



SPECIAL ISSUE

CAPITAL RESEARCH

JULY 2025

The 2025 Cheat Sheet

Essential Insights into American Politics

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THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

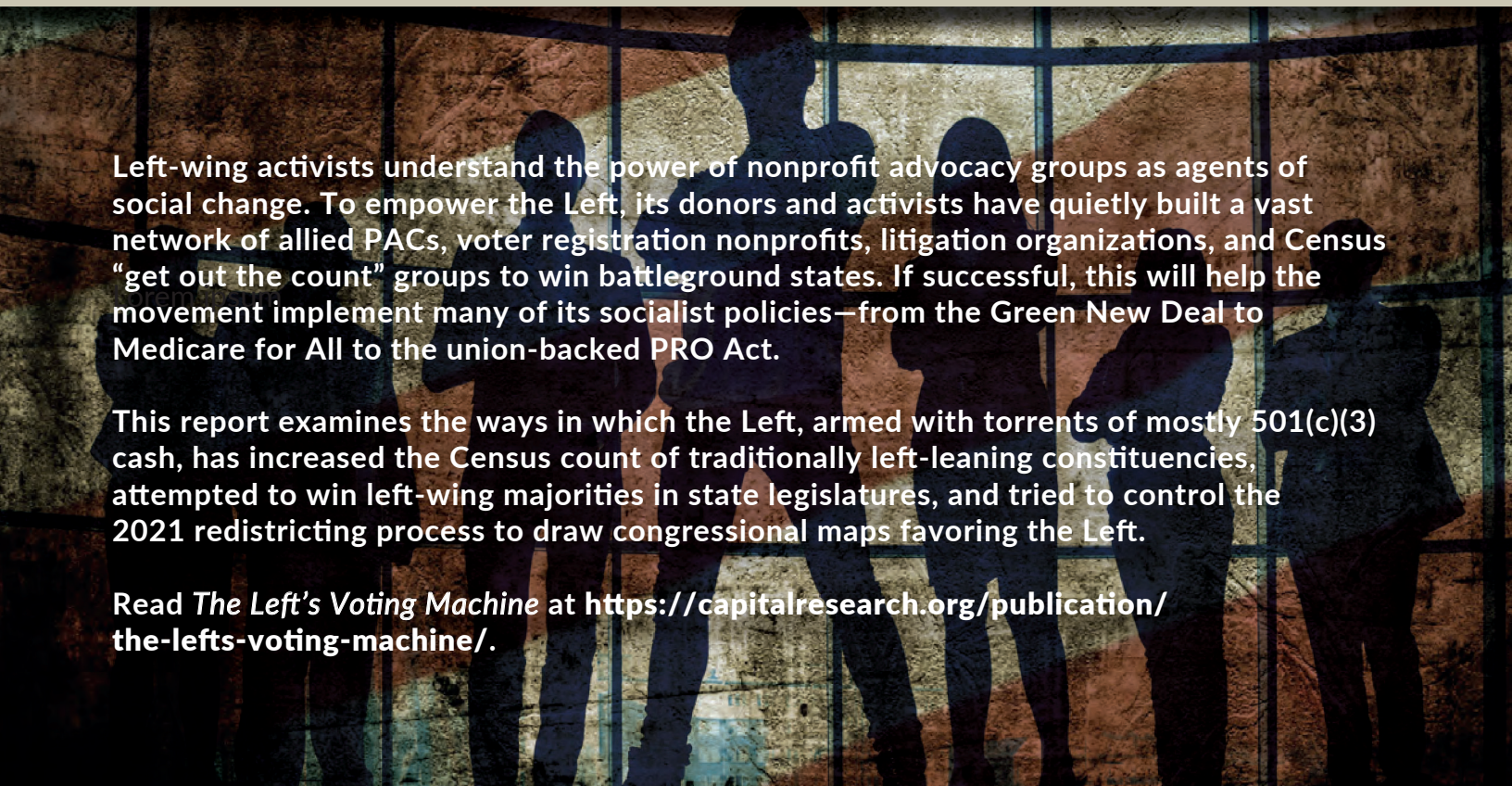


CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

Left-wing activists understand the power of nonprofit advocacy groups as agents of social change. To empower the Left, its donors and activists have quietly built a vast network of allied PACs, voter registration nonprofits, litigation organizations, and Census “get out the count” groups to win battleground states. If successful, this will help the movement implement many of its socialist policies—from the Green New Deal to Medicare for All to the union-backed PRO Act.

This report examines the ways in which the Left, armed with torrents of mostly 501(c)(3) cash, has increased the Census count of traditionally left-leaning constituencies, attempted to win left-wing majorities in state legislatures, and tried to control the 2021 redistricting process to draw congressional maps favoring the Left.

Read *The Left's Voting Machine* at <https://capitalresearch.org/publication/the-lefts-voting-machine/>.





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INTRODUCTION TO THE 2025 CHEAT SHEET: Letter from the Editor

By Kristen Eastlick

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

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

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

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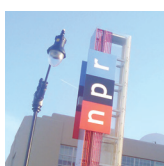
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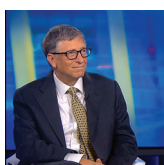
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Ryan Mauro

The background of the entire page is a dark, blue-toned photograph showing the silhouettes of several people in a meeting. One person is standing in the background, while others are seated or standing in the foreground, some looking at documents. The scene is dimly lit, with light coming from the side, creating strong shadows.

BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

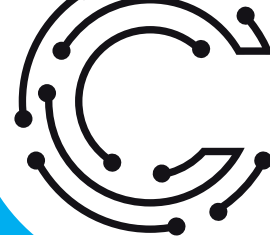
Arabella Advisors' Half-Billion-Dollar
"Dark Money" Network

Hayden R. Ludwig

According to media personalities and politicians, nameless, faceless donors wield outsized influence over the American political process due to the so-called "dark money" they use to fund think tanks and advocacy groups. But that's far from the whole story. "Dark money" exists on both sides of the aisle. In fact, the Left seems to have deeper and darker pockets of cash than anyone suspected. Learn more about liberal "dark money" in CRC's original report.



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



THE 2025 CHEAT SHEET LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

By Kristen Eastlick

Right now, Capital Research Center faces what I call a “target-rich environment.”

We’re seeing near historic awareness of “The Groups”—the network of influencers that mobilize on every issue currently debated on Capitol Hill, in state capitals, and among opinion leaders. The awareness began as Americans sought to understand why Democrats were held hostage by radical progressive-left influencers through the 2024 campaigns and then ramped up to a fever pitch as Elon Musk and citizen researchers looked with fresh eyes on the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) receiving government funding.

In other words, it’s exactly what CRC has been investigating and exposing for over 40 years.

In light of the intense focus on who influences decisionmakers and how they do it, the CRC team decided to help our readers with this special issue of *Capital Research* magazine. We’ve assembled a collective “cheat sheet” that breaks down some of the major debates of the day. Our investigative researchers each took a unique look at some of the influencers they’ve uncovered through their research, then distilled that information for you into shorter pieces that can help you get up to speed quickly.

In “The 2025 Cheat Sheet” issue, you have the following resources:

- Kali Fontanilla, our education fellow, sets the stage with “**Funding the Frivolous: Top 10 Nonprofits Misusing Donor Dollars**” about lessons she has learned from digging more deeply into the world of tax-exempt organizations.



Credit: roedesigns. License: Shutterstock

We’re seeing near historic awareness of “The Groups”—the network of influencers that mobilize on every issue currently debated on Capitol Hill, in state capitals, and among opinion leaders.

- Ken Braun, senior investigative researcher, identifies major environmental groups and reveals that their shared opposition to low- and zero-emissions qualifies them as “**Green Backlash: America’s Top Anti-Energy NGOs.**”
- Parker Thayer, our lead investigator into NGOs receiving government funding, reveals the “**DOGE File Deep Dive: Top 10 Wastes of Tax Dollars.**”
- Michael Watson, CRC’s award-winning labor analyst, breaks down “**Big Labor: Key Funding Facts You Need to Know**” and the outsized influence it holds over elections, policy debates, and even the protest movement.
- Senior research specialist Robert Stilson examines the nation’s “**The Big Five: Who’s Bankrolling Gun-Control Power Plays**” working to change policy and public sentiment on Second Amendment issues.



This may be an issue you want to keep for future reference.

- Jonathan Harsh, content editor for InfluenceWatch.org, takes a deeper look at the individuals and organizations that the users of our popular reference website have been researching so far this year in his **“InfluenceWatch 2025: This Year’s Top 10 Influencers.”**
- Philanthropy scholar and Giving Review editor Michael E. Hartmann explains **“Big Philanthropy Unveiled: Three Funding Forces Shaping Policy”** and today’s populist reaction against it.
- Middle East policy investigator Ryan Mauro peels back the curtain on the **“Bankrolling Terror: The Pro-Hamas Financiers of the U.S. Intifada”** and uncovers how many of the protest groups receive their funding.

In short, this may be an issue you want to keep for future reference.

For decades, Capital Research Center has served as a philanthropic watchdog, working to educate the media, policymakers, coalition partners, and the public about how policy debates are influenced. We follow the money to explain to you how special interests are protected.

During president Scott Walter’s tenure, CRC’s reach has exploded. We’re constantly called by the media to explain and comment on the NGOs involved in the “stories of the hour.” And we have helped to break major stories in publications across the ideological spectrum. The staff members of elected officials at the federal, state, and local level call on our experts to brief them on organizations that come before them at hearings and to lobby them on policy proposals. In fact, Scott has testified before Congress six times in the past two years; he testified two times last month alone! Coalition partners regularly request our experts for speaking engagements or background information on the NGOs driving debates and funding the activists. By investigating the Left deeply and exposing it widely, CRC’s research pushes back against the onslaught of radical attacks.

Thank you for being a reader of *Capital Research* magazine! All our work would not be possible without the generous support of our donors and your commitment to exposing the influence networks working to transform America. ■

Kristen Eastlick
Editor-in-Chief
Capital Research



FUNDING THE FRIVOLOUS: TOP 10 NONPROFITS MISUSING DONOR DOLLARS

By Kali Fontanilla

Nonprofits can be a powerful force for good. I work for one and have seen firsthand the impact it can have, whether exposing Arabella Advisors, the “dark money” network of leftist billionaires trying to transform America (our president wrote an entire book about this); highlighting the pro-terrorist groups orchestrating anti-Israel protests on college campuses; or the work I do uncovering the agenda and political influence of teachers’ unions that often operate with little transparency or accountability. Many nonprofits deserve our support and recognition. They often step in where government programs and private enterprise fall short. But for every organization doing real, meaningful work, another organization is pushing a mission so ridiculous it could be satire.

Before you get too riled up, do I think these groups should be dismantled? Yes and no. Part of me wants to see them held accountable for abusing the system. But another part of me wonders: If this is the game, maybe more of us should be playing it. If someone wants to start a nonprofit to protect New York City’s cockroach population because they are an ethical vegan who believes all creatures deserve love, so be it. Who am I to stop them if they can convince donors and activist foundations to throw money at their nonsense?

Only in America can you raise millions of tax-exempt dollars to push Marxist ideology or fund drag queen story hour for toddlers. So, in honor of our nonprofit system and all its unchecked glory, here are my top 10 most ridiculous nonprofits that somehow exist, plus some simple lessons (because I am a teacher) on how they operate, survive, and get funded. Buckle up.

1. The Okra Project

The Okra Project claims its mission is to provide home-cooked meals to black trans individuals facing food insecurity. The meals are supposedly prepared by black trans cooks. Quite the niche. But a quick visit to its website shows that every single program they advertise for the community it claims to serve is “not currently accepting applications.” No explanation. No updates. Nothing.



Credit: sarah_xie7. License: Shutterstock.

Foundations are not just donors; they are architects of movements. They have the power to fund causes, manipulate narratives, and pick winners and losers in the nonprofit world.

The Okra Project’s financial filings paint an even more troubling picture. In its tax filing for 2022 (the most recent publicly available filing), the organization reported raising \$2.9 million. Yet there is no clear data on how many meals were actually distributed, who received them, or how the money was truly used. What we do know is that more than half of that \$2.9 million budget went toward funding the salaries and travel of just a few executives and employees. Over \$300,000 was spent on group travel alone. Executive Director Dominique Morgan took home a hefty \$327,000 salary before being replaced in August of that same year. Why? Because Morgan was caught allegedly misappropriat-

Kali Fontanilla is a former public school teacher of 15 years. Her rebuttal statement to Proposition 16 in California helped to stop the push for legal reverse racism and a new extreme version of affirmative action in 2020. She is the co-founder of Exodus Institute, a K–12 online school with a nationally accredited program: Thinkexodus.org.

ing over \$100,000 from the Black Trans Bail Fund, money reportedly spent on a luxury car and personal travel. While not every dollar flowed directly through the Okra Project, the bail fund was housed under the same network of fiscal relationships. That makes oversight the project's responsibility.

To recap: millions raised, almost nothing to show for it, programs closed, hundreds of thousands spent on travel, and leadership removed over financial misconduct. The mission may sound noble (even though I doubt that there is an epidemic of starving black trans people), but the operation reeks of self-enrichment and exploitation.

Lesson: Financial transparency and accountability

Nonprofits are required to file Form 990s with the IRS. These public documents include revenue, expenses, and executive compensation. These are often available on ProPublica or cited in InfluenceWatch. But what you'll often find is that organizations like the Okra Project submit vague or delayed filings or, worse, fail to disclose operational metrics entirely.

The lesson here is simple: Mission statements do not equal impact. Donors should check how many staff are paid, how much is spent on "admin," and whether any services are actually rendered.

2. Queer Liberation Library

The Queer Liberation Library (QLL) does not operate like a traditional library, it has no physical location, no official librarian, and no structured lending system. Instead, it curates LGBTQ-themed digital reading lists and ships books directly to queer-identifying individuals and community hubs across the country. What makes this especially concerning is that they do not formally verify age. This means sexually explicit books like *Gender Queer* and *All Boys Aren't Blue*, which contain graphic illustrations and adult content, can end up in the hands of minors. Despite presenting itself as a stand-alone nonprofit, the group is not an independent legal entity. It operates under fiscal sponsorship from the Nonprofit Organization for Philanthropic Initiatives (NOPI), which provides the tax-exempt status and backend infrastructure. This structure allows them to avoid direct IRS oversight, public scrutiny, and traditional accountability standards expected of independent charities.

Lesson: The role of fiscal sponsorship in nonprofit operations

Fiscal sponsorship allows side projects to exist without filing for their own 501(c)(3) status. IN this case, NOPI handles the back office, banking, HR, and legal compliance, while QLL gets to

operate like an independent nonprofit. It's a way to keep accountability murky.

This is common in the activist world. Black Lives Matter operated this way for years under Thousand Currents and the

Tide Center. Many local "justice funds" and radical groups are technically just sponsored projects of larger left-wing umbrella groups. It's a shell game that makes it harder to follow the money. Donors should always ask: Who's holding the bank account?

3. Democratic Socialists of America

Yes, the same people chanting "tax the rich" at protests are enjoying tax-exempt status themselves. The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is a 501(c)(4) organization, which means it can lobby, endorse candidates, and even run field operations, all while avoiding federal income tax.

They claim to hate capitalism, yet a blend of wealthy donors, union PACs, and monthly subscription dues from followers funds their operations. During Bernie Sanders' presidential runs, DSA used its nonprofit status to organize aggressively for openly socialist candidates.

Lesson: Tax-exempt status and political advocacy

Per the IRS, 501(c)(4) organizations are supposed to operate for "social welfare," but the IRS's definition of social welfare is so broad, it practically means "whatever we want." These groups are allowed to get involved in politics as long as it is not their "primary" activity. What does "primary" mean? No one knows for sure. That is one loophole.

Visit InfluenceWatch and you will see that DSA's structure is typical of the activist Left: tax-advantaged, lightly regulated, and heavily funded. The public needs to ask whether it is appropriate for radical political machines to operate like charities.

4. The Pleasure Project

This one could be satire, but it is not. The Pleasure Project is a global nonprofit that partners with public health authorities to "eroticize safer sex." They promote what they call "pleasure-based sex education," meaning they integrate



The same people chanting "tax the rich" at protests are enjoying tax-exempt status themselves.

sexually explicit material into training sessions and workshops, often funded by international aid organizations.

The Pleasure Project's youth guide "Talking Pleasure with Ease" pushes educators to center sexual pleasure in youth sex ed using phrases like "talk sexy" and "reframe erotic content." This is not about biology or safety. It is about shifting how kids think and feel about sex. When programs like this target young people, it stops being education and starts looking a lot more like grooming.

Lesson: Ideological capture in global nonprofits

This nonprofit is a perfect example of how the Left dominates the NGO world, especially internationally. Foundations like AmplifyChange bankroll groups like the Pleasure Project, which then advise entire governments on how to shape sex ed curricula. The ideology of pleasure-based health care becomes policy.

The lesson here is that nonprofits are often the mechanism through which radical social agendas are imported into classrooms, clinics, and public services—all without a vote.

5. Power Forward Communities

Power Forward Communities barely existed before it was handed a jaw-dropping \$2 billion grant from the Biden administration's Environmental Protection Agency through the National Clean Investment Fund. The group had just received its tax-exempt status and reported only \$100 in revenue for 2023. You read that right, \$100. Yet somehow, they beat out dozens of established environmental nonprofits with actual track records. Why?

Start digging, and the connections pop up fast. Power Forward Communities is a coalition that includes Rewiring America, where Stacey Abrams served as senior counsel in 2023. That's the same Stacey Abrams who still claims she won the 2018 Georgia governor's race and has become a Democrat fundraising icon. While she was not officially listed on PFC's board, her ties to one of its founding groups raise serious questions about how this all came together.

Lesson: Government funding of nonprofits

In my mind, this is not a real charity. It is what my colleague Ken Braun calls a BGO—a Basically Government

Organization pretending to be a nonprofit. Over 90 percent of its funding comes directly from government grants, which means it is not operating independently at all. It is basically a covert arm of the federal government, executing policy without a single vote cast by the public. You can track the funding trail at [USAspending.gov](https://www.USAspending.gov). Groups like Power Forward claim to be grassroots, but they are bankrolled by federal agencies to push pre-approved political agendas. This is exactly what the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) was exposing, and it is one reason why the Left is scrambling to demonize the DOGE audit. These groups are not nonprofits in the traditional sense. They are the government's activist arm, propped up by your tax dollars.

6. Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation

Black Lives Matter needs no introduction. We all remember the riots, destruction, and national chaos that followed the group's rise to prominence in 2020. But behind the slogans and viral hashtags was something else: one of the most successful nonprofit fundraising machines in modern history. The Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation (BLMGNF) raised over \$90 million in 2020 alone. It later made headlines, but not for charitable work. It secretly bought a \$6 million Los Angeles mansion, allegedly for "content creation," through a shell company. Founder Patrisse Cullors admitted to using the home for family events. Her brother received a cushy \$800,000 "security" contract. Meanwhile, many grassroots chapters said they saw none of the money.

Lesson: The power and responsibility of foundations

BLMGNF operated with minimal oversight despite managing tens of millions in public donations. It failed to file timely Form 990s and has been plagued by financial scandals and missing money. One office location listed on IRS filings was found not to exist at all. So many reports of money spent on luxury homes, personal payouts, and mismanagement have surfaced that even left-leaning watchdogs could not ignore it. All of this was made possible by the lack of basic accountability in the nonprofit world.

Foundations are not just donors; they are architects of movements. Whether Arabella Advisors funds activist infrastructure, George Soros fuels radical ideology, or the Gates Foundation reshapes public education with Common



Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation was one of the most successful nonprofit fundraising machines in modern history.



The immigration nonprofit space is filled with groups that claim “humanitarianism” while actively working to defund ICE, end detention, and erase borders.

Core, foundations have the power to fund causes, manipulate narratives, and pick winners and losers in the nonprofit world. The IRS does not police ideology. State enforcement is slow. And the media rarely investigates until the headlines are unavoidable.

7. National Immigrant Justice Center

The National Immigrant Justice Center provides legal aid to illegal immigrants, including those facing criminal charges and final deportation orders. Its lawyers help clients file asylum claims, appeal removals, and delay proceedings indefinitely. While the NIJC presents itself as a humanitarian group, its legal strategy often works to obstruct federal immigration enforcement.

They receive millions annually from foundations like MacArthur and Ford, as well as direct federal contracts from the Department of Justice.

Lesson: Advocacy or obstruction?

NIJC receives at least \$10 million annually in combined public and private funding. Yet there is little discussion of whether their tactics undermine the rule of law. Do taxpayers know their dollars are funding an organization that helps criminal aliens avoid deportation? The immigration nonprofit space is filled with groups that claim “humanitarianism” while actively working to defund ICE, end detention, and erase borders. It is a political operation dressed up as legal aid. And the most disturbing part? These

nonprofits enjoy tax-exempt status, meaning they are subsidized by the very taxpayers whose safety and sovereignty they work to dismantle. Instead of serving the public good, they are actively harming the American people under the legal shield of charity.

8. National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

The NEA and AFT are the most powerful education lobbies in America. They are classified as 501(c)(5) labor organizations, which means they can endorse candidates and lobby aggressively while still enjoying nonprofit tax advantages.

The NEA alone spent \$66 million on political activity in the 2020 cycle, nearly all of it for Democrats. Both unions promote left-wing curricula, DEI training, and gender ideology in schools. They also oppose school choice, charter schools, and parental rights legislation.

Lesson: Unions are political machines with tax benefits

Just look at these two teacher unions’ own materials, and you’ll see they are not about improving education, but rather amassing and wielding political power. They endorse and bankroll candidates, fund lawsuits, push radical curricula, and lobby for policies that have little to do with student success, all while enjoying tax-exempt status and pretending to represent classroom teachers.

Most parents have no idea that their child’s curriculum is shaped by national unions that operate more like Super PACs than professional associations. These groups are flush with dues money, protected by federal labor laws, and answer to no one but their political allies.

9. Planned Parenthood

Planned Parenthood is a behemoth. Its 501(c)(3) arm handles “health services”—including abortion. Its 501(c)(4), the Planned Parenthood Action Fund, handles lobbying, political ads, and legislative advocacy. Together, they form a machine that merges health care delivery with left-wing progressive politics.

The organization receives over \$700 million in taxpayer funds yearly, and its political arm routinely spends tens of millions in election years, almost exclusively supporting Democrats.



Credit: Steve Skjold. License: Shutterstock.

Planned Parenthood receives over \$700 million in taxpayer funds yearly, and its political arm routinely spends tens of millions in election years, almost exclusively supporting Democrats.

In 2019, the group's own president, Dr. Leana Wen, was fired after attempting to shift the organization away from politics and toward medical services. She was pushed out after just eight months. The message was clear: Abortion is political, and that is where the power is.

Lesson: It's now common for charity and advocacy to be mixed.

The 501(c)(3)/501(c)(4) setup is a common, legal but sometimes abused blending of charity and advocacy, and even a little bit of politics. The (c)(3) collects public funding and builds credibility under the guise of charity. The (c)(4) then leverages that brand to engage in political activity, lobbying, campaigning, and shaping policy without risking the tax-exempt status.

Together, they function as a tag team: one builds trust, the other wields influence. Planned Parenthood is a textbook example. Its health services arm earns media protection and taxpayer money, while its political arm pours tens of millions into elections. It is a legal structure that lets nonprofits do what Super PACs cannot, all with less scrutiny and more protection.

10. The Satanic Temple

If you want to understand how absurd the IRS has become, look no further than the Satanic Temple. This group claims to be a religion, yet openly says it does not believe in a literal Satan. Instead, it uses satanic imagery to troll Christians and sue states that pass pro-life legislation.

They have filed lawsuits claiming abortion is a religious ritual, meaning any restriction on it is a violation of their

religious liberty. The IRS agreed and granted the group tax-exempt church status in 2019.

Lesson: The church exemption can be manipulated

Churches do not have to file Form 990s and are not required to disclose revenue or donors. There are no transparency rules, audits, or financial oversight. The Satanic Temple is exploiting this to run a political activism shop disguised as a faith group.

The organization has focused its efforts on abortion, transgender policies, and religious displays—often suing public officials to remove nativity scenes while demanding statues of Baphomet.

This is not a religion. It is a legal stunt that mocks actual faith, all while enjoying tax-exempt status.

Why We Need Watchdogs

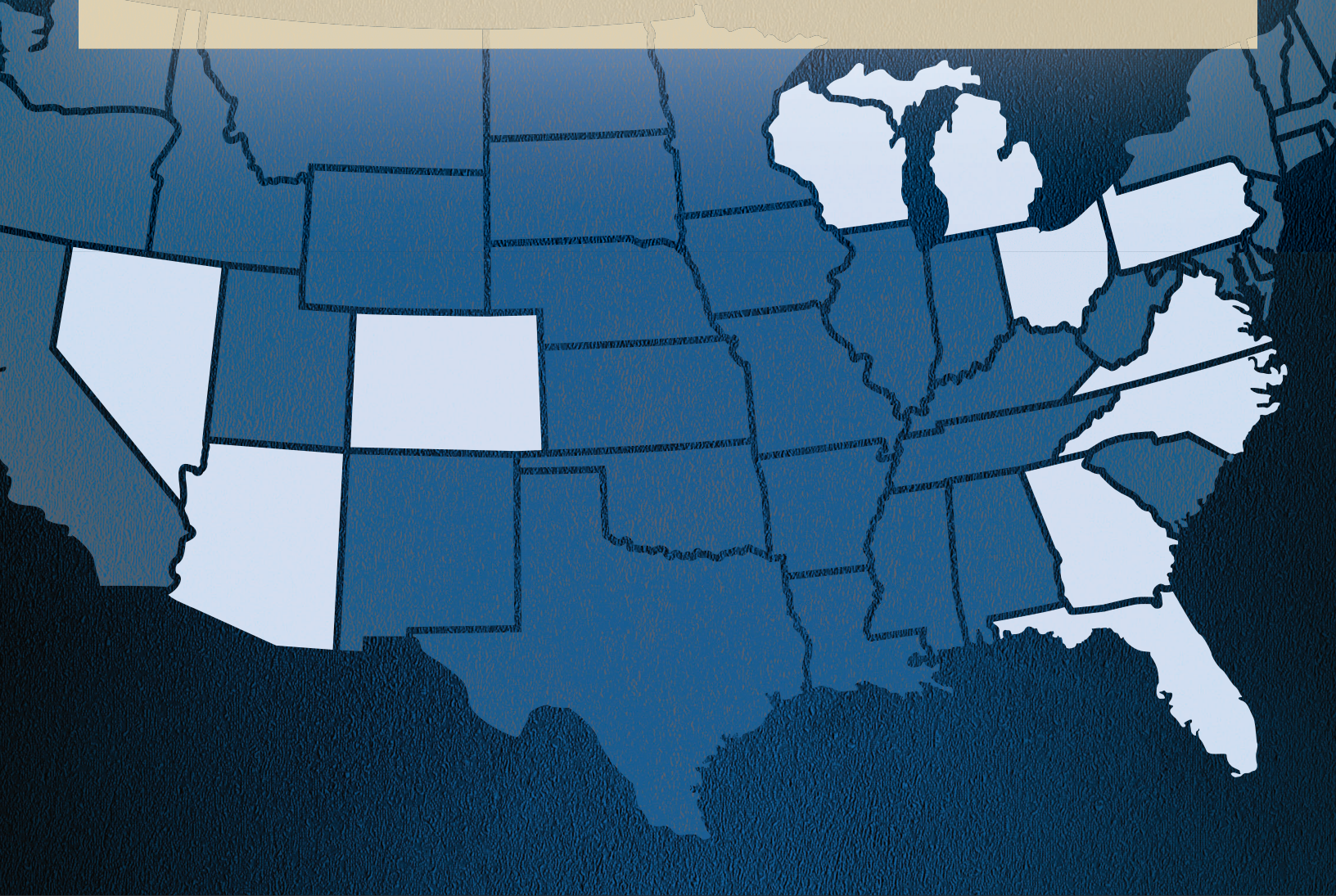
While much of the nonprofit world is bloated with buzzwords, grift, and unchecked power, not all nonprofits are created equal. The Capital Research Center stands out as a rare watchdog that actually bites. Often called the “DOGE of the nonprofit world,” CRC investigates the nonprofits, foundations, and grant recipients that most others will not touch.

Through its InfluenceWatch.org project, CRC pulls back the curtain on the networks, funding pipelines, and ideological agendas that drive so much of the activist nonprofit machine. Most of my research for this very article was done on IW. From bail funds to education lobbies to global abortion groups, CRC has exposed how tax-exempt status is weaponized against the American people.

I am proud to be part of that mission. CRC brought me on to help expose the two largest teachers' unions in America and their chokehold on public education. I have also covered nonprofits like Black Lives Matter and the shady funding behind many of their operations. In the future, I will be expanding that work into the nonprofit industrial complex behind abortion, because yes, there is an entire industry profiting off death while hiding behind tax-exempt status. Exposing organizations and movements like this is why we need more transparency and accountability in the nonprofit world, but thankfully organizations like the Capital Research Center do the work that others are too afraid, or too compromised, to do. ■

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

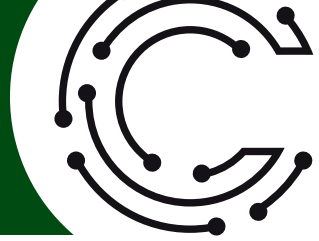
Parker Thayer's exposé reveals the shocking true story of the Everybody Votes campaign—the largest and most corrupt “charitable” voter registration effort in American history—that may have decided the 2020 presidential election and could decide 2024. The Everybody Votes campaign used the guise of civic-minded charity to selectively register millions of “non-white” swing-state voters in the hopes of getting out the Democratic vote for a 2020 presidential win. It worked.



HOW CHARITIES **SECRETLY** HELP WIN ELECTIONS

BY PARKER THAYER

Read the report at
<https://capitalresearch.org/article/report-how-charities-secretly-help-win-elections/>



GREEN BACKLASH: AMERICA'S TOP 10 ANTI-ENERGY NGOS

By Ken Braun

According to the last reports filed with the IRS, just 10 of the richest members of the American climate movement had combined annual revenue of nearly \$1.8 billion. But while these nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) profess their commitment to a cleaner environment, their shared opposition to low- and zero-emissions fuels exposes them as more “anti-energy” than pro-nature.

Most oppose nuclear energy, the world’s only reliable, limitlessly scalable, energy that does not emit greenhouse gases. (Hydroelectric dams also do not emit greenhouse gases, but their scalability is severely limited.) Nuclear is such a no-brainer that The Nature Conservancy wants to *quadruple* world nuclear power output.

“Uranium,” according to the U.S. Department of Energy, “is a common metal found in rocks all over the world.” And a 2009 *Scientific American* estimate projected that just the known uranium fuel reserves would last centuries, while future discoveries and use of other radioactive fuels should stretch our nuclear energy future out to *more than 50,000 years*.

Comparing fatalities per unit of energy output, Our World in Data has judged nuclear power is one the safest, reliable sources of energy we have, comparable to nonreliable, weather-restricted wind and solar power. (See chart on page 18.)

Despite these benefits, hundreds of left-leaning nonprofits oppose nuclear power.

Most also oppose the expansion of natural gas energy. According to a Department of Energy report, natural gas emits far less CO₂ to produce a BTU of energy than any of our other hydrocarbon-based fuels: 30.5 percent less than gasoline and 45 percent less than coal.

The United States is also the decisive world leader in natural gas production. According to the Department of Energy, we cranked out 25.8 percent of total world natural gas production in 2023, more than the combined output of second



Credit: SkazanD. License: Shutterstock.

Most oppose nuclear energy, the world’s only reliable, limitlessly scalable, energy that does not emit greenhouse gases.

place Russia (14.8 percent) and third place Iran (6.4 percent.)

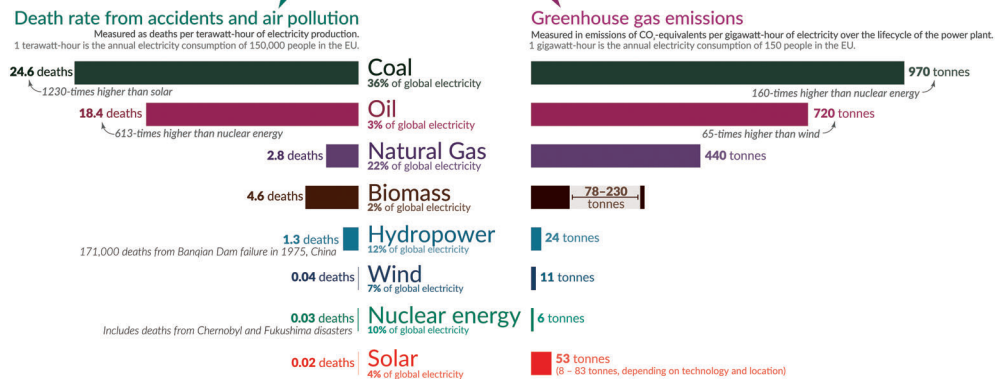
From 2007 to 2023, the shift from coal to cleaner natural gas in American electricity production resulted in a net decline of 893 million metric tons of annual CO₂ emissions.

In practical terms, the net reduction of 893 million metric tons (mt) was enough to offset the total 2023 annual CO₂ emissions of Germany (596 mt) and France (272 mt) combined. That’s not merely their combined electricity emissions, but all emissions. And those are two of the world’s 10 largest economies.

In order of their most recent reported revenue, here are brief profiles of America’s 10 largest anti-energy NGOs.

Ken Braun is CRC’s senior investigative researcher and authors profiles for InfluenceWatch.org and the Capital Research magazine.

What are the **safest** and **cleanest** sources of energy?



Death rates from fossil fuels and biomass are based on state-of-the-art plants with pollution controls in Europe, and are based on older models of the impacts of air pollution on health. This means these death rates are likely to be very conservative. For further discussion, see our article: [OurWorldinData.org/safest-sources-of-energy](https://ourworldindata.org/safest-sources-of-energy). Electricity shares are given for 2021. Data sources: Markandya & Wilkinson (2007); UNSCEAR (2008; 2018); Sovacool et al. (2016); IPCC AR5 (2014); UNECE (2022); Ember Energy (2021). OurWorldinData.org – Research and data to make progress against the world's largest problems. Licensed under CC-BY by the authors Hannah Ritchie and Max Roser.

CO₂ emissions by fuel or industry type, United States Data source: Global Carbon Budget (2024) [OurWorldinData.org/co2-and-greenhouse-gas-emissions](https://ourworldindata.org/co2-and-greenhouse-gas-emissions) | CC BY

2007 in tonnes		2023 in tonnes	
Other industry	29.35 million t	Other industry	24.84 million t
Flaring	40.46 million t	Flaring	63.29 million t
Cement	45.51 million t	Cement	39.71 million t
Gas	1.25 billion t	Gas	1.76 billion t
Oil	2.59 billion t	Oil	2.25 billion t
Coal	2.18 billion t	Coal	776.77 million t
Total	6.13 billion t	Total	4.91 billion t

1. World Wildlife Fund (\$372.8 million in 2023 revenue)

Measured by revenue, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) is arguably the Earth's largest anti-energy NGO. In 2020, it opposed a European Union decision to permit natural gas and nuclear power to count as a clean energy option for EU economies. In an April 2021 WWF news release, the chief economist of the group's European affiliate blasted both natural gas and nuclear as "unsustainable."

According to USASpending.gov, WWF was awarded a cumulative total of \$178 million in federal grants for the four fiscal years through 2024. Most of this (\$120.7 million) was awarded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

2. World Resources Institute (\$357.8 million in 2023 revenue)

In an April 2018 news release, the World Resources Institute (WRI) praised a pair of South African activists for blocking nuclear power in their country. According to the release, the activists won "a landmark legal victory that protected South Africa from an unprecedented expansion of the nuclear industry."

As of 2022, according to Our World in Data, 8.4 million South Africans did not have access to basic electricity for more than 4 hours per day. That's 13.5 percent of the population. For comparison, 99.2 percent of Indians had basic electricity access.

This anti-energy attitude toward the world's impoverished people was rewarded by the American taxpayer. According to USASpending.gov, WRI was awarded a cumulative total of \$65.8 million in grants from the federal government for the four fiscal years through 2024. Nearly all of the awards were approved by either USAID or the Department of State.

3. Environmental Defense Fund (\$247 million)

In 2016, the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) supported the closure of California's Diablo Canyon nuclear plant, boasting in the headline of a news release that the lost power output—9 percent of the electricity used in America's largest state economy—would be "replaced with renewable energy."

Plot spoiler: *This never works.*

In 2022, California Gov. Gavin Newsom (D) decided to keep Diablo Canyon open well into the 2030s or longer. (Nuclear plants could theoretically operate for a century and one-fifth of the existing American nuclear fleet has already received license extensions that will take the plants beyond 80 years in service.)

Also in 2017, EDF promoted the premature closure (14 years ahead of schedule) of the Indian Point nuclear facility in New York. EDF predicted a “clean energy future” in the news release.

The zero-carbon plant was closed for good in 2021. Its electricity was replaced by power plants running on natural gas or oil, and CO2 emissions increased. Citing “an increase in greenhouse gas emissions in excess of 40 percent in the New York City metro region” in September 2024, a New York state lawmaker introduced legislation to reopen Indian Point.

USASpending.gov reports \$6.6 million in federal grants approved for EDF for the four fiscal years through 2024. Most of this (\$6 million) was approved by the Department of Energy in 2024 to be used to park solar energy systems in low-income communities. (More on that below.)

4. Natural Resources Defense Council (\$193.1 million)

The Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) also supported closure of Diablo Canyon and Indian Point. In 2022, when Gov. Newsom decided to save Diablo Canyon, NRDC signed a group letter blasting the move as a “dangerous and costly distraction.”

NRDC has also boasted of blocking both natural gas pipelines and rail transportation.

The page explaining the group’s position on “fossil fuels” promotes the use of wind and solar energy instead, and the NRDC website hosts an unintentionally ironic photo of dozens of wind turbines blocking the view of a beautiful mountain. The caption for the photo reads: “Limiting dirty fossil fuel production and transitioning to clean energy, like wind and solar, are critical in building a livable future.”

The same page also makes this observation: “Did You Know? Just 22 train tank cars filled with LNG [liquefied natural gas] hold the same amount of energy as the Hiroshima bomb.”

Well, yes, that’s the point. It’s called “energy density,” and because LNG is very energy dense, we don’t need to scatter thousands of train cars full of it in front of all of our beautiful mountain vistas.



Credit: gopixa. License: Shutterstock.

The letter explaining the Natural Resources Defense Council’s position on “fossil fuels” promotes the use of wind and solar energy instead, and the NRDC website hosts an unintentionally ironic photo of dozens of wind turbines blocking the view of a beautiful mountain.

Remember when the “environmental” movement cared about preserving ... *the environment*?

No power source is more densely packed than the nuclear fuel NRDC opposes. A 12-oz Coca-Cola container could hold all the uranium needed to satisfy a lifetime of a typical American’s energy consumption.

And logically, this also means that if you ran your life strictly with nuclear power, that little Coke can could hold all of the energy waste you’ll ever produce. According to the Department of Energy: “All of the used nuclear fuel produced by the U.S. nuclear energy industry over the last 60 years could fit on a football field at a depth of less than 10 yards!”

Even 340 million Coke cans (representing a full lifetime of energy for the entire population of the United States) couldn’t clutter mountain scenery as horribly as those wind turbines.

5. Sierra Club (\$173.4 million)

Founded in 1892, the Sierra Club is the oldest of the largest climate NGOs, although it is no longer the richest.

According to their “Nuclear Free Future” page, the “Sierra Club remains unequivocally opposed to nuclear energy.” The position is historically ironic as the Sierra Club initially supported nuclear as a clean alternative.

Legendary nature photographer and one-time Sierra Club board member Ansel Adams was a supporter of nuclear power. Adams once told an interviewer that “the danger of nuclear power is conjectural and the pollution potential,



Rocky Mountain Institute produced a dubious report claiming that more than 12 percent of childhood asthma cases are caused by natural gas stoves.

compared with the known pollution potential of burning coal and oil, is minute.”

The Sierra Club has also had a hot and cold attitude toward natural gas.

During a three-year stretch through 2010, according to *Time* magazine, “the Sierra Club accepted over \$25 million in donations from the gas industry . . . to help fund the Club’s Beyond Coal campaign.”

But NOW the Sierra Club says they have a “Beyond Coal and Gas” campaign. The NGO’s website claims natural gas “is not a bridge fuel towards a better climate” and is “standing in the way of real clean energy and a safer future.”

With this background, it is not unreasonable to imagine an alternative history. The Sierra Club had it in itself to spend the last century promoting low-carbon natural gas and zero-carbon nuclear power as alternatives to coal and oil. In that happy dream, instead of leading a movement that has become a partisan, controversial impediment to prosperity, the Sierra Club might now enjoy overwhelming popular support.

6. Rocky Mountain Institute (\$139.4 million)

As defined by its recent influence and revenue, the Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI) might be the fastest-growing anti-energy nonprofit in America. In 2001, RMI reported total revenue of \$2.8 million—*just 2 percent of what the group reported for 2023.*

During the Biden administration, RMI became the tip of the spear in a federal government war against American natural gas.

According to public records obtained by Americans for Public Trust, former Energy Secretary Jennifer Granholm met with the CEO of the Rocky Mountain Institute in June 2021. By December 2022, RMI had produced a dubious and fiercely criticized report claiming that more than 12 percent of childhood asthma cases are caused by natural gas stoves. That same month, Granholm and Biden announced a plan to phase out gas use in federal buildings and switch to electricity by 2030. A few weeks after that, the com-

missioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission advocated banning gas stoves.

RMI was subsequently awarded \$6.8 million from Granholm’s Department of Energy to swap out gas appliances in apartment buildings and build out electric vehicle charging infrastructure. But these grants were clawed back by Trump administration Energy Secretary Chris Wright in April 2025, and RMI announced layoffs soon thereafter.

According to RMI’s official mythology, co-founder Amory Lovins is the “Einstein of energy efficiency.” In a 1976 essay for *Foreign Affairs* (still promoted on the RMI website) Lovins advocated for ditching the use of coal, oil, natural gas . . . and especially nuclear power. That’s more than 80 percent of all current world energy use. Wind and solar, the options Emory and RMI have promoted for half a century, provide a practically meaningless 6 percent.

Nuclear hostility remains a feature of the RMI agenda. A February 22, 2022, RMI report concluded Europe should not be “looking backward to domestic fossil or large-scale nuclear” and should instead invest in “renewables” to “cut both emissions and energy dependencies.”

Germany took this advice before it was cool, abandoned its nuclear fleet, and began building out wind and solar power.

Plot spoiler: *This never works.*

Two days after RMI’s energy recommendation to Europe, the Russians invaded Ukraine. Germany was plunged into an energy crisis because . . . it had become dangerously reliant on Russian natural gas.

Awful as that seems, an end to abundant energy is arguably a feature of RMI’s work, not a bug. Don’t take my word for it. Just ask the “Einstein of energy efficiency.” In 1977, Amory Lovins said, “It’d be little short of disastrous for us to discover a source of cheap, clean, and abundant energy because of what we would do with it,”

7. EarthJustice (\$126 million)

Formerly the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, EarthJustice is a public interest law firm that claims to be the “legal backbone of the environmental movement.”

EarthJustice has provided legal assistance for more than 1000 clients, including hundreds of strident anti-energy and anti-nuclear NGOs. A partial list includes WWF, EDF, NRDC, the Sierra Club, the League of Conservation Voters (LCV), and Greenpeace.

8. League of Conservation Voters (\$67.5 million)

The League of Conservation Voters has ramped up its opposition to low-emissions natural gas in direct proportion to how much of it the United States can produce and use. The NGO is also opposed to oil, coal, and nuclear power.

In November 2020, LCV's legislative director co-signed a group letter to the U.S. Senate that claimed nuclear power "amplifies and expands the dangers of climate change" and is one of the "false solutions to the climate crisis that perpetuate our reliance on dirty energy industries."

9. GRID Alternatives—\$63.3 million

In February 2025, Lee Zeldin, the Trump administration's EPA director, announced he was freezing payment on \$20 billion in weather-dependent power pork that the Biden administration EPA had approved for anti-energy NGOs.

Zeldin's decision followed an outgoing Biden official boasting in a hidden video that they were trying to spend the loot quickly so the Trump team couldn't claw it back. The Biden bureaucrat analogized this behavior to "tossing gold bars off the Titanic."

GRID Alternatives was set up to collect a big pot of this gold. In May 2024, the NGO was awarded two EPA grants—for a grand total of \$312.3 million—to provide solar energy systems in "low income and disadvantaged communities." In FedSpeak, these are called "LIDACs," and they were the subject of a January 2025 Capital Research Center report: "Low-Quality Energy for the LIDACs and \$21.8 Billion in Waste from the EPA."

We'd all live in a LIDAC if GRID Alternatives were permitted to build their "alternative" grid.

In January 2019, the NGO co-signed a "Group letter to Congress urging Green New Deal passage." A socialist wish list for replacing the American economy, the Green New Deal was swiftly derided by even Nancy Pelosi as "the green dream or whatever." An analysis from the American Action Forum estimated the 10-year price tag at \$51 trillion to \$93 trillion. On the high side, that's more than three times the current annual output of the entire U.S. economy.

In addition to asking Congress to oppose the development of all forms of hydrocarbon energy ("fossil fuels") the group letter co-signed by GRID Alternatives also stipulated that "any definition of renewable energy must also exclude . . . nuclear, biomass energy, large scale hydro and waste-to-energy technologies."

That statement puts GRID Alternatives in opposition to 84.7 percent of what lights up the American electrical grid.

Furthermore, neither nuclear nor hydroelectric dams emit any greenhouse gases. Put together those two zero-CO2 sources opposed by GRID Alternatives accounted for 24 percent of total American electricity grid production.

It would be difficult to find an NGO more opposed to the American energy, but not impossible.

10. Greenpeace (\$40.2 million)

Greenpeace USA is also a signatory on the anti-energy, Green New Deal letter.

But Greenpeace also plays dirty. In April, a jury in North Dakota awarded a \$667 million judgement against Greenpeace USA, Greenpeace International, and the Greenpeace Fund over the NGO's role in a destructive protest against the Dakota Access energy pipeline.

Just before the verdict, the Doomberg energy newsletter profiled the situation confronted by Energy Partners, the company that sued Greenpeace:

The tactics used during the months-long siege set a new standard for violence and wanton criminality. According to court filings submitted by the company, the protesters pursued a campaign of "militant direct action," regularly trespassing on ET's private property, destroying construction equipment, and assaulting employees and contractors. Improvised explosive devices were deployed to attack police, hacked information was used to threaten officers and their families, and weapons were used to kill the livestock of local farmers and ranchers. At certain points, local authorities were overwhelmed, barely able to control the riots.

The \$667 million award could bankrupt and terminate one of America's most anti-energy NGOs. Greenpeace is appealing. ■

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

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DOGE FILES DEEP DIVE: TOP 10 WASTES OF TAX DOLLARS

By Parker Thayer

At the start of this year the Capital Research Center launched the DOGE Files, a new project named after the new government agency dedicated to rooting out waste fraud and abuse in the federal government. As part of that effort, CRC researchers spent weeks combing through thousands of pages of federal records to use our expertise in the nonprofit sector to identify nonprofits and nongovernmental organizations receiving federal funds that probably shouldn't be.

Our findings were highly disturbing and are documented in full on the Capital Research Center website. To give a sense of what we found, here are the top 10 most absurd federal grants and grantees unearthed in the DOGE Files.

1. Transgender Colombian opera

In a long list of puzzling government funded projects unearthed by the Capital Research Center's DOGE Files project, one grant stands out as the "best." In 2021, the State Department awarded \$25,000 to the Colombian Universidad de los Andes to produce "The Opera As One," an opera aimed at raising awareness and increasing transgender representation, with another \$22,020 in presumably matching funds coming from an unnamed nonfederal source. All told, roughly \$47,000 in funds went toward this avant-garde performance.

President Donald Trump himself was shocked by the "trans opera," sarcastically quipping about it in his address to Congress as part of a long list of absurd State Department grants illustrating what DOGE was trying to prevent. White House officials repeatedly cited the grant as one of the premier examples of the waste DOGE would be targeting in the very first days of the Trump administration.

How did this grant come to the attention of the White House so quickly? Capital Research Center was the first to report on the grant back in 2023 as part of a massive data



(Valerie Krepp and Ena Malone, organizers of CROP Hunger Walk, a movement sponsored by the Church World Service.) Church World Service's five-page document calls for defunding the police, banning the police from using any force, banning police officers from schools, decriminalizing prostitution, decriminalizing all drug possession, defunding and abolishing ICE, decarbonizing the economy, ending the "wage gap," and much more.

project on the over \$100 million the Biden administration was spending specifically to prop-up and research transgenderism. The project unearthed millions of dollars of grants to universities and hospitals to study why transgender people were so prone to heart attacks, HIV/AIDS, asthma, alcoholism, cancer, blood clots, mental health issues, cigarette smoking, drug abuse, and much more. There were also grants for apps to connect "gender curious" children to transgender adults online, millions of dollars in contracts for building gender neutral bathrooms, and grants to promote transgender inclusion in countries all over the world. But the grant for the trans-Colombian opera, as it has been unaffectionately dubbed, takes the cake for the most absurd and well known.

The data project tracing the Biden administration's funding of transgenderism also eventually became the model for the DOGE Files, which have now unearthed billions in govern-

Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher.

ment absurdities that can be found at the top of the Capital Research Center website and in this article. The grant might be small, but for sheer absurdity, media attention and kick-starting the entire DOGE Files project the trans-Colombian opera earns the top spot.

2. The EPA's "Green Bank" grants

The second spot on this list goes not to one grant, but to several. When Congress first included a \$27 billion "Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund," a quasi-public green bank at the EPA, in the infamous Inflation Reduction Act, critics warned it could become a slush fund for dubiously profitable energy companies. The Capital Research Center was one of those critics.

Instead of distributing the funds itself, the EPA immediately began shipping the money out—or "throwing gold bars off of the Titanic" as one EPA staffer described it on a hidden camera—to a series of nonprofits. The grants were nominally supposed to use the nonprofits to set up easy-to-access capital for green energy companies.

What they actually seem to have created is a series of minimally overseen slush funds tailor-made for bailing out investors with cozy ties to Democrats in the administration. Case in point: \$5 billion was awarded to the nonprofit Coalition for Green Capital by the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund. The Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund was led by a man named Jahi Wise. Jahi Wise's previous job was the director of policy for the Coalition for Green Capital, and David Hayes, a former special assistant to the president in the White House Climate Policy Office has just recently obtained a seat on the Coalition for Green Capital's board of directors.

Similar ethical and transparency issues can be found at the other "green bank" grantees highlighted in the DOGE Files including Inclusiv (\$1.9 billion), Climate United Fund (\$7 billion), The Opportunity Finance Network (\$2.3 billion), and Power Forward Communities (\$2 billion). Together they were four of the five largest grants made to any nonprofit in the history of the United States. DOGE Files first compiled these grants in January. By March, EPA Administrator Lee Zeldin had cancelled every one of them. While the legal battles over the cancellation of the grants

are still ongoing, the DOGE Files may have played a part in stopping one of the biggest "green" boondoggles in history and for that reason the "green bank" grants earn the number two spot.

3. Church World Service

Church World Service (CWS) is a faith-based charity that looks noble on paper. Its website tells about how they help refugees and disaster victims, and how they need your support to keep doing it. It's not nearly as innocuous as it seems though. CWS receives, or received, 85 percent of its revenue from government grants to run a refugee resettlement program. Under the Biden administration CWS raked in \$375 million of federal grants to resettle refugees within the United States and abroad. Essentially, U.S. taxpayers underwrite CWS's operations to "welcome refugees and asylum seekers with open arms" but CWS does much more than welcome refugees.

CWS is actively suing the Trump administration to restore its now-cancelled funding. It was a staunch supporter of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) up until court cases and executive orders forced them to cancel their DEI programs. It has an "advocacy and organizing" program that leads protests and get-out-the-vote drives. CWS regularly releases policy statements that uniformly support left-wing and open borders policies of all descriptions, and it encourages people to call their representatives and express support for those policies.

But nothing encapsulates CWS's political radicalism quite like its Platform on Racial Justice. Published during the identitarian madness of the summer of 2020, the five-page document calls for ending cash bail and all fines, defunding the police, rejoining the Paris Climate Accords, banning the police from using any force, enacting nationwide automatic voter registration, banning police officers from schools, decriminalizing prostitution, decriminalizing all drug possession, defunding and abolishing ICE, decarbonizing the economy, ending the "wage gap," universal health care, doubling the minimum food stamp benefits, and much more.

CWS also wrote, "White capitalism holds a legacy of unchecked power that dictates how land around the world is used, distributed and dismantled." It also repeatedly



The EPA began shipping the money out—or "throwing gold bars off of the Titanic"—as one EPA staffer described it, to nonprofits.

endorsed the Movement for Black Lives, a group that was housed at the time within the Alliance for Global Justice (AGJ), which has repeatedly written defending the North Korean and Venezuelan communist dictatorships. AGJ also housed Samidoun, a front group that is officially designated as a Palestinian terrorist organization by the U.S. government.

The unchecked political radicalism that dominates CWS is a marvel to behold, but CWS apparently doesn't want it to be beheld. Shortly after the DOGE Files report exposed the insanity of its Platform on Racial Justice, CWS deleted the document from their website. However, Capital Research Center had already archived a copy. This attempt at concealment coupled with mind-blowing radicalism easily earns Church World Service the third spot on the DOGE Files top 10.

4. The National Harm Reduction Coalition

Dozens of government programs have been working for decades to try to get people off drugs or prevent people from taking them. After billions of dollars of spending and years of study the effectiveness of these programs can probably now be safely as questionable at best, but that's not what the waste here is. No, under Biden the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) decided to try a new approach. Instead of trying to get addicts to stop taking drugs, tell them to keep doing it if they want, even encourage it, and give them a list of tips and tricks for not dying while doing them.

This is where the National Harm Reduction Coalition came in. Since mid-2020, the group has received over \$2.4 million in grants for expanding "technical assistance" to syringe service providers across the country. Two of its staff even helped shape the federal government's official harm reduction policy at HHS as part of the steering committee of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. In 2022, the group reported \$12.8 million in revenue with 73 percent coming from government grants. With such a high percentage, taxpayers might be shocked to see the messaging they are paying for. The group calls itself a "nationwide advocate and ally for people who use drugs" and calls for a "non-judgmental" approach that encourages drug users to "try snorting or smoking fentanyl" instead of injecting it, while doing away with the idea of rehab or abstinence entirely. It also suggests that with proper equipment, one can "completely avoid" the health risks of injecting hard drugs, which sounds horrifyingly like what an addict about to overdose would say. This isn't drug "harm reduction," it's taxpayer-funded drug normalization.



Credit: Elvert Barnes. License: <https://bit.ly/4jNUPPy>

Everything the Solidarity Center does is covered in left-leaning political jargon, but an astonishing 99 percent of Solidarity Center's nearly \$73 million budget (2023) came from U.S. government grants.

Politically, the coalition leans predictably far to the left, blaming the war on drugs on white supremacy while calling to "defund, disarm, and disband" police. If this is the path that America's drug policy is going to go down, it would frankly be more cost effective to just send the grant money directly to the cartels and cut out the middle man.

5. Solidarity Center

The first Big Labor-backed organization on this list, the Solidarity Center is an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, America's largest labor union, where left-wing union activists do left-wing union activism at the inexplicably high expense of the U.S. taxpayer.

The Solidarity Center preaches "equality, radical inclusion and intersectionality" in its work, declaring that it views everything through the lens of "explicitly feminist, anti-racist, pro-migrant and class conscious," while supporting "social justice unionism" and the "climate justice movement." Everything the Solidarity Center does is covered in left-leaning political jargon, but an astonishing 99 percent of Solidarity Center's nearly \$73 million budget (2023) came from U.S. government grants. The Biden Department of Labor alone awarded over \$60.2 million in grants and cooperative agreements, while the U.S. Agency for International Development chipped in the rest.

Unions known for a long history of corruption and shady financial dealings should not be getting taxpayer funds, period, but there is *no world* where an activist group affiliate



As the government checks got bigger, the National Urban League became more and more involved in politics.

of that union should receive 99 percent of its funding from taxpayers. The DOGE Files first wrote about the Solidarity Center grants in January. By April tens of millions of dollars of grants to the group had been cancelled.

6. Rocky Mountain Institute

Starting out the bottom half of the top 10 is the Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI). RMI is a notably left-of-center energy policy think tank that has long pushed for electrifying basically everything without an actual plan for providing the electricity. RMI most recently became infamous as one of the driving forces behind the gas-stove-ban debacle of 2022. The group has also long held positions against the use of virtually all fossil fuels because of their carbon emissions, but it confusingly also opposes zero-emission nuclear energy. RMI also frequently collaborates with the Chinese government on “net-zero” studies aimed at “decarbonizing” China and even has a large office in Beijing.

In all, the Biden administration handed RMI more than \$12 million in grants from the Departments of Energy, State, and Transportation. Some of the highlights included \$2.4 million from the State Department for a vaguely defined “climate finance network” in the Bahamas, \$5.1 million from the Department of Transportation for a “technical assistance (TA), planning, and capacity building” program meant to “improve and foster thriving communities through transportation improvements,” and \$1.2 million from the Department of Energy to develop a plan for building electric truck chargers in San Francisco. The Biden administration was infamously inept at getting EV chargers built, so one can imagine that the massive grants to RMI for studying how to build them did little to help.

7. National Urban League

The Biden Department of Labor, as noted above with the Solidarity Center, was a generous funder of numerous left-leaning activist groups, but one of the most notable is the National Urban League. Under Biden the National Urban League was awarded a staggering \$80.3 million in federal grants, mostly from the Departments of Labor, and Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Even though it’s one of the longest-standing civil rights groups in the nation it has grown increasingly reliant on government funding.

According to their latest tax forms, government grants make up over 40 percent of the League’s annual revenue.

As the government checks got bigger, the National Urban League became more and more involved in politics. It has claimed that policing is rooted in slavery and Jim Crow, praised Biden’s spree of death row commutations, labeled voter ID laws as racist (even though most people of color support them), called opposing DEI “white supremacist,” advocated for gun control, and called the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* “horrificing.”

In 2024, the group’s president, Marc Morial, even spoke on stage at the Democratic National Convention, attacking Trump and praising Kamala Harris. Around the same time, the league also published a “nonpartisan” voter guide that called Biden and Kamala Harris civil rights champions while claiming Trump has a “reputation for enabling racist ideologies.” Like many others on this list, the National Urban League is actively suing the Trump administration for ending the spending programs it benefited from.

8. UNIDOS US

Formerly known as the National Council of La Raza “The Race,” UnidosUS is an unabashedly left-leaning political advocacy organization. UNIDOS is an outspoken supporter of left-leaning immigration policy, gun control, abortion, and policing. It maintains an affiliated 501(c)(4) “dark money” advocacy group, and an entire page of its “policy” section on its website is dedicated to studying Latino voter turnout and registration.

Funding a left-wing policy shop with taxpayer funds would already be bad enough, but UnidosUS is also an “organizing” group, which is nonprofit-speak for being a political turnout machine. Nonetheless, or perhaps because of it, UnidosUS was awarded tens of millions of dollars in government grants by the Biden administration for all sorts of things with which it seemingly should have nothing to do. Health and Human Services gave UnidosUS \$20 million for an “education and awareness campaign” about the COVID-19 vaccine in the very first month of the Biden administration. The Department of Commerce gave UnidosUS \$11 million for job training in Puerto Rico and Denver. The Department of Labor gave \$3.8 million for a “Youth—Young Offenders” outreach program, and HUD

gave over \$10 million for “housing counselling” programs. These are sizable sums for any advocacy group, and in 2023 government grants accounted for 20 percent of Unidos’s revenue.

9. Redacted USAID grantees

Most federal grants come with strings, paperwork, and some semblance of transparency. Then there’s USAID and its “Miscellaneous Foreign Awardees.” For safety reasons USAID often obscures the identities of grant recipients to prevent, for example, foreign terror organizations from targeting American aid workers. It makes sense that, in extreme cases, this would be a necessary precaution. But from 2021 to 2024 this redacted category of recipients soaked up more than \$4.2 billion in taxpayer grants, making for over \$1 billion of nearly untraceable grant spending per year. Are they all really in mortal peril should people learn that they’re receiving U.S. government funding? It seems unlikely. Most of the time there was a vague description provided of what the grant would do, or at least an identification of what country the money was destined for, but not always.

For a whopping \$460 million worth of grants absolutely nothing was disclosed: a complete black hole without a description, country, or even continent identified. Though, among the grants with descriptions provided, there was no shortage of absurdity. One grant was for “multi-purpose cash assistance to vulnerable households in Gaza.” What could go wrong? Another \$20 million was sent away for “improving social cohesion in Burma” by creating a “locally-driven, community-owned development agenda,” which clarifies almost nothing. There was also \$15 million for anonymous “investigative journalism” projects somewhere in Eurasia, \$49 million for “addressing COVID-19” in Ukraine, and \$2.7 million for advocating for constitutional forms in Zimbabwe.

10. TransLatin@ Coalition

Rounding out this list is a small nonprofit by the name of the “TransLatin@ Coalition” whose mission is to “advocate



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For safety reasons USAID often obscures the identities of grant recipients to prevent, for example, foreign terror organizations from targeting American aid workers. From 2021 to 2024 this redacted category of recipients soaked up more than \$4.2 billion in taxpayer grants, making for over \$1 billion of nearly untraceable grant spending per year.

for the specific needs of the Trans Latin@ community.” Under the Biden administration, the group suddenly became a federal funding magnet. Like many of the other groups on this list, the TransLatin@ Coalition has its own policy manifesto that is predictably radical. The group’s “Trans Policy Agenda 2024” is 98 pages of far-left lunacy.

One brief excerpt reads, “To bring indigenous justice to US stolen land, and equity for TGI [transgender] people across the globe, we advocate for international dialogue of the rights, histories and identities of TGI people.” Among other things it calls for easier access to abortion, transgender hormone injections and surgeries for children, and abolishing the police and immigration and customs enforcement.

Unbelievably, this group received grants from the Departments of Labor, Justice, and Health and Human Services totaling nearly \$2 million. On its 2023 Form 990, the group disclosed that \$4.1 million, or 50 percent, of its revenue came from government grants. ■

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ORGANIZED LABOR: 10 KEY FUNDING FACTS YOU NEED TO KNOW

By Michael Watson

As of 2025, fewer than 10 percent of all civilian workers and fewer than 6 percent of private-sector workers are members of labor unions. With those low levels of union membership, one might think that organized labor is not worth one's time or interest.

That would be a grave mistake. Despite its decreased footprint from its mid-20th century heights, organized labor remains a pillar of the organized progressive movement and the Democratic Party that serves as its electoral vehicle. It also maintains and would like to improve its position as a player in the national economy.

Here are the 10 things you need to know about organized labor:

1. Organized labor has been in decline for about a half century.

Organized labor reached its peak in “density” (the proportion of workers who are union members) in the 1950s. Since the 1950s, union density has declined from about one in three civilian nonfarm workers to about one in 10. Total union membership is estimated to have peaked in 1979 at approximately 21 million of 87 million total employed workers. As of 2024, union membership stood at about 14 million of over 125 million total workers.

The New Deal Democrats under Franklin D. Roosevelt passed the National Labor Relations Act (also known as the Wagner Act after its sponsor) to create a formal structure for union organizing and compulsory monopoly negotiation with a “majority union” that had support from a majority of a relevant workforce. The Wagner Act facilitated a surge in union membership and union power, which was accompanied by strong union support for Roosevelt’s and Wagner’s Democratic Party.

But by the 1970s, the model of “Three Bigs”—Big Government, Big Business, and Big Labor—established by the New Deal and defined the immediate post–World War II economy was collapsing as a result of cultural change and the return to normalcy of the world economy. Energy prices spiked while consumers demanded control over inflation.



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Despite its decreased footprint from its mid-20th century heights, organized labor remains a pillar of the organized progressive movement and the Democratic Party that serves as its electoral vehicle.

Unions lost the power to demand and deliver “more” for their members in a new era of competition, and membership began to slip despite growth in government-worker unions. That slippage has not reversed over the subsequent decades.

2. Organized labor has sought to reverse its long decline not by changing its offerings, cleaning up its internal operations, or politically moderating, but by forcing workers to join unions and pay dues.

In 1947, a Republican-controlled Congress with support from many Democrats passed the Taft-Hartley Act over President Harry S. Truman’s veto. The legislation curbed powers Big Labor had abused and limited unions’ powers to force workers to join unions and pay dues, most notably

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by authorizing state-level “right to work” laws that prohibit conditioning employment on membership in or fee payments to a labor organization.

Big Labor has blamed the law for its decline ever since and has sought to force more workers into unions. During the George W. Bush administration and Obama administration, these efforts focused on securing a government guarantee for “card check,” a form of union organizing under which workers sign public cards to demonstrate final and irrevocable support for unionizing rather than casting a secret ballot in an election. But “card check” proved deeply unpopular, and the dubiously named Employee Free Choice Act could not secure the required support to pass.

More recently, Big Labor has endorsed the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act, which since his death in 2021 has borne the name of former AFL-CIO union federation head Richard Trumka. While this legislation would not formally codify card check, it would do vastly more to compel union membership, including overriding all state-level right-to-work laws and restricting which workers could consider themselves independent businesspeople ineligible for union organizing.

Going a step further, some political figures—including some prominent Republicans—have endorsed an even more coercive measure called “sectoral bargaining.” Used in Europe, sectoral bargaining would completely take away workers’ right to escape a union-dominated workplace—making it a very bad idea indeed.

3. Union voluntarism is a critical value.

Since the debate over the Taft-Hartley Act, conservatives have pushed a party consensus on labor-management relations based on balancing individual workers’ rights, employers’ legitimate authorities, and unions’ right to exist where desired. The first prong of the three-pronged consensus is *voluntarism*: Workers should not be prohibited from joining unions, but they must not be *forced* to join, pay dues, or participate in union activities.

If they had their way, unions would require as many workers as possible to be union members, to accede to union control of their workplaces, and to pay dues to a union. In casual



John Dougherty (“Johnny Doc”), a longtime union boss and Democratic political fixer in Philadelphia, went up the river for taking kickbacks from politicians he helped elect.

Credit: Denise Foley. License: <https://bit.ly/43Yd4Aq>

shorthand, this is known as the “closed shop.” (There are also the “union shop” and “agency shop,” which are limited forms of the closed shop. Under current law, only the agency shop is permissible.)

The closed shop in all its forms is flatly unfair to “forced riders”—workers who want something other than the union’s representation but have no choice but to take it. Unions only “represent” unwilling nonmembers because that “representation” increases the unions’ own power against management and decreases open dissent among workers.

In contrast is the “right to work principle”; namely, “that every individual must have the right, but must not be compelled, to join a labor union.” American workers should not be compelled to join

and pay money (roughly \$700–\$1,400 per year per worker) to an economic organization that fails to serve their economic interests and to a political organization that fails to serve—and may outright harm—their political interests.

4. Unions have histories of corruption, and American unions have been unusually susceptible to infiltration by organized crime.

Union rackets are so extensive you can come up with a taxonomy to describe different types. Sometimes union bosses are simply padding their salaries with “double-jobbing” (which is generally legal). Sometimes they’re stealing from the union treasury. At worst, they might be agents of the Mafia, not the workers they purport to represent.

Unions’ ability to shut off economic activity—more accurately, to *threaten* to shut off economic activity—creates numerous opportunities for extortion. In industries with a proliferation of small enterprises, a savvy Mafioso can employ other racketeering tactics alongside the simple “nice business you’ve got there, shame if there was a strike.”

The good news is that outright organized crime infiltration of organized labor has declined alongside the Five Families and other old-line criminal syndicates. That *hasn’t* stopped union bosses from trying to rip off their members. The United Auto Workers saw two of its national presidents sent to prison in the 2010s for embezzlement, and “Johnny Doc,” a longtime union boss and Democratic political fixer in Philadelphia, went up the river for taking kickbacks from politicians he helped elect.

5. Unions have been given extensive government-guaranteed powers, and for that reason they should be subjected to public scrutiny.

Unions, almost uniquely among private organizations in the United States, can compel a form of membership and levy de facto taxes. (The only other type of private organization with this power that immediately springs to mind is homeowners' associations.)

These powers are not natural. They are granted by government, specifically the federal National Labor Relations Act and state-level government-worker laws modeled on it.

This yields the second of three principles underlying the Taft-Hartley conservative consensus: Union finances must be subject to public and union-member scrutiny. Disclosure and scrutiny are the only way for union members, the public, and sometimes even the government to identify whether union activities are in members' interests or compliance with the law. Since the Taft-Hartley Act and the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act, union financial activities are subject to this scrutiny.

Much financial mischief by labor union officials is perfectly legal and even encouraged by the government. For instance, Big Labor's participation in the environmental, social, and governance (ESG) movement through using its pension funds to advance liberal policies in the corporate boardroom with disregard for its effect on beneficiaries' rate of return is widely adopted by union trusts.

6. Union disputes can harm the broader public and therefore must be strictly regulated.

Don't take my word for it: Take Harry Truman's, and he was no enemy of organized labor. The Taft-Hartley Act probably owes its existence to a wild strike wave in 1945–1946 that saw 10 percent of the workforce strike. The strikes got so bad that when railroad engineers' unions moved to strike in May 1946, President Truman compared their leaders to the Japanese who bombed Pearl Harbor, threatened to use the Army to operate the railroads, and threatened to draft strikers into the military.

Because the post-World War II strikes were *so* disruptive, the Taft-Hartley Act restricted the legal ends for which unions could strike. Most importantly, unions with rare exceptions could only call a strike to change the behavior of their *own employer*, rather than to coerce third parties with which their employer does business. Such strikes or boycotts, known as "secondary strikes" or "secondary boycotts," are favorite



Much financial mischief by labor union officials is perfectly legal and even encouraged by the government.

tactics of left-wing groups allowed to use them. Their power makes them "the Left's ultimate weapon."

It is one thing for a labor organization to strike against its employer to jawbone the employer to make concessions. In the private sector, this is both customary and legally protected. But granting organized labor—either by negligence of duty as with teachers who refused to return to work during COVID or by design as with the PRO Act's proposed restoration of the secondary boycott—more power to coerce the public ought to be anathema to conservative policymakers.

7. Organized labor is and always has been politically intertwined with American Everything Leftism, even if members don't want to be.

The alliance between organized labor and the American progressive Left—and political movements more left-wing than mainstream progressive liberalism—goes back over a century. As the 19th century rolled into the 20th, socialist Eugene Debs and Western radical Big Bill Haywood briefly allied to bring the working class into the Industrial Workers of the World as "one big union."

By the 1930s, the union movement was joined at the hip to FDR's New Deal Democrats, but many of its organizers were secretly members of the Communist Party of the USA. The Taft-Hartley Act and the Cold War may have helped drive the old Reds out, but by the 1960s the United Auto Workers was midwifing the New Left.

Today, radical union activists put their multi-million-dollar institutions behind left-wing radical causes like Palestinian nationalism, Black Lives Matter, and transgenderism.

8. Supposed cleavages between organized labor and the American Left are not deep or exploitable.

Conservatives of a working-class bent often express hope that specific policy issues can separate certain unions from the general current of Everything Leftism that they admit runs through the rest of the labor movement. These hopes are in vain.

Union members *aren't who these conservatives think they are*. They're not working-class men who work in traditional trades or factories (for the most part). Union members are almost half government workers, often highly educated women dispositionally inclined to progressivism. This is most obviously evidenced by the United Auto Workers' evolution into the "United non-Auto non-Workers" by admitting (often politically radical) graduate students to replace its retiring factory men as dues payers.

So environmentalism won't split industrial and building trades unions from their government- and service-worker comrades. Even the Teamsters push ESG resolutions on "just transition," and given that all of Big Labor is eager for Big Government, it's very easy for green activists to buy off unions with taxpayer money.

As for immigration, Big Labor flipped from its labor-market-restrictionist position to an Everything Leftist de facto open-borders position 25 years ago. And on social policy, Big Labor is all-in for full-spectrum social liberalism, including transgenderism, abortion, and gun control.

9. Government-worker unions, which make up roughly half of all union members, are a particular problem.

Unlike private-sector unions, which face an employer fully aware of its financial constraints in labor negotiations, government-worker unions face elected officials or their delegates. And government-worker unions are major players in politics, offering the chance to sit on both sides of the negotiating table by "electing the boss." For the most egregious case of this in recent memory, the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) now negotiates with representatives of Mayor Brandon Johnson, a former CTU lobbyist elected with substantial CTU spending.

Government-worker unions manipulate the fundamentals of elections, from partisan labels (or their absence) to the timing of votes to ensure their advantage in controlling local offices important to their power and status. In blue states like California, government-worker unions are their own power base independent of the rest of organized labor within the Democratic coalition.

Teachers' unions absolute refusal to cooperate with school reopening during the COVID-19 pandemic vividly demonstrated the power of government-worker unions. By negotiating against the public and getting away with it, government-worker unions have made clear that they see themselves as above the public good.

While the Supreme Court's decision in *Janus v. AFSCME* codified the right-to-work principle in government employ-



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The alliance between organized labor and the American progressive Left—and political movements more left-wing than mainstream progressive liberalism—goes back over a century.

ment, it has proven insufficient to protect the public good. The proper response to the abuse of power by government-worker unions is to abolish them.

10. Studying the history of organized labor matters.

The Left in general cares *a lot* about labor history, and they write most of it. Liberal states have made union history part of school curriculums, often with curriculum materials written by powerful labor unions themselves. Meanwhile, conservatives often ignore the history of labor unionism, content that the Taft-Hartley Consensus and Long Decline render it irrelevant.

Since those who do not know history are doomed to repeat it, conservatives' ignorance means that bad conclusions and bad policy guidance can be laundered onto the nominal right. If conservatives don't know what they're talking about, they might find themselves deceived by their political adversaries playing on ignorance.

In a final note, one cannot address American labor history without grappling with former Teamsters boss James Riddle Hoffa. His decade of Mob-backed rule at the top of what was in his era the nation's largest union exposed the seedy underbelly of unionism, American-style. Even as public policy caught him and has sought to ensure would-be emulators quickly end up in jail rather than unions' highest offices, his story is a warning. (Or at least it should be; his old union still hails him as a hero.) ■

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



THE BIG FIVE: WHO'S BANKROLLING GUN-CONTROL POWER PLAYERS

By Robert Stilson

Gun control is one of the perennially polarizing social fault lines running through modern American politics. While the past two decades have seen much success for Second Amendment supporters and the current national political climate is broadly in their favor, the gun control movement remains well-funded and active.

Each of these groups consist of both a 501(c)(3) charitable and a 501(c)(4) political/lobbying arm, and three also operate political action committees (PACs).

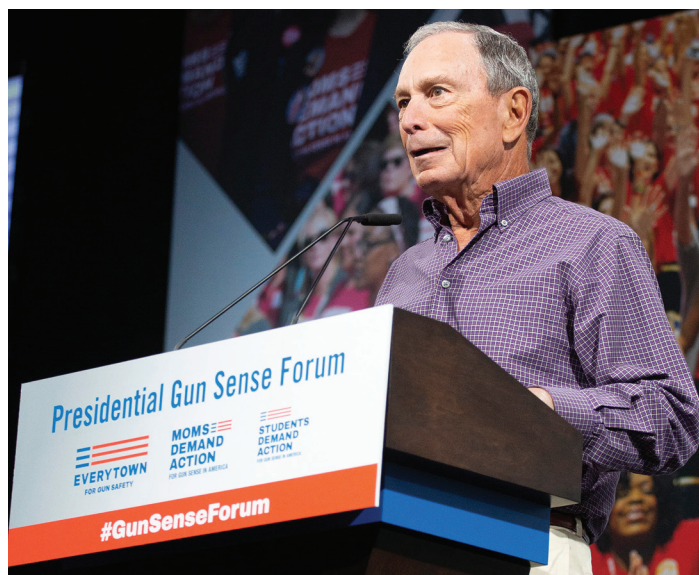
These five groups, despite their occasional differences, can be viewed as collectively representing the American gun control movement. They also illustrate some of the realities of contemporary nonprofit political issue activism and the funding that supports it.

Everytown for Gun Safety

- Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund, 501(c)(3). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$91,958,376
- Everytown for Gun Safety Action Fund, 501(c)(4). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$126,342,938
- Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund, PAC. Total raised (2024 cycle): \$23,210,401

In the world of gun control activism, there is Everytown, and there is everything else. It is by far the largest and most powerful such organization in the country. Over the two-year period from 2022–2023 its 501(c)(4) revenues were more than twice the 501(c)(4) revenues of the four other groups *combined*, while its 501(c)(3) revenues were equal to over 85 percent of those groups' combined total. From a financial standpoint, nothing else compares.

Everytown was formed through a 2013 merger of Moms Demand Action for Gun Sense in America and Mayors Against Illegal Guns, both of which continue to exist under the Everytown umbrella today. Billionaire politician and philanthropist Michael Bloomberg, who had been instrumental in creating Mayors Against Illegal Guns while serving as mayor New York City in 2006, committed \$50 million at Everytown's launch in 2014. Bloomberg is doubt-



Credit: CJ Hanery. License: Shutterstock.

Michael Bloomberg is doubtless the single most important individual funder of gun control activism in the United States, with a 2020 New York Times article reporting that he had given as much as \$270 million to the cause since 2007.

less the single most important individual funder of gun control activism in the United States, with a 2020 *New York Times* article reporting that he had given as much as \$270 million to the cause since 2007. This includes significant support for Everytown, with which he remains so closely identified that the *Times* recently characterized the organization as “Bloomberg’s gun control group.” While Everytown is not required to disclose its donors, media reports have indicated that Bloomberg provides between a quarter and a third of the organization’s funding.

Everytown supports a wide range of restrictive gun control policies, including prohibitions on high-capacity magazines and so-called assault weapons, mandatory waiting periods for firearm purchases, and the repeal of stand-your-ground

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self-defense laws, which it calls “shoot first” laws. The group wants strict requirements put in place for concealed carry permits and seeks to ban the open carry of firearms because it claims this practice is being “exploited by white supremacists.” Everytown also wants to repeal the 2005 Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, which protects the firearms industry from civil liability if somebody else misuses their products—for example, in a crime. Remarkably, Everytown calls it a “myth” that “criminals are responsible for their crimes, not the gun industry.”

Although Bloomberg is a key Everytown funder, the group receives substantial support from other sources. Organizations that reported significant grants to the 501(c)(3) Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund over the two-year period of 2022–2023 include donor-advised fund providers such as the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund (\$20,157,872), the Vanguard Charitable Endowment Program (\$3,187,068), and the American Online Giving Foundation (\$2,545,777), as well as private foundations such as the Donald A. Pels Charitable Trust (\$2,000,000), the Fidelity Foundation (\$2,000,000), and the Crankstart Foundation (\$2,000,000).

From 2022 to 2023, the Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund reported passing \$1,990,000 along to the 501(c)(4) Everytown for Gun Safety Action Fund, which in turn reported making \$13,500,000 in contributions to the Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund PAC over that same two-year period. According to OpenSecrets, 100 percent of the Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund’s outside spending in both the 2022 and 2024 election cycles was earmarked either for Democrats or against Republicans. In April 2025, the Victory Fund announced a \$10 million effort to elect Democratic state attorneys general in 2025 and 2026.

Giffords

- Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, 501(c)(3). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$20,068,519
- Giffords, 501(c)(4). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$22,121,538
- Giffords PAC, PAC. Total raised (2024 cycle): \$14,607,404

Giffords is named after its co-founder, former U.S. Rep. Gabby Giffords (D-AZ), who was shot in an attempted assassination in 2011. Her husband is current U.S. Senator Mark Kelly (D-AZ). Originally called Americans for Responsible Solutions, the group became known as Giffords after a 2016 merger with the Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence, which itself had been formed in response to the 101 California Street shooting of 1993. Giffords explains that everything it does “is in honor of the victims and survivors of the two shootings that led to our founding, along with every other victim and survivor of gun violence in America.”

According to Giffords, the concept of American exceptionalism has been “overshadowed” by an “extremist gun culture unrivaled in peer nations,” though it also blames high rates of gun violence in minority communities on “structural racism.” Giffords supports dozens of different gun control laws, including firearms licensing and registration, mandatory waiting periods, bans on high-capacity magazines and “assault weapons,” and strict limits on carrying firearms in public. It even suggests regulating BB guns like real guns and requiring a government license simply to possess ammunition. Giffords publishes an annual Gun Law Scorecard, which grades each state on how thoroughly it restricts civilian access to firearms. As of 2025, California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York all received “A” grades, while 22 states received “F” grades.

Major organizational funding for the 501(c)(3) Giffords Law Center from 2022 to 2023 came from donor-advised fund providers such as Donor Advised Charitable Giving (\$2,087,567), the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund (\$1,232,818), the American Online Giving Foundation (\$419,546), the National Philanthropic Trust (\$381,600), and the Vanguard Charitable Endowment Program (\$273,600). Significant private foundation funders over that two-year period included the Joyce Foundation (\$555,000), the Albert and Janice Meister Family Foundation (\$260,000), the Hobson Lucas Family Foundation (\$250,000), and the Look and See Foundation (\$250,000). In 2023, the Giffords Law Center sent \$2.79 million to its sister 501(c)(4) Giffords, which also received \$275,000 from the Far Star Action Fund in 2022. During the 2022 election cycle, the affiliated Giffords PAC gave 97 percent of its contributions to Democratic candidates and



White House photo of President Bill Clinton signing the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (November 30, 1993).

made 100 percent of its independent expenditures against Republicans. In 2024 these numbers were 99 percent and 96.7 percent, respectively.

Brady

- Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence, 501(c)(3). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$26,194,208
- Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, 501(c)(4). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$10,469,242
- Brady PAC, PAC. Total raised (2024 cycle): \$1,448,325

The oldest of the major American gun control groups, Brady was founded as the National Council to Control Handguns in 1974, subsequently renamed as Handgun Control Inc. An affiliate called the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence was established in 1983. According to the 1993 *The Activist's Almanac*, these groups had 1990 revenues of \$7.6 million and \$1.7 million, respectively (equivalent to approximately \$18.9 million and \$4.2 million in 2025 dollars). In late 2000, Handgun Control Inc. was renamed as the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, while the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence became the Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence. The name was chosen in honor of former White House Press Secretary Jim Brady—who was shot during the 1981 attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan—and his wife Sarah Brady, who served as the organization's chair until 2015.

Brady operates based on what it calls a three-point strategy, which it likens to past efforts targeting drunk driving, seat-belt use, and tobacco smoking. First, it wants to enact gun control laws such as universal background checks, purchase permit requirements, and bans on high-capacity magazines and/or “assault weapons.” Second, it aims to hamstring the firearms industry through lawsuits and public pressure campaigns. Finally, it seeks to change “the culture around how we use, own, and perceive firearms,” such as through a campaign to shift how guns are portrayed in Hollywood movies. Brady also believes that gun violence is inherently linked to “racial injustice, gender-based violence, and economic disadvantage” and accordingly that any associated public policy efforts should avoid “exacerbating disparities” or “reflexively relying on criminalizing traumatized communities.” The group claims that “police violence is gun violence,” and that police violence is in turn “exacerbated by deeply-rooted racism.”

Major funders of the Brady Center from 2022 to 2023 include the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund (\$2,252,459), the Donald A. Pels Charitable Trust (\$1,000,000), Donor Advised Charitable Giving (\$815,545), the Kelson Foundation (\$500,000), the Fulk Family Foundation (\$500,000), the Vanguard Charitable Endowment Program (\$450,568), the Goldman Sachs Charitable Gift Fund (\$431,860), the American Online Giving Foundation (\$347,428), the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial (\$335,250), and the Roots and Wings Foundation (\$301,380). During the 2022 election cycle the Brady PAC gave over 92 percent of its contributions to Democratic Party candidates and made over 90 percent of its independent expenditures in favor of Democrats. During the 2024 cycle, it gave over 95 percent of its contributions to Democratic candidates, and its independent expenditures were 54.9 percent for Democrats and 45.1 percent against Republicans.

March for Our Lives

- March for Our Lives Foundation, 501(c)(3). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$3,726,817
- March for Our Lives Action Fund, 501(c)(4). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$10,860,507

Of all the major gun control advocacy groups in the United States, March for Our Lives has gone the furthest in embracing an intersectional “Everything Leftist” approach to its activism. It was co-founded by David Hogg, a survivor of the mass shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in 2018. Although he remains on the group's board



Credit: Mark Dixon. License: <https://bit.ly/3SNVp5a>.

Of all the major gun control advocacy groups in the United States, March for Our Lives has gone the furthest in embracing an intersectional “Everything Leftist” approach to its activism.

of directors, in early 2025 Hogg was elected as a vice chair of the Democratic National Committee, where he has stirred considerable controversy for backing primary challenges to sitting Democratic Party elected officials. Separately, March for Our Lives announced in March 2025 that it was laying off most of its full-time staff and naming a new executive director, who explained that the group was “facing financial challenges as an organization.” It remains to be seen how this will impact the group going forward.

March for Our Lives situates its support for strict gun control measures within a broader left-wing political framework and public policy agenda. For instance, while it calls for the creation of a government licensing system for firearms and ammunition possession, it qualifies this with a caveat that any such database “should be built with special attention toward equity and in consultation with communities historically targeted by the racist and anti-Black mechanisms that pervade regulatory and criminal legal systems.” In the group’s words:

Our mission calls for something bolder and more transformative than gun safety alone. We call for a world re-imagined: a world where oppressive power structures are abandoned, community is embraced—a world where all human needs are met, and the love of people is centered.

March for Our Lives criticizes American society for putting “guns on a pedestal” and allegedly prioritizing “access to firearms over access to human needs.” It claims that “white supremacy and patriarchy” are being perpetuated through “armed supremacy” and “the use of guns and the threat of gun violence to reinforce power structures, hierarchies, and status.” The group asserts that communities with high rates of gun violence “have been intentionally impoverished” by the government. It also believes that the criminal justice system is “brutally violent and discriminatory” and that “the size and scope of policing” should be reduced. Its comprehensive policy agenda calls for everything from eliminating voter ID laws to universal health care.

Major organizational funders of the 501(c)(3) March for Our Lives Foundation from 2022 to 2023 included the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund (\$854,240), Donor Advised Charitable Giving (\$536,251), the Joyce Foundation (\$250,000), the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (\$110,750), the Hobson Lucas Family Foundation (\$100,000), and the 128 Collective Foundation (\$100,000). Notably, over that same two-year period the March for Our Lives Foundation passed along a total of \$3,621,656 to its affiliated 501(c)(4) March for Our Lives Action Fund—accounting for a full third of the latter’s total revenue during that time. Other funders of the

March for Our Lives Action Fund have included the Open Society Action Fund (\$150,000 in 2022) and the National Education Association (\$100,000 in 2022).

Sandy Hook Promise

- Sandy Hook Promise Foundation, 501(c)(3). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$57,164,773
- Sandy Hook Promise Action Fund, 501(c)(4). Total revenue (2022–2023): \$17,791,599

Established by family members of those killed in the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, Sandy Hook Promise is somewhat distinct from the other four groups. While it may fairly be considered a gun control group—it advocates for restrictions on “assault weapons” and high-capacity magazines, passing red flag laws and expanded background checks, requiring the secure storage of firearms, and new limits on gun-related marketing—Sandy Hook Promise also places much programmatic emphasis on social, interpersonal, and mental health initiatives designed to prevent violence independent of gun laws. For example, its Start With Hello program encourages outreach to school children who may be suffering from social isolation, and its Say Something program encourages students to report signs of a potential threat to trusted adults.

Notable organizational funders of the Sandy Hook Promise Foundation over the two-year period from 2022 to 2023 included the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund (\$2,051,595), Donor Advised Charitable Giving (\$1,535,104), the American Online Giving Foundation (\$889,472), the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation (\$750,000), the National Philanthropic Trust (\$513,277), the Marin Community Foundation (\$505,000), and the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (\$467,900).

Final Thoughts

While these five groups dominate the national landscape of nonprofit gun control activism in the United States—particularly on the 501(c)(4) and PAC sides—dozens of others are active as well. Some of the larger and/or more noteworthy ones are Guns Down America, the Alliance for Gun Responsibility, the Violence Policy Center, and The Trace. There is also the Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Violence Solutions, which is housed at the eponymous university’s Bloomberg School of Public Health. Additionally, some large left-of-center general public policy advocacy groups (such as the Center for American Progress) count gun control among the many issues on which they are active.

It is worth emphasizing the importance of “charitable” money—as evidenced by the size of the 501(c)(3) arms of each of the Big Five groups—even on an issue as thoroughly political as gun control. This is a

phenomenon that is evident across the entire American public policy advocacy landscape, particularly on the left. The charitable sector can, paradoxically, be very political indeed.

Finally (and relatedly), the Big Five gun control groups also illustrate the importance of donor-advised funds to the charitable sector. Many of the same grantmakers appear as the largest organizational funders of the 501(c)(3) arms for each of the groups discussed, and these grantmakers are in turn some of the largest donor-advised fund providers in the country: the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund, Donor Advised Charitable Giving (formerly known as the Schwab Charitable Fund), the Vanguard Charitable Endowment Program, and so on. The nature of donor-advised funds makes it impossible to know whether the grant reported to a given recipient reflects the gift of just one or, more likely, any number of different individual donors. ■

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ORGANIZATION TRENDS



INFLUENCEWATCH 2025: THIS YEAR'S TOP 10 INFLUENCERS

By Jonathan Harsh

InfluenceWatch, a project of Capital Research Center, is a comprehensive and ever-evolving compilation of our research into the numerous advocacy groups, foundations, and donors working to influence the public policy process. The website offers transparency into these influencers' funding, motives, and connections while providing insight often neglected by other watchdog groups.

The information compiled in InfluenceWatch gives news outlets and other interested parties research to use in their reporting on significant topics that are often overlooked by the American public.

CRC is pleased to present some of the most significant additions to InfluenceWatch so far in the year 2025:

Musk Foundation

The Musk Foundation is a private grantmaking organization and the private foundation owned and operated by billionaire tech entrepreneur and Tesla CEO Elon Musk. Musk created the foundation in 2002, and as of 2025 the group is led by CEO Mark Suzman with Elon's brother Kimball Musk listed as a board member.

According to its website, the foundation provides funding and grants toward groups and other initiatives through collaboration with Musk-connected companies such as X.Corp, SpaceX, Tesla, Tesla Energy, and NeuroVigil. Following President Donald Trump's reelection in November 2024 and the start of the second Trump Administration in January 2025, Elon Musk was noted as heading and as the public face of the newly developed Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), a special commission created to identify alleged wasteful spending within the U.S government.

DOGE and Musk have been criticized for the scope of the proposed cuts, leading to the planned layoff of thousands



Credit: Cornellrocker04, License: <https://bit.ly/45gEpM7>

Based in Washington, DC, NPR claims to operate up to 1,000 local, independently owned "member stations" within the United States and around the world.

of federal employees and the cancellation of millions in government grants planned for nonprofit and philanthropic organizations. One notable action by DOGE was the shuttering of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in March 2025. USAID employees were placed on administrative leave, and USAID operations are being reorganized under the U.S Department of State led by Secretary of State Marco Rubio.

In June 2025, Musk announced he would be leaving DOGE and would no longer be involved in the department's operations.

National Public Radio

National Public Radio (NPR) is a national nonprofit media outlet founded by the federal government. It has received funding from federal government and through affiliation with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB).

Jonathan Harsh is a content editor at the Capital Research Center.



Media Research Center has claimed that NPR is “a massive, taxpayer-funded radio network...[for] the left.”

Based in Washington, DC, NPR claims to operate up to 1,000 local, independently owned “member stations” within the United States and around the world. Member stations pay annual fees to NPR, and member stations have been either partially or entirely financed by state and local governments. Since its founding in 1970, NPR has faced controversy over the source of its funding and allegations of left-of-center biases in its reporting on national and international issues. The right-of-center watchdog group Media Research Center (MRC) has claimed on its website that NPR is “a massive, taxpayer-funded radio network...[for] the left.”

Efforts to defend NPR have occurred during the Nixon, Reagan, Clinton, and both Trump administrations. In March 2025, the NPR CEO Katherine Maher and Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) CEO Paula Kerger testified before the Delivering on Government Efficiency (DOGE) Subcommittee of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee about allegations of bias in their reporting and federal funding they have received.

Prior to the hearing, Anti-American Airwaves: Holding the Heads of NPR and PBS Accountable, Subcommittee Chair Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R) sent a letter challenging both CEOs to explain, “As an organization that receives federal funds, both directly and indirectly through its member stations, NPR’s reporting should serve the entire public, not just a narrow slice of likeminded individuals and ideological interest groups.”

Progressive Turnout Project

The Progressive Turnout Project is a Carey Committee (or hybrid political action committee—PAC/Super PAC) initially created in 2015 to increase turnout by Democratic voters for the 2016 election cycle. According to its website, the group claims to be the “largest voter contact organization in the country, specifically dedicated to mobilizing the Democratic Party and defending democracy.... Our mission: rally Democrats to vote.”

According to FEC data and data on OpenSecrets, during the 2024 election cycle the PAC spent over \$2.8 million toward the presidential campaign for then-Vice President Kamala Harris and another \$20,556 against the reelection campaign of then-former President Donald Trump. During the same

election cycle, the PAC received donations from several left-of-center and Democrat Party-affiliated entities including Dem Turnout 2024, the Advocacy Action Fund, and the Green Advocacy Project.

The PAC contributed over \$1 million to Democrat Party-affiliated Super PACs, including the Harris Victory Fund, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the Democratic Party of Wisconsin, and the Congressional Progressive Caucus PAC. According to its website, in March 2025 the group spent \$1.2 million on grassroots efforts to support circuit court Judge Susan Crawford during the Wisconsin State Supreme Court race on April 1, 2025. Judge Crawford won the state supreme court election against Republican candidate circuit court judge Brad Schimel.

The Indivisible Project

The Indivisible Project (also known as Indivisible) is a nonprofit advocacy organization formed in late 2016 that has helped organize and mobilize grassroots campaigns and



(Leah Greenberg and Ezra Levin, co-founders of Indivisible) The Indivisible Project is a nonprofit advocacy organization formed in late 2016 that has helped organize and mobilize grassroots campaigns and protest movements with a focus on “Resisting the Trump Agenda.”

Credit: Indivisible Project. License: <https://bit.ly/43FRdL>.

protest movements with a focus on “Resisting the Trump Agenda.” Indivisible has been previously affiliated with several left-of-center organizations and labor-affiliated groups including the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), MoveOn.org, Planned Parenthood, the Working Families Party, and the Tides Foundation.

According to tax data, Indivisible has received funding from Open Society Foundations (OSF), the grantmaking organization formed by philanthropist George Soros; the Open Society Policy Center, another Soros organization; the Tides Nexus; the Tides Foundation; Investing in US; and Tides Advocacy. In February 2025, following the start of the Second Trump Administration, Indivisible and activist group MoveOn helped to organize demonstrations during townhalls hosted by Republican members of Congress to protest the administration as well as the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), then led by billionaire Elon Musk.

Indivisible released a statement claiming to have “put Republicans on notice by organizing nearly 200 events across the country and directly challenging them for supporting unelected billionaires like Elon Musk over their own constituents.” By March 2025, Indivisible was listed as a partner organization of Families Over Billionaires, an activist group formed in January 2025 to oppose “tax breaks for the rich” under the Trump Administration.

Other listed partners of the group included Americans for Tax Fairness, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Caring Across Generations,

Economic Security Project Action, Fair Share America, MomsRising, the National Education Association (NEA), the National Women’s Law Center, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and Unrig Our Economy.

As of April 2025, Indivisible has released several publications including a Substack titled “How We Fight Back” along with activist groups MoveOn and Working Families Power containing essays and videos published by Democratic members of Congress as well as strategies for how activists can, “take action directly against Trump, Elon Musk, and Republicans.” Indivisible activists have also opposed efforts by the Trump Administration to deport illegal immigrants including El Salvadoran national Kilmer Abrego Garcia who

was deported due to his alleged ties to the MS-13 transnational gang as well as violating immigration law. (Garcia has since been returned to the U.S. to stand trial on criminal charges of transporting illegal immigrants.) The group’s website has also released talking points for activists to advocate against said efforts including comparisons of deportation to “abduction” and the enforcement of immigration law to “mass kidnappings.”

American Oversight

American Oversight (AO) is a judicial activist organization created in March 2017, following the 2016 presidential elections, and has reportedly filed multiple open record requests and Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) cases against both the first and second Trump Administrations. The organization has previously claimed to be the “top Freedom of Information Act litigator investigating the Trump Administration,” with roughly 1,000 open records requests filed in 2018 alone and 56 lawsuits filed during the same year.

Melanie Sloan, a senior advisor with the organization, helped co-found and was previously the executive director of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), a legal watchdog group that has also pursued legal action against both Trump Administrations. AO is a mem-

ber of the Not Above the Law Coalition, a network of roughly 280 left-of-center organizations and movements. The coalition is managed by the left-of-center Democracy Forward.



Indivisible released a statement claiming to have “put Republicans on notice by organizing nearly 200 events across the country.”

The coalition claims to have advocated for and pursued legal action and litigation against the Second Trump Administration over its alleged “far-right” activities. The group was involved with the organizing and planning of #TeslaTakeover, a series of protests during March 2025 outside Tesla dealerships across the country. The network of organizations claimed the protests were in retaliation against Tesla CEO billionaire Elon Musk and his heading of the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE).

In an April 2025 FOIA request to determine DOGE’s compliance with federal records retention requirements, AO claimed that the Trump administration failed to address “serious security failures and systemic violations of federal



Credit: Jewish Dems. License: <https://bit.ly/442x9kM>.

The board chair of the Democracy Forward Foundation is Marc Elias, an American attorney who was previously the general counsel of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign and a partner at the law firm Perkins Coie LLP before starting his own law firm, the Elias Law Group.

records laws” and instead “has been focused on rooting out instances of perceived disloyalty and abusing its power to weaponize the government against certain groups, including immigrants.”

Democracy Forward Foundation

The Democracy Forward Foundation (DFF) is a left-of-center legal advocacy organization that has previously pursued legal action against the First and Second Trump Administrations. DFF is the 501(c)(4) sister organization of Democracy Forward (DF), with both organizations sharing the same website, employees, and board members. The board chair of DFF is Marc Elias, an American attorney who was previously the general counsel of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign and a partner at the law firm Perkins Coie LLP before starting his own law firm, the Elias Law Group.

The group has previously received funding from left-of-center organizations and advocacy groups including the Democracy Fund, the Center for American Progress (CAP), the Sandler Foundation, and the Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation.

Democracy 2025, a major initiative of DFF and Democracy Forward, is a fiscally sponsored project founded in 2022 to

develop and produce research reports, legal strategies, and litigation designed to tackle and push against what the project considers “threats to our democracy.” As of 2025, the project has claimed to have produced a “multimillion-dollar war chest” to “counter harmful, illegal, anti-democratic actions from the Trump-Vance administration.” As of November 2024, the Democracy 2025 project consists of roughly 280 organizations and over 800 individual participants. Democracy 2025’s member organizations include Accountable.US, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the Brennan Center for Justice, Demand Justice, the National Education Association (NEA), Alliance for Justice (AFJ), the Center for Media and Democracy (CMD), the Center for Progressive Reform, the Constitutional Accountability Center (CAC), the National Immigration Law Center, and the Vera Institute of Justice (VIJ).

Steve Ballmer

Steve Ballmer is a former Microsoft CEO, serving in that role from 2000 to 2014 after co-founder Bill Gates stepped down. When Ballmer left, he sold nearly all the stock he had in the company.

Following his departure from Microsoft, he and his wife Connie started the Ballmer Group, a philanthropic organization that, according to its website, has donated to organizations and other movements advocating left-of-center policies regarding education, climate change, criminal justice reform, and prevention of “racial disparities.” According to its website, it donated over \$1.23 billion in grants during the 2024 fiscal year. Several organizations that have previously received grants from the group include the Alliance for Safety and Justice Action Fund, Color of Change, the Equal Justice Initiative, PolicyLink, the Bail Project, and the Obama Foundation.

In 2016, Ballmer founded USA Facts, a research advocacy group claiming to provide data on population rates as well as government spending within the United States. During the 2024 election cycle, USA Facts started “Just the Facts,” an online advocacy campaign that released a series of public service announcements and short videos claiming to educate voters on key policy issues before the election such as immigration, the environment, the budget, and health care.

Maribeth Witzel-Behl

Maribeth Witzel-Behl is the former city clerk for Madison, Wisconsin as well as a former member of the advisory board for the left-of-center electoral advocacy group Center for

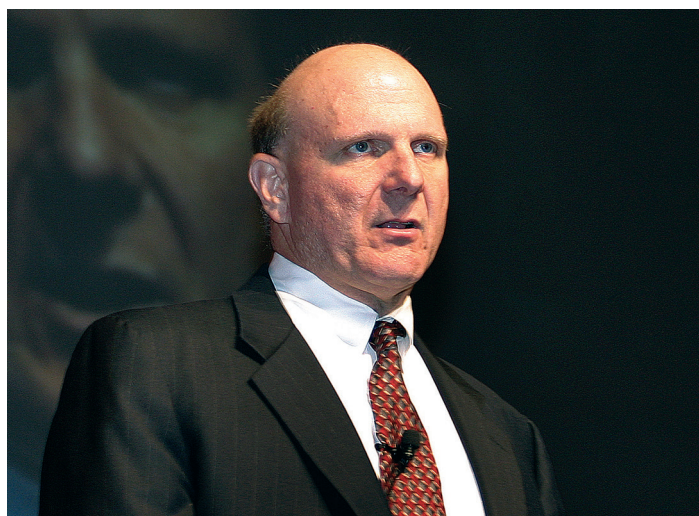
Tech and Civic Life (CTCL). During the 2020 presidential election, CTCL allegedly donated roughly \$10.1 million in “relief grants” to parts of the state for assisting local election infrastructure, whereas 84 percent were distributed to Madison along with the cities of Green Bay, Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha. She began her position as clerk in 2006 and reportedly administered over 60 elections within the state including those during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Prior to the 2020 election, Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg and his wife Priscilla Chan reportedly donated \$350 million to CTCL through the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (SVCF).

In January 2025, the Wisconsin Elections Commission launched an investigation after it was discovered Witzhel-Behl had failed to count roughly 193 ballots from two Madison polling stations on election day in November 2024 but did not inform officials until December of that year. In addition, four voters whose ballots had gone missing filed claims for roughly \$175,000 each from the city of Madison and Dane County. Additional reporting showed that in September 2024, her office had mistakenly sent out 2,000 duplicate absentee ballots. In March 2025, she was suspended from her position by Madison Mayor Satya Rhodes-Conway. On April 14, she announced her resignation from the office. The mayor’s office launched an internal investigation into the clerk’s office earlier in March, but it had ended shortly before her resignation.

Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy

The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP) is an economic advocacy organization that claims to promote policies for budgetary issues as well as both state and federal taxation policies. Although labeled as “nonpartisan,” the left-of-center policy advocacy group Pew Research Center has previously described ITEP as a “liberal think tank.”

The ITEP’s X (formerly Twitter) account had previously posted and retweeted articles and stories critical of tax policies implemented or debated during the first Trump Administration. Following the reelection of President Donald Trump in November 2024 and the start of the Second Trump Administration, the ITEP has written several articles and publications on the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, the Trump Administration’s taxation bill that is being



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Following his departure from Microsoft, Steve Ballmer and his wife Connie started the Ballmer Group, a philanthropic organization that, according to its website, has donated to organizations and other movements advocating left-of-center policies.

debated in Congress. In May 2025, when the U.S House had begun debate and voting on the Administration’s tax bill, ITEP published an article claiming to analyze the bill’s components and argued that the bill “is a recklessly expensive bill that would expand economic inequality in America and pay for it in part by stripping health care from millions of Americans and rolling back critical climate investments.”

According to a statement made by ITEP executive director Amy Hanauer, the new bill:

gives enormous additional tax cuts to wealthy people and corporations, spikes the deficit, and strips health care from millions of Americans. Reckless tax cuts for the top and new corporate loopholes appear to be the big features of this bill, and they’re paid for by cutting our health care and making American communities more vulnerable to floods, fires, and storms. ■

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MARCHING TOWARD VIOLENCE

THE DOMESTIC ANTI-ISRAELI PROTEST MOVEMENT

BY: RYAN MAURO



"Over 150 groups involved in the disruptive anti-Israel protests on college campuses and elsewhere in the United States are "pro-terrorism." The vast majority support Hamas and/or the October 7 terrorist attacks. The movement contains militant elements pushing it toward a wider, more severe campaign focused on property destruction and violence properly described as domestic terrorism."

Read the full study on [CapitalResearch.org](https://www.CapitalResearch.org).



BIG PHILANTHROPY UNVEILED: THREE FUNDING FORCES SHAPING POLICY

By Michael E. Hartmann

The populist reaction against Big Philanthropy occurs within a broader, including historical, context. Philanthropy overall has grown significantly in recent decades. Big Philanthropy has also become increasingly liberal and progressive, overwhelmingly so in the policy- and advocacy-oriented areas. It houses and funds a democratically unaccountable, monoculturally progressive elite and has become more politicized—and more partisan.

Big Philanthropy has always had a tenuous place in America's social contract. U.S. taxpayers contribute to the pool of funds that incentivizes its growth and maintenance, and the conservative and progressive populist reaction against it is not going to go away.



Credit: Bloomberg Originals. License: <https://bit.ly/43KIPuJ>.

Success in the nonprofit sector frequently depends on getting grants from the program officers of a small number of billionaire-endowed foundations, many of them named for old or new business tycoons, like Ford, Rockefeller, Gates, and Bloomberg.

1. Philanthropy has been getting bigger.

Approximately 150,000 entities have the Internal Revenue Code status of a private foundation, according to CauseIQ. Collectively, they employ almost 32,000 people and annually earn more than \$159 billion in revenue. FoundationMark estimates all private-foundation assets totaled more than \$1.6 trillion at the end of 2024—up 21.6 percent from almost \$1.3 trillion at the end of 2020 and 176.5 percent from just less than \$581 billion at the end of 2010, as illustrated in Figure 1. (See page 40)

Private-foundation grants and expenses have thus also been increasing, appreciably. As shown in Figure 2, FoundationMark estimates their grants and expenses totaled more than \$117 billion as of the end of 2024—up 34.3 percent from over \$87 billion at the end of 2020 and 182.2 percent from over \$41 billion at the end of 2010.

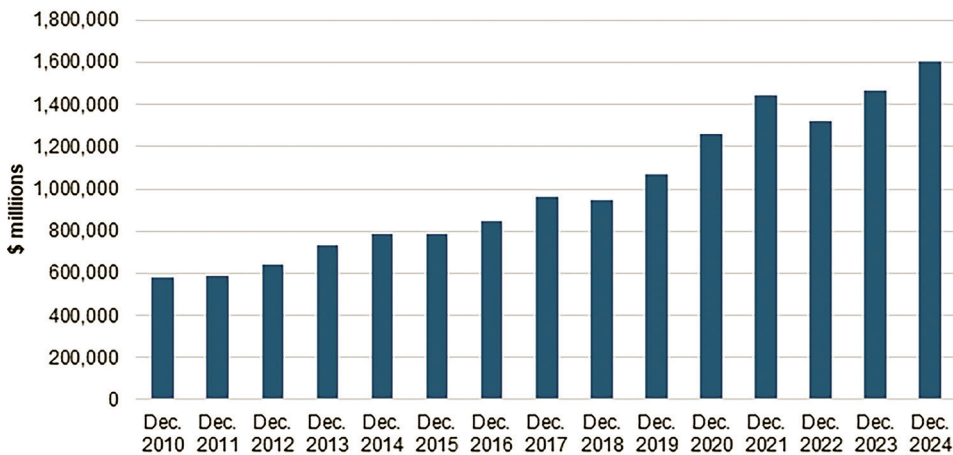
In February 2025, using publicly available tax-filing data collected by CauseIQ, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* identified 277 private foundations and 69 community foundations that had \$500 million or more in assets. Collectively, according to the *Chronicle*, these 346 philanthropies held

more than \$900 billion in assets and top-heavily accounted for roughly 55 percent of all grant dollars awarded.

The top 25 foundations in the *Chronicle's* February list are in the Table 1. The Gates Foundation is at the top of the February list, followed by the Lilly Endowment. In May, however, new Lilly Endowment tax filings showed its \$79.9 billion assets as of the end of 2024 surpassed those assets of Gates' \$77.2 billion at the end of 2024. The Lilly Endowment's assets have grown mostly because of stock it holds in Eli Lilly & Co., the value of which has greatly increased as the result of wildly successful weight-loss and diabetes drugs. Two of the foundations in the *Chronicle's* February list's top 25 are community foun-

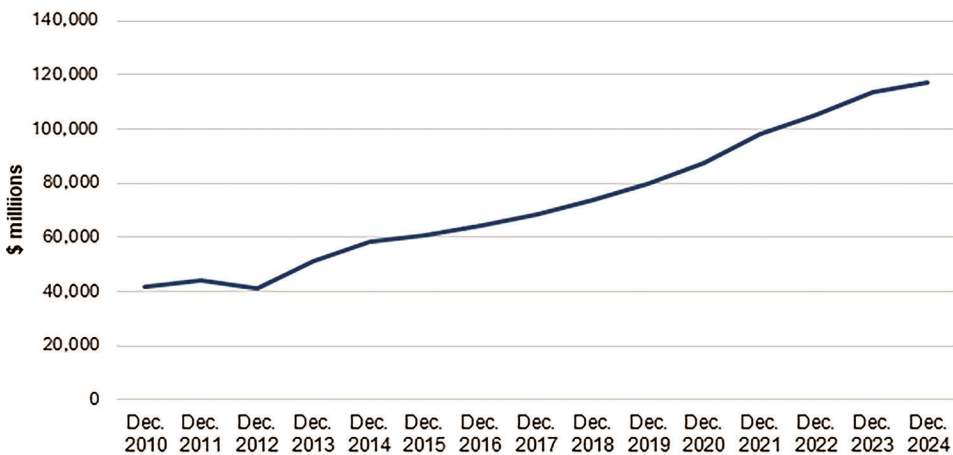
Michael E. Hartmann is a senior fellow and director of the Center for Strategic Giving at the Capital Research Center in Washington, D.C. He is a former program officer and director of research at The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation in Milwaukee.

Figure 1: Estimated Total Private-Foundation Assets, December 2010–December 2024



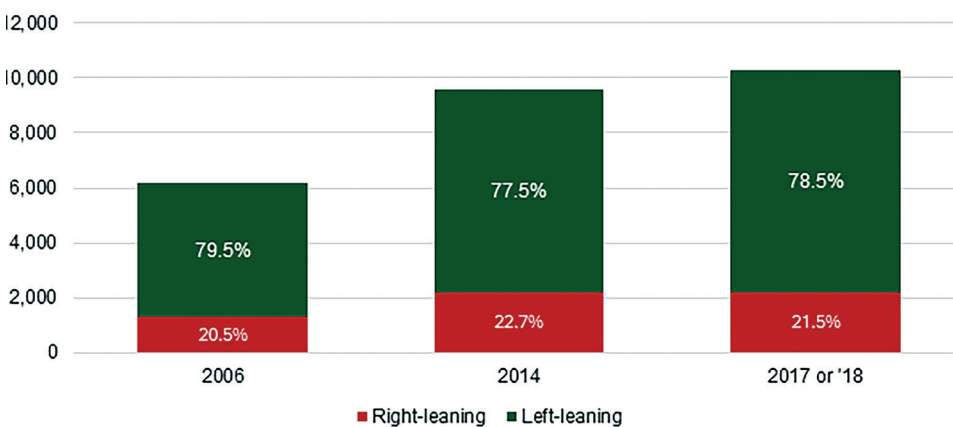
Source: FoundationMark.

Figure 2: Estimated total private-foundation grants and expenses, December 2010–December 2024



Source: FoundationMark.

Figure 3: Total reported revenues of right-and left-leaning policy- and advocacy-oriented public charities, 2006, 2014, and more recent of 2017 or '18



dations: the \$10.36 billion Silicon Valley Community Foundation and the \$4.53 billion Chicago Community Trust.

The assets of these top 25 foundations collectively total \$328.93 billion. The next two foundations on the list are private foundations—the \$4.23 billion Knight Foundation and the \$4.10 billion Carnegie Corporation of New York. So the total assets of just the top 25 private foundations would be \$322.37 billion, which would be an again top-heavy 20 percent of assets held by all 150,000 private foundations.

2. Big Philanthropy has been getting more liberal and progressive, overwhelmingly so in the policy- and advocacy-oriented context.

Any categorization by ideology assumes the risk of subjectivity. Given this caveat, it is fair to observe that none of these top 25 private foundations could fairly be characterized as solidly conservative—certainly nowhere close to representing or even reflecting the ascendent populist conservatism that’s given rise to the current aggressive policy reaction against Big Philanthropy.

The Lilly Endowment, which some may think describable as conservative, actually now publicly considers its own philosophy as “conservatively progressive,” and its grantmaking portfolio seems increasingly to reflect the noun in that phrase. Similarly, while the Walton Family Foundation has historically substantially supported school choice and charter schools, its giving increasingly includes environmental protection and related advocacy. And as for John Arnold, he once tweeted, accurately, “I’ve now been called the next Koch brother by the far left press

Table 1: Top 25 Foundations by Asset Size, February 2025

Foundation	Assets(\$ Billions)
Gates Foundation	76.95
Lilly Endowment	62.18
Ford Foundation	16.79
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	13.68
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	12.78
J. Paul Getty Trust	12.55
Bloomberg Philanthropies	11.81
Open Society Foundations	10.50
Silicon Valley Community Foundation	10.36
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation	8.67
Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation	8.28
David and Lucile Packard Foundation	8.26
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	8.03
W. K. Kellogg Foundation Trust	7.62
Leona M. and Harry B. Helmsley Charitable Trust	7.26
Conrad N. Hilton Foundation	7.10
Rockefeller Foundation	6.11
Good Ventures Foundation	5.86
Walton Family Foundation	5.71
Chan Zuckerberg Initiative Foundation	5.41
Open Society Institute	5.27
Simons Foundation	4.59
Chicago Community Trust	4.53
California Endowment	4.32
Laura and John Arnold Foundation	4.31
Total	328.93

Source: Capital Research Center.

and the next George Soros by the far right. I'm an equal opportunity special interest pot stirrer."

For conservative-foundation comparison, the Diana Davis Spenser Foundation is 112th on the *Chronicle's* February 2025 list with \$1.36 billion in assets, the Daniels Fund is 117th with \$1.36 billion in assets, the Daniels Fund is 117th with \$1.3 billion, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation is 165th with \$987.07 million in assets, the

Charles Koch Foundation is 215th with \$748.22 million, the Sarah Scaife Foundation is 272nd with \$610.29 million, and the Smith Richardson Foundation is 309th with \$546.2 million.

To make a meaningful further comparison of policy- and advocacy-oriented philanthropy in particular, my colleague Michael Watson and I found that in 2014 the reported revenues of 1,450 selected policy- and advocacy-oriented public charities totaled approximately \$9.6 billion, up from about \$6.2 billion in 2006, as reported in the Capital Research Center's (CRC's) 2018 *The Flow of Funding to Conservative and Liberal Political Campaigns, Independent Groups, and Traditional Public Policy Organizations Before and After Citizens United*.

The groups for this analysis were selected from the grant-recipient lists of 12 major private foundations, six of them right-leaning and six left-leaning. There were 372 right-leaning recipients and 1,078 left-leaning ones. The right-leaning groups' revenues totaled just less than \$2.2 billion in 2014, up 71 percent from \$1.3 billion in 2006. But the left-leaning groups' revenues totaled more than \$7.4 billion in 2014, up 50 percent from \$4.9 billion in 2006.

In 2020, Watson and Shane Devine revisited the question in a follow-up report for CRC, similarly comparing support of and right- and left-leaning public charities. According to what were then the more recently reported figures (from either 2017 or 2018), their study found that 298 selected right-leaning groups' revenues totaled just more than \$2.2 billion, roughly the same as the conservative total in 2014, and 906 left-leaning groups' revenues totaled almost \$8.1 billion, up 9.65 percent from 2014.

As shown in Figure 3, in 2006, right-leaning policy- and advocacy-oriented charities received 20.5 percent and liberal ones received 79.5 percent of donations. In subsequent years, this ratio remained relatively stable. In 2014, conservative policy groups received 22.7 percent and liberal ones received 77.3 percent of total policy-oriented donations, and in 2017 or 2018, conservative groups received 21.5 percent and liberal ones received 78.5 percent.

Policy-oriented philanthropy skews overwhelmingly to the Left. (*See page 40*)

3. Relatedly, it houses and funds a democratically unaccountable and monoculturally progressive managerial elite.

James Burnham criticized the "new class" in his 1941 book *The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World*, Daniel Bell spoke of the "knowledge class," Theda

Skocpol described the withdrawal of elites from cross-class organizations to those of a nonprofit overclass, and many others have observed what's now generally called the "managerial elite." All of their criticisms apply quite directly to those who are employed by and administer democratically unaccountable and monoculturally progressive Big Philanthropy. To those who've been paying attention, they've actually done so for quite a while, and increasingly.

"Overall, the shift of the center of gravity from local chapter-based member associations and church congregations to foundations, foundation-funded nonprofits, and universities represents a transfer of civic and cultural influence away from ordinary people upward to the managerial elite," Michael Lind writes in his 2020 book *The New Class War: Saving Democracy From the Managerial Elite*.

Many of today's so-called community organizations are not so much grass roots as AstroTurf (an artificial grass). A contemporary community activist is likely to be a university graduate and likely as well to be rich or supported by affluent overclass parents, because of the reliance of nonprofits on unpaid interns and staffers with low salaries. Success in the nonprofit sector frequently depends not on mobilizing ordinary citizens but on getting grants from the program officers of a small number of billionaire-endowed foundations in a few big cities, many of them named for old or new business tycoons, like Ford, Rockefeller, Gates, and Bloomberg. Such "community activists" have more in common with nineteenth-century missionaries sent out to save the "natives" from themselves than with members of local communities who headed local chapters of national volunteer federations in the past.

Earlier this year, in a contribution entitled "How Philanthropy Made and Unmade Liberalism" to *Mastery and Drift: Professional-Class Liberalism Since the 1960s*, Temple University history Professor Lila Corwin Berman tough-mindedly critiques what she calls professional-class liberalism's "philanthropic governance." "A bevy of anti-regulatory, pro-market, and state-shrinking measures

endorsed across party lines from the 1970s through the 1990s smoothed the way for the rise of philanthropic governance," by Berman's anti-neoliberal assessment.

Together, they directed public funds and plaudits toward private foundations and other philanthropic bodies.

By the final decades of the twentieth century, the logic and structure of philanthropy had permeated every realm of American power, from domestic and foreign policies to corporate practices to grassroots politics. In other words, no domain of American power operated bereft of the capital and logic of philanthropy. This fact served to lash together disparate political actors from the left and the right, who no matter their policy divisions all conceded to—and often lauded—philanthropic governance.

To those who may perhaps be paying closer attention in the wake of the 2024 election, there have been healthily negative appraisals on both the left and right of the practical and political effects of "The Groups" of philanthropically funded entities that exercise an inordinate amount of influence over candidates and policymakers. The Groups, these analyses either imply or say, would do better to be more cognizant of and responsive to the wishes of common, non-overclass citizens who have few avenues to effectively express themselves other than electorally.

More recently, my Giving Review co-editor William A. Schambra notes that everyday'ers practice their own philanthropy very much differently than Big Philanthropy. Jason Lewis has complementarily noted that they are very much alienated from a distant Big Philanthropy that now clumsily and tardily seeks to enlist them in defense of its activities against populist policy proposals to rein in its power and prestige and cut back on some of its privileges and prerogatives. ■

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



BANKROLLING TERROR: THE PRO-HAMAS FINANCIERS OF THE U.S. INTIFADA

Ryan Mauro

In the past 18 months, a network of U.S.-based nonprofit organizations has emerged as a critical support system for groups publicly aligned with Hamas. This pro-Hamas Intifada has openly praised the terrorist organization or defended its actions in public statements and messaging.

At the center of this network are fiscal sponsors: tax-exempt nonprofits that provide legal and financial infrastructure to smaller, often more radical, groups that lack their own 501(c)(3) status. By allowing these groups to fund raise under their umbrella, fiscal sponsors enable them to operate within the nonprofit system—granting them access to donor networks, institutional legitimacy, and financial cover with minimal public transparency or oversight.



One post called for a violent escalation of student protests and urged followers to “besiege the White House” and target government and corporate supporters of Israel.

This article investigates 10 such fiscal sponsors that play a central role in sustaining the anti-American and, at times, violent anti-Israel movement operating across American campuses, city streets, and online platforms. Leading this list is an organization with outsized influence and minimal accountability.

1. Westchester People's Action Coalition

Westchester People's Action Coalition (WESPAC) stands out as the fiscal sponsor most responsible for fueling the wave of hate sweeping across the country.

It reportedly sponsors a wide range of pro-terrorism groups—including **Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)**, **Within Our Lifetime**, **U.S. Palestinian Community Network**, **Palestinian Youth Movement**, **International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network**, and the **Palestinian Feminist Collective**. The full extent of its sponsorship remains unclear, as WESPAC keeps its client list secret, offering little information on its website or in public filings.

At the helm is Board President **Howard Horowitz**, who is also a member of the Westchester chapter of **Jewish Voice for Peace**. While he condemned the Hamas-led terrorist attacks on October 7, 2023, Horowitz quickly shifted blame onto Israel and cast the attackers in a sympathetic light—likening the assault to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising with the phrase, “fighters broke out from the ghetto wall.”

In fairness, WESPAC did condemn the killing of two Israeli diplomats and claims to oppose all violence, but this stands in sharp contrast to the actions of the groups it sponsors.

For example, **Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)** not only celebrated the October 7 attacks but declared itself part of the terrorist coalition behind them. In response, nine American and Israeli victims have filed a lawsuit accusing SJP and **American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)** of

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actively supporting Hamas—not just abroad but by “*intentionally extending their aid to foment chaos, violence, and terror in the United States.*”

Similarly, **Within Our Lifetime** openly supported the October 7 attacks, stating:

Supporting Palestinian liberation is supporting whatever means necessary it takes to get there... we must defend the Palestinian right to resist zionist [sic] settler violence and support Palestinian resistance in all its forms. By any means necessary. With no exceptions and no fine print.

They went further, calling for a broader campaign of destruction within the United States:

Our duty as people here in the belly of the beast is to use all available means to support the Palestinian resistance and degrade the capabilities of the United States to wage war not just on Palestine but on oppressed people all over the globe.

The **U.S. Palestinian Community Network (USPCN)** echoed these militant sentiments after October 7: “Our people are waging an anti-colonial, anti-occupation, and anti-Zionist liberation struggle!”

Its leader, **Hatem Abudayyeh**—who has a documented history of supporting terrorism—was among 23 activists targeted in FBI counterterrorism actions in 2010.

Other WESPAC-sponsored groups have expressed similarly extreme positions. **The Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM)** responded to the attacks by affirming:

We continue to stand alongside our people in Gaza and across Occupied Palestine in their legitimate resistance against the occupiers. In our Martyrs’ names, the struggle for liberation and return continues. Palestine will be free.

The **International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAZN)** coauthored a July 8, 2024 Instagram post justifying the October 7 atrocities, asserting “Resistance is not terrorism.” Its charter explicitly condemns U.S. laws banning material support to Middle Eastern terrorist groups and celebrates attacks on Israel.

Finally, the **Palestinian Feminist Collective (PFC)** celebrated the October 7 attacks by sharing an image of a Hamas bulldozer tearing down the border fence—an act that directly enabled the assault.

2. Alliance for Global Justice

Alliance for Global Justice (AGJ) is the fiscal sponsor for Samidoun (Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network), designated by both the U.S. and Canadian governments as a terrorist organization. Samidoun operates as a thinly veiled front group for the Marxist-Leninist terrorist organization Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP),

which took part in the October 7 atrocities and maintains alliances with Hamas and the Iranian regime. Samidoun is tied to numerous anti-Semitic and pro-terrorist groups in the U.S., including several nonprofits.

AGJ is the fiscal sponsor for other pro-terrorism and anti-American groups, including United National Antiwar Coalition, Popular Resistance, the Arizona Palestine Solidarity Alliance, and the Immigrant Solidarity Network, which promotes the Chinese Communist Party through its U.S.-China Solidarity Network.

Credit: Joe Catron. License: <https://bit.ly/45u7bX>.



Alliance for Global Justice is the fiscal sponsor for Samidoun (Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network), designated by both the U.S. and Canadian governments as a terrorist organization.

AGJ stops short of condemning Hamas and the October 7 atrocities, saying openly that it seeks the overthrow of the U.S.'s "liberal democracy" and "global capitalism."

Birthered as the Nicaragua Network that advocated for the communist Sandinistas, AGJ continues to champion authoritarian regimes—including those in Cuba, Venezuela, North Korea, and Nicaragua, where Daniel Ortega now rules as an anti-American strongman. It defended Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine.

The United National Antiwar Coalition endorsed the October 7 attacks in a statement titled, "Free Palestine! Resistance is justified when people are occupied!"

Popular Resistance, another AGJ-backed group, distributes propaganda favoring anti-American regimes and movements it deems part of the "resistance." After the attempted assassination of President Donald Trump, it refused to condemn the violence, stating only that killing him wouldn't stop the "cult" behind him.

Arizona Palestine Network coauthored an Instagram post glorifying the October 7 attacks and routinely promotes Hamas and the Houthis. It also helped produce posts inciting violence against the policy, including content with instructions on how to carry out said violence. One joint post called for a violent escalation of student protests and urged followers to "besiege the White House" and target government and corporate supporters of Israel.

3. Tides Center

Tides Center is the fiscal sponsor of several pro-terrorism groups including Adalah Justice Project (AJP), Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC), Catalyst Project, the Dream Defenders Education Fund, and Palestine Legal.

Immediately after the October 7 attacks, AJP tweeted an image of a bulldozer breaching the border fence—signaling the start of the massacre—with the caption, "No cage goes unchallenged." It also circulated a pledge to "stand with the Palestinian people's right to defend themselves."

AJP executive director Sandra Tamari justified the violence as "the oppressed rising up," framing Hamas's assault as a justified response to conditions in Gaza. The group traces its roots to the Israel-based organization Adalah.

AROC echoed this sentiment, posting a graphic of Palestinians celebrating and promoting a rally outside the Israeli consulate the following day. The caption read, "Palestine is rising! Gaza is rising!"

Catalyst Project also glorified the attacks, despite the fact that more than 30 Americans were among the dead. It published a social media post with artwork depicting the perpetrators' demolition of a border fence with a bulldozer below a quote from a radical Palestinian activist that reads, "It is time we demanded that the oppressor stop oppressing, not that the oppressed stop resisting."

The post includes text celebrating the atrocities, saying "An historic act of resistance happened in Palestine last Saturday, as Palestinians in Gaza breached the apartheid wall that has imprisoned them for over 16 years, separating them from their land, their loved ones, their holy sites."

Catalyst Project's advisory board includes Linda Evans, an anti-American activist imprisoned from 1987 to 2001 for crimes ranging from armed robbery and harboring fugitives to plotting terrorist attacks with the Weather Underground, May 19th Communist Organization, and Black Liberation Army. Authorities also found explosives in her home, along with plans to bomb the U.S. Capitol, FBI headquarters, an Israeli aircraft factory, and the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association.

Despite this record, Catalyst Project's website describes Evans as "a lifelong organizer for human rights and liberation," highlighting her 40-year sentence for "militant actions to protest and change U.S. government policies." The group also denies the legitimacy of the United States, referring to it as "Turtle Island."

Palestine Legal echoed this radical stance after the October 7 attacks, posting a six-image Instagram series that declared its support for the Palestinian movement and condemned so-called anti-Palestinian backlash. Its attorney, Dylan Saba, posted celebrating the violence: "Glory to the resistance and the people of Palestine.... I could not be more proud of my people who continue to demonstrate unthinkable bravery in their struggle for liberation."

4. Tides Advocacy

Tides Advocacy is the fiscal sponsor of the pro-terrorism group Dream Defenders.

After the Hamas-led attacks on Israel on October 7, 2023, Dream Defenders created and distributed a "Black and Palestinian Solidarity Organizing Toolkit." The guide has an image glorifying the October 7 atrocities.

The guide links to materials from the anarchist-aligned Ruckus Society which promote illegal "direct actions"—including property destruction, evading law enforcement,

using false IDs, occupying buildings, seizing assets, doxxing government agents, and disrupting industrial and governmental operations.

Despite this, Dream Defenders (DD) claims to be non-violent, even as it calls for dismantling capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy.

5. Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation

Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation (AJP) serves as the fiscal sponsor for American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), a pro-Hamas group that publicly supported the October 7 attacks. Congressional testimony describes AMP as “arguably the most important sponsor and organizer” of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).

Following the attacks, nine American and Israeli victims filed a lawsuit against both AMP and SJP, alleging the groups are not merely supporting Hamas’s campaign abroad but are actively aiding efforts to incite chaos, violence, and terror within the United States.

It also alleges:

[AMP] serves as Hamas’s propaganda division in the United States. AMP was founded from the ashes of disbanded organizations created by senior Hamas officials after those organizations and related individuals were found criminally and civilly liable for providing material support to Hamas and other affiliated terrorist groups.

6. Center for Third World Organizing

Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) has consolidated three extremist groups under its “hub”: Ruckus Society, BlackOUT Collective and the Black Land Liberation Initiative.

Ruckus Society is a militant “direct action” group that boasts of its role in the 2020 Minnesota riots. In its own review of 2020–2021 activities, it claimed to have “trained thousands, supported over 100 organizations, and helped build movements.” According to InfluenceWatch, its training materials openly advocate “tactics to resist the unjust system,” including illegal methods such as civil disobedience.

The BlackOUT Collective, which brands itself a “Black direct action organization,” produced a pro-Hamas guide glorifying the October 7 attacks. The guide incorporates Ruckus Society content promoting unlawful direct actions.

The Black Land Liberation Initiative calls for the return of wealth and land to Black communities across the U.S. and the diaspora. It pledges to “build liberated Black spaces, institutions, and power” until what it deems stolen property is returned.

CTWO has also fiscally sponsored the pro-terrorism group Dissenters, whose website now redirects donors to the Action Network.

7. Progress Unity Fund

PUF is the fiscal sponsor for the pro-terrorism group Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER Coalition) and maintains close ties to Marxist organizations like the Party for Socialism and Liberation and Workers World Party.

On October 8, ANSWER backed a Times Square protest organized by the China-linked People’s Forum that celebrated the October 7 attacks. It also signed a statement from the Committee of Anti-Imperialists in Solidarity with Iran, expressing support for Hamas, the Syrian regime, and other Iranian-backed terrorists—while siding with Russia over Ukraine, the U.S., and NATO. The statement further justified Iran’s direct attacks on Israel.

8. People’s Forum

The People’s Forum, a self-described Marxist socialist group, plays a central role in pro-terrorism networks linked to the Chinese Communist Party.

On October 8, it organized a Times Square protest explicitly supporting the October 7 attacks and their perpetrators. It also signed a declaration from the Committee of Anti-Imperialists in Solidarity with Iran, backing Iranian-aligned terrorist groups like Hamas, the Syrian dictatorship, and Russia, while endorsing Iran’s direct attacks on Israel.

Shortly after meeting with anti-Israel students from Columbia University, the group incited a riot. Although the People’s Forum offers fiscal sponsorship services, it conceals the identities of the groups it supports—making it difficult to trace the reach of this CCP-aligned entity.

9. Allied Media Projects

Allied Media Projects sponsors several pro-terrorism groups, including 18MillionRising and BLM Detroit. It also backs the Decolonizing Wealth Project, which funds the pro-terrorism Movement for Black Lives.



Credit: lev nadin. License: Shutterstock.

The Ruckus Society claimed to have “trained thousands, supported over 100 organizations, and helped build movements.”

18MillionRising framed the Hamas-led October 7 attacks as an “uprising against injustice” and later suggested that violent action on U.S. soil is equally justified—equating domestic social justice causes with Palestinian terrorism.

The Movement for Black Lives helped develop a “Black and Palestinian Solidarity Organizing Toolkit” that glorifies the October 7 attacks. BLM Detroit echoed this support, publishing multiple posts backing Hamas and dismissing criticism as mere “disinformation.”

10. Community Movement Builders

Community Movement Builders (CMB) fiscally sponsors the pro-terrorism group Black Alliance for Peace, which openly endorsed the October 7 attacks and declared a duty to support Palestinian resistance.

CMB’s X account regularly amplifies content glorifying violence and criminality, especially in connection with the Defend the Atlanta Forest/Stop Cop City movement—an anarchist-linked and subject to multiple domestic terrorism arrests.

CMB’s broader mission is to unite communist and militant-aligned activists. Its Pan-African Solidarity Network aims to mobilize Black “liberation fighters” across the U.S. and support radical groups that oppose what it calls “predatory security and colonial states.”

Among its initiatives is the Black Panther Party Veterans Mutual Aid Fund, which aids former Black Panther and Black Liberation Army members imprisoned for violent crimes. The Panther Support Committee includes Dhoruba Bin Wahad, who served 19 years for shooting two police officers.

Another member, Bilal Sunni-Ali, campaigns to free Jamil Al-Amin, a former imam convicted of killing two officers and the spiritual leader of the extremist group Ummah. According to the FBI, Ummah seeks to establish a sovereign Islamic state within the U.S., governed by Shariah law and led by Al-Amin—formerly H. Rapp Brown. Its leaders advocate violent jihad, including the killing of law enforcement. ■

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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.



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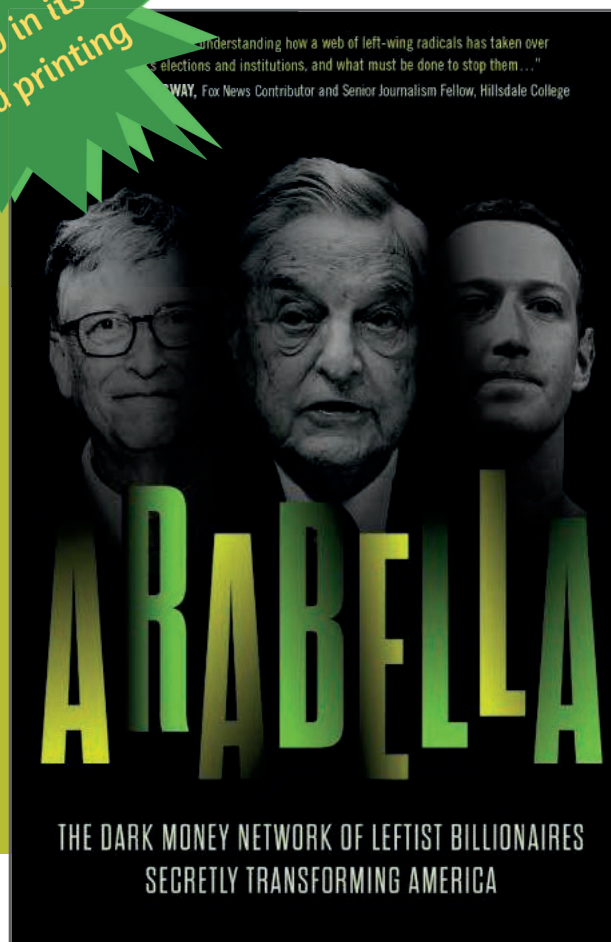
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