee was formed in 1983 and in one sense is the culmination of NEO Philanthropy's efforts to integrate itself into the professional Left—a fact reflected in its membership. The Committee boasts some 90 members, most notably the Open Society Foundations, Ford Foundation, Joyce Foundation, Bauman Family Foundation, the SEIU-owned Amalgamated Bank, National Education Association, and the AFL-CIO. It's headed by Eric Marshall, the former head of election activism for State Voices—a voter mobilization nonprofit—and manager of legal mobilization for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. He's also a board member for the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, which tries to leverage the ballot initiative process in states to increase voter turnout.

As such, the Funders Committee is connected to just about every prominent funder on the Left. The Bauman Family Foundation, for example, is headed by Patricia Bauman, a Democratic mega-donor who sat on the boards of Catalist—the Democratic Party’s datamine of choice—the Democracy Alliance, and NEO Philanthropy itself. The Democracy Fund, another member, is the foundation of eBay founder and liberal philanthropist Pierre Omidyar; while it attempts to cast itself as bipartisan, the group overwhelmingly funds left-wing causes and liberal Republican groups, including the NeverTrump-led Stand Up Republic.

The philanthropy consulting firm Arabella Advisors is also a Funders Committee member. Curiously, its four “dark money” nonprofits—responsible for springing up over 340 fake activist groups—aren’t listed as members.

While the Committee touts its interest in “civic participation,” its real interest is in pushing policies which get Democrats elected. The Committee publishes a map to what it calls “Integrated Voter Engagement,” a kind of flowchart for how to mobilize “to win effective public policies.” Organizing and mobilizing communities leads to registering new voters and “strong leaders” to “hold elected officials accountable”; those officials then “engage and educate the electorate” (note that *legislators* educate the public on what’s best instead of reflecting their will) to promote “get out the vote” efforts, leading to the most important outcome: achieving “policy impact.”

The Committee has called its model one of “the most effective ways to increase voter turnout,” and little wonder. In 2005, the Funders Committee targeted the Colorado Progressive Coalition for funding and organizing efforts using the Integrated Voter Engagement model.

The result was thousands of new voters who helped the Coalition suspend the Colorado Taxpayers Bill of Rights in a referendum, opening the floodgates to greater state spending. The next year the Coalition followed up with a successful ballot initiative campaign to raise the Colorado minimum wage. In 2008, the Coalition struck again, using the Funders Committee model to defeat a ballot initiative barring race- and sex-based affirmative action.

By targeting Colorado, the Left was able to flip a battleground state into a reliably Democratic one—thanks in no small part to systematic efforts by the Democracy Alliance and the Funders Committee.

And the Integrated Voter Engagement model has huge potential for other states. A 2017 report by the Funders Committee claims that allied groups using the model have registered “roughly 4.5 million people . . . over the last three

election cycles.” Naturally, they’re trying to apply the model to battleground states and longstanding Democratic Party targets: North Carolina, Florida, Nevada, Michigan, Ohio, Oregon, and Texas.

But the Funders Committee’s biggest target is still a couple years away: the 2020 Census.

The Constitution mandates a census be held every ten years, a process that begins years before the final results are tallied. Few people are aware, though, that 501(c)(3) nonprofits can aid the U.S. Census Bureau in its task of counting how the U.S. population has grown and moved, a critical part of the formula which determines how many congressional seats states are allocated. Most of the time, contention emerges not from *counting* the population, but over the next step: drawing congressional districts, a process called “redistricting.”



Credit: FCCPIScreenshot. License: <https://bit.ly/2RNhbCd>.

*Now-disgraced Sen. Al Franken (D-MN) told viewers how important the census is in “determining how many seats in Congress are allocated” in a video made specifically for the event.*

But when it comes to deciding whether non-citizens are counted in the census, you can rely on the Left to cry foul. Since the House of Representatives has a fixed number of members (435), counting non-citizens (such as permanent residents living in the U.S.) in the census would lead to the over-allocation of congressional seats to states with large populations of non-citizens—like California, Texas, Nevada, New Jersey, and New York, whose populations were over 10 percent non-citizen in 2017—and under-allocation of states with lower numbers of non-citizens.

Many on the Left have entered the fray with the battle cry, “*Count everyone!*” It’s understandable why. The Democratic Party is increasingly reliant upon huge urban populations

to win elections, while groups like the Funders Committee typically count on large turnout among ethnic minorities and newly naturalized immigrants to enact their policies. As the Committee puts it, “It is vital that grant makers get involved. The Census Bureau can’t do it alone.”

It shouldn’t come as a surprise, then, that the Committee’s efforts have received hearty praise from leading Democrats. Then-Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MI) delivered the keynote address to the Committee’s 2016 convening in St. Paul, Minnesota, held in preparation for the 2020 census. Now-disgraced Sen. Al Franken (D-MN) told viewers how important the census is in “determining how many seats in Congress are allocated” in a video made specifically for the event:

I know you’re working hard to make sure that the upcoming 2020 census goes smoothly, and gives a clear, accurate snapshot of our country. I commend your foresight—the census is very important and it’s critical for us to get ready now, even though the census is still a few years away.

The Funders Committee runs operations through the Funders Census Initiative (FCI), a kind of nexus for census-related activities originally launched for the 2010 census. FCI is a major undertaking—it began as early as 2013. In 2016, FCI released its 2020 Action Plan with three key goals: improving response rates, establishing state-based census projects to “mobilize constituencies,” and expanding the Committee’s “universe of funders.”

To that end, FCI counts a number of special interest groups in its ranks, including Van Jones’ Color of Change, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, and National Congress of American Indians. Each of these groups has conducted message testing on minority groups to determine census response rates.

Color of Change, for example, ran messages targeting black communities with the message, “President Trump has actively worked to put down the Black vote and reduce outreach to Black communities for healthcare enrollment, and he will do the same when it comes to Black people taking part in the Census.”

Interestingly, the Bauman Family Foundation appears to play a lead role in FCI’s activities, including the Committee’s efforts to counteract the Trump administration’s proposed citizenship question in 2020. In March 2018, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross announced that the U.S. Census Bureau would ask respondents if they were U.S. citizens in the 2020 census, immediately sparking furor from the Left. The Center for American Progress accused the Trump administration of attempting to “rig the census for partisan

political benefit,” claiming the question would scare recipients into not responding.

Conservative groups like the Heritage Foundation called the citizenship question “essential for accurate U.S. census” results. (A question regarding the respondent’s citizenship status was a standard part of the census until 2010, though generally asked of roughly six out of ten recipients.)

In response to Wilbur’s announcement, the Funders Committee launched an “emergency briefing” led by the Bauman Family Foundation and three interest groups: Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), and Asian Americans Advancing Justice.



*A question on the U.S. census regarding the respondent’s citizenship status was a standard part of the census until 2010, though generally asked of roughly six out of ten recipients.*

In August, over 300 grantmakers (among them numerous Funders Committee members) signed a letter to the Commerce Department urging it to withdraw the citizenship question (Bauman executive director Garry Bass was listed as the letter’s contact). While the Funders Committee itself was not a signatory (NEO Philanthropy was), the group published letter templates for other groups to sign and send to the Commerce Department.

The Funders Committee’s next convening is scheduled for November 2019 in Detroit, Michigan. A glance at its planning committee gives a sense of who’s likely to attend: present are representatives from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Rockefeller Family Fund, Educational Foundation of America, Kresge Foundation, Open Society Foundations, Piper Fund, Latino Community Foundation, Democracy Fund, and Northwest Health Foundation.

## Other NEO Funds

NEO Philanthropy also manages a handful of smaller funds in conjunction with major grantmaking foundations. The funds are typically vague about specific goals, mentioning only their interest in bolstering human rights and promoting democratic values; most support left-wing policies in various fields, however.



**The U.S. Human Rights Fund** is organized around the passage of the End Racial Profiling Act, perennial legislation proposed regularly by congressional Democrats which would “prohibit federal, state, and local law enforcement from targeting a person based on actual or perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, or sexual orientation,” according to the left-wing Human Rights Campaign’s definition. (The most recent iteration of the bill was proposed in February 2017 by Maryland Sen. Ben Cardin and accused President Trump of “targeting Muslim refugees and travelers” for discrimination.) The U.S. Human Rights Fund also funds community organizing groups which support left-wing criminal justice reform, increased immigration to the U.S., and increases to local minimum wages.

**The Anti-Trafficking Fund** was created with funding from the Oak Foundation, a Swiss-based foundation that generally supports environmentalist causes, including “climate change litigation” efforts against ExxonMobil and other oil and natural gas producers in Canada. The Anti-Trafficking Fund makes grants to 13 left-wing activist groups generally organized around labor and immigration, including Jobs With Justice, the National Domestic Workers Alliance, the Urban Justice Center, Human Trafficking Legal Center, and Centro de los Derechos Del Migrante (“Center for Migrant Rights”).

The National Domestic Workers Alliance is a labor union-aligned group that, among other things, advocates for expanded immigration and policies favoring illegal immigrants in the country. The group is heavily funded by the SEIU and AFSCME as well as the Ford, Open Society, Nathan Cummings, and Marguerite Casey Foundations.

The Center for Migrant Rights provides legal aid to Mexican migrant workers in the United States. The group also supports the 2018 United Nations Global Compact on Migration, a non-binding compact which promotes mass international migration. Notably, the group attempted to involve itself in President Trump’s NAFTA renegotiations with Canada and Mexico in order “to protect migrant workers” in the U.S.

**The Asian American and Pacific Islander Civic Engagement Fund** pushes voter registration and mobilization efforts among the Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) census bloc, a target of many similar groups on the Left. Part of the Fund’s efforts involve reshaping the AAPI bloc—a generally wealthy, highly educated, and entrepreneurial demographic—to assume a victim mentality as a “community of color and predominantly immigrant and refugee population,” as the Fund puts it.

The Fund is supported by the Carnegie Corporation, Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund, and Wallace H. Coulter Founda-

tion; its steering committee represents the Ford, Surdna, and Kellogg Foundations as well as the vice president of Demos, Jodeen Olguin-Tayler, and EunSook Lee, president of the National Immigration Forum Action Fund.

## The Faces Behind the Mask

NEO Philanthropy’s leadership reflects the group’s many ties to prominent funders on the Left.

Michele Lord is president of NEO and NEO Philanthropy Action Fund, a position she assumed in 2015 after the departure of her co-president Berta Colón. Lord also directs the Ottinger Foundation, a small foundation associated with Larry Ottinger, a former lawyer with People for the American Way and ex-president of the left-leaning Center for Lobbying in the Public Interest.

Lord has a long history in liberal philanthropy and Democratic politics. She previously directed the modest Norman Foundation and has worked in various program capacities for the Rockefeller, Ford, and Open Society Foundations. From 1984 to 1988, Lord was director of the Congressional Caucus on Women’s Issues; she later worked in the New York City Mayor’s Office from 1990 to 1993 under then-Mayor David Dinkins (D).



*NEO president Michele Lord (pictured on the right) has a long history in liberal philanthropy and Democratic politics. She previously directed the modest Norman Foundation and has worked in various program capacities for the Rockefeller, Ford, and Open Society Foundations. (Also pictured is Berta Colón, her co-president)*

Credit: Public Interest Projects/Screenshot. License: <https://bit.ly/2XG7i1Q>

## What Is “Dark Money”?

The term “dark money” is loosely defined as a non-profit engaged in advocacy that isn’t required to disclose its donors. The phrase was coined around the 2010 midterm elections by the Sunlight Foundation, a left-leaning group which monitors independent expenditures by IRS-designated 501(c)(4) “social welfare organizations” in elections.

But the term “dark money” is most commonly used by conspiracy theorists on the Left such as Jane Meyer (author of an eponymous 2016 book on the subject), who often paint unreported spending as a threat to free speech and civic integrity—when such spending has been the backbone of free speech and civic integrity since the American Revolution.

“Dark money” is a loaded term. It’s most consistently employed to describe the flow of money through 501(c)(4) advocacy nonprofits, which aren’t required to disclose their donors. However, many IRS-designated 501(c)(3) “public charities” are closely involved in moving money in and out of their advocacy counterparts—including NEO Philanthropy and the NEO Philanthropy Action Fund—and may be considered “dark money” funders.

Lord’s former co-president, Berta Colón, held her position from 2002 to 2015, when she left to become deputy director of El Museo del Barrio, a Latino cultural museum in New York City. After an odd turn of events, she was fired from her position after less than a year on the job for “performance reasons” apparently related to the museum’s \$800,000 deficit (though specific reasons remain unclear).

NEO’s board of directors is headed by John Gilroy, director of Pew Charitable Trusts’ U.S. Public Lands program. Interestingly, Gilroy is a former campaign hand for the New York Public Interest Research Group—Donald Ross’s old outfit—and worked under Ross from 1980 to the latter’s departure in 1984.

NEO’s remaining board members reflect its position among the Left’s major grantmakers. Christopher Meyer is chief of staff for the Rockefeller Foundation project 100 Resilient Cities, which funnels money to climate change

causes. Glenn Harris is president of Race Forward (formerly Applied Research Center), a “racial justice” think tank.

Cathy Albisa is co-founder of the National Economic and Social Rights Initiative, which directs grants to left-wing policy coalitions. Kristen Ruff is senior vice president of member services for Philanthropy New York, a regional grantmaker association.

Darren Sandow is executive director of the Hagedorn Foundation, a NEO Philanthropy donor which primarily supports immigration and voter registration nonprofits. Kerrien Suarez is director of Equity in the Center, a project of ProInspire, a group that provides leadership training services to left-wing nonprofits.

Christina Schatz is a financial adviser. Sean Thomas-Breitfield co-director of the Building Movement Project, which publishes reports on the state of the Left’s nonprofits, including representation of women and minorities in leadership positions. Also present on NEO’s board is Ben Wyskida, chief executive officer of Fenton Communications, a public affairs firm that caters to left-wing clients, such as Greenpeace.

## Wrapping Up

NEO Philanthropy plays a peculiar role in the institutional Left. Unlike other “dark money” funders—such as the nonprofit empire managed by Arabella Advisors or the incubation apparatus created by the Tides Foundation—NEO Philanthropy operates as a great “unseen hand,” moving vast sums of money to the activist groups of its choice.

It’s this pass-through model which makes NEO Philanthropy so effective and valuable to the Left’s largest grantmakers, who may effectively “wash” direct ties to activist groups by funneling money through NEO. Through its major funds and the Funders Committee for Civic Participation, NEO Philanthropy hopes to shape the field of American political activism and even the outcome of the 2020 census.

All of this confirms NEO Philanthropy’s position as the Left’s “dark money” coordinator of choice, a position it’s likely to hold for years to come. ■

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AMERICA UNDER SIEGE

# ANTIFA

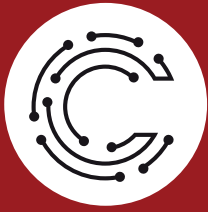
FREE SPEECH DIES UNDEFENDED

The communist movement known as Antifa (short for Anti-Fascist Action) has sparked violence across the nation. In the wake of their battling white supremacist in Charlottesville, Antifa has begun to gain mainstream popularity. But unbeknownst to much of the public, the vast majority of Antifa violence isn't targeted at genuine fascists, but mainstream conservatives and civilians. With help from those who have 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.

**WATCH AT:**

[DangerousDocumentaries.com/film/America-Under-Siege-Antifa/](https://DangerousDocumentaries.com/film/America-Under-Siege-Antifa/)





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