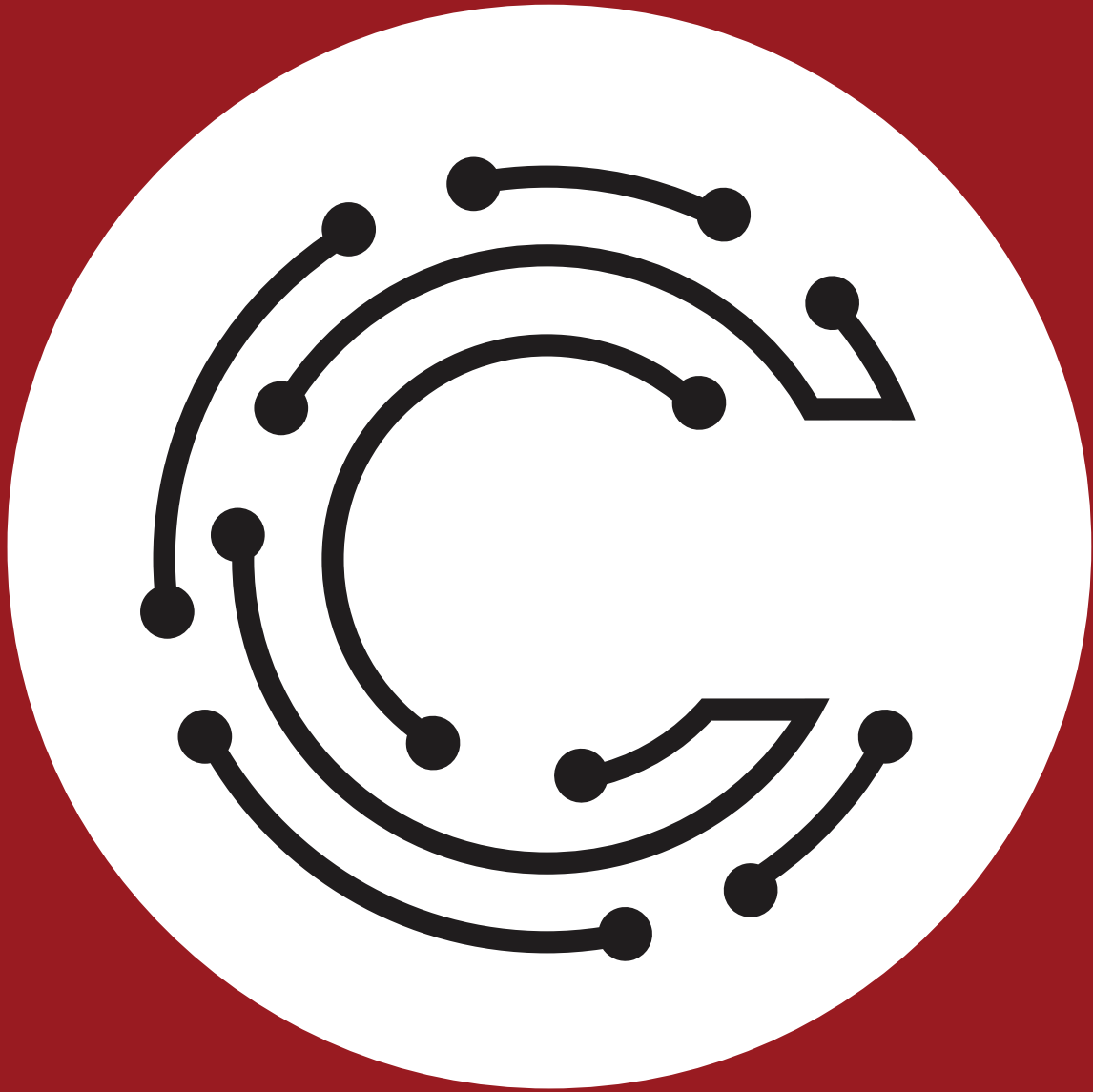


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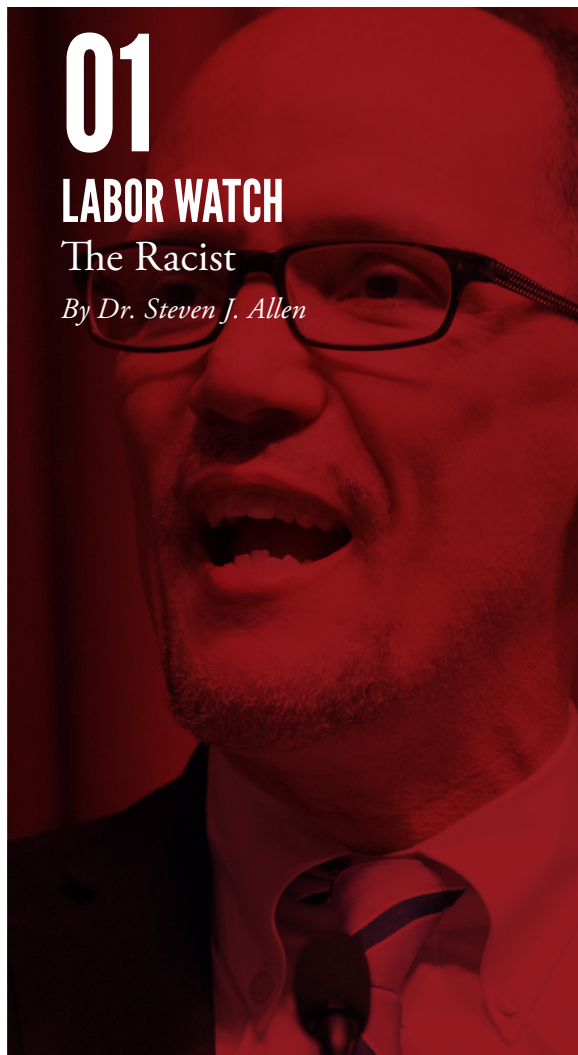
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*By Dr. Steven J. Allen*



We wish to make a correction to the August magazine. Dr. Steven J. Allen, vice president and chief investigative officer of the Capital Research Center, was not the only person to serve as a delegate to the Republican conventions for Ronald Reagan in 1976, 1980, and 1984. Van Archer Jr. also served as a delegate all three years.

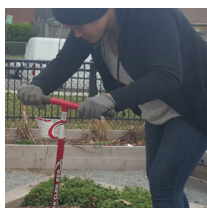


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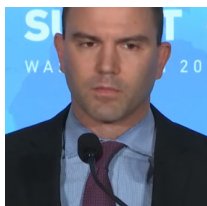


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## THE RACIST

Labor Secretary Tom Perez was a finalist for Clinton VP, would probably hold top position in HRC administration

By Steven J. Allen

Few Americans have heard of Tom Perez, but the current Secretary of Labor is a rising star on the Left and in the Democratic Party.

He was one of the front-runners for the Democratic nomination for Vice President, and, if Hillary Clinton wins, would likely play a big role in the new administration—perhaps as Attorney General.

And he is a racist. If you're in the political mainstream, the prospect of Perez as Clinton's AG, or in another top position in a new Clinton administration, should send a chill down your spine.

## ALMOST THE RUNNING MATE?

Before Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia was picked as Clinton's running mate, the Left salivated at the prospect of Perez in that position. Edward-Isaac Dove, writing in *Politico*:

Aside from the wonkiest of Washington circles and the most progressive corners of the left, no one's heard of Tom Perez. He isn't young or handsome. He has zero foreign policy experience. The highest office he's been elected to is a suburban county council.

Yet the labor secretary has emerged as a sleeper pick for vice president, with chatter building among top Democrats—including Elizabeth Warren.

Warren is a radical firebrand, now a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, who became rich and famous by exploiting "affirmative action" with the pretense that she is an American Indian. *Politico* quoted Warren during a discussion of possible VP candidates for Hillary Clinton, "Oh, you'd be great, Tom." *Politico* added that the "other senators quickly started agreeing [that] maybe Perez was the one who could make Clinton stick to the progressive politics people in that group wanted."

According to *Politico*, many top aides in the White House favored the selection of Kaine, who's close to the President.



But over beers, some of the rank-and-file White House staffers who are part of what's been referred to as the "cult of Perez" see things differently.

"My strong guess," one White House aide said, "is that if you took a straw poll of staffers here about who they'd pick for the ticket, Tom would do very well." ...

Perez has more credibility with committed progressives—who measure politicians by their battle scars—than almost anyone else around. The unions love him so much that they campaigned against his nomination to replace Eric Holder as attorney general in late 2014 because they didn't want to lose him at the Labor Department.

Per *Politico*, Perez is adored in the White House, a key player in setting President Obama's second-term agenda. He was a top prospect for VP because he checked the boxes that, many Clinton supporters thought, would make for a

---

*Dr. Steven J. Allen (J.D., Ph.D.) is vice president & chief investigative officer of the Capital Research Center, and editor of Labor Watch. This article incorporates material from CRC senior vice president Matthew Vadum and from the David Horowitz Freedom Center's website Discover the Networks.*

good pick: He's the son of immigrants (Dominican). He's wildly popular among "Progressives" (the Far Left), yet he endorsed Clinton early in the 2016 contest, only the third current Cabinet member to do so. And, unlike Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julián Castro, who was his rival as a possible Latino selection, Perez speaks fluent Spanish. (Kaine's fluency in Spanish, gained as a missionary, is said to have been a factor in his selection.)

Before the final decision, Perez appeared on *USA Today's* "power ranking" of potential Democratic VP candidates, ranked as the third most likely pick for Clinton's running mate.

Chris Cillizza of the *Washington Post* ranked Perez as fourth most likely, on the ground that "The Labor secretary checks two boxes for Clinton (and, yes, some of vice presidential picking is box-checking): He's well regarded in liberal circles, and he's Hispanic. Also, he's not named 'Elizabeth Warren' or 'Bernie Sanders'—neither of whom Clinton wants to pick."

“

*"Perez has shown a glaring inability to tell the truth and dispassionately apply the basic constitutional tenet of 'equal justice under law.'"*

— Tom Fitton, President, Judicial Watch

Amie Parnes of *The Hill*, who put Perez on her "top five" list, made essentially the same argument: "Perez is very well-liked in the White House and maintains a close relationship with Obama chief of staff Denis McDonough. Many see him as having all the right attributes to fill the ticket and win over progressives. Unions love him, plus he speaks fluent Spanish, which could help further drive Latinos to Clinton's column."

Alex Pfeiffer wrote in the *Daily Caller*: "There has been much worry recently on the Left that Trump could get union support not typical for a GOP candidate, and Perez could quell those fears." (See our report on Trump's appeal to union members in the April and May 2016 issues of *Labor Watch*.)

Mary Kay Henry, president of the Service Employees International Union, called Perez "one of the finest labor secretaries since Frances Perkins," FDR's labor secretary.

In *National Review Online*, Jim Geraghty noted Perez's relative obscurity outside the world of unions and leftists.

On the shortlist of potential Democratic running mates filled with senators and governors, one name stands out for its obscurity. *Tom Perez? Who? ...*

Perez's liberal credentials are as impeccable as they come. [The leftist magazine] *Mother Jones* called him "one of the administration's most stalwart progressives." Conservative policy experts who have followed his work in the Justice and Labor Departments consider him perhaps the Obama administration's most radical and relentless ideologue.

Iain Murray, the Competitive Enterprise Institute's vice president of strategy, calls Perez "possibly the most dangerous person in the administration right now."

"His rewriting of U.S. labor law is probably the most fundamental attack on the free-enterprise system going on at present," Murray says. "If he has his way, we won't just revert to the 1930s. We'll do things that even Franklin Roosevelt couldn't do, like eliminate vast numbers of independent-contractor jobs and unionize those that remain."

Murray sees Perez's ideological vision as driven by an arrogant insistence that most workers are oblivious to their own exploitation by employers, and need the state to intervene to help them understand proper "work-life balance" or to make basic choices about work.

His work in the Justice Department was just as extreme. "He essentially operationalized Eric Holder's radicalization of the Department of Justice," says Ilya Shapiro, a senior fellow in Constitutional Studies at the Cato Institute. "No civil-rights theory too crazy to pursue, no litigants too awkward to pay off."

"Perez has shown a glaring inability to tell the truth and dispassionately apply the basic constitutional tenet of 'equal justice under law,'" declared Judicial Watch President Tom Fitton.

## ORIGIN STORY

A 2005 profile in the *Washington Post* described Perez's background:

Perez, 43, grew up in Buffalo in the 1960s and '70s,



the youngest of five brothers and sisters. His maternal grandfather, Rafael Brache, was the Dominican Republic's ambassador to the United States in the early years of Rafael Trujillo's dictatorship. After Brache spoke out against the regime in 1935, the ambassador was declared *persona non grata* by his own government. He chose to stay in the United States.

Brache's daughter Grace, Perez's mother, married Rafael Perez, a Dominican who received U.S. citizenship after serving in the Army following World War II. "Politics," Perez says, "was my dad's passion," in part because it had cost his father-in-law his country. Both men risked their lives by defying Trujillo.



Perez's father, Rafael, was a physician in Atlanta, then moved to Buffalo, New York, to work at a veterans' hospital. *The Post*:

Perez's father was a Democrat unimpressed by centrists: "A Rockefeller Republican is still a Republican," he used to say. Rafael Perez died when Tom was 12; he found a surrogate in a friend's father, a Teamster who had lost his job. The union helped keep his friend's family afloat in hard times, and their experience made Perez a labor supporter.

Perez was born in Buffalo in 1961. He graduated from Canisius High School, an all-male Roman Catholic Jesuit private school in Buffalo, in 1979. To supplement grant and scholarship money for college, Perez worked his way through school, as a trash collector, in a warehouse, in Brown University's dining hall, and for the Rhode Island Commission for Human Rights.

In 1981, he received an A.B. in international relations and political science from Brown University. In 1986, as a Harvard law student, he worked as a law clerk for U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese (who today is a member of the board of directors of the Capital Research Center). In 1987, he received a J.D. from Harvard Law and a Master of Public Policy from Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

From 1987 to 1989 Perez was a law clerk for a federal judge,

Zita Weinshienk of the U.S. District Court in Colorado, who had been appointed by President Jimmy Carter. In 1989-95, he was a federal prosecutor, then as deputy assistant attorney general for civil rights under President Clinton's attorney general, [Janet Reno](#). From 1995 to 1998, Perez worked as special counsel to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

In 1996, Perez was instrumental in the passage of the Church Arson Prevention Act, a bill founded on the false premise that African-American churches were being targeted at a disproportionately high rate by arsonists. (For information on the church arson hoax, see "A Church Arson Epidemic? It's Smoke and Mirrors" by Michael Fumento, *Wall Street Journal*, July 8, 1996, and "Fanning Imaginary Flames: A Look Back At The Great Church Fire Propaganda Campaign" by Scott Swett, *American Thinker*, June 11, 2011.)

In the last part of the Clinton administration, Perez served as deputy assistant attorney general and in the Department of Health and Human Services as director of the Office of Civil Rights. He chaired the inter-agency Worker Exploitation Task Force, which focused on the working conditions of illegal aliens.

An advocate of "disparate impact" theory, which sees racism as a driving force in human affairs, he worked to eliminate the supposedly disproportionate assignment of black and Hispanic students to special-education programs and Asian and "white" students to gifted-and-talented programs. Perez and others of his mindset, in the name of fighting racism, have effectively denied many students the sort of education that was appropriate to their academic ability.

Perez was a volunteer for CASA de Maryland, a George Soros-funded advocacy group representing the interests of illegal aliens. He served on the organization's board from 1995 to 2002, rising to president. Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) has called CASA de Maryland "a fringe advocacy group that has instructed illegal immigrants on how to escape detection and also promoted illegal labor sites and driver's licenses for illegal immigrants." Big donors to CASA de Maryland include Soros's Foundation to Promote Open Society (at least \$270,000 in 2010-2013), the National Council of La Raza (\$70,000 in 2004-2013), and two government-supported entities, the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corp. (at least \$40,000 in 2011-2013) and the Maryland Legal Services Corporation, which is supposed to provide legal services to the poor (at least \$630,203 in 2005-2013). For more on CASA de Maryland, see our sister publication *Organization Trends*, September 2012.

Perez was elected in 2002 to the county council of Montgomery County, Maryland, outside Washington,

D.C. In that race, with the help of unions, he defeated the local head of the Chamber of Commerce. As a council member (and, in 2004-2005, council president), he continued his advocacy for illegal aliens, calling for the state to recognize *matricula consular* cards, issued by Mexican and Guatemalan consular offices, as a valid form of ID. Such cards, notoriously prone to being issued and used fraudulently, help illegals get easier access to taxpayer-funded social services.

“

*In 2004, Perez went before the Maryland state legislature to testify against a number of immigration-enforcement bills, including one that sought to prevent illegals from acquiring driver's licenses and another proposing that people be required to prove their citizenship before registering to vote.*

He sponsored a bill aimed at giving illegals better access to banks and backed a policy to permit illegal immigrants who attend college in their state of residence to qualify for the same discounted, in-state tuition rates that are available to legal residents. In 2004, he went before the Maryland state legislature to testify against a number of immigration-enforcement bills, including one that sought to prevent illegals from acquiring driver's licenses and another proposing that people be required to prove their citizenship before registering to vote. He opposed efforts to study and document the financial burdens that illegal aliens placed on the Maryland state budget.

From 2001 to 2007, Perez taught at the University of Maryland School of Law and, part-time, at the George Washington University School of Public Health. Former Justice Department (DOJ) official J. Christian Adams (about whom, more below) wrote that Perez, during his time working on healthcare policy, he focused on matters of race. “While at George Washington University's School of Public Health in Washington, D.C., his teaching and research centered on ‘health care workforce diversity’ and ‘racial and ethnic disparities in health status.’” At the University of Maryland's School of Law in downtown Baltimore, he taught courses and law clinics which ‘explored the

intersection between health care and civil rights issues.’”

In 2005, Perez served as a trustee and an action-fund board member of the Center for American Progress, a left-wing group closely associated with the Clintons. Its founder, John Podesta, served as President Bill Clinton's chief of staff and currently chairs the Hillary Clinton presidential campaign.

In 2007, he ran for attorney general in Maryland, backed by the teachers' union and the Service Employees International Union, but was disqualified by the Maryland Court of Appeals (the state's supreme court) for failure to meet the requirement that the state AG have 10 years' experience as a lawyer in Maryland. (He had joined the state Bar in 2001.) After the disqualification, he focused on supporting Martin O'Malley in the governor's race and was rewarded by Gov. O'Malley with the appointment to run the Maryland Department of Labor, Licensing and Regulation.

In 2008, Perez backed Barack Obama's presidential campaign and served on the presidential transition team. President Obama nominated Perez to be assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division (CRD). His controversial background brought the opposition of Sens. Tom Coburn (R-Okla.) and David Vitter (R-La.), and the confirmation process was further slowed when it was revealed that the Civil Rights Division had dismissed an open-and-shut, caught-on-video case of election-day voter intimidation by a gun-toting member of the racist New Black Panther Party. (Perez, it would be revealed, was a key player in the decision to dismiss.) Nominated in March 2009, Perez was not confirmed until October. The vote was 72-22, with only Coburn and Vitter speaking against confirmation.

## RACE OBSESSION

Upon taking office, Perez declared that part of the mission of the Civil Rights Division was to help those Americans who were “living in the shadows”—illegal aliens as well as “our Muslim-American brothers and sisters subject to post-9/11 backlash,” “communities of color disproportionately affected by the subprime meltdown,” and “all too many children lacking quality education.”

Perez pledged to greatly expand DOJ's prosecution of alleged hate crimes, depicting such crimes as predominantly cases in which a “white” person targets an African-American. (Actually, according to statistics gathered by the Obama administration, an African-American is 12 times as likely to murder a “white” person as vice versa.)

In his new job, Perez focused on cases of “disparate impact.” Under that concept, any mathematical difference among



groups serves as *prima facie* evidence—proof, unless rebutted—that illegal discrimination has occurred.

An example: American Samoans are 57 times as likely as other Americans to play in the NFL. Under “disparate impact” theory, that fact would be *prima facie* evidence that the NFL discriminates against non-Samoans.

Under this concept, it would be unlawful for an employer to, say, use test scores as a basis for hiring or promotion, unless different groups all did equally well on the tests.

In 2009, Perez and the Civil Rights Division (CRD) pressured several universities to discontinue an experimental program whereby students could purchase their textbooks in digital formats which they could read via the Amazon Kindle, because the Kindle—withstanding its text-to-voice feature for the narration of books—was not fully accessible (in its menu options) to blind students. Until the Kindle rectified this injustice, said Perez, universities that made their textbooks available on the e-reader would be investigated for possible violations of the Americans with Disabilities Act.



That year, Perez and the CRD launched an investigation of Maricopa County, Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio, known for his strict enforcement of immigration laws. This investigation, which led to a federal lawsuit, grew out of a February 2009 demand by some Democrats in Congress that the Justice Department examine Arpaio’s “discriminatory” practices toward illegal aliens. Perez and his associates also sued to block an Arizona law deputizing state police to check the immigration status of criminal suspects whom they believed might be in the U.S. illegally.

On April 23, 2012, Perez’s Justice Department sued the city of Jacksonville, Florida, claiming that its use of written tests to determine promotions in its fire department had “resulted in a disparate impact upon black candidates,” who registered passing grades at significantly lower rates than others.

“This complaint should send a clear message to all public employers that employment practices that have the effect of excluding qualified candidates on account of race will not be tolerated,” said Perez.

This was just one of numerous Perez/DOJ lawsuits designed to force various municipal fire (and police) departments to do away with written tests. In a case against the New York Fire Department, Perez and DOJ argued in favor of what amounted to strict racial quotas, even if the candidates scored as low as 30 percent on their qualifying exams.

Likewise, bankers and mortgage lenders are committing discrimination if they reject loan applications for different groups at different rates, even if that’s because some people are rated, based on objective criteria, as less likely to pay back their loans. Such lenders, says Perez, discriminate “with a smile” and “fine print,” but their subtle brand of racism is “every bit as destructive as the cross burned in a neighborhood.” In other words, they’re Klansmen!

Remember: Forcing lenders to give loans to unqualified borrowers, in order to avoid accusations of discrimination, was the spark that led to the financial crisis of 2008. Perez would continue to support the idea of government intimidation of lenders, based on their “disparate” lending, long after the American people and the world saw the disastrous consequences of a race-based lending policy.

Perez’s desire to protect the preposterous basis for his policies—the idea that “disparate impact” is *prima facie* evidence of discrimination—led to a scandal known as “Perez’s *quid pro quo*.”

According to Perez in testimony before Congress, the Civil Rights Division filed “a record eight lending-related federal lawsuits” in 2011, resulting in eight settlements that netted “more than \$350 million in relief to the victims of illegal lending practices.” In many of those cases, Perez used “disparate impact” analysis to advance the notion that if banks were rejecting “white” and “nonwhite” loan applicants at different rates, they were, by definition (and regardless of intent), engaging in discrimination that violated the Fair Housing Act.

In February 2012, Perez had used his influence to prevent the U.S. Supreme Court from hearing *Magner v. Gallagher*, a case where local slumlords from St. Paul, Minnesota, were accusing that city of racism for enforcing its housing code. St. Paul, in turn, challenged the notion (embraced by Perez) that racial discrimination can be proven simply by presenting disparate-impact statistics, rather than actually ascertaining intent or examining the specifics of each case.

Here's how it all went down, according to an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*:

Soon after Mr. Perez assumed his job [at the Civil Rights Division] in October 2009, Attorney General Eric Holder established a unit under Mr. Perez to examine loans to minorities. The unit proceeded to threaten a series of lawsuits against banks under the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

The lenders quickly settled these cases rather than run the reputational risk of being called racist in court. But on November 7, 2011 the Supreme Court agreed to hear the City of St. Paul's appeal in *Magner v. Gallagher*, which concerned the legality of disparate-impact theory in housing. St. Paul believed it had an excellent chance to prevail because the text of the Fair Housing Act doesn't explicitly allow for disparate impact.

That's when the Obama Administration kicked into gear. On November 17, Mr. Perez emailed a former colleague ... to probe if city officials might be convinced to withdraw *Magner* ... according to documents that the Justice Department sent to Congressional investigators. ... [Perez was referred to another lawyer] who was advising St. Paul on a pending False Claims Act case against the city filed by a private citizen.

Mr. Perez had stumbled onto a potential quid pro quo: The feds could decline to intervene in the false claims case (known as Newell) in exchange for the city withdrawing *Magner* from the Supreme Court ... [A series of contacts and negotiations followed.] In early January, Justice made a proposal to St. Paul: The feds would decline to intervene in another private False Claims Act case against St. Paul (known as Ellis) if the city would withdraw *Magner* from the Supreme Court. Then Justice would also decline to intervene in Newell.

In other words, Perez and the DOJ agreed to give up a case that could have recovered \$200 million for taxpayers, in exchange for the City of St. Paul dropping its legal challenge to Perez's theory of "disparate impact." Why? Because at that point, prior to the death of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, it appeared that the Court would throw out the concept, which is critical to the success of Perez and other race-baiting politicians. The *Journal* summed it up: "A senior Justice Department official, Mr. Perez, intervened to undermine two civil complaints against the City of St. Paul in order to get St. Paul to drop a Supreme Court case that might have blown

apart the legal rationale for his dubious discrimination crusade against law-abiding businesses."

## VOTE FRAUD

Perez and his associates assert that voter ID laws—the same kind of laws used in Mexico, in Canada, and in South Africa under Nelson Mandela—are a racist effort to deprive "people of color" of their voting rights. Consistent with that claim, Perez led the Obama administration's assault on voter ID laws during the run-up to the 2012 elections.

In December 2011, for instance, the Justice Department blocked a new South Carolina law requiring voters to present valid identification at their polling places on Election Day. Perez contended that the law violated Section 5 of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, because of a supposed racial disparity: that 8.4 percent of the state's registered "white" voters lacked photo ID, compared to 10 percent of "nonwhite" voters.



*The U.S. Constitution and federal statutory law prohibit the denial of voting rights. Leftists like Perez get around that restriction by blocking measures like voter ID laws. As a result, real voters have their votes cancelled out by fraudulent voters.*

Perez also led a 2012 Civil Rights Division lawsuit that succeeded in overturning Texas's voter ID law.

In 2012, Florida election officials had identified some 53,000 still-registered voters who were deceased, and another 2,600 who were non-citizens. State officials began an effort to verify the identity and eligibility of the people listed on its voter rolls—and Perez and DOJ ordered the state of Florida to halt its efforts.

DOJ explained its actions by saying that it had not yet been able to verify that Florida's efforts "neither have the purpose nor will have the effect of discriminating on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group." In a letter to the Florida Secretary of State, Perez charged that Florida was violating the

National Voter Registration Act and the Voting Rights Act. “Please immediately cease this unlawful conduct,” he wrote.

The U.S. Constitution and federal statutory law prohibit the denial of voting rights. Leftists like Perez get around that restriction by blocking measures like voter ID laws. As a result, real voters have their votes cancelled out by fraudulent voters.

Actual law runs against Perez’s efforts to prevent honest voting. For example, the Supreme Court in 2008 ruled 6-3 that an Indiana law requiring photo ID did not present an undue burden on voters. In recent years, officials in various states have bent over backwards to ensure that all people have access to them. For example, South Carolina’s law explicitly addressed potential disenfranchisement by offering state-issued IDs free of charge, and free transportation to anyone who needed a ride to a location where a picture ID could be obtained. South Carolina also showed how badly the state needed voter ID when an extensive data review conducted by Department of Motor Vehicles Director Kevin Shwedo found that more than 900 deceased people had “voted” in recent elections in South Carolina—depriving more than 900 living people of their right to vote by cancelling their votes out.

## WHISTLE BLOWN

In 2010, a Justice Department official, J. Christian Adams, resigned from the department to protest the “corrupt nature” of DOJ’s dismissal of the New Black Panther Party voter-intimidation case mentioned above. The case involved two Philadelphia-based members of the New Black Panther Party who had intimidated voters with racial slurs and threats of violence on Election Day 2008. Adams cited Perez and Thomas Perrelli (the associate attorney general) as the two DOJ officials most responsible for dropping the case. In July 2010, Adams gave damning public testimony about how Perez and other Obama DOJ officials believed that “civil rights law should not be enforced in a race-neutral manner, and should never be enforced against blacks or other national minorities.”

In sworn testimony before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Perez claimed that “no political leadership” was involved in the DOJ decision to back down on a voter-intimidation lawsuit brought against the New Black Panther Party. However, the organization Judicial Watch, in a Freedom of Information Act suit, later obtained documents contradicting Perez’s claim. According to

Judge Reggie B. Walton, “The documents reveal that political appointees within DOJ were conferring about the status and resolution of the New Black Panther Party case in the days preceding the DOJ’s dismissal of claims in that case, which would appear to contradict Assistant Attorney General Perez’s testimony that political leadership was not involved in that decision.”

This contradiction led Judicial Watch to declare that “Thomas Perez has shown a glaring inability to follow his sworn duties to tell the truth and dispassionately apply the basic constitutional tenet of equal justice under law.”

In September 2010, Christopher Coates, chief of the DOJ’s Voting Section, testified before the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and corroborated Adams’ assertion that the department had routinely ignored civil rights cases involving “white” victims. For more than a year, Perez had denied the Commission’s requests to hear Coates’ testimony and had instructed Coates not to testify. But Coates finally chose to go public with his story and asked for protection under whistleblower laws. In a similar vein, an Inspector General report released in March 2013 stated that Perez believed voting rights laws did “not cover white citizens.”



*An Inspector General report released in March 2013 stated that Perez believed voting rights laws did “not cover white citizens.”*

In July 2011, Perez addressed a luncheon meeting of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), a group with which he has long had a close relationship. NCLR supports amnesty for illegal entry/immigration, and takes its name from the term “La Raza,” which means “the race” in the context of the supposed racial superiority of Latinos. (The late Cesar Chavez considered the term racist and refused to use it, noting that, “when you say ‘la raza,’ you are saying an anti-gringo thing, and our fear is that it won’t stop there” before being used to exclude other groups from “la raza” status, including dark-skinned Mexicans. Chavez’s lieutenant LeRoy Chatfield once said, “A few months ago the Ford Foundation funded a la raza group and Cesar really told them off. The foundation liked the outfit’s sense of pride or something, and Cesar tried to explain to them what the origin of the word was,



that it's related to Hitler's concept," i.e., of a superior or "master" race.)

In his remarks to the "La Raza" group, Perez praised NCLR's work and expressed gratitude for its steadfast support of President Obama's agenda. He also lauded the organization's members as valuable "change agents" and "serial activists" who will help "move America forward." And he asserted that those who oppose a left-wing version of "immigration reform" are bigots, creators of "an absolute headwind of intolerance."

In August and September 2011, the journalism group PJ Media published a series of exposés revealing that, without exception, every attorney hired by the Civil Rights Division under Perez had a pedigree as an activist for the Left or the Democratic Party. (The Justice Department refused to provide the résumés, but PJ Media sued successfully to obtain them.)

In March 2013, the *American Spectator* expanded on PJ Media's work, noting that "Perez has overseen most of the unprecedentedly naked politicization of DOJ's Civil Rights Division," as evidenced by the fact that "every one" of the 113 people his CRD had hired for supposedly non-political civil-service positions were "demonstrably liberal activists." Moreover, said the report, Perez had "insisted on personally approving each of these new hires."

## FROM DOJ TO DOL

In 2013, President Obama nominated Perez for Secretary of Labor. Praise for the nomination came pouring in from the Left. AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka said, "At a time when our politics tilts so heavily toward corporations and the very wealthy, our country needs leaders like Tom Perez to champion the cause of ordinary working people."

Conservative commentators strongly opposed the nomination. Michelle Malkin, for example, referred to Perez as an "extremist race-baiter" for "selectively enforc[ing] the law in a racially, not neutral way." And Senate GOP Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) called Perez "a committed ideologue who appears willing, quite frankly, to say or do anything to achieve his ideological end."

Most Republican Senators participated in the filibuster against Perez's confirmation, but six "RINOs" joined Democrats to invoke cloture and bring about a vote. (A "RINO" or "Republican In Name Only" is a Republican who runs from fights with the Left.) The Republicans who backed cloture were Lamar Alexander and Bob Corker of Tennessee, Susan Collins of Maine, Mark Kirk of Illinois,

Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, and John McCain of Arizona.

Having voted to bring Perez's nomination forward, the six switched and opposed his confirmation on the final vote. Thus, Perez was confirmed with a 54-46 party-line vote.

Little more than a year after his confirmation, *Politico* reported that Perez had "energized" the Labor Department. Enforcement had gone up, the department was raising the profile of issues like minimum wage and paid medical leave, and employees were happy. According to a survey by the Office of Personnel Management, federal government employees since 2011 had been reporting increasing disengagement and dissatisfaction, employees at Labor reported feeling more engaged and more satisfied.



And why not? Perez has turned the Labor Department into a regulation-issuing machine, just as the Left wants.

### • PERSUADER RULE

As Diana Furchtgott-Roth of the Manhattan Institute warned in the May 2013 *Labor Watch*, the Labor Department changed the so-called "persuader rule," overturning more than 50 years of precedent. This rule stacks the deck against employers when employees are considering unionization, requiring employers to publicly disclose any consultants they hire when faced with unionization efforts.

According to *Politico*, while the rule doesn't require that employers disclose what advice they are being given, "it will require them to report when they 'plan, direct, or coordinate managers to persuade workers; provide persuader materials to employers to disseminate to workers; conduct union avoidance seminars; and develop or implement personnel policies or actions to persuade workers' on union organizing, according to the Labor Department."

Unionization votes are often forced on employees in short

periods of time so they are pushed to make rush decisions with little information. Meanwhile, their employer is limited from discussing the issue with them, even as they are bombarded with union propaganda. Perez seems to care only that, “too often, workers don’t know that the messages being delivered by management, including trusted front-line supervisors, have been in fact created by paid outsiders.”

Furchtgott-Roth noted in a recent *Wall Street Journal* op-ed that the new rule “will require companies to make public the names of the outside attorneys and consultants that give them advice on unionization. These attorneys and consultants, in turn, would have to make public all the other clients they help with union matters, and how much they charged these clients. The rule would deter many if not most outside attorneys and consultants from offering their services to companies facing a unionization drive. The burden will fall heavily on small businesses that do not have the in-house staff of large corporations. The rule does not apply to consultants offering advice to unions.” How ridiculous is the new rule? “Suppose a firm puts in a gym at the same time as a rival is unionized. The gym could be construed as an attempt to fend off a union drive and the designer could qualify as an adviser—and be forced to declare its other clients.”

#### • OVERTIME RULE

*Politico* called the overtime rule “the most ambitious intervention in the wage economy in at least a decade.” Christine Harbin of Americans for Prosperity said the rule—

will dramatically increase the salary threshold exemption for overtime pay from \$23,660 to [\$47,476], requiring employers to pay time-and-a-half for hours worked exceeding 40 hours per week for employees below the arbitrary new limit.

Like the fiduciary rule, this overtime rule will make it significantly more difficult for many Americans to move up the economic ladder—particularly those who are just starting their careers. Moreover, recent research from the Mercatus Center at George Mason University shows that employers will face a high cost of compliance and workers will face cut hours, lower overall compensation, and less flexibility.

The Labor Department itself predicts that pay will drop for salary workers covered by the new overtime threshold by around 5.3 percent next year. Businesses will face added costs in money and time as they move employees from salaried positions to hourly in order to better keep track of hours and not run afoul of the law. Overall, retail chains,

restaurants, colleges, and any small business with on-site managers will be the hardest hit.

As Walter Olson of Cato wrote, this regulation would “frustrate ambitious individuals who willingly tackle long hours to rise into management ranks.” It would also “force millions of workers into time-clock or hour-tracking arrangements even if they themselves prefer the freedom and perks of salaried status.”

When House Democrats attempted to make a point by complying with the spirit of the rules in their own offices, they allegedly faced “a series of headaches including the prospect of unanswered phones and other gaps in constituent service, layoffs, and even closure of some district offices.”

Trey Kovacs of the Competitive Enterprise Institute wrote in *The Hill* that businesses will, of necessity, cope with the overtime rule by cutting hours and pay. “Cutting wages would make up for 80 percent of overtime costs, according to U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics economist Anthony Barkume. Or businesses could hire more part-time employees and hourly workers, limiting workers’ hours to 40 and reducing fringe benefits. Workers will bear the brunt of the harmful impact of the overtime rule and its unintended consequences. Salaried employees now on a management track may have their work status downgraded to hourly, which will have some impact on their long-term career prospects, earnings, and other benefits, like healthcare and a pension.”

The overtime rule will be particularly tough on women. In the December 2014 *Labor Watch*, Diana Furchtgott-Roth noted that, as the rule was proposed, “employees who receive overtime pay would not be allowed to take time off, or comp time; they would have to receive overtime pay. Some people may prefer overtime pay, but others, especially working mothers, may prefer more leisure. ... Overtime rules hurt women by reducing flexibility with their employer. Many women with children, particularly young mothers who cannot afford childcare, would prefer flexibility in their schedule rather than extra overtime pay. When overtime hours are allowed to count toward time off instead of pay, women can change their work schedules according to their needs.”

#### • FIDUCIARY RULE

The Labor Department’s new “fiduciary rule” adds new disclosure requirements and compliance costs on financial advisors, which could raise the costs of these advisors beyond what lower-income Americans are able to pay. Christine Harbin of Americans for Prosperity wrote in the *Daily Caller* that the fiduciary rule

will empower unelected, unaccountable bureaucrats



to take control over Americans' retirement choices by imposing significant new disclosure requirements and compliance burdens on the nation's financial advisors—and at a significant cost to ordinary workers. American Action Forum estimates that the final rule will create nearly 57,000 paperwork hours and will cost Americans over \$75 billion in duplicative fees, making it the most expensive proposed or finalized rule of 2016.

For average Americans, the fiduciary rule means that they will face restricted access to financial advice and have a harder time opening and maintaining an Individual Retirement Account (IRA). Small businesses may be less likely to offer 401(k)s to their employees. Experts predict many brokers will stop serving households with less than \$50,000 in assets—small investors who need guidance on their investment decisions the most.

Congress passed a resolution expressing disapproval over the fiduciary rule; the House had a party-line 234-183 vote, while the Senate voted 56-41 to criticize the rule. But Perez and the Labor Department are charging forward with the rule, regardless of the will of Congress.

#### • JOINT EMPLOYERS

Perhaps the most insidious action perpetrated by Perez's Department of Labor (DOL) is the redefinition of the term "joint employer." According to Iain Murray, writing at *National Review Online*, the category of joint employer applies when "two or more employers are jointly responsible or liable for a worker's employment conditions."

By reinterpreting legal terminology—without notice, without a hearing—the Labor Department under Tom Perez is threatening the future of some 800,000 small businesses that use the franchise model. National franchisors (for example, McDonald's) would be held liable for actions taken by each of the thousands of McDonald's franchises—which would mean that McDonald's could no longer afford to let the local franchises be run by local people. Meanwhile, local franchises would be subject to the same regulations that apply to colossal multinational companies.

Here's what we wrote about this, in the March 2015 *Labor Watch*:

If you've taken your car to Jiffy Lube, stayed at a Choice Hotel, or ordered a pizza from Papa John's, you've most likely patronized a business built on the franchise model. From KFC, Wendy's, Arby's, and Dairy Queen, to Planet Fitness, Ace Hardware, Supercuts, RE/MAX, and H&R Block, franchises

are at the heart of small business in America.

Despite the strong national brand identification associated with these names, they are actually part of the small business mosaic of America. Franchisees are independent business people, running their own shops under the marquee of a brand customers that know and trust, often actually located on Main Streets across the country. Franchises give small businesses, many of them family businesses—literally "mom-and-pop operations"—the opportunity to take advantage of national brand-name recognition and advertising, supply networks, business expertise, and other advantages that would otherwise be available only to the big guys. Many franchise operators are the first in their families to run businesses, and many are immigrants or members of "minority" groups.

There's a world of difference between a local franchise business and a multinational corporation. The point seems so obvious it should hardly need to be made. Yet a series of developments in federal labor law is lumping these two classes of businesses together in a way that could imperil some of the 8.9 million jobs the franchise industry provides in this country.

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In addition, the new rules could lump subcontractors in with the companies that hire them to perform such services as waste disposal and recycling, office cleaning, clothes cleaning, security, parking services, and photocopying.

The inevitable result of this is obvious. Being held liable for labor decisions whether they make them or not, corporations will bring local personnel decisions under their control, effectively ending the franchise model and destroying small businesses across the country.

Why would the Department of Labor do this? It's simple once you recall that Perez believes the Department exists to

serve union bosses, not workers. Today, fast-food workers can only be unionized franchise by franchise. But if fast food workers were all employed by a single large corporation, then tens if not hundreds of thousands of workers could be unionized in one fell swoop, swelling the pockets of union officers as well as the campaign chests of the Democratic candidates to whom those officers send nearly 100 percent of their organizations' political contributions.

## BUT WAIT, THERE'S MORE!

Tom Perez's record of corruption and extremism is so extensive that it's hard to keep track of all his wrongdoing and kookery. A few more examples:

- In a July 2014 speech to hundreds of students at the historically black Howard University, Perez denounced the so-called "school-to-prison pipeline" that, he suggested, funnels large numbers of African-American youth into the prison system without cause. To drive the point home, Perez declared that school authorities in Mississippi had recently had black high-schoolers arrested for infractions as small as wearing the "wrong color tie" or the "wrong color socks," or for "flatulence."

"This is Meridian, Mississippi, where we still see separate and unequal. ... We thought we had made progress [but] this is America" today. Perez assured the students that "I'm not making this up."

Yes, he was. Hoover Institution Fellow Paul Sperry noted that, in fact—

Meridian Public School District students have never been jailed simply for breaking school dress code, as he implied. That would be false imprisonment. They have, however, been mildly disciplined for wearing the wrong uniform to school. Meridian, which is mostly black, has a strict dress code to prevent gang violence. ... Perez made it sound as if Meridian were run by a bunch of white, racist Bull Connors. What he failed to mention is that the Meridian school superintendent, Dr. Alvin Taylor, and four of the five Meridian school board members are all black. So is the judge running the juvenile court.

Why would Perez say these things? Sperry's answer: "To rile young African-Americans up about the specter of a still-racist America."

- Under Perez at the Justice Department, the DOJ repeatedly slow-walked efforts intended to help ensure

that overseas military personnel (who tend to support Republican candidates by a wide margin) could exercise their voting rights. Meanwhile, Perez's division strove, without jurisdiction, to help felons (who overwhelmingly support Democratic candidates) regain voting privileges in a number of states.



*Tom Perez's record of corruption and extremism is so extensive that it's hard to keep track of all his wrongdoing.*

- During his time at the DOJ's Civil Rights Division, Perez was a featured speaker at a number of events held by the American Constitution Society, telling its members that "your mission and ours [at the Civil Rights Division] share a lot in common." ACS promotes the idea of a "living Constitution," asserting that judges can and should ignore the Constitution and just decide cases in ways that reflect the political climate of the times (which is exactly what the Supreme Court did in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 decision that established the doctrine of "separate but equal"). The ACS was founded by a law professor who was involved in the 2000 effort by Al Gore's presidential campaign to deprive Florida voters of their rights. It is the far-left counterpart to the mainstream/conservative Federalist Society. A 2014 report by our sister series, *Foundation Watch*, found that "benefactors of ACS include George Soros's Open Society Institute (\$2,201,500 since 2002), Ford Foundation (\$600,000 since 2003), Sandler Foundation (\$200,000 in 2003), Tides Foundation (\$25,000 since 2002), Barbra Streisand Foundation (\$20,000 since 2002)."

- In January 2015, Perez said that raising the minimum wage and changing the overtime rule were religious imperatives. "This is really about biblical teachings," he told an AFL-CIO conference. "This is about what is taught in the Quran and what is in the Torah and what we learn about making sure we 'do unto others.' ... This about who we are as a nation." He attacked businesses that, in his view, violate the will of God: "Low wages are a choice, not a necessity. Low benefits are a choice, not a necessity." (As noted in the June 2014 *Labor Watch*, minimum wage laws make it effectively impossible for unskilled workers to find employment, which disproportionately hurts minorities, which is why those laws were originally promoted by

groups that wanted to protect “white people’s jobs”—groups like the Ku Klux Klan.)

- It is illegal for government employees to conduct government business on a personal e-mail account or to destroy government e-mails. That’s because such e-mails belong to the taxpayers and must be kept accessible in case of Congressional or criminal investigation, or Freedom of Information Act requests from reporters and others seeking to expose corruption. Yet the Obama administration has seen one official after another caught in the practice of stealing these public documents by using private e-mail systems or by destroying e-mails on a government system. That includes former EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson, EPA Region 8 Administrator James Martin, former director of the IRS Exempt Organizations Unit Lois Lerner, and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Add Perez to the list.

At a May 2013 hearing before members of the House Oversight and Judiciary Committees, Perez testified that he could not recall ever having used his personal e-mail account to conduct Justice Department business at his Takoma Park, Maryland home. Perez was then confronted with e-mails showing conclusively that he had conducted DOJ business on his home account, and he conceded their authenticity.

- Another type of corruption in which Perez was involved is a despicable practice that allows corrupt officials to funnel money to activist groups that support them. It works like this: After plaintiffs win judgments in civil rights cases, compensatory payments then go not only to the actual victims of discrimination, but also to “qualified organizations” approved by the Justice Department. How do you “qualify”? Support the administration’s political agenda. (More on this in future publications of the Capital Research Center.)

## ONE HEARTBEAT

The prospect of Tom Perez as Vice President of the United States is one that should have received more attention during the run-up to the Democratic National Convention.

The vice presidential candidate rarely plays a significant role in voters’ choice for President. Typically, the only direct effect of the VP selection on the election results is a point or a point-and-a-half in the VP candidate’s home state, added to the vote a party would otherwise have received in that state. Indirectly, the selection is important in what it tells us about the presidential candidate’s character and

values—for example, John Kerry’s choice in 2004 of the appalling John Edwards.



*Tom Perez’s history of racialized decision-making at the Department of Justice further politicized an already tarnished executive agency, and his actions at the Department of Labor have added untold costs to small businesses and burdened our nation’s economy while benefiting his union allies.*

People should pay more attention than they do. After all, a Vice President can become President at any moment. And the odds of a Vice President eventually becoming President by succession or election are about one in four. Hillary Clinton’s running mate may have a better than average chance of making it to the Oval Office, as Robert Spencer noted at PJ Media:

... it could well be 1944 all over again. That year, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was virtually assured of victory over the strutting New York prosecutor Thomas E. Dewey. The real race was at the Democratic convention—for vice president. Everyone knew FDR was gravely ill, and that the vice presidential nominee would likely become president sometime before the 1948 election.

Sitting Vice President Henry Wallace was ultimately cast aside in favor of Harry Truman, largely because Democratic Party leaders were alarmed at the prospect of a Communist sympathizer like Wallace becoming president. (How times have changed, at least in that respect.)

Hillary Clinton is 68, and beset by a persistent cough that she has never adequately explained. According to Ed Klein, author of *Unlikeable: The Problem with Hillary*, she also suffers from “blinding headaches, exhaustion, insomnia, and a tremor in her hands.” ...

The notion that Perez, or whomever the Democratic vice presidential nominee turns out to be, could become president of the United States ... is not just a remote possibility.

Now we know that Perez won't be VP or President—not in the short run, anyway. But what will it mean if Perez is a key player in the next administration, in whatever role? J. Christian Adams, who resigned from the Justice Department to protest the policies of Perez and his allies, wrote in an April 2016 article for PJ Media:

Although much of Perez's history is well-known to PJM readers due to his many fringe policies at the Justice Department Civil Rights Division, the Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI) recently obtained his revealing eight-page résumé. Nearly every single entry of his career history involves some form of racial activism. ...

The document shows that with Perez near the White House, race-based politics and social division in America will be sure to intensify. Picking Perez would ensure the most extreme and marginalized policies of the Obama years would carry on into a Clinton administration.

With Perez in the White House, the current "war on cops" likely won't skip a beat. His résumé praises his heavy involvement in "Department efforts to address police misconduct," and for having "[p]rosecuted federal civil rights violations nationwide involving police misconduct and racial violence." His résumé also mentions a paper he published with an academic journal on what the DOJ could do to "curb police misconduct" and further police accountability.

Another career focus for Perez seems to be injecting race into health care policy. When he was appointed director of the Office for Civil Rights in the Health and Human Services Department, he worked on cases involving "redlining and other racial discrimination in health care," and "discrimination in welfare to work programs based on race."

He also worked to "address the wide-ranging challenges confronting immigrant populations seeking to access health and human services."

This means using the levers of federal power—such as attaching strings to federal money—to force local recipients of the federal money to adopt race-centric transformative policies that beltway bureaucrats dreamed up. ...

Perez is a utopian. I've sat in rooms with him listening to his progressive vision of a future free from everything he dislikes. He is a true believer

that the government can force the transformation of a culture and a society for good. He isn't enough of a student of history to know where those ideals lead.

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*Tom Perez's history of racialized decision-making at the Department of Justice further politicized an already tarnished executive agency, and his actions at the Department of Labor have added untold costs to small businesses and burdened our nation's economy while benefiting his union allies.*

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As Mitch McConnell put it when Perez was nominated to be Secretary of Labor, he is "a committed ideologue who appears willing, quite frankly, to say or do anything to achieve his ideological end." How far will his zealotry take him? In the years to come, the sky's the limit. ■

Read previous articles from the *Labor Watch* series online at [www.CapitalResearch.org/category/labor-watch/](http://www.CapitalResearch.org/category/labor-watch/).





## BLACK LIVES MATTER

Racist Provocation with Radical Roots

By James Simpson

At the time of this writing, prosecutors had just dropped charges against the last three of six police officers accused in the death of Baltimore drug dealer Freddie Gray. The decision closes an ugly chapter in that sad story, in which the highly politicized Baltimore City state's attorney, Marilyn Mosby, accused them of murder. The city descended into days of violence and destruction after Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake infamously gave space to rioters "who wished to destroy." But that riot was only one chapter in a still-evolving story of death and destruction provoked by a false narrative of oppression and police brutality.

The Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) casts itself as a spontaneous uprising born of inner-city frustration, but it is in fact the latest and most dangerous face of a web of well-funded socialist/communist organizations that have been agitating against America for decades.

BLM claims to be non-violent. According to its website (BlackLivesMatter.com), "The Black Lives Matter Network advocates for dignity, justice, and respect. ... Black activists have raised the call for an end to violence, not an escalation of it."

Yet BLM activists are routinely observed screaming violent obscenities and attacking police. For example, this past July, 21 police were injured by rocks, steel pipes, and fireworks during a demonstration in St. Paul, Minnesota, where protesters shut down the interstate for five hours. One officer suffered a spinal fracture after a concrete block was dropped on his head. At a Minneapolis fair protest last summer, BLM activists shouted, "Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon!"

In her recent book *The War on Cops*, Manhattan Institute fellow Heather Mac Donald argues that the BLM movement and the fallout from it have made the inner city much more dangerous, as police forces adopt hands-off policies in response to growing hostility. Some call it the "Ferguson effect," named after the Missouri town where a young black man, Michael Brown, was killed when he tried to kill a white police officer. Cops across the nation are afraid to patrol black neighborhoods and are overly cautious when dealing with black suspects. Despite their diminished



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forcefulness in high-crime neighborhoods, police are still being assaulted and killed.

Crime had been trending down for decades, but in 2015 homicide rates increased dramatically over 2014. In Houston, homicides were up 25.2 percent; in Washington, D.C., 54 percent; Baltimore, 58.5 percent; Milwaukee, 72.6 percent; and in Cleveland, a whopping 90 percent. Overall, homicides increased 17 percent in the 50 largest cities—the greatest increase in 25 years.

Capitalizing on inaccurate and sometimes outright deceptive media reporting on police-involved shootings, BLM agitation has provoked numerous police killings, violence, lawlessness, and unrest in minority communities throughout the U.S., culminating most recently with the horrific ambush-murders of five policemen in Dallas and three in Baton Rouge, with many more wounded. If allowed to continue, BLM agitation could lead to greater civil unrest, anarchy, civil war. With the

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*James Simpson is an economist, former White House budget analyst, businessman, and investigative journalist. Veteran researchers Trevor Loudon and Matthew Vadum (senior vice president, Capital Research Center) contributed to this report.*



support and sympathy of President Obama, the Black Lives Matter crowd appears to be spoiling for just such an outcome.

## RADICAL ROOTS

Black Lives Matter began in 2013 with a Twitter hashtag, #BlackLivesMatter, after neighborhood watchman George Zimmerman, called a “white Hispanic” in the press, was acquitted in the killing of black teenager Trayvon Martin. Radical-left activists Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi claim credit for the slogan and hashtag. Following the Michael Brown shooting in August 2014, **Dream Defenders**, an organization co-founded by (the ACORN-affiliated) **Working Families Party** activist and **Occupy Wall Street** organizer Neline Stamp, popularized the phrase “Hands Up – Don’t Shoot!” which has since become BLM’s widely recognized slogan. Not surprisingly, former **Communist Party USA** vice presidential candidate Angela Davis sits on the Dream Defenders advisory board.

Garza, Cullors, and Tometi all work for front groups of the **Freedom Road Socialist Organization**, one of the four largest radical Left organizations in the country. The others are the Communist Party USA, **Democratic Socialists of America**, and the **Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism**. Stamp’s ACORN—now rebranded under a variety of different names after its official 2010 bankruptcy—works with all four organizations, and Dream Defenders is backed by the **Service Employees International Union** (SEIU), **ACLU**, and **Southern Poverty Law Center**, among others.

The Freedom Road Socialist Organization is a hereditary descendant of the New Communist Movement inspired by Chinese dictator Mao Zedong and the many communist revolutions occurring throughout the world in the 1960s and ’70s. Freedom Road split into two separate groups in 1999, **FRSO/Fight Back** and **FRSO/OSCL (Freedom Road Socialist Organization/Organización Socialista del Camino Para la Libertad)**. Black Lives Matter and its founders are allied with the latter. (Future references to “Freedom Road” in this article refer to FRSO/OSCL.)

And lest anyone think the terms used to describe Freedom Road are too extreme, here’s an excerpt from an April 21, 2016 blog post on its website, mourning the death of “our comrade,” Tim Thomas, at 71:

Tim was a revolutionary organizer, writer and educator. ... At George Washington University, Tim

became active in the Black Liberation and Marxist movement that remained his lifelong passion. ... Tim was a leader of SOBU (Student Organization for Black Unity) and later YOBU (Youth Organization for Black Unity). He was also very active in the African Liberation Support Committee.

Tim joined the Revolutionary Workers League in 1972 and later the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), a New Communist Movement group that brought together in one organization Asian-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, African American, and white communists who shared a vision of national liberation as a critical element of communist revolution. After that group dissolved in 1990, Tim and a number of former LRS comrades came into the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, where they continue to advance the theory and practice of self-determination socialism.

As Co-Chair of FRSO’s Oppressed Nationality Commission, Tim helped us live up to our commitment to building the Black Liberation Movement through its downturns and upsurges. He wrote extensively about Bay area peoples’ movements, organizing methodology, and developments in the Black Liberation Movement. Tim saw to completion an extensive update of our Oppressed Nationality Unity Document, which was passed just last month at FRSO’s 2016 Congress. Tim also chaired a FRSO working group on immigrant rights. At the time of his death, he was collaborating with comrades on a comprehensive paper about the Black Liberation Movement.

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*The Black Lives Matter movement claims to be non-violent, yet its activists are routinely observed screaming violent obscenities and attacking police. Activists have been seen looting, setting fires, throwing rocks and steel pipes, and shutting down interstates.*

Freedom Road is comprised of dozens of groups. The radical-left model is based on building alliances of many organizations, small and large, working separate issues but dedicated ultimately to the same thing: overthrowing our society to replace it with a

hardcore socialist (or communist) one.

BLM is one of many projects undertaken by Freedom Road. Except for the website, BlackLivesMatter.com, there is no actual organization. The website implicitly acknowledges this, describing #BlackLivesMatter as, “an online forum intended to build connections between Black people and our allies to fight anti-Black racism, to spark dialogue among Black people, and to facilitate the types of connections necessary to encourage social action and engagement.”

But today the movement has become so widely recognized that it may receive funding from the Left’s granddaddy funder, the radical billionaires’ donor consortium known as the Democracy Alliance.

Blacks, gays, and women are disproportionately represented among the membership of Freedom Road, which self-consciously emphasizes issues related to those groups. Alicia Garza penned a “Herstory” of BLM and is a “queer,” black veteran activist of numerous Freedom Road organizations. Her résumé includes:

Special projects director, **National Domestic Workers Alliance**

Executive director, **People Organized to Win Employment Rights** (POWER)

Board member, **School of Unity and Liberation** (SOUL)

2011 Board chair, **Right to the City Alliance**

Board member, **Forward Together**

Patrisse Cullors describes herself as a “working class, queer, black woman.” She claims the country killed her father, a drug addict. At a 2015 **Netroots Nation** conference, Cullors led chants shouting, “If I die in police custody, burn everything down ... rise the f--k up! That is the only way motherf--kers like you will listen!” Cullors founded and directs **Dignity and Power Now**, which claims to seek “dignity and power of incarcerated people, their families, and communities.”

Cullors was trained by Eric Mann, a former Weather Underground leader who exhorts followers to become “anti-racist, anti-imperialist” activists. Mann runs another Freedom Road front, the **Labor/Community Strategy Center**. Like many professional leftists, he makes good money—over \$225,000—living in “the system” he advocates destroying.

Opal Tometi is the daughter of illegal aliens from Nigeria. While in college, she worked for the **ACLU** defending illegal aliens against “vigilantes” opposed to illegal



*Patrisse Cullors, founder and director of Dignity and Power Now.*

immigration. She is currently executive director of **Black Alliance for Just Immigration**.

Freedom Road/BLM organizations are generously supported by a universe of wealthy foundations. Some of the groups, like those employing BLM founders Garza and Tometi, receive money directly. Others, like Cullors’ Dignity and Power Now, are financed by organizations designed specifically to underwrite the activities of others. These will be taken in turn.

**National Domestic Workers Alliance** (Garza) – In business since 2007, the Alliance’s 2014 revenues were \$7.6 million, with net assets of \$5.2 million. Its board includes two members of **CASA de Maryland**, a vocal advocate for illegal aliens that takes in millions of dollars in government grants (see *Organization Trends*, September 2012). CASA received grants from the Alliance in 2013 and 2014 as did the radical-left **Institute for Policy Studies** in 2013. The Alliance received \$6.5 million between 2011 and 2014 from a number of familiar foundations, Ford (\$1.9 million), both of George Soros’s major philanthropies (Open Society Foundations, formerly Open Society Institute, and the Foundation to Promote Open Society) (\$1.3 million), Marguerite (\$450,000), Surdna (\$595,000), Kellogg (\$250,000), Ben & Jerry’s (\$30,000), and others.

**People Organized to Win Employment Rights or POWER** (Garza) reports 2013 revenues of \$456,676, including \$92,173 in government grants. POWER evolved from the now defunct communist group **STORM (Standing Together to Organize a Revolutionary Movement)**. Obama’s former “green jobs czar,” the self-described “communist” and “rowdy black nationalist” Van Jones, served on STORM’s board. Since 1999, POWER has received money from the Marguerite Casey Foundation (\$655,000), Surdna (\$464,000), Public Welfare (301,000),



Tides (\$168,000), Ben & Jerry's (\$62,000) and many others—even the American Heart Association (\$90,000 in 2014). In January 2015, POWER merged with another Freedom Road group, **Causa Justa**, and Garza left.

**Right to the City Alliance** (Garza) discloses 2014 revenues of \$844,206. The Alliance is a nationwide network of activist organizations that resist gentrification of inner cities because it displaces “low-income people, people of color, marginalized LGBTQ communities, and youths of color. ...” In business since 2009, it has received funding from the Ford Foundation (\$1.3 million), both major Soros philanthropies (\$600,000), Surdna (\$400,000), Marguerite Casey (\$387,500), Tides (\$165,000), Ben & Jerry's (\$50,000) and others.

**School of Unity and Liberation** or SOUL (Garza) has enjoyed rapid revenue growth since Alicia Garza's rise to fame as a BLM leader. Revenues skyrocketed from \$110,304 in 2013 to \$660,237 in 2014. SOUL claims to have trained 712 organizers in 2014. The group trained 679 in 2013, and costs are roughly the same, so SOUL was able to more than double its net assets in 2014. It receives funding from the Akonadi Foundation (\$322,500), Heinz (\$255,000), Rockefeller (\$210,000), Surdna (\$460,000), Tides (\$298,000), and others.

**Forward Together** (Garza) describes itself as “a multi-racial organization that works with community leaders and organizations to transform culture and policy to catalyze social change.” Its 2014 revenues were \$4.0 million with net assets of \$4.2 million. Between 2012 and 2014, the organization received a total of \$2.9 million from Ford (\$655,000), Susan Thompson Buffett (\$604,318), General Service (\$190,000), and others. Garza serves on the board.

**Black Alliance for Just Immigration** (Tometi) reports

2014 revenues of \$554,434. This modest organization only lists two full-time staff, yet receives support from many recognizable foundations. Since 2010 this includes Kellogg, (\$75,000), Marguerite Casey (\$337,500), both major Soros philanthropies (\$100,000), Ben & Jerry's (\$10,000), and others. Tometi was paid \$60,000 in 2014 to direct the group.

Cullors' Dignity and Power Now is underwritten by Community Partners, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit based in Los Angeles with a \$24 million budget (including \$4 million in government grants) that fiscally sponsors nonprofits; that is to say, it is an existing nonprofit that lets unincorporated groups use its nonprofit status to receive tax-deductible donations. It is not a Freedom Road organization.

**Advancement Project** is a Freedom Road group that funds a variety of radical causes. The Project sees America as a racist, oppressive nation and, according to Discover the Networks, “works to organize ‘communities of color’ into politically cohesive units while disseminating its leftist worldviews and values as broadly as possible by way of a sophisticated communications department.” Its 2013 revenues were \$11.3 million. The Project receives generous funding from a wide variety of wealthy foundations, including the California Endowment (\$7.3 million), Ford (\$8.5 million), Kellogg (\$3 million), Hewlett (\$2.5 million), Rockefeller (\$2.5 million), both major Soros philanthropies (\$8.6 million), Tides (\$1.3 million), and many others, totaling approximately \$55 million over the past decade.

**Movement Strategy Center** (MSC) also facilitates funding, development and advancement of Freedom Road organizations. Its 2013 revenues were \$7.5 million, including \$156,032 in government grants. MSC has received funding from the California Endowment (\$2.3 million), Ford (\$1.8 million), both major Soros philanthropies (\$1.1 million),



Surdna (\$1.4 million), Tides (\$1.6 million), Akonadi (\$1.1 million), Robert Wood Johnson (\$378,750), Ben & Jerry's (\$60,000), and others.

The Surdna Foundation (2014 revenues \$64.9 million, with net assets of \$1 billion) appears repeatedly in the above lists and is one of the oldest foundations supporting BLM. It was formed in 1917 by John Emory Andrus, at the time one of the wealthiest people in America. Surdna is his name spelled backwards.

In addition to its Freedom Road funding, Surdna has provided \$145,000 to Race Forward over the past two years for "Equitable Economic Development," as part of its Strong Local Economies initiative. The grant descriptions, however, have little to do with economics; for example, this one from 2015: "This general operating support grant will help Race Forward (RF) to advance racial justice and address inequalities in key areas through research, media, and practice (training)." (For more information on the Surdna Foundation, see the January 2014 and September 2007 issues of *Foundation Watch*.)



While not a Freedom Road organization, Race Forward is the rebranded Applied Research Center (ARC), a think tank dedicated to "racial justice," and it participated in the Ferguson protests. Race Forward publishes *ColorLines*, which focuses on "police violence," "gender and sexuality," "Islamophobia," and other predictable leftist themes. Race Forward and ARC are directed by radical leftist Rinku Sen who "has positioned ARC as the home for media and activism on racial justice ..." according to Tufts University's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Center. Prior to its rebranding, ARC received millions from a host of well-heeled funders over the past 10 years including Arcus, (\$927,784), Ford (\$2 million), both major Soros philanthropies (\$1.2 million), Tides (\$1.3 million), Kellogg (\$4 million), and many others.

Both of George Soros's major philanthropies are listed among the many donors to Freedom Road and other "racial justice" groups like ARC. But according to the *Washington Times*, Soros has been a much larger "racial justice" funder than these figures reveal, having donated at least \$33 million in one year to groups that organized unrest in Ferguson and other riots, including:

**Drug Policy Alliance** (over \$18.5 million since 2010)

**Center for Community Change** (\$5.2 million since 2010)

**Equal Justice USA** (\$800,000 since 2010)

**Gamaliel Foundation** (\$1.3 million since 2010)

**Make the Road New York** (\$769,430 since 2010)

**Sojourners** (\$300,000 since 2011)

**Samuel Dewitt Proctor Conference** (\$500,000 in 2011–2012)

## MAINSTREAM BLM SUPPORT

Mainstream funders have jumped in as well. For example, United Way has partnered with A&E and iHeartMedia to create **Shining the Light Advisors**, a committee of "nationally known experts and leaders in racial and social justice," to oversee grant disbursements. These "advisors" include such radicals as Van Jones, **Advancement Project** co-director Judith Browne Dianis, and **Race Forward's** Rinku Sen.

BLM's mission includes a kitchen sink of favored radical-left causes, including poverty, prisoner deinstitutionalization, illegal immigration, and gay rights. Highlighting Freedom Road's orientation toward gay blacks, it describes how "Black, queer and trans folks bear a unique burden from a hetero-patriarchal society that disposes of us like garbage and simultaneously fetishizes us and profits off of us, and that is state violence."

Its wide network of affiliates and partner organizations like the **Communist Party USA** and the remnants of the **ACORN** network allows BLM to turn out large crowds. Many participate simply to protest, commit violence, loot, or all three.

**Freedom Road**, for example, was prominent at the Ferguson protests and took video of the event. It even created a Black Lives Matter button. Following are more Freedom Road organizations involved with BLM. (Funding estimates are provided when known.)

**Black Left Unity** – A Marxist-Leninist organization that supports favored causes of the communist Left, including unity with Cuba, war against capitalism, and **Occupy Wall Street**.

**Black Workers for Justice** – A group based in North Carolina which claims to struggle on behalf of "oppressed nationalities."

**Causa Justa/Just Cause** – a Black-Latino solidarity organization allied with the Grassroots Global Justice



*Law enforcement personnel investigate the scene where five Dallas police officers were fatally shot after a Black Lives Matter protest.*

Alliance, the Right to the City Alliance, and others. Its 2013 revenues, \$1.6 million, included \$689,484 in government grants. Causa Justa has received over \$2.3 million since 2010, mostly from the California Endowment, Marguerite Casey, and a few others. As noted previously, POWER was absorbed into Causa Justa.

**Grassroots Global Justice Alliance** – “A national alliance of US-based grassroots organizing (GRO) groups organizing to build an agenda for power for working and poor people and communities of color.” It has received \$20,000 from Ben & Jerry’s since 2010.

**Hands Up United** – works for “liberation of oppressed Black, Brown, and poor people through education, art, civil disobedience, advocacy, and agriculture.”

**Intelligent Mischief** – its *Black Body Survival Guide* is in the works and has raised \$8,785 to date through the crowdfunding website Indiegogo.

**Organization for Black Struggle** is affiliated with the Communist Party USA. Its website claims Black Workers for Justice and the Advancement Project as allies. Chaired by Freedom Road member Montague Simmons, the Organization received \$277,955 in revenues in 2014, its first year as a registered 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization.

**Showing Up for Racial Justice** is a “national network of groups and individuals organizing White people for racial justice.” Showing Up quotes Garza, “*We need you defecting from White supremacy and changing the narrative of White supremacy by breaking White silence.*”

**Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education** (SCOPE) – had 2013 revenues of \$2.8 million. It is led by Anthony Thigpenn, a former Black Panther and board member of **the Apollo Alliance**. Apollo is a secretive alliance

of labor, environment, and other left-wing activists that formulated Obama’s trillion dollar “stimulus” plan. Board member Van Jones described Apollo “as sort of a grand unified field theory for progressive left causes.” Now a project of the **Blue Green Alliance**, SCOPE has received about \$12 million since 2010 from numerous foundations, the most generous being Ford (\$1.9 million), James Irvine (\$2.3 million), New World (\$1.4 million), Hewlett (\$1.4 million), and the California Endowment (\$1.2 million). (For more on the Apollo Alliance, see *Green Watch*, November 2012).

BLM groups have also joined with the Communist Party USA, the **Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism**, **Democratic Socialists of America**, **SEIU**, **Color of Change**, and many others. Anarchist and top Occupy Wall Street organizer Lisa Fithian, who orchestrated the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization riots, trained Ferguson protesters. Fithian says “create crisis, because crisis is that edge where change is possible.”

Fithian echoes Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, the creators of the infamous Cloward-Piven Crisis Strategy, who spent decades attempting to provoke poor, inner-city blacks to riot, because as Cloward said, poor people advance only “when the rest of society is afraid of them.”

Rasheen Aldridge was a leader of the Ferguson protests. He has participated in numerous Communist Party USA events in 2013, 2014, and 2015. Another prominent Communist Party member active in BLM protests is Michael McPhearson, who leads the **Don’t Shoot Coalition**.

Carl Davidson and Pat Fry, co-chairs of the Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism, exploited the revolutionary atmosphere of the Ferguson riots to create an eight-point plan for “Left Unity” demanding “a common aspiration for socialism.”

**Missourians Organizing for Reform and Empowerment** (MORE), is Missouri’s rebranded ACORN group. It created an illustrative chart offering a snapshot of the Left’s grievance agenda. Capitalism is always the problem. Socialism is always the solution.

Interestingly, MORE doesn’t believe in socialism when it is footing the bill. MORE promised to pay Ferguson protesters \$5,000 a month to cause trouble. But just as ACORN stiffed its employees while preaching socialist generosity, so MORE stiffed its own rent-a-mob protesters. (“Ferguson rent-a-mobs exposed,” by Matthew Vadum, *FrontPage Magazine*, May 18, 2015)

Islamist organizations have also jumped on the BLM bandwagon, reminding us of the unholy alliance that exists



between them and the radical Left. In September 2015, the Muslim Brotherhood-front **Council on American Islamic Relations** (CAIR) joined BLM activists in storming California Governor Jerry Brown's office. CAIR also participated in the Ferguson protests. Meanwhile, **ISIS** is reportedly recruiting American blacks for its cause.

## INTELLECTUAL GENEALOGY OF BLACK LIVES MATTER

*"We must be ready to employ trickery, deceit, law-breaking, withholding and concealing truth.... We can and must write in a language which sows among the masses hate, revulsion, and scorn toward those who disagree with us" – Vladimir Lenin*

That quote from the Soviet Union's first leader captures the entire essence of the Left's strategy. No matter what the issue, no matter what the facts, the Left advances a relentless, hate-filled narrative that America is irredeemably evil and must be destroyed as soon as possible. The BLM movement is only the latest, but perhaps most dangerous variant on this subversive theme.

Communists use language and psychology as a weapon. Their constant vilification of enemies is a form of psychological warfare. It puts America and Americans on trial. The verdict is always *guilty*. Facts don't matter because the Left does not want to resolve the problems they complain about. They use those problems to agitate and provoke, hoping conflict becomes unavoidable and thereby creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Their hatred is *tactical*.

Obama's favorite Harvard professor, Derrick Bell, devised Critical Race Theory, which exemplifies Lenin's strategy as applied to race. According to Discover the Networks:

Critical race theory contends that America is permanently racist to its core, and that consequently the nation's legal structures are, by definition, racist and invalid ... members of "oppressed" racial groups are entitled—in fact obligated—to determine for themselves which laws and traditions have merit and are worth observing. ...

Bell's theory is in turn an innovation of Critical Theory, which was developed by Marxist thinkers of the Frankfurt School who were affiliated with the Institute for Social Research, founded in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1923. The Institute's left-wing scholars were mostly Jewish and fled Hitler's Germany in the 1930s, relocating to Columbia University's Teachers College in New York. Critical Theory, which discredits all aspects of Western society, rapidly

infected the minds of newly minted college professors, who then spread its poison throughout the university system.

We know it today as political correctness. One of its most famous purveyors was the Frankfurt School's Herbert Marcuse, longtime associate of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Julian Bond. Marcuse invented the concept of "partisan tolerance," that is, tolerance for leftist ideas and intolerance of all others. The Southern Poverty Law Center applied Marcuse's strategy in developing its "Hate Watch" list, and *Rules for Radicals* author Saul Alinsky used it in his own life's work.

## WHITE PRIVILEGE

The "racist" narrative was turbocharged with the concept of "White Privilege," the notion that whites—the dominant demographic group in capitalist America—are irretrievably racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, *fill-in-the-blank*-ophobic, imperialistic oppressors who exploit everyone. Whites are the only true evil in the world and should be exterminated. "Dr. Kamau Kambo, who taught Africana Studies 241 in the Spring 2005 semester at North Carolina State University, also said this needs to be done 'because white people want to kill us.'" ("Activist: exterminate white people," by Jon Sanders, *Carolina Journal*, Oct. 21, 2015)

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*Critical Theory, which discredits all aspects of Western society, rapidly infected the minds of newly minted college professors, who then spread its poison throughout the university system. We know it today as political correctness.*

The "White Skin Privilege" idea was created in 1967 by Noel Ignatiev, an acolyte of Derrick Bell and professor at Harvard's W.E.B. Du Bois Institute. (Du Bois was a black leader who helped found the NAACP and joined the Communist Party in 1961.) Ignatiev was a member of the Communist Party USA's most radical wing, the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party from 1958-66. The Provisional Organizing Committee was the intellectual forerunner to Freedom Road.

Writing under the alias Noel Ignatin, Ignatiev co-authored a Students for Democratic Society (SDS) pamphlet with fellow radical Ted Allen titled, *White Blindspot*. In 1992 he co-founded *Race Traitor: Journal of the New Abolitionism*. Its first issue coined the slogan “Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity.” Its stated objective was to “abolish the white race.” More specifically, the New Abolitionist newsletter declared:

The way to abolish the white race is to challenge, disrupt and eventually overturn the institutions and behavior patterns that reproduce the privileges of whiteness, including the schools, job and housing markets, and the criminal justice system. ***The abolitionists do not limit themselves to socially acceptable means of protest, but reject in advance no means of attaining their goal*** [emphasis added].

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*The “racist” narrative was turbocharged with the concept of “White Privilege,” the notion that whites—the dominant demographic group in capitalist America—are irretrievably racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, fill-in-the-blank-ophobic, imperialistic oppressors who exploit everyone.*

But do not be confused: “White” with an uppercase W does not mean white as most Americans use the word. “White” in radical parlance means anyone of any race, creed, nationality, color, sex, or sexual preference who embraces capitalism, free markets, limited government, and American traditional culture and values. These beliefs are deemed to be irredeemably evil, and anyone who aligns with them is “white” in spirit and thus equally guilty of “white crimes.” Ignatiev still teaches, now at Massachusetts College of Art and Design.

The Black Lives Matter movement carries this narrative to unprecedented heights, claiming that only whites can be racists. (“The result of victims and lies: great evil,” by Dennis Prager, *National Review Online*, Sept. 1, 2015) And while justifying violence to achieve “social justice,” the movement’s goal is to overthrow our society to replace it with a Marxist one. Many members of the black community would be shocked to learn that the intellectual godfathers of this movement are mostly white Communists, “queers,” and

leftist Democrats, intent on making blacks cannon fodder, the shock troops of the coming revolution. ■

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Read previous articles from the *Organization Trends* series online at [www.CapitalResearch.org/category/organization-trends/](http://www.CapitalResearch.org/category/organization-trends/).



### THE COMMUNITY GARDEN THAT IS SO MUCH MORE

By Melodie J. Bowler

In my conversation with the co-founder of the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association, I expected to learn about how to create a community garden, the challenges of dealing with government bureaucracy, and the benefits that people receive from being a member of a community garden.

To my surprise, I instead learned about what a community is, the cultivation that a community needs to exist, and the benefits received from living in and being part of a community.

Brookland, a neighborhood in northeastern Washington, D.C., is a community. Or, at least, a community exists in Brookland. One of the people actively trying to nurture and cultivate that community is Chenelyn Barker. Ms. Barker founded the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association with a few other Brooklanders three years ago.

Barker is from Portland, Oregon, where growing a garden is “a lifestyle for us,” she told me. “When I saw the advertisement for folks to get involved in managing the garden—what would soon become the TTGA, Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association—I jumped on board. Living in the district,” she continued, “you have very minimal land space, so although, I do have a backyard, it’s not enough for a full-grown garden. I really wanted to be part of making a garden.”

“Who doesn’t love fresh vegetables?” she added.

### THE BEGINNING

Before the lot that would become the home of TTGA was ready for planting, “it was just an empty lot,” Barker told me. Concrete. “Like an empty parking lot without the car lines,” she said. On the adjacent lot was a playground that she described as “not dilapidated,” but “it wasn’t a very good playground.” The community worked with the Turkey Thicket Recreational Center and Department of Public Resources (DPR) to rebuild the playground. And that’s how the garden came to be: “Simultaneously, when they were building the new playground—which, I’m biased, I think is



the best public park in Ward 5—they built the garden, with the raised garden beds.”

For the first time, I was pretty pleased with the D.C. government: taking an empty lot and giving it a purpose that will benefit the people living near it. Then Barker continued:

The one thing that I didn’t appreciate is that they took clay dirt from when they were building the new playground and filled the garden boxes. I don’t want to place blame—whether it was the D.C. government or the construction workers—but clearly, whoever oversaw that didn’t use their best judgement. A lot of our folks spent a lot of time removing a lot of that dirt from the boxes so that new dirt could go in. It was a mess in the first few months.

So it wasn’t exactly a home run for the D.C. government; it was more like a foul ball. This was back in 2014, the same year that Barker received the email inquiring about interest in managing the garden from the Brookland listserv, an email

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*Melodie J. Bowler is the director of publications at the Capital Research Center. Chenelyn Barker is now employed by the Capital Research Center. For more information about the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association, contact [TurkeyThicketGardeners@gmail.com](mailto:TurkeyThicketGardeners@gmail.com).*

group that people can join to hear about and disseminate community news and events. I had to admit that I had no idea D.C. neighborhoods have listservs, and I've been living in the Capitol Hill neighborhood for over a year.

After responding to the email, Barker headed to Petworth (another D.C. neighborhood) with the other interested gardeners for a two-hour training class. Some attendees were also from Brookland, while others came from different parts of the city. They learned about the basics of applying for 501(c)(3) nonprofit status and creating bylaws.



*“Who doesn’t love fresh vegetables?”*

– Chenelyn Barker, Co-founder, Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association

Not long after the class, the handful of volunteers from Brookland had successfully established the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association.

## THE BYLAWS

“What, exactly, is in the bylaws of a nonprofit community garden?” I asked.

There are some basics, like who can have a plot in the garden. “Anyone in D.C. can plant there, can have a garden,” Barker explained, “but preference is given to folks who live in the area, within a two- to three-mile radius of the garden, because it’s easier for them to come and take care of their plots.” Barker herself is “there almost every other day because I live so close; I’m about two blocks away from it.”

Also included in the bylaws are garden maintenance rules, along with rules for “inner-garden etiquette” and “responsibility as a gardener.” “Last year,” she told me, “we had a couple of people who didn’t clean off their plots and never came to the mandatory clean ups, so we had to write them and tell them that they’re kindly not welcome back because they didn’t adhere to the bylaws. ... If you’re committed to being part of a community garden, you need to do your own individual share and duty of taking care of your plot.”

Freeloaders are not welcome in the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association.

Once past the basics, the bylaws continue and outline a community inclusion plan. Excitedly, Barker told me about the plan:

This year, we are going to establish the first annual Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association garden party meet-and-greet. We’ll have all the gardeners meet each other, and we’ll also engage the community. We’ll post “come to the garden” things on the listserv. Our treasurer’s wife is going to be face painting, and we’ve talked about doing balloon animals for the kids.

I see people always looking when I’m there, all these people passing, walking around, inquisitive about what it is. A lot of folks don’t know that they can come into the garden and look around.

Barker’s making efforts to let everyone in the neighborhood know that this garden is a space that’s open to all members of the community. Currently, TTGA members range from twenty-somethings to retired couples. But Barker wants to expand the community garden’s reach much further.

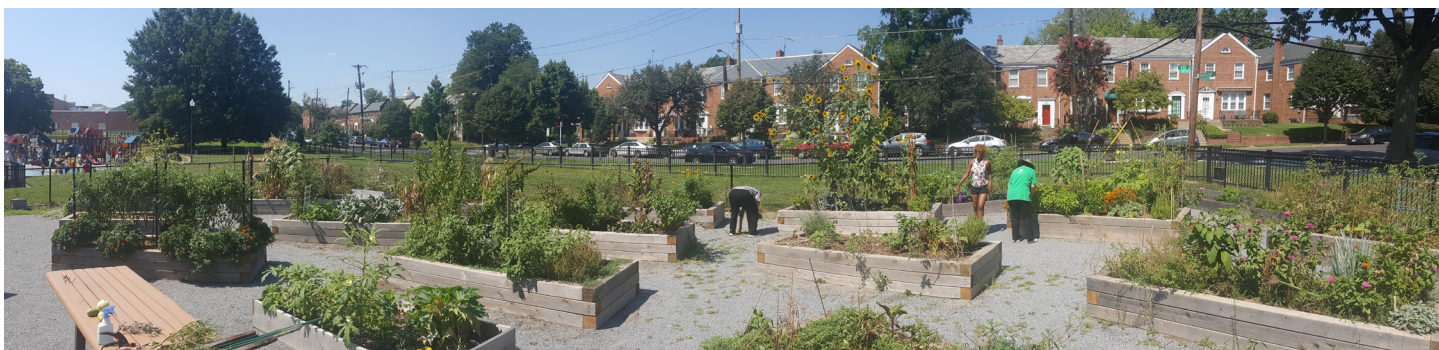
## PUTTING THE “COMMUNITY” IN COMMUNITY GARDEN

Barker is working toward integrating the garden into the community and also helping the community to flourish. “We have to help and network together,” she said. “That’s what it’s about. Government isn’t going to help the communities themselves. We have to get our problems solved as individual citizens—to do what government is not going to do for us.”

Members of the TTGA pay just \$30 annually for the use of their plots. That’s not nearly enough to cover the cost of all the necessary supplies. In the first year, the garden manager acquired some second-hand tools, and DPR provided the members with new soil, but that didn’t happen this year, so dues were used to buy new soil. Barker talked of partnering with local businesses for in-kind donations of tools, dirt, plants, and the like. “We want a partnership with some of these other local entities, and then we also want to really promote and grow our educational program.”

Next year, Barker is hoping to start the Children’s Gardening Program. “We want to educate them about gardening.” Her hopes for the garden go much further than that, however.





I want to engage people. I want to engage the community and the younger generations. I don't think a lot of people know where their food comes from, how it's outsourced, why people eat seasonally, why you should have a garden in your backyard versus shopping at trendy places. Especially if you don't have the money to buy those foods. Not everyone has the money to go to Whole Foods. That's great that they're resourcing fresh, natural food, but that's my whole problem [with it]. ...

**Eating fresh food shouldn't be limited by your income.**

Everyone should be able to have fresh food in their backyard, and gardening is the simplest way to educate yourself about that. ...

So we just want to engage the community and provide them with tools to educate themselves on where their food comes from and finding low-cost, healthy alternatives that teach them self-responsibility for themselves, as individuals, and for their families.

from government assistance.

Often, mediating institutions are places of worship—entities that by their nature hold people accountable for their actions, expecting a certain level of responsibility and connectivity from their members. Barker and the other TTGA founders have managed to create a similar mediating institution that will help to bind the Brookland community together for years to come.

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*“We have to help and network together. That's what it's about. Government isn't going to help the communities themselves. We have to get our problems solved as individual citizens—to do what government is not going to do for us.”*

—Chenelyn Barker, Co-founder, Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association

## THE COMMUNITY GARDEN AS A MEDIATING INSTITUTION

When I first decided to interview Barker, I thought, “This will make for a great article on community gardens, and how they provide people with an opportunity to grow their own food in an urban environment.” I wasn't wrong, but the TTGA turned out to be so much more than just a community garden.

Through the efforts of the founders, the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association has become a mediating institution—an entity that brings people together, holds them responsible to one another, and provides them with tangible and intangible resources that they'll never receive

At this year's meet-and-greet, gardeners and community members alike will get the chance to know each other. I'm embarrassed to say, I don't know the next-door neighbors on either side of my home. I don't even know the young ladies who live in the apartment above mine.

It seems simple, but just getting to know one another is the first step in creating a strong community. The TTGA has created a meeting place for all community members, which strengthens the bonds of the community by creating shared responsibility. Every member is responsible for maintaining the garden.

When gardeners meet each other, they often choose “watering buddies.” I had never before heard that term,



but I understood immediately what it meant. These near-strangers rely on one another to keep their gardens healthy, if they go out of town or can't make it to water their plants for some reason. This creates a sense of shared responsibility between individuals, which additionally strengthens the community.

Bringing in children to teach them how to grow their own groceries extends the reach of the garden as a mediating institution. Rather than looking to the government for assistance, these kids will learn at a very young age that they can be self-reliant and look to their communities if they ever need help. Teaching self-reliance and the basics of gardening allows children to realize that they are capable individuals.

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*“Eating fresh food shouldn't be limited by your income.”*

– Chenelyn Barker, Co-founder, Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association

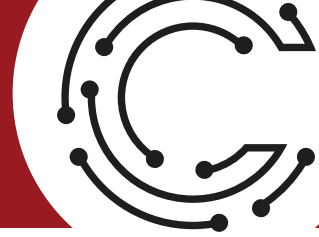
The value of mediating institutions cannot be understated. As Barker said, “Government isn't going to help the communities.” It takes the time and effort of people like her to turn a neighborhood into a true community. Mediating institutions like the Turkey Thicket Gardeners Association are crucial for creating a culture of responsibility within a community. When neighbors get to know each other, and everyone uses public spaces, the entire neighborhood begins to feel like home, and people who are connected to the community treat their shared home with respect.

The longer Barker and I spoke, the more I began to feel that I'm not doing nearly enough to cultivate the community in my neighborhood. The effort that it takes to create a community is an investment that will pay off for years. Through our conversation, I realized that I haven't been taking any steps to help the neighborhood that I love so much to flourish.

For Barker, her next steps are creating a website for the TTGA and implementing a fundraising strategy. My next steps? I plan on introducing myself to my neighbors and joining the Capitol Hill listserv to see how I can get involved in my own neighborhood.■



Want to spotlight a charity in your hometown that's actively improving people's lives? Send the charity's name and address, along with a summary of its work to [Contact@CapitalResearch.org](mailto:Contact@CapitalResearch.org).



## THE WHITE HOUSE'S IRAN TREATY ECHO CHAMBER

By Neil Maghami

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**Summary:** *The role of left-wing nonprofits in advancing the political goals of liberal and progressive elected officials is well known. Our understanding of this dynamic has taken a giant step forward, however, thanks to recent revelations about links between the White House and sympathetic tax-exempt groups and foundations working to advance President Obama's Iran agenda.*

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Speechwriting is known as the “silent profession,” in that its practitioners typically do not talk about their work on behalf of politicians, CEOs, and other public figures. Apparently no one ever explained that to White House staffer Ben Rhodes.

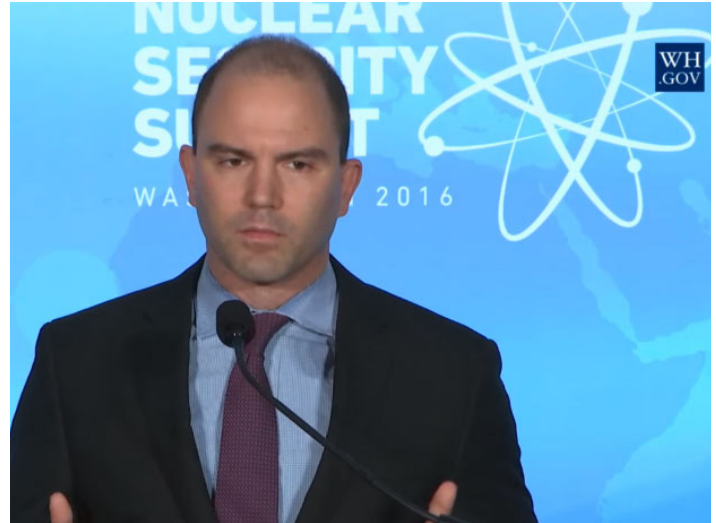
Rhodes's official title is “Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications and Speechwriting.” In early May, the *New York Times Magazine* published an interview with a very un-silent Rhodes. David Samuels, the author, quoted Rhodes congratulating himself on the success of the public relations campaign that accompanied President Obama's long effort for a nuclear arms control deal with Iran—including a public battle in late 2015 with senators skeptical of the Iran treaty.

Obama's shift on Iran was years in the making. The president signaled his readiness to negotiate with Iran as early as June 2009, when the White House quietly sent a letter to Supreme Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the Islamic Republic's spiritual leader, reportedly indicating an openness for renewed diplomatic contact.

One of the more explosive excerpts from Rhodes's interview with Samuels reads as follows:

In the spring of last year, legions of arms-control experts began popping up at think tanks and on social media, and then became key sources for hundreds of often-clueless reporters. **“We created an echo chamber,”** [Rhodes] admitted, when I asked him to explain the onslaught of freshly minted experts cheerleading for the deal. **“They were saying things that validated what we had given them to say.”** (emphasis added)

Rhodes gloated about how effectively the White House used



*Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Communications Ben Rhodes at the Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, D.C., on March 31, 2016.*

allies such as the San Francisco-based Ploughshares Fund as part of this campaign. “We had test drives to know who was going to be able to carry our message effectively, and how to use outside groups like Ploughshares ... and whomever else. So we knew the tactics that worked,” Rhodes told Samuels.

Rhodes's words ignited a thousand angry denunciations. He attempted some damage control on May 8 when he claimed the White House had merely attempted to ensure “people understood our policy,” and, to that end, “we made a concerted effort to provide information about the deal to any interested party, including to outside organizations and any journalists covering the issue. This effort to get information out with fact sheets, graphics, briefings, and social media was no secret—it was well reported on at the time. Of course the objective of that kind of effort is to build as much public support as you can—that's a function of White House communications.”

In the days that followed, attention focused on the

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Ploughshares Fund, the left-wing foundation seeking to eliminate nuclear weapons worldwide that, according to Rhodes, was at the center of the Iran treaty echo chamber. Ploughshares claimed about \$40 million in net assets as of 2014, with revenues of about \$7.8 million.

In Ploughshares' 2015 annual report, its president, Joe Cirincione, claims that its opponents on the Iran nuclear deal "outspent supporters by at least 10-1, including a \$40 million ad campaign." Then, a few paragraphs later in his opening message, he shares that Ploughshares is hardly a slouch in the fundraising department—"Ploughshares Fund raised and disbursed almost \$12 million in grants over the past five years" to energize "a network uniting hundreds of organizations and individuals in common cause." (That is, to support President Obama's deal-at-any-price approach with the "mad mullahs" of Tehran.)

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*White House speechwriter Ben Rhodes bragged to reporters about creating “an echo chamber” that repeated the party line about the pact with Iran. He added, “We had test drives to know who was going to be able to carry our message effectively, and how to use outside groups like Ploughshares ... and whomever else.”*

It's surely no surprise that Ploughshares' financial backers includes George Soros's Open Society apparatus (continue reading for more details).

Cirincione also writes: "Together, [this network] achieved a victory no single group could have secured. We met and wrote and reasoned together. We pooled ideas, debated strategies and honed messages. We partnered with like-minded foundations. By sharing information, reducing redundancies, collaborating where possible and applying savvy digital organizing techniques, each partner strengthened the collective impact of the whole."

The annual report helpfully profiles key nodes in this network, including the Truman National Security Project; the Friends Committee on National Legislation; MoveOn; New America; Public Affairs Alliance of Iranian Americans; the Washington Strategy Group; VoteVets; the Stimson

Center; J Street; National Iranian American Council; and MIT's Security Studies Program.

The annual report also refers to the more than 800 op-eds, over 350 letters to the editor, and nearly 230 editorials "published during critical moments of the Iran campaign" by "Ploughshares Fund grantees, partners and allies."

Picking up on Cirincione's boast about soliciting \$12 million and spreading it among Ploughshares' allies, two questions come to mind. Where did the money come from? What activities was the money used to support?

## WHERE DID THE MONEY COME FROM?

In terms of Ploughshares' fundraising over the last few years from foundations in support of its general operations, public records point to the following cumulative contributions—all made while the organization was ramping up its pro-Iran deal efforts:

**Skoll Global Threats Fund and Skoll Foundation** – combined \$1.7 million (2011–2013)

**Rockefeller Brothers Fund** – \$1.5 million (2012, 2013)

**New York Community Trust** – \$507,000 (2011)

**Schooner Foundation** – \$752,500 (2011, 2013)

**William and Flora Hewlett Foundation** – \$750,000 (2011, 2013)

**Colombe Foundation** – \$600,000 (2012–2014)

**Minneapolis Foundation** – \$484,000 (2012, 2014)

**Goatie Foundation** – \$240,000 (2011–2013)

**Carnegie Corporation of New York** – \$233,300 (2014)

**Schwab Charitable Fund** – \$208,000 (2011, 2014)

**San Francisco Foundation** – \$125,000 (2013–2014)

**Chicago Community Trust** – \$100,000 (2013–2014)

**James Family Foundation** – \$100,000 (2012–2013)

**Hess Foundation** – \$75,000 (2011–2013)

**New Land Foundation** – \$70,000 (2012–2013)

**Cogan Family Foundation** – \$60,000 (2013–2014)

**Zalec Familian and Lilian Levinson Foundation** – \$46,000 (2012–2015)

**Foundation to Promote Open Society** – \$50,000 (2013)

**Columbus Foundation** – \$40,000 (2012–2013)

**Barbara Streisand Foundation** – \$35,000 (2012–2013)

**Laura Stratton Dewey Foundation** – \$32,000 (2011–2012)

**Edwin W. and Catherine M. Davis Foundation** – \$30,000 (2011, 2013)

**Wilemal Fund** – \$30,000 (2012–2014)

## WHERE DID THE MONEY GO?

Now that we have an idea of which foundations supported Ploughshares' work on the Iran file, we can plunge into the next logical question—what activities did the funding support? Presented below are highlights of who participated in Ploughshares' Iran treaty "echo chamber," how much money they received and what activities Ploughshares' donations supported—as described in Ploughshares' own published annual reports for 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, and 2015.

What emerges is a well-thought-out, carefully planned, multi-year effort to influence key audiences and ensure they were aligned with the White House's Iran agenda, and in some cases position them to thwart criticism of that agenda.

### PLOUGHSHARES' 2010-2011 GRANTEES INCLUDED:

**National Iranian American Council** – \$125,000, including funding "to support advocacy and media outreach aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear dilemma."



**Link Media** – \$80,000 "for the Iran Media Project, an enhanced social media and broadcast engagement campaign to amplify the activities of advocacy groups, bloggers and experts working to reduce confrontation with Iran."

**Mainstream Media Project** – \$80,000 "to support efforts to place experts on a range of radio shows with the goal of promoting diplomatic solutions to reducing tension with Iran and countering Iran's development of nuclear weapons."

**LBLG Fund** – \$19,000 "to support monitoring, analysis and publishing related to US policy towards Iran and a critique of arguments favoring confrontation with Iran."

**Foundation for a Civil Society** – \$50,000 "to support the Iran Project's work to produce credible recommendations on diplomatic solutions to the nuclear impasse with Iran and to shape the debate among policymakers."

**Gulf 2000 Project, Columbia University** – \$75,000 "to inform the debate over Iran's nuclear program in the media and among policymakers by assessing and reporting on events, generating viable solutions and refuting false stories."

**Public Radio International** – \$100,000 to support reporting on international affairs, including "a special feature focus on Iran and Iranians."

**National Public Radio (NPR)** – \$150,000 "to support coverage on Iran, US nuclear weapons policy and non-proliferation issues." In addition, the optics of accepting a grant from Ploughshares as it led the charge for the Iran deal, is what FrontPageMag among others have noted—the number of "Ploughshares-funded analysts and experts who made it on the air to talk up the [Iran] deal, without any acknowledgment of that by NPR."

### PLOUGHSHARES' 2011-2012 GRANTEES INCLUDED:

**National Iranian American Council** – nearly \$135,000, including "to support media and advocacy work to shape the debate among policymakers and in the media on credible, non-military approaches to resolving the impasse over Iran's nuclear program."

**J Street Education Fund** – \$25,000 "to support efforts to educate members of Congress on the consequences that preemptive use of military force against Iran's nuclear program may have on Israel."

**National Security Initiative** – \$100,000 "to support policy analysis and media engagement that opposes a military approach to Iran's nuclear program and supports stronger engagement and diplomacy as the preferred US policy option."

**ReThink Media** – \$120,000 "to provide communications guidance and support for coalition efforts to promote a diplomatic solution to the Iranian nuclear impasse, cut US spending on nuclear weapons program [sic] and reduce the role of nuclear weapons in US policy."

**Truman National Security Project** – \$15,000 "to support efforts to deploy Iraq and Afghan veterans and other recent military retirees to speak out against military strikes on Iran."

### PLOUGHSHARES' 2013 GRANTEES INCLUDED:

**American Security Program** – \$130,000 "to recruit credible national security elites to support reductions in US nuclear weapons budgets and promote diplomatic approaches to resolve Iran's nuclear program."



**Atlantic Council of the United States** – \$80,000 “to support the Iran Task Force, a high level bipartisan group of experts and former officials working to inform the debate on US policy towards Iran.”

**Center for a New American Security** – \$100,000 “to support high impact research and analysis of the Iranian nuclear question and its ramifications for security in the Middle East and US.”

**Foundation for a Civil Society** – \$110,000 “to engage high level experts and former officials in examining the Iranian nuclear issue and developing potential policy solutions to resolve the nuclear crisis.”

**Gulf 2000 Project** – \$75,000 “to inform the debate on Iran’s nuclear program in the media and among policymakers through analysis and reporting.”

#### **PLOUGHSHARES’ 2013–2014 GRANTEES INCLUDED:**

**American Security Project** – \$100,000 “to educate congressional offices and other decision makers about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.”

**Americans United for Change** – \$50,000 “to support efforts conduct polling on US attitudes or Iran diplomacy, and to disseminate the findings to key audiences, including policy and media”; and about \$15,000 “to support mobilization of constituents to contact their Senators about pending legislation on Iran sanctions.”

**The Aspen Institute** – \$35,000 “to support a series of briefings for members of Congress and senior congressional staffers to discuss US policy options towards Iran.”

**Atlantic Council of the United States** – \$80,000 “to support the Iran Task Force, a high level bipartisan group of experts and former officials working to inform the debate on US policy towards Iran.”

**Berim** – total of about \$40,000 to support visits by “constituents, veterans and diverse Iranian voices to Washington DC” to meet with members of Congress. Berim, an organization of Iranian dissidents, merged in 2015 with Win Without War, another Ploughshares grantee.

**Center for American Progress** – \$12,500 “to support a discussion of diplomacy with Iran at a joint Center for American Progress-Molad policy conference on Jerusalem.” (Note: Molad is an Israeli think tank.)

**Center for New American Security** – about \$165,000 for a series of “boot camps” to “educate congressional staffers on the nature of Iran’s nuclear program and the requirements for an enduring and verifiable diplomatic resolution,” and also

for “high impact research and analysis related to” the nuclear negotiations with Iran.

**Drucker & Associates** – \$60,000 for “strategic advice and additional outreach capacity for efforts to build political support for preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.”

**The Foundation for a Civil Society** – a total of about \$250,000 “to support the Iran Project’s efforts to inform the public debate about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons through the publication and broad disseminate [sic] of reports, op-eds and other writings” and “to educate policymakers and the media about the potential impact of a comprehensive nuclear agreement with Iran.”

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*“What Ploughshares did was to pollute the public sphere with self-validated and self-validating noise for the purpose of deceiving the public on behalf of the state.”*

– Lee Smith, Senior Editor, *Weekly Standard*

**Gulf 2000 Project, Columbia University** – \$75,000 “to support analysis, reporting and other efforts to inform the debate about [sic] Iran’s nuclear program and international diplomatic approaches to verifiably prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.”

**J Street and J Street Education Fund** – a total of about \$100,000 to “educate Congress and the public about policy approaches to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon” and to “engage and mobilize a national network of members and supporters to participate in the public debate about the US policy options towards Iran.”

**Moore + Associates** – a total of about \$145,000 to “design and implement a public voice campaign to help shape the narrative in the Jewish community about options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon” and “to research and design a ‘cultural strategy plan’ that provides options of short- and long-term activities that could begin to shift public perceptions about the role and value of nuclear weapons.” (Read on for more on this “cultural strategy plan.”)

**The Nation Institute** – \$60,000 “for a rapid response project to debunk misinformation in the debate over negotiations



with Iran, as well as in depth journalistic pieces exploring the domestic politics at play.”

**National Iranian American Council** – a total of about \$160,000 “to support an Iran Diplomacy Task Force to promote proactive efforts from members of Congress in support of diplomatic solutions to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon” and “to support advocacy and media work to shape the debate among policymakers and in the media among policymakers and in the media on credible approaches to resolving the nuclear impasse.”

**ReThink Media** – \$20,000 “to amplify the voices of prominent former officials, military officers and experts in the Iran debate through targeted state and national media outreach.”

**Vet Voice Foundation** – \$25,000 “to support efforts to educate policymakers and the public on veterans’ perspectives on a diplomatic approach to resolving the Iranian nuclear program.”

**Win Without War** – \$50,000 “to educate grassroots constituencies and public officials about policy options to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.” This organization calls itself a “national leader in the fight to promote a more progressive national security strategy.”

#### **PLOUGHSHARES’ 2015 GRANTEES INCLUDED:**

**American Security Project** – \$25,000 “to mobilize national security elites to support sensible diplomatic approaches to

resolving the Iranian nuclear impasse.”

**Americans United for Change** – a total of about \$72,000 “to support mobilization of grassroots constituents to contact their senators in support of a comprehensive agreement to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon” plus polling related to the Iran question.

**Arms Control Association** – \$10,000 “for support of on-site analysis and communications regarding the final phase of negotiations on the Iran nuclear deal.”

**Atlantic Council of the United States** – \$80,000 “to support the Iran Task Force, a high level bipartisan group of experts and former officials working to inform the debate on US policy towards Iran.”

**Berim** – \$25,000 “to enhance online organizing and digital media outreach work in support of diplomacy with Iran.”

**Brookings Institution** – \$75,000 “to support Ambassador Bob Einhorn’s efforts to analyze, explain and endorse the negotiated settlement with Iran on its nuclear program.”

**Center for American Progress Action Fund** – \$25,000 “to support rigorous, accurate coverage of the Iran nuclear talks on Think Progress.”

**Center for New American Security** – \$125,000 “to support high impact research and analysis related to” the

Iran treaty negotiations.

**Drucker and Associates** – \$60,000 “to work closely with Ploughshares Fund staff” on tasks related to “the broader context of the Iran campaign.”

**Friends Committee on National Legislation** – \$75,000 for efforts to educate Congress on the Iran deal, including the group’s “Iran lobby day.”

**Stimson Center** – about \$27,000 for “expert analysis and commentary” and other activities in support of “a negotiated settlement to Iran’s nuclear program.”



**J Street and J Street Education Fund** – \$575,000 for “research into the policy environment,” an “intensive education and campaign to continue diplomatic engagement with Iran,” and “mobilize Jewish support for a final deal.”

**National Iranian American Council** – \$245,000 “to increase NIAC’s capacity at a critical moment in the debate” over Iran and “to support advocacy and media work to shape the debate among policymakers and in the media” regarding the Iran treaty.

**New Security Action Network** – \$95,000 “for management and implementation of an online comedic video produced by Funny or Die that supports the negotiated settlement on Iran’s nuclear program.”

**ReThink Media** – \$130,000 “for support of ReThink’s efforts to enhance the nuclear security NGO community’s media skills and capacity, and to effectively engage with the media and policymakers on the issues of the negotiated settlement of Iran’s nuclear program and US nuclear weapons programs.”

**Princeton University** – \$70,000 “for support of Ambassador [Hossein] Mousavian’s analysis, publications and policymaker engagement on the range of elements involved with the negotiated settlement of Iran’s nuclear program.” Once it came under closer scrutiny, this grant in particular came under attack. Mousavian is not only a former Iranian ambassador, but also a spokesman for the Iranian nuclear effort. As James Phillips, senior research fellow for Middle Eastern affairs at the Heritage Foundation, observed, “This [grant by Ploughshares] essentially amounted to subsidizing Iran’s propaganda efforts in the United States.”

**Truman National Security Project** – \$50,000 “to execute a comprehensive messaging, communications and outreach campaign that educates the general public and targeted policy audiences about approaches to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.”

**United States Conference of Catholic Bishops** – \$50,000 “to build a sustainable channel of communication between the United States and Iran through religious leaders and to help create political space for leaders of both nations to further engage on the nuclear issue.”

**Win Without War** – \$50,000 “for mobilization of a broad base of public support of the negotiated settlement with Iran on its nuclear program.”

## “ECHO CHAMBER” AS A STANDARD TACTIC

“What Ploughshares did was to pollute the public sphere with self-validated and self-validating noise for the purpose of deceiving the public on behalf of the state,” wrote *Weekly Standard* senior editor Lee Smith. “It seems that for the Ploughshares Fund, the highest form of patriotism is manufacturing consent.”

But there’s nothing new in terms of the communications strategy Rhodes described. *Capital Research* readers may recall, for example, the self-congratulatory message that the pro-assisted suicide organization Compassion & Choices included in its 2014 annual report, describing in detail its meticulously planned campaign to bring assisted suicide to California. Compassion & Choices did not use the term “echo chamber,” but the term definitely fits, with its interlocking print/TV/online media campaigns, combined with intense on-the-ground, face-to-face meetings between activists and lobbyists. (See “The Rise and Rise of America’s Suicide Lobby,” *Organization Trends*, March 2016.)

Similarly, long-time George Soros/Open Society Institute asset Gara LaMarche committed millions of dollars from the coffers of Atlantic Philanthropies (which he led after leaving the Soros orbit in 2007, before returning to that orbit in 2013 as president of the Democracy Alliance donor collaborative Soros co-founded) to various nonprofits agitating on behalf of Obamacare. LaMarche enjoyed his own public victory lap when the White House invited him to watch as President Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. Atlantic Philanthropies also funded a smaller “echo chamber”-type network focused on changing U.S. policy towards Cuba. (For more details, see “A Donor Can Stand Up: Battling over Donor Intent at the Atlantic Philanthropies,” *Foundation Watch*, April 2015.)

As Smith of the *Weekly Standard* has also pointed out, Rhodes called the proposed Iran deal in 2014 “probably the biggest thing President Obama will do in his second term on foreign policy. This is healthcare for us, just to put it in context.” From that view, Ploughshares played the role in the Iran deal that Gara LaMarche and Atlantic Philanthropies played during the healthcare debate, and funded groups friendly to the Obama administration’s goals so they could bolster the White House message.

Another noteworthy link between Ploughshares and a past “echo chamber” effort is found in a “cultural strategy report” that the fund commissioned in 2014. The consultants engaged for the report assessed “where nuclear weapons are as an issue in today’s culture and to serve as the basis of a potential cultural strategy that could complement existing funding and operational activities.”

The strategy document includes a summary of the social engineering premise that is the basis for its recommendations to Ploughshares:

“Social change happens when people’s beliefs shift and they act on their new beliefs. People’s beliefs shift when the culture that defines and reflects their beliefs shift. Culture shifts move our collective beliefs past a tipping point, leading to a cascade of changing laws and mores. Policy advocacy and traditional organizing must be a part of an overarching cultural strategy, not an appendage to a campaign.”

One is tempted to call this the “echo chamber manifesto.”

In terms of boosting Ploughshares’ political influence, the report suggests among other things that “Christian youth might be a good starting point for engaging communities of faith in the disarmament space,” and advises Ploughshares to examine the “Kony 2012” multi-media campaign undertaken by an organization called Invisible Children. *Capital Research* readers may recall this echo-chamber-style initiative, which combined clever online videos circulated to college students, combined with high-profile celebrity endorsements, urging American support for international intervention in Central Africa to apprehend a warlord named Joseph Kony. (For more details, see “Foundations, Nonprofits and the War on U.S. Sovereignty,” *Foundation Watch*, April 2012.)

Christian youth-based outreach was not key to the Iran treaty campaign, but perhaps Ploughshares will deploy this tactic at a future date in another campaign.

## THE ECHO CHAMBER’S IDEOLOGY

This edition of *Foundation Watch* has explored the nexus of tax-exempt groups and funders that made up the Iran treaty echo chamber. But what about the ideology, the belief system that animates this network?

According to John D. Fonte, senior fellow and director of the Center for American Common Culture at the Hudson Institute, the participants in this network anchor their worldview in “post-Americanism.”

This is not the same as anti-Americanism, Fonte points out. “The members of this network believe that to look at a policy question from a patriotic point of view, with a focus on American national interests, is too old-fashioned,” he says. “So they are ‘post-American’ in that they prefer to look at issues from a global perspective. This means that they are ambivalent (and somewhat embarrassed) about attachment to particular U.S. interests because do not see their primary job as representing specifically American goals and priorities, but rather serving ‘the international community.’ Instead, they are more managerial-minded—think of the trans-national elites who populate the higher reaches of the United Nations, or the European Union’s bureaucracies. This detached view was described many years ago in the writings of James Burnham,” the famous thinker and *National Review* editor, during the Cold War, Fonte adds.

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*“Rhodes shows a post-modern attitude here, meaning that he’s moved beyond the reality of the world and taken the view that there is no one single reality, but a series of supposedly competing narratives or stories.”*

— John D. Fonte, Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for American Common Culture, Hudson Institute

“This post-American idea comes through in the Rhodes piece. An anonymous Obama administration official comments in the article about how, when the president is presented with options to respond forcefully to Iran’s defiance of the US, Obama ‘hears Dick Cheney in those arguments.’ And, says the anonymous commentator, Obama sees the proponents of these options as a ‘bunch of bloodthirsty know-nothings from a different era,’” Fonte says.



“Of course Rhodes and others in the White House reject this view—because it asserts that there are American interests that need to be defended, that this country must exercise its sovereignty in its own best interests,” Fonte observes.

Further commenting on Rhodes’s interview, Fonte calls it “very revealing, especially when Rhodes feels like he can brag about shaping ‘narratives’ around the Iran deal. Rhodes shows a post-modern attitude here, meaning that he’s moved beyond the reality of the world and taken the view that there is no one single reality, but a series of supposedly competing narratives or stories. This is how I read, for example, the reference in the interview to how Rhodes apparently ‘skillfully shapes and ventriloquizes’ statements by pundits about the Iran deal.”

Fonte also wryly points out how the narrative-minded Rhodes could have used the *New York Times Magazine* interview to construct a much better explanation for the Iran deal’s success—one that didn’t involve the phrase “echo chamber.”

“Why didn’t he portray the pro-Iran deal network as merely a ‘spontaneous gathering’ of ‘peace-loving organizations,’ motivated only by their strong sense of ‘solidarity’ with the president’s goals?” Fonte asks.

## CONCLUSION

From a public relations view, the strong reaction from commentators and columnists to Ben Rhodes’s revelations about how the Iran treaty was won was completely understandable. Rhodes’s gloating was about as un-subtle as a football player spiking the pigskin after running an 80-yard interception into the end zone.

What a waste it will be, however, if this white-hot anger generates only polemics, when it should be inspiring critics to initiate a closer forensic investigation of the Iran treaty public affairs campaign.

Such an investigation may not be far off, as more information seems to be coming to light by the day. For example, journalist Eli Lake of *Bloomberg View* wrote in late May about how he’d been leaked material demonstrating just how far back the pro-Iran campaign began. Lake described the leaked items as “e-mails and documents from an internal listserv operated by the arms control nonprofit Ploughshares Fund.”

Recall, as mentioned at the start of this paper, that President Obama’s readiness to deal with Iran did not emerge overnight, but at least as early as 2009.

Ploughshares’ intensive Iran-related grant-making kicked off in 2011, and that grant-making just happened to increase in subsequent years as the White House’s need for public allies grew.

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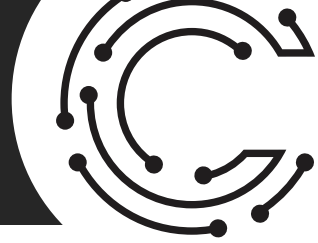
*Just how closely was all this coordinated directly with the White House, or through plugged-in political operatives linked to the White House? A few more leaks—or another self-congratulatory Ben Rhodes interview—and the answer to this question will become much more clear.*

Just how closely was all this coordinated directly with the White House, or through plugged-in political operatives linked to the White House? A few more leaks—or another self-congratulatory Ben Rhodes interview—and the answer to this question will become much more clear.

We don’t have all the facts yet, but when we do, at least this is certain: Americans will take a much different view of the Iran treaty and of the pundits, political leaders, media outlets, organizations, and foundations that pressed for its approval. ■

Read previous articles from the *Foundation Watch* series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/foundation-watch/](http://CapitalResearch.org/category/foundation-watch/).

# DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION



## THE MYTH OF JFK'S POPULAR VOTE VICTORY

By Dr. Steven J. Allen

After George W. Bush won the presidency in the 2000 election despite losing the popular vote, liberals refused to accept the results.

First, they attempted to rig the election through a “selective recount” scheme—recounting the vote selectively in those areas where Bush’s opponent, Al Gore, was likely to pick up votes, and not recounting in areas that favored Bush. (This effort by the Gore campaign was struck down as a violation of voters’ rights by the U.S. Supreme Court. The vote was 7-2, and the majority included one of the two Clinton appointees.)

After Bush was proclaimed the winner, liberals ridiculed Bush as an illegitimate president and printed up bumperstickers proclaiming “RE-elect Gore in 2004!”

They attacked the Electoral College for robbing the American people of the president they wanted. Liberals argued fervently that only by winning the popular vote does someone fairly attain the presidency.

Would they have a different view of the Electoral College if, say, John F. Kennedy had won the presidency while losing the popular vote?

Because that’s what happened.

No, I’m not referring to credible reports of vote fraud in states narrowly won by Kennedy such as Illinois and Texas. I’m saying that JFK didn’t win the popular vote even if you count all the reported votes as legitimate. I’m saying that he won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote, just like Bush in 2000.

Kennedy’s defeat of Richard Nixon by a narrow margin is a fact that everyone “knows.” Wikipedia puts the margin at 112,827 votes, 0.17% of the popular vote.

### THE REALITY

Once Senator John F. Kennedy won the Democratic nomination for president, many Democrats faced a dilemma. Both Kennedy and his Republican opponent, Vice President Richard Nixon, opposed the Jim Crow



(racial segregation) laws that were in effect in much of the country, especially in the deeply Democratic states of the South.

Now, keep in mind that a state’s votes for president and vice president are actually cast by electors from that state. Each political party selects a slate of electors, usually longtime party supporters who can be counted on to cast votes for the party’s official nominee. If you vote for, say, Obama for president, you’re not really voting for Obama; you’re voting for electors who promise to vote for Obama.

Today, electors are chosen by the respective hierarchies

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

of the political parties, usually at state conventions or by a state party's executive committee. In some places, in times past, the electors were selected in party primaries—elections in which (depending on state law) all voters or all registered party members could vote.

In 1960, Alabama was a Democratic state with virtually no Republican presence. Republicans were so rare that they didn't even qualify to have a state-sponsored primary. Everyone voted in the Democratic primary, and winning the Democratic primary was, as they said at the time, "tantamount to election."

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*JFK didn't win the popular vote even if you count all the reported votes as legitimate. He won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote, just like Bush in 2000.*

Electors for the Democratic ticket were selected in the Democratic primary. If Alabama Democrats weren't happy with the presidential choice of the national Democratic Party, they were allowed to override that choice. In 1948, if you voted in Alabama for the "Democratic" ticket, you were voting for Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina (or, technically, for electors pledged to Thurmond). You couldn't vote for the national Democratic nominee, Harry Truman.

In 1964, Democrats in Alabama put forth a slate of electors that, had they won, would have voted for the state's governor, George C. Wallace, rather than for the national Democratic nominee, President Lyndon Johnson. (The Republicans, with Barry Goldwater as their nominee, carried the state nonetheless in '64.) In 1968, Alabama Democrats won Alabama with their nominee, Wallace, who defeated the national Democratic nominee, Vice President Hubert Humphrey—that is, Wallace electors running as the official Democrats defeated Humphrey electors running on minor-party slates.

Back in 1960, contests for the position of presidential elector pitted pro-Kennedy Democrats against anti-Kennedy Democrats. The anti-Kennedy Democrats likely would have won all the elector seats but for the

fact that they were split between supporters of several alternative candidates (including Thurmond and Virginia Senator Harry Byrd). The final tally in the Democratic primary gave the anti-Kennedy Democrats six seats and pro-Kennedy Democrats five seats among Alabama's 11 presidential electors.

In other words, the anti-Kennedy Democrats won the primary, but the result was a six-to-five split. That means that, in November, a "Democratic" vote was a vote for six anti-Kennedy electors (who would eventually vote for Byrd) and five pro-Kennedy electors. In those days, the typical Alabamian voted a straight ticket, pulling the single lever on a machine or marking the single X in a circle on a paper ballot so as to cast his or her vote for all the candidates of a single party.

As strange as it seems, a "Democratic" vote in Alabama that November was a vote 45.4% in favor of Kennedy and 54.6% against Kennedy! A vote for Nixon was, simply enough, a vote for Nixon. Well, Nixon electors.

The presidential electors ran for individual slots, so it's possible that some people voted for some anti-Kennedy electors and some pro-Kennedy electors, or for some anti-Kennedy electors and some Nixon/Republican electors, or for some other combination involving electors pledged to Orval Faubus, segregationist governor of Arkansas (candidate of the National States Rights Party) or Rutherford Decker (Prohibition Party) or Clennon King (Independent Afro-American Party).

In dealing with this controversy, Wikipedia punted. This is what that online encyclopedia says:

The actual number of popular votes received by Kennedy in Alabama is difficult to determine because of the unusual situation in that state. The first minor issue is that, instead of having the voters choose from slates of electors, the Alabama ballot had voters choose the electors individually. Traditionally, in such a situation, a given candidate is assigned the popular vote of the elector who received the most votes. For instance, candidates pledged to Nixon received anywhere from 230,951 votes (for George Witcher) to 237,981 votes (for Cecil Durham); Nixon is therefore assigned 237,981 popular votes from Alabama.

The more important issue is that the statewide Democratic primary had chosen eleven candidates for the Electoral College, five of whom were pledged to vote for Kennedy, and

six of whom were free to vote for anyone they chose. All of these candidates won in the general election, and all six unpledged electors voted against Kennedy. The actual number of popular votes received by Kennedy is therefore difficult to allocate. Traditionally, Kennedy is assigned either 318,303 votes (the votes won by the most popular Kennedy elector) or 324,050 votes (the votes won by the most popular Democratic elector); the results table [in the Wikipedia page on the 1960 presidential election] is based on Kennedy winning 318,303 votes in Alabama

By that calculation, Kennedy eked out a narrow popular vote victory over Nixon. The problem is that such an accounting gives Kennedy credit for the Democratic vote in Alabama despite the fact that, in both the primary and the general election, most Democrats in Alabama voted against Kennedy along with all Republicans, Prohibitionists, States-Righters, and supporters of the Independent Afro-American Party.

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*The fact that Kennedy failed to win the national popular vote was initially noted by major national publications such as the New York Times. As the years passed, and his legend grew, the complicated truth about the 1960 vote was forgotten.*

Anyone tempted to put all or most of Alabama's Democratic votes in the JFK column should also consider this: The night before the election, Alabama Governor John Patterson went on television to urge that people vote Democrat in order to show their support for segregation. (Ironically, Patterson had delivered a key bloc of convention votes to Kennedy when he was seeking the Democratic nomination.)

In a 1988 letter to the *New York Review of Books*, George Mason University's Gordon Tullock, responding to a review, by Francis Russell, of a book by Doris Kearns Goodwin, noted the peculiar situation in Alabama in 1960:

In that primary election a slate of anti-Kennedy

electors won six of the eleven positions and five were won by the pro-Kennedy electors. The six anti-Kennedy electors then proceeded to carry on a vigorous and active campaign. The pro-Kennedy electors stayed home and said nothing. The ultimate outcome was 324,000 votes for all eleven Democratic electors. The anti-Kennedy electors received eight thousand more votes than the pro-Kennedy electors.

The popular vote is very difficult to disentangle. The above figures assume that the people who voted for all eleven of the electors were pro-Kennedy. Obviously, this is too simple, but what should be substituted for it is by no means obvious. I personally would suggest that we simply discard all these votes in the popular total on the grounds that we can't tell what these voters thought. Another possibility would be to divide the popular vote cast for these eleven electors in the same ratio as the popular vote in the earlier primary. Either of these corrections would lead to Nixon having more popular votes nationally than Kennedy.

Russell responded to Tullock:

Given the Byzantine intricacies of Alabama politics, it is indeed possible that Nixon's popular vote may have slightly exceeded Kennedy's in that close election. Whereas in most states in a presidential election voters are given a single slate of Republican or Democratic electors to check off, Alabama Democratic voters could choose or reject individually from the list of electors, eleven separate choices. There must have been considerable vote-splitting in 1960, for an anti-Kennedy elector topped the list with 324,050 votes, trailed by a pro-Kennedy with 318,303 votes. This latter figure the *Congressional Quarterly* gives as the total Alabama Kennedy vote. The difference between the "anti" and the "pro," the *Quarterly* tabulates as "Other." The "Others" then, with some six thousand votes, take six electors whereas the Republicans with thirty times that total get no electors at all. This, as Professor Tullock points out, is an absurdity.

There is no tabulating the vote exactly, but for a reasonable approximation one can divide 318,303 by eleven, multiply it by five for the pro-Kennedys and by six for the anti-Kennedys. The Kennedy Alabama total would then be 144,685



instead of the Quarterly's given 318,303. If we then deduct the 179,838 anti-Kennedy Alabama votes from the national total then Nixon did have a final 64,165 vote plurality in the 68,828,960 votes cast.

By the way, the fact that Kennedy failed to win the national popular vote was initially noted by major national publications such as the *New York Times*. As the years passed, and his legend grew, the complicated truth about the 1960 vote was forgotten, to be replaced by the story that Kennedy won by a little more than 100,000 votes.

After JFK was assassinated, his widow Jackie led an effort to elevate him to the pantheon of great presidents. His time in office became associated with "Camelot," a then-current Broadway musical that depicted a Golden Age, the time of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Myths were shaped to support this concept—how he saved the world during the Cuban Missile Crisis, how he fought hard for civil rights, how he was the most faithful of family men, how, if he had lived, he would have prevented the Vietnam disaster.

A small part of that myth was that he won the popular vote in 1960. It was a pretty insignificant little fib that became important only in light of the attempts to deprive George W. Bush of legitimacy in 2000 and to abolish the Electoral College altogether.

A personal note: If I had been old enough to vote, I probably would have voted for Kennedy. JFK was the kind of Democrat we don't see any more: he was a supply-sider, favoring across-the-board tax cuts to boost the economy; he was strongly anti-Communist and believed deeply in American Exceptionalism; and, reluctantly or not, he provided support at critical points for the civil rights movement, which in those days had the goal of achieving a color-blind society. Perhaps he would have been a great president, had he lived, but an unspeakable crime half a century ago deprived us of the chance to find out. ■

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## THE E-CIGARETTE BAN IS A WIN FOR LIARS AND BIG TOBACCO

By Steven J. Allen

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**Summary:** *Bureaucrats and politicians often cite “science” as justification for their efforts to exercise control over Americans’ lives. It’s a fake, politicized “science,” of course. When science suggests that government policy is ineffective or counterproductive, Washington elites ignore the science they claim to venerate. Case in point: the regulation of e-cigarettes, benefitting the big tobacco companies that the Left claims to hate. This reminds us of the “Joe Camel” controversy, which was fabricated and promoted so that the Left could get its hands on a fortune in tobacco money.*

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The Food and Drug Administration has joined with Big Tobacco in an effort to crush the small businesses that make up most of the e-cigarette industry. In doing so, the FDA is putting at risk the lives of millions of Americans.

Once again, bureaucrats and politicians are distorting scientific studies in order to support a political agenda. The ostensible mission of the FDA is to make sure food and medicine are safe, but FDA bureaucrats and the politicians who enable them have long sought to make the agency into a national nanny, a haven for prohibitionism and for meddling in people’s lives.

Now, bureaucrats have issued a set of rules that would effectively ban 99 percent of e-cigarettes, scuttle innovation in the e-cig industry, and enrich the companies that misled the public about the health consequences of real smoking.

### \$2 MILLION OR MORE AN ITEM

The FDA announced in May that it was assuming regulatory power over e-cigarettes on the theory that e-cigs, which contain no tobacco, are “tobacco products.” Most of the FDA measures took effect in August.

The agency issued new rules banning sales to anyone under 18 (a ban that most states had already enacted) and requiring warning labels. Most importantly, the rules on product approval, phased in over two years, will make virtually all e-cig products, even those currently on the

market, subject to government approval. (The “Pre-Market Tobacco Application” rules apply to products released on the market after February 2007, but that’s almost all products created by the fledgling industry.)

The cost of approval is estimated by the FDA at \$285,000 to \$2.6 million, taking 1,713 hours per application. Others, more realistically, put the cost at between \$2 million and \$10 million. That’s *per item*—an impossible burden for an industry with a myriad of products, dominated by small manufacturers and small shops.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, “The FDA could move to regulate advertising or flavors such as cotton candy and watermelon that might appeal to youth.” (That’s based on the myth, popular among e-cig prohibitionists, that when a product tastes good, that means it’s targeted to young people.)

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The *Journal* continued: “The approval process is expected to be less damaging for major tobacco companies such as Altria [formerly Philip Morris], Reynolds American Inc., and Imperial Brands PLC that have launched their own versions of the battery-powered devices that heat nicotine-laced liquid into a vapor. Those companies have financial resources to cover the costs that many vape shops and liquid nicotine manufacturers lack.”

Effectively, the FDA’s actions constitute a ban on e-cigarettes except for products from large corporations that can afford to deal with the FDA bureaucracy. That

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dramatically favors Big Tobacco over small manufacturers. Even more favorable to Big Tobacco is the removal from the market of countless e-cigarette products that would have served as alternatives to real smoking. Thus, as Jacob Sullum wrote in *Reason* magazine, the FDA's regulatory scheme "privileges the most dangerous nicotine delivery devices (conventional cigarettes) while threatening to eliminate much safer alternatives and blocking the introduction of even better products. All in the name of public health."

Tony Abboud of the Vapor Technology Association, an industry group, noted that

The FDA's actions will not improve our nation's public health objectives. To the contrary, they will yank responsibly manufactured vapor products from the hands of adult smokers and replace them with the cigarettes they had been trying to give up. The FDA will kill nearly a decade of innovation in the vapor technology industry and the many thousands of small and mid-size businesses in communities across this country who have invested in establishing retail stores and developing new technologies that sit outside of the influence of Big Tobacco. If enforced as drafted, the unreasonable and excessive regulations proposed by the FDA will only serve to put these innovators out of business, their employees out of work, and will hand deliver Big Tobacco a monopoly on vapor products.

At this writing, U.S. Reps. Tom Cole (R-Okla.) and Sanford Bishop (D-Ga.) seek congressional approval for a measure to limit the most damaging part of the new FDA rules. The former Democratic National Chairman, Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz of Florida, has worked to block their efforts.

## SAFER THAN THE ALTERNATIVE

An electronic cigarette or e-cigarette is a handheld electronic device that vaporizes a liquid, which is usually composed of flavorings, the common food additives propylene glycol

and glycerin, and a small amount of the stimulant nicotine. The user inhales the vapor. E-cigarette use is often called "vaping."

E-cigarettes are considered a relatively safe alternative to old-fashioned, combustible cigarettes. After an independent study and an extensive review of toxicological research, Public Health England, a government agency in the United Kingdom that conducts anti-smoking campaigns, concluded that e-cigs are 95 percent safer than cigarettes. The Royal Academy of Physicians, in a 200-page report, reached the same conclusion.

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– Tony Abboud, Vapor Technology Association

A study published recently in *Preventative Medicine* found an 11.7 percent increase in teen cigarette use after states introduced new age restrictions for e-cigarettes between 2007 and 2013. Smoking rates among 12 to 17-year-olds actually rose in states that banned e-cigarette sales to minors, according to one of the report's authors, Abigail Friedman of the Yale School of Public Health. The lead author, Dr. Michael F. Pesko of Cornell, said that, "While there's some risk [to e-cigarettes], it would be a mistake to regulate them the same way we regulate cigarettes." (Politicians in California did just that in May, regulating e-cigarettes in the same manner as real cigarettes, raising the vaping age from 18 to 21, and banning vaping in public places.)

Users of e-cigs are exposed to none of the roughly 7,000 chemicals associated with real cigarettes, with the exception of nicotine. They contain none of the chemicals associated with emphysema, and none of the 60 chemicals classified as carcinogens (cancer-causing agents).

Walter Olson of the website *Overlawyered* noted in April 2015:

Actual cigarette smoking among teens, the kind that requires inhaling carcinogenic products of combustion, is down a startling 25 percent in one

year and nearly 42 percent since 2011. The reason is the rapid substitution of vaping or e-cigarettes, which hold singular promise as a harm-reduction measure for those drawn to the nicotine habit. Great news, right? Not if you listen to Thomas Frieden of the Centers for Disease Control, who's doing his best to disguise good tidings as bad so as to stoke the officially encouraged panic about vaping.

Again, recall that the CDC's mission is public health, which is the prevention of disease from communicable disease (bacteria, viruses, and other pathogens) and from common environmental sources. The agency is located in metropolitan Atlanta because, when the CDC's precursor was founded in 1942, the South was where the malaria was. Other agencies handle environmental threats, so the proper role of the CDC (formerly the Communicable Disease Center) is to prevent communicable diseases. When the CDC involves itself in attempts to alter people's behavior—matters of private health such as smoking, consumption of alcohol, and overeating, even such behaviors as how people drive and whether they keep guns at home—it is acting unethically and outside its proper scope, and ignoring its legitimate function.

Frieden served infamously as Commissioner of the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene under Mayor Michael Bloomberg. Under his leadership, city officials took over the writing of restaurant menus and expanded their role in dictating the foods that restaurants could serve. Now, as CDC director, Frieden is obsessed with e-cigs. Joe Nocera wrote in the *New York Times*:

In a conference call with reporters, Tom Frieden ... couldn't stop talking about how awful this was. "It's important that everyone, parents and kids, understand that nicotine is dangerous for kids at any age, whether it's an e-cigarette, hookah, cigarette or a cigar," he said. In addition to being addictive, nicotine was thought to affect the still-maturing adolescent brain—although Frieden also acknowledged that this had mainly been shown in animal studies, rather than studies of adolescents. What's more, he feared that there was a "significant likelihood that a proportion of those who are using e-cigarettes will go on to use combustible cigarettes."

Actually, e-cigs appear to be a strong deterrent to cigarette use, given the substitution effect. Vaping appears to be quickly *replacing* smoking among young people. By 2015, real smoking—the kind, as Nocera noted, "that kills one out of every two long-term smokers" —dropped to 9.2

percent among teens by 2015. That, Nocera wrote, was "the first time that teen smoking in America has ever hit single digits," and

it seems pretty obvious that the decline in cigarette smoking has largely been caused by the rising popularity of e-cigarettes. This, too, was denied by Frieden. But as David Sweanor, a tobacco policy expert at the University of Ottawa, put it to me: "What other huge interventions have there been? It's not like there has been a big new cigarette tax, or tough new package warnings. The only thing that is new is the introduction of e-cigarettes."

(Nocera is no right-winger, by the way. A former *New York Times* op-ed columnist, he once likened "Tea Party Republicans" to terrorists.)

In *National Review Online*, Andrew Stuttaford noted that "the experience of snus, a form of moist tobacco popular in Sweden that is almost infinitely safer than cigarettes, would suggest that a safer substitute is more likely to be a gateway away from cigarettes than an introduction to them."

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*"It seems pretty obvious that the decline in cigarette smoking has largely been caused by the rising popularity of e-cigarettes."*

— Joe Nocera, *New York Times*

Some suggest that Frieden is in denial about e-cigs, that he is blinded to the benefits of e-cigs. "That's not the case," wrote Walter Olson.

Frieden is many things, but he is not a fool. What he is, however, is an absolutist, a moral crusader, *pur et dur* [pure and hard], who enjoys wielding the power that the nanny state has given him, and, of course, the opportunity to show his own (as he sees it) superior virtue. There can be no compromise with tobacco or even (in isolation, far safer) with nicotine, at least if the latter is associated with pleasure rather than the weaning process represented by patches or gum.

CDC bureaucrats and CDC-connected politicians are especially bothered that e-cigarette advertising supposedly targets young people by focusing on themes of "independence, rebellion, and sex." Sex is, of course,



the most common theme in advertising, but it's the "independence" and "rebellion" part that is most bothersome. Nothing offends Progressives like an appeal to the human need for freedom.

Frieden has asserted repeatedly that e-cigarettes are addictive. In 2014, he claimed that "Many kids are starting out with e-cigarettes and then going on to smoke conventional cigarettes." He said earlier this year that e-cigs "may well result in changes in the adolescent brain and increase the chances that a kid will smoke regular cigarettes and have to deal with the suffering and disability and cost that that causes for a lifetime."



The Daily Caller News Foundation reporter Guy Bentley asked the CDC for the evidence behind Frieden's assertions, and the CDC cited two studies.

The first is a study on school students in LA showing those who use e-cigarettes are 2.7 times more likely to report using conventional tobacco over the next year. On the face of it, this seems pretty damning evidence.

The only problem, or rather one of the several problems, is the study's own authors say "we cannot conclude that e-cigarette use directly leads to smoking." This is because the study had several major drawbacks that make it null and void when trying to draw a cause and effect relationship between vaping and smoking.

"The study did not measure 'e-cigarette use.' It merely asked kids whether they had 'ever' tried an e-cigarette. Kids who had ever tried an e-cigarette, even a puff, were compared with all kids who had never even puffed on an e-cigarette," Dr. Michael Siegel, a professor in the Department of Community Health Sciences, Boston University School of Public Health, points out. "Kids who

would not even try an e-cigarette, despite their popularity, represent a different population than kids who would try a puff on an e-cig," according to Siegel.

The research team doesn't even record whether any of the subjects were regular vapers or had a nicotine addiction before they experimented with cigarettes. ... Smoking is defined in the study as any use of a cigarette—even a single solitary puff. Critically, the research also fails to tell us how many people used a tobacco cigarette and then became regular smokers.

The editorial that accompanied the study ... [declared that] the current study cannot determine whether e-cigarette exposure was associated with [progressing to becoming regular smokers]." Clive Bates, a leading anti-smoking campaigner and former director of the United Kingdom's Action on Smoking and Health, writing in August last year, agrees: "It is not possible to conclude that smoking is caused by prior e-cigarette use from this data (and the authors are clear about that) so no-one should be stating that this establishes a gateway or even hints at it."

Likewise, the second study failed to show what the CDC claimed it did. Bentley:

Using two questionnaires a year apart sent to 728 young people, ... [the study found that] just 16 subjects tried an e-cigarette at the beginning of the process. One year on, six of the sixteen reported trying a cigarette. The study claims they progressed to "traditional cigarette smoking." Nowhere in the study is it known whether these six are regular smokers or whether they have even had more than one puff of a cigarette. Nor did the study say whether the 16 who tried e-cigarettes were regular vapers or addicted to nicotine. But the researchers did deem it appropriate to classify people who had *ever* tried an e-cigarette as regular users.

Another CDC fake-out involved the agency's claim that overall tobacco use by middle and high school students has not changed since 2011. The CDC got to that result by classifying e-cigarettes, which contain no tobacco, as part of overall tobacco use.

Seriously.

Bentley again:

Vaping has surged among middle and high school

students in recent years despite age restrictions and cigarette use has fallen markedly. “From 2011 through 2015, significant decreases in current cigarette smoking occurred among youth,” says the CDC. Between 2011-2015, cigarette use among high school students plummeted by more than a third from 15.8 percent to 9.3 percent.

Instead of welcoming the fall in teen smoking, CDC’s director Tom Frieden focused on climbing e-cigarette use and falsely equated it with tobacco. “E-cigarettes are now the most commonly used tobacco product among youth, and use continues to climb,” said Frieden.

Gregory Conley, president of the American Vaping Association, characterized the CDC claim as “staggeringly dishonest.” ■

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