



“DARK MONEY” AND THE SUPREME COURT

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

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

Capital Research (ISSN pending), is published monthly except April, June, August, and December by Capital Research Center, 1513 16th Street SW, Washington, DC 20036. Application to Mail at Periodicals Prices is Pending at Washington, DC and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to: Capital Research, 1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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Cover design: Lori Schulman



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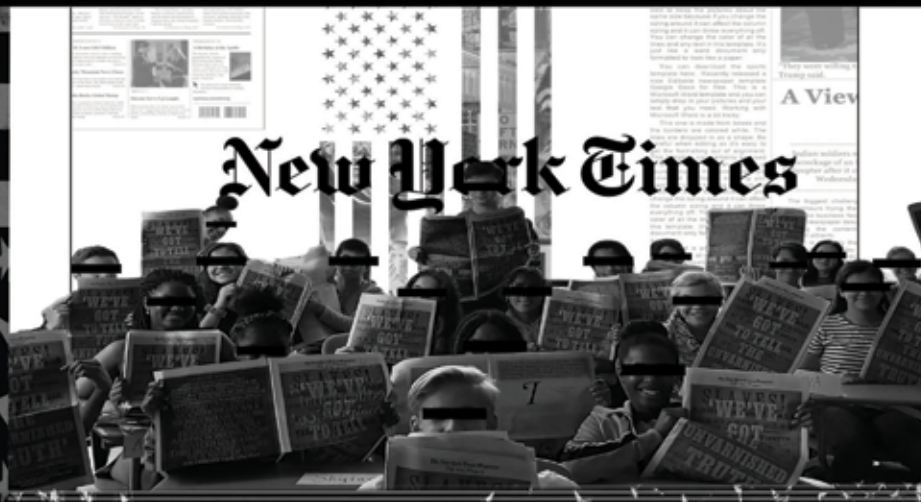
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ARCHITECTS OF WOKE:

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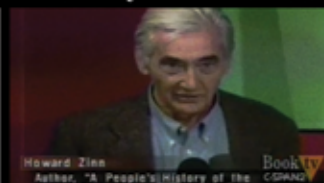


CRC's Architects of Woke series takes aim at far-left post-modernist and Marxist thinkers and activists responsible for the spread of identity politics on college campuses and in society at large.

The series is hosted and directed by award-winning filmmaker Rob Montz, whose online documentary work has attracted millions of views and coverage in major outlets, including *The Economist*, *USA Today*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and The Adam Carolla Podcast.

Subjects of the Architects of Woke include the fake history of the 1619 Project, the wildly popular radical socialist podcast Chapo Trap House, far-left political activist Howard Zinn, University of California at Berkeley feminist gender theorist Judith Butler, highly influential Marxist-Leninist philosopher Slavoj Žižek.

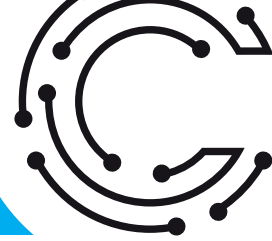
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DANGEROUS
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Howard Zinn, Hollywood, & the Fairy Tale of American Evil



SHOULD PENNSYLVANIA'S ELECTIONS BE PRIVATIZED?

By Scott Walter

Summary: CRC President Scott Walter testified about the Center for Tech and Civic Life (CTCL) and its grants to local election offices in Pennsylvania before the State Government Committee of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives on April 15, 2021. As CRC has documented in other battleground states, CTCL grants significantly juiced Democratic turnout, potentially providing the margin of victory for Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden in key states. The following is his oral testimony.

Chairman Grove, Representative Davidson, distinguished Members of the Committee: Thank you for allowing me to testify. I'm Scott Walter, president of the Capital Research Center in Washington, D.C., a 36-year-old think tank that is a watchdog on nonprofits.

Given the years of struggle in the Keystone State over liquor stores, which have never been privatized, it is amazing that no question appears to have been raised in 2020, when one Big Tech billionaire, funding one supposedly "nonpartisan" nonprofit, effectively privatized the Commonwealth's elections.

I refer to Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg and his wife, who funded the Center for Tech and Civic Life (or CTCL), which in turn sent millions of dollars straight into local government election offices in Pennsylvania, with strings attached.

Personally, I do not want donors or nonprofits anywhere on the political spectrum manipulating elections through gifts to government offices. One would think the question whether to permit private funding of Pennsylvania's election offices would be simple, something Left and Right could agree on: Should your state's elections be governed by you, the people's representatives, or by one Big Tech billionaire?



Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg and his wife funded the Center for Tech and Civic Life, which in turn sent millions of dollars straight into local government election offices in Pennsylvania, with strings attached.

As a student of the Left's role in politics, I'm amazed anyone left of center would be unsure how to answer. For years we've heard left-leaning officials, and left-leaning nonprofits, decry political donations by billionaires. In Washington, prominent Democrat Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has objected to the very existence of billionaires.

These attacks typically feature criticism of so-called "dark money." I am sure several Members of this Committee are on the record criticizing it, and I can assure the Committee that the Center for Tech and Civic Life is as "dark" as they come.

CTCL refused to disclose the hundreds of millions it received from Mr. Zuckerberg; weeks later, the donor himself revealed his nine-figure donation. CTCL declines to provide its full donor list, and it's organized as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit which can legally avoid revealing any donors.

Scott Walter is president of Capital Research Center.

Much worse, however, because at least CTCL's "darkness" about donors is legally permitted, it also refuses to reveal *where* its hundreds of millions went in the last election. CTCL has admitted that thousands of local election offices in dozens of states received grants of \$5,000 or more, and it has posted a "preliminary" list of local government offices that received funds.

But of course, the critical question is *how much money* went to *which* election offices. CTCL refuses to make public that information, even though federal law requires CTCL to report on its IRS Form 990, a public document, every grant of \$5,000 or more to any government agency. Conveniently, CTCL can delay filing that document until November 2021. It has refused to answer these kinds of burning public questions, despite being asked by the *New York Times*, the Associated Press, National Public Radio, American Public Media, the *New Yorker*, and others.

Nonetheless, we at Capital Research Center have examined CTCL's list, as well as news databases and local government reports, to assemble the fullest data set currently available. We think these numbers won't change much when the full truth comes out, because we've found grant amounts for most large jurisdictions.

We've publicly disclosed all the data we can find and published reports for the states of Pennsylvania, Georgia, Michigan, Wisconsin, Texas, Arizona, Nevada, North Carolina, and Virginia. For every state we've examined, it is clear Zuckerberg's funding via CTCL has produced a highly partisan pattern.

We first examined the funding in Georgia, and our report was so shocking that the Georgia Senate asked me to testify about it.

Consider a few data points:

- In Georgia, CTCL gave grants to nine of the state's ten counties with the greatest Democratic shifts in their 2020 presidential vote. Those nine grantees averaged an amazing 13.7 percent Democratic shift.
- In the 44 Georgia counties CTCL funded, the Democratic presidential vote rose by more than two-and-a-half times the Republican rise in the same counties, compared to 2016. This partisan

effect in the funded counties produced a Democratic advantage of about 323,000 votes in a state whose margin of victory was less than 12,000 votes.

In Pennsylvania, the same pattern recurs:

- While CTCL funded slightly more counties won by President Trump (13) than by Vice President Biden (11), recall that Biden won only 13 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties, so CTCL funded 85 percent of Biden counties, compared to 24 percent of Trump counties.
- A Biden-winning county was over three-and-a-half times more likely to be funded by CTCL than a Trump-winning county.
- Biden won six counties across the state that delivered him 100,000 or more votes. CTCL funded 100 percent of those six.
- Trump won four counties that delivered him 100,000 votes or more. CTCL funded 75 percent of them.
- We have data on the grant amounts received by 13 of the 24 counties CTCL funded. *All five of the highest-funded counties were won by Biden.* By contrast, four of CTCL's five *least* funded counties were won by Trump.
- Even those numbers understate the funding disparity. A more accurate picture arises when we compare the funding per capita: Trump counties received an average of \$0.59 per capita, while Biden counties averaged \$2.93 per capita—over five times more funding per capita.
- The most richly funded Biden county (Philadelphia) received \$6.32 for every man, woman, and child, compared to a mere \$1.12 for the most richly funded Trump county (Berks).
- In fact, for every voter who cast a ballot in Philadelphia county, the Democratic election officials there received \$13.60.
- When we compare the presidential vote in 2020 to 2016 numbers, we find that in the 24 counties CTCL funded, 266,000 more votes were cast in 2020 for the Republican candidate and 460,000 more for the Democrat candidate. That partisan difference of about 194,000 votes is more than double Biden's official victory margin for the entire state (80,555 votes).



In Pennsylvania, a Biden-winning county was over three-and-a-half times more likely to be funded by CTCL than a Trump-winning county.

- Looking at this increased turnout in percentage terms, we find the median increase in Republican votes in all 24 counties CTCL funded was +17 percent in 2020 over 2016. The median increase in Democratic votes was +27 percent.

The pattern repeats in state after state: First, CTCL is far more likely to fund election jurisdictions that are rich with Democratic votes. Second, it funds those jurisdictions much more heavily per capita. Third, jurisdictions it funded boosted Democratic turnout far beyond the statewide margin of victory.

Election expert J. Christian Adams sums it up: CTCL's Zuckerberg cash "converted election offices in key jurisdictions with deep reservoirs of Biden votes into Formula One turnout machines."

It is hard to square these facts with the federal requirement that 501(c)(3) nonprofits like CTCL must be nonpartisan at all times, that they may not conduct "voter education or registration activities" that "have the effect of favoring a candidate," as the IRS puts it. Unfortunately, such nonprofits have for years been ignoring federal law by conducting registration and get out the vote efforts that favor one party.

Liberal journalist Sasha Issenberg, in his 2012 book *The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns*, wrote of one such nonprofit, the Voter Participation Center, that remains prominent in elections: "Even though the group was officially nonpartisan, for tax purposes, there was no secret that the goal of all its efforts was to generate new votes for Democrats."

In the case of CTCL, this partisanship wouldn't surprise anyone who consulted InfluenceWatch.org to learn its leaders' backgrounds: All its founders first worked at a 501(c)(4)

nonprofit, the New Organizing Institute, which was such a powerful turnout machine that the *Washington Post* labeled it "the Democratic Party's Hogwarts for digital wizardry." The two groups, CTCL and New Organizing Institute, are so similar that Capital Research Center created a quiz showing quotations from their two websites and asking readers to guess which group's website said it. The test is quite difficult. It is nearly impossible to tell the old (c)(4) political nonprofit from the new (c)(3) "nonpartisan" nonprofit. They are simply Democratic turnout machines.

Seasoned election observers went into November saying that Pennsylvania was a critical swing state for the presidential election and that Philadelphia would be ground zero for the Democratic candidate's hopes. CTCL partisans knew this too, and their investments in Pennsylvania prove it.

I urge you to investigate every dealing CTCL had with every Pennsylvania government office. Did the contacts begin from the Center's side? What preconditions did the Center put on its funds? Did the counties fulfill their budgetary and other obligations under state law when using these funds? Who designed voter "education" materials and advertisements? Who was hired? Who trained them? Was any money spent on training that would help prevent vote fraud?

The problem of illicit nonprofit partisanship is for the U.S. Congress to solve. But the problem of nonprofits hoping to privatize Pennsylvania's elections is, I respectfully submit, your responsibility.

Thank you. ■

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



AMERICA UNDER SIEGE

ANTIFA

FREE SPEECH DIES UNDEFENDED

The communist movement known as Antifa (short for Anti-Fascist Action) has sparked violence across the nation. In the wake of their battling white supremacist in Charlottesville, Antifa has begun to gain mainstream popularity. But unbeknownst to much of the public, the vast majority of Antifa violence isn't targeted at genuine fascists, but mainstream conservatives and civilians. With help from those who have encountered Antifa, Trevor Loudon guides us through the history and ideas behind the Antifa movement, starting with Leon Trotsky and going all the way through the events in Berkeley, CA and Charlottesville, VA.

WATCH AT:

DangerousDocumentaries.com/film/America-Under-Siege-Antifa/

DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION



SOME ANSWERS TO FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT ANTIFA

By Robert Stilson

Summary: No movement on the American Left, except maybe Black Lives Matter, has captured the attention of media and the general populace in recent months quite like Antifa. Antifa is a very loosely organized and decentralized radical left movement characterized by its aggressive and directly confrontational opposition to what it considers to be fascism, coupled with its embrace of radical left anarchist and/or communist ideologies. For those Americans who cherish our traditions of capitalist liberal democracy with all its flaws, understanding Antifa is critical.



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Antifa is poorly understood. What exactly is it? Where did it come from? What does it want? And who supports it?

No movement on the American Left—save perhaps for Black Lives Matter—has captured the attention of media and the general populace in recent months quite like Antifa. But Antifa is poorly understood. What exactly is it? Where did it come from? What does it want? And who supports it?

These questions do not have simple and straightforward answers. This is further complicated by the large amount of misinformation floating around regarding Antifa and the extent of its activities. But that does not mean there are no answers at all. A number of authors have conducted in-depth research on Antifa in the past few years. Relying on their writings and combining them with other publicly available information, it becomes possible to provide a measure of clarity for those seeking to understand this highly opaque and amorphous movement.

What Is Antifa?

Antifa (a contraction of the term “anti-fascist”) is a very loosely organized and decentralized radical left movement characterized by its aggressive and directly confrontational opposition to what it considers to be fascism, coupled with its embrace of radical left anarchist and/or communist ideologies.

In his recent book *Unmasked: Inside Antifa’s Radical Plan to Destroy Democracy*, journalist Andy Ngo defines Antifa as “an ideology and movement of radical pan-leftist politics whose adherents are mainly militant anarchist communists or collectivist anarchists. . . . What unites this group of leftists is its opposition to so-called fascism, though importantly, what is defined as fascism is left wide open.” Historian Mark Bray gives a broadly similar definition of “anti-fascism” in *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook*. To him, it is “an illiberal politics of social revolutionism applied to fighting the Far Right, not only literal fascists.”

Contemporary American Antifa is probably best thought of as a movement or ideology, rather than an organization. This presents a descriptive and definitional problem right from the start because many may broadly identify with Antifa beliefs and practices without necessarily being affiliated with any actual Antifa group. Bray has opined, “The radical left is much bigger than antifa—much, much bigger.” Who then qualifies as being part of Antifa? It is

Robert Stilson is a research specialist at CRC who runs several of CRC’s specialized projects, including a series on federal grants and nonprofits.

impossible to put a precise number on Antifa membership, and describing any putative far-left protester or rioter as “Antifa” would broaden that term beyond a point where it would have any useful meaning.

There *are* Antifa organizations, however, and they represent the most logical place to focus any inquiry. Such groups often explicitly self-identify as Antifa, but observers have also described them as such, noting obvious defining characteristics. Antifa groups typically operate locally. For example, Rose City Antifa—the oldest and arguably most prominent extant Antifa group in the United States—is active in Portland, Oregon, while Atlanta Antifascists operates in that metropolitan area. As far as anyone knows, these groups are not organized hierarchically, and there is no individual “leader” of Antifa.

Although essentially autonomous, some Antifa groups have a degree of affiliation that goes beyond simply a shared ideology. According to writer Mark Hemingway, “the closest thing to an antifa organization” is the Torch Network. It claims ten member chapters on its website, including some of the more nationally well-known Antifa groups. Although Torch Network members “work together to confront fascism and oppression,” there is not much in the way of oversight or control. Indeed, chapters “may call themselves whatever they want, and can organize the best way they see fit.” The extent of collaboration between Torch Network members has been described by one member chapter as “occasionally exchange[ing] information and advice.”

Antifa exists primarily to oppose “fascism.” Rose City Antifa breaks down its activities into three broad categories: direct action, education, and solidarity. Direct action, no doubt, garners it the most notoriety. Andy Ngo writes, “‘Direct action’ is a dog whistle for protest activity that includes violence,” though Rose City Antifa euphemistically describes it as work that “prevents fascist organizing, and when that is not possible, provides consequences to fascist organizers.” Ngo himself was physically attacked in 2019 during a Portland protest and has sued Rose City Antifa for their alleged role in that attack.

That said, most of Antifa’s activities are not physically violent. Bray writes, “In truth, violence represents a small though vital sliver of anti-fascist activity.” Antifa is heavily engaged in doxxing: publicly exposing the private information of those whom they oppose, with the goal of shaming

them or otherwise bringing about negative consequences. This involves substantial time spent on research—one Rose City Antifa member estimated it at “about a hundred hours per week.”

Antifa is also quick to align itself with, and provide support to, other groups that share its objective of “a classless society, free from all forms of oppression.” This is the “solidarity” prong from Rose City Antifa’s three-part breakdown. Antifa is often closely associated with the Black Lives Matter movement, but the true relationship between the two is considerably murkier.

As far as anyone knows, Antifa groups are not organized hierarchically, and there is no individual “leader” of Antifa.

Similarly to “Antifa,” the term “Black Lives Matter” can refer to anything from an individual’s personal beliefs to a broader movement rooted in those beliefs to any number of distinct organizations that operate within

that movement. Unlike Antifa, within Black Lives Matter can be found political ideologies that range from essentially the mainstream liberal left all the way to the deeply radical far-left. Antifa, by contrast, is a radical far-left movement by definition. Also unlike Antifa, many of those who associate themselves with Black Lives Matter do so with peaceful and reformative (as opposed to revolutionary) intent.

Therefore, it’s probably best to conceptualize Black Lives Matter as referring to a spectrum, with only the more radical portion of that spectrum overlapping with Antifa. Precious few Americans who placed a Black Lives Matter sign in their front yard in 2020 would have done the same thing with an Antifa sign. And many Black Lives Matter-connected leaders have condemned Antifa and its associated violence. The president of the Portland NAACP called that city’s riots a “white spectacle” and asked what “antifa and other leftist agitators [are] achieving for the cause of black equality?” Numerous others have expressed concern that militant leftist violence in the name of Black Lives Matter significantly undermines the movement.

In the places and among the people where Antifa and Black Lives Matter *do* overlap, however, they can be more or less indistinguishable. Antifa-associated individuals and groups frequently use the phrase “Black Lives Matter” in protests and in other contexts. The Movement for Black Lives—one of the primary national Black Lives Matter organizations—espouses anti-capitalist and anti-institutional principles that aren’t terribly far removed from what one might find expressed by an Antifa group.



Credit: I. McBee. License: <https://bit.ly/3eoKbPQ>.

Rose City Antifa—the oldest and arguably most prominent extant Antifa group in the United States—is active in Portland, Oregon.

Andy Ngo argues in *Unmasked* that at least in Portland and Seattle, Antifa and Black Lives Matter “are one and the same, with the same people showing up to each other’s events.” This appears to be corroborated by the statements of a pseudonymous Rose City Antifa member, who admitted in the *New Yorker* that, while the group has no role in organizing Black Lives Matter protests, “we are fully supportive, and many of us attend as individuals.”

This brings up the topic of Antifa demographics. Although there is no official census, a few generalizations can be pointed out. Antifa is usually described as being predominantly white—one exasperated Black Lives Matter protester reportedly characterized Portland’s militant antifascist culture as “violent and white.” Mark Hemingway noted the same ethnic preponderance and that arrest records and other public information indicate many Antifa “are itinerant or marginally employed.” Andy Ngo’s research led him to a similar conclusion: Those arrested at leftist riots “are disproportionately individuals dealing with housing insecurity, financial instability, and mental health issues.”

Where Did Antifa Come From?

Antifa’s roots are primarily found in interwar Europe, especially within the tumultuous jockeying among the fascist, communist, and democratic political factions trying to fill the vacuum that was Weimar Germany in the early 1930s. Modern American Antifa traces its organizational lineage to

the 1980s, and at least some of its ideological legacy to the various radical-left movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

The ideological antecedents of Antifa stretch back into the 19th century, and concerted anti-fascism emerged more or less contemporaneously with fascism in 1920s Italy. But the true spiritual ancestor of today’s Antifa was the far-left Antifaschistische Aktion, founded and controlled by the Communist Party of Germany in the last years of the Weimar Republic. The symbolism and tactics of this organization remain readily observable among many modern Antifa groups.

Although often remembered as Nazi fighters—and they certainly were that, too—*Antifaschistische Aktion* was in truth more deliberately employed against social democrats. To the Stalinist-aligned Communist Party of Germany, the Social

Democratic Party was the real enemy (they called them “social fascists”) and Hitler’s Nazis were the lesser evil, at least for the time being. Indeed, *Antifaschistische Aktion* was originally formed as a response to—and actively sought to undermine—a group called the Iron Front, which was a last-ditch alliance of German democrats desperately trying to defend the Weimar Republic against the twin totalitarian threats of communism and fascism.

In the United States, organized Antifa can be traced back to the 1980s, specifically to a group originating in Minneapolis called Anti-Racist Action. Mark Bray, author of *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook*, explains how Anti-Racist Action took inspiration not only from existing European Antifa groups, but also from a variety of American radical-left formations. He points to the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee—formed by former members of domestic terrorist groups like the Weather Underground and the May 19th Communist Organization—as well as the Black Panthers and the Black Liberation Army as examples. Bray writes that “it is crucial to situate [Anti-Racist Action] within a much longer and deeper struggle against a wide variety of Klansmen, hooded or otherwise.”

Rose City Antifa was established in 2007 by former Anti-Racist Action members, and the Torch Network was “born out of” Anti-Racist Action in 2013. This was still before the word “Antifa” was familiar to most Americans. It would remain that way until roughly 2017, when it exploded into public consciousness to such a degree that the Oxford



In the United States, organized Antifa can be traced back to the 1980s, specifically to a group originating in Minneapolis called Anti-Racist Action.

Dictionaries included it on its shortlist of finalists for Word of the Year. That year, a series of very public confrontations between Antifa and those whom they opposed—most notably the assortment of neo-Nazis and other white supremacists at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville—drew unprecedented attention to the movement.

This was all against the backdrop of the first year of Donald Trump's presidency—a presidency that was the political personification of much of what the Left despised. Reflecting Trump's (and his supporters') significance to Antifa, Bray wrote in 2017, "Our goal should be that in twenty years those who voted for Trump are too uncomfortable to share that fact in public." A member of Rose City Antifa told *Buzzfeed News*, "Before Trump, being antifa was more of a bizarre hobby that people had."

Beginning in the late spring and early summer of 2020, as part of a broader wave of unrest largely related to police brutality, race relations, and the Black Lives Matter movement, Antifa became closely identified with rioting and street violence in several American cities. Portland and Seattle were two of the most prominent cities experiencing riots. This unrest continued into 2021, well after President Trump lost his bid for re-election to Joe Biden. Portland Mayor Ted Wheeler blamed that city's New Year's Eve riots on "violent antifa and anarchists." A few weeks later, anti-fascist protesters attacked the Democratic Party's Portland offices to protest Biden's inauguration.

What Does Antifa Want?

Broadly speaking, Antifa is defined by opposition to an expansively defined concept of "fascism" combined with support for a comparatively narrow spectrum of far-left and anarchic ideologies.

Opposition to fascism is the essence of Antifa. The first of the Torch Network's five Points of Unity—which it requires officially affiliated chapters to adopt—is simply that "we disrupt fascist and far right organizing and activity." As Hemingway notes, this makes Antifa both simple as an "oppositional movement" and complex because of the obvious subjective difficulty in defining "fascism." Bray writes that anti-fascism is "applied to fighting the Far Right, not only literal fascists."

Rose City Antifa's definition of "fascism" is illustrative. To them, it must exhibit a majority of 12 characteristics. Some are indeed hallmarks of genuine fascist movements—things like advocating for a racially or ethnically based concept of a "nation" and scapegoating people excluded from that "nation" as the cause of various societal problems. That's Nazism in a nutshell. The Antifa groups that counterprotested the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, where neo-Nazis, Klansmen and other white nationalists reportedly chanted "Jews will not replace us" (among other things) and carried swastika flags, were indeed confronting actual fascists.

But other characteristics, apparently given equal weight by Rose City Antifa, would describe a vast number of decidedly non-fascist Americans. For example, "ultra-nationalism" based upon a shared cultural or historical identity (as opposed to racial or ethnic)—what some might simply term patriotism—is a "fascist" trait. So is opposition to unions and organized labor groups, an apparent black mark on at least a third of Americans.

Additional fascist characteristics like "authoritarianism, often centered around a single, charismatic leader" are highly subjective. And the characteristic of "anti-elitist populist rhetoric to appeal to the 'common man,' coupled with internal elitism and willingness to accept support from existing elites" is probably a fair characterization of many (if not most) American elected officials from either major party. Such politicians are many things, but "fascist" isn't one of them.

This may explain some of the more perplexing "fascists" identified as such by Antifa. Author Shane Burley has remarked that Antifa tactics like "no-platforming" are controversial because they have "been extended to people who aren't consensus Nazis," though he apparently blames "the Trump effect" for this. Hemingway has written that in Portland, Antifa's definition of fascism "includes the Republican Party." Fox News commentator Tucker Carlson's home was targeted by an Antifa group in 2018. And after Biden was inaugurated in 2021, anti-fascist rioters attacked the Portland office of the Democratic Party of Oregon, marching under the banner "We don't want Biden."

Indeed, Antifa's contempt extends to much of American society as a whole, particularly governmental institutions and police. One of the Torch Network's Points of Unity

declares that “cops uphold white supremacy and the status quo. They attack us and everyone who resists oppression.” Rose City Antifa believes, “The state upholds white supremacy at every level of government.” Antifa Seven Hills—based in Richmond, Virginia—opposes “capitalism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia. We therefore stand against politicians, NGOs, and the police, all of whom have a vested interest in maintaining these structures of oppression.”

But Antifa has another dimension beyond simply fighting “fascists,” no matter how expansively that term is defined. Bray notes that “at a certain point destroying fascism is really about promoting a revolutionary socialist alternative.” As a rule, Antifa groups espouse left-wing to far-left views, though the specifics can vary. Some are more Marxist, while others are more anarchist. Antifa Seven Hills, for example, characterizes its membership as “communists and anarchists united in militant opposition.”

The Torch Network’s Points of Unity are once more instructive. Point Three affirms the goal of building “a broad, strong movement of oppressed people centered on the working class” in order to achieve a “classless, free society.” That is distinctly Marxist language. Notably, support for “abortion rights and reproductive freedom” is also a required unity point. This suggests that pro-life views are considered incompatible with Antifa, no matter how radical one’s other politics might be.

A recent and oft-cited proxy for the sort of community envisioned by Antifa was the (relatively) short-lived Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone (CHAZ), set up in downtown Seattle for several weeks during the summer of 2020. Abandoned by police and other emergency services, the area devolved into a “lawless and brutal” attempt at real-world implementation of an anarchic radical-left vision. Although CHAZ was considerably more complex than would justify its reduction to simply an “Antifa zone,” Antifa groups had a notable presence there. Early demands submitted by some CHAZ representatives are difficult to distinguish from what one might expect from an Antifa group.

Who Supports Antifa?

Very little is publicly known about how—and the extent to which—Antifa groups are funded. There are a few reasons for this. First, in many contexts it can be difficult to separate support for radical-left politics broadly from specific support for Antifa. An individual or organization might express support for an Antifa-aligned ideology (or even for Antifa itself) without providing direct, tangible support—financial or otherwise. In

this respect, asking “who supports Antifa?” is similar to asking “who supports the Alt-Right?” It’s a difficult or impossible question to answer with any real specificity.

Evidence of direct financial support to Antifa groups is scant.

This is probably because much of what Antifa does is not terribly expensive, and thus it requires little financial support. Mark Bray has speculated that “whatever little money [Antifa] groups have come from members themselves.” To the extent that any funding streams might be directly supporting riots or other criminality in America’s cities, investigating those streams is more properly a job for law enforcement.

Some local Antifa groups appear to accept donations or sell merchandise as a way to raise funds, but others do not. Rose City Antifa’s website explains that “we don’t have an online store or any way to accept donations.” Atlanta Antifascists’ website donate page

says “we do not need additional funds at this time.” The Revolutionary Abolitionist Movement sells copies of a book called *Burn Down the American Plantation*, alongside black flags with its logo printed on them. Antifa Sacramento sells merchandise on its website and accepts donations.

Some conspiracies have surfaced that purport to link well-known liberal funders like George Soros to Antifa, either personally or through one of his foundations. These conspiracies are false. Soros’s foundations have indeed provided vast sums of money to a bevy of left-wing groups—some of them fairly radical—but no evidence suggests they have funded Antifa. A nonprofit or foundation that reported a grant to “Antifa Sacramento” on its IRS Form 990 would be newsworthy indeed, but is exceedingly unlikely.



Antifa has a dimension beyond fighting “fascists.” Historian Mark Bray notes that “at a certain point destroying fascism is really about promoting a revolutionary socialist alternative.”

Credit: Emix150. License: <https://bit.ly/3BtCOE>



A foundation that reported a grant to “Antifa Sacramento” on its IRS Form 990 would be newsworthy indeed, but is exceedingly unlikely.

One organization that does appear to provide direct financial support to Antifa members is the International Anti-Fascist Defence Fund. Launched by the Antifa International collective in 2015, it functions as a “standing fund . . . used to provide immediate support to anti-fascists and anti-racists anywhere in the world, whenever they found themselves in a difficult situation as a result of their stand against hate.” Mark Bray pledged to contribute at least half of the author proceeds from sales of *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook* to this organization, and the Torch Network directs prospective supporters to its website. According to its fundraising page, the International Anti-Fascist Defence Fund has “donated more than \$100,000USD to over 500 anti-fascists and anti-racists in 22 countries.”

Andy Ngo has identified the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) as an organization that provides legal support to Antifa. He describes it in *Unmasked* as “in effect . . . the legal arm of antifa.” Available evidence appears to support this assertion. In 2017, the NLG put out an essay on “Legal Support for Anti-Fascist Action” in which it declared, “The NLG will continue to support anti-fascists and anti-racists in the street and in the courts, and will not be swayed by the argument that hateful, dangerous speech should be tolerated at any cost.”

The *Wall Street Journal* has reported that NLG organizers have gathered with self-described Antifa representatives “to discuss tactics” prior to protests, and in 2020 the NLG approved a resolution calling for “the defunding, dismantling and abolition of all forms of policing.” In 2017 members of the NLG’s San Francisco Bay Area Chapter, including its president, wrote an opinion piece for the *San Francisco Chronicle* entitled “We Are All Antifa,” in which they declared that the “campaign to recast antifa as a violent, leftist suppression of speech is a dangerous effort eerily reminiscent of the left-baiting that accompanied the Nazi rise to power.”

The NLG, in fact, has a long history of alignment with radical-left movements. In his 1988 book *Far Left of Center: The American Radical Left Today*, historian Harvey Klehr wrote of how the 1970s-era NLG had a membership that included “communists, Maoists, Trotskyists and other assorted

radicals,” some of whom were also active in far-left terrorist groups like the Weather Underground and the May 19th Communist Organization. This is the same legacy of radicalism that influenced Antifa’s origins in the United States.

Today, the NLG’s national chapter operates as 501(c)(4) nonprofit, with an affiliated 501(c)(3) called the National Lawyers Guild Foundation (NLG Foundation). The two groups had combined 2018 revenues in excess of \$3 million, according to their IRS tax filings. That year, a 501(c)(3) provider of donor-advised and agency funds called Greater Horizons reported more than \$2.7 million in grants to the NLG Foundation. Greater Horizons is affiliated with the Greater Kansas City Community Foundation. From 2017 to 2019, the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund and the Schwab Charitable Fund have provided roughly \$130,000 and \$71,000 to the NLG Foundation, respectively.

The Warsh Mott Legacy, a private family foundation, gave \$110,000 to the NLG Foundation from 2016 to 2018. An affiliated foundation, the CS Fund, provides a matching grant to support the NLG’s Mass Defense Program. Donations to the NLG Mass Defense Program are used for several purposes, including training “Legal Observers to monitor police at protests.” The program also facilitates meetings with organizers about “protest actions, and legal consequences” and provides representation in the event of arrest.

Sympathetic businesses, nonprofits, and other organizations can also make themselves available to Antifa, join Antifa in protests, or produce material supportive of it. A Portland-based cidery called Cider Riot was well-known locally as a gathering place for far-left radicals, including Antifa. Another former Portland business—a bookstore called In Other Words—apparently hosted orientation sessions for prospective Rose City Antifa members as recently as 2017, according to Andy Ngo’s *Unmasked*.

While it was still in operation, In Other Words was listed on the “Radical Contact List” of the Slingshot Collective, a Berkeley, CA-based radical newspaper publisher. The first sentence of an August 2019 essay published by the Slingshot Collective and entitled “F*** the Police: Tips for Dealing with Cops” cites a National Lawyers Guild guide, and the essay concludes by admonishing activists to remember that “[s]mashing the system is going to require mass action as well as secretive covert actions by a tiny clique of your trusted friends.” Another article published in 2018 declares, “While everyone may not be willing or able to confront fascists in the streets, we should all respect antifa’s leadership.” The Slingshot Collective operates as tax-exempt project of a 501(c)(3) nonprofit called Long Haul, which had 2018 revenues of about \$62,000.



An August 2019 essay published by the Slingshot Collective admonishes activists to remember that “[s]mashing the system is going to require mass action as well as secretive covert actions by a tiny clique of your trusted friends.”

A group called Refuse Fascism has been identified as being more-or-less ideologically aligned with Antifa and has publicly defended Antifa activities, although a representative of the group has denied any formal partnership or communication. Refuse Fascism officially pursues only nonviolent protest actions. Founded by members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Refuse Fascism is a fiscally sponsored project of the Alliance for Global Justice, another 501(c)(3) nonprofit that has received substantial support from numerous nonprofits, foundations, and labor unions. Among its other projects, the Alliance for Global Justice sponsors the annual Venceremos Brigade trips undertaken by U.S. leftists to show solidarity with communist Cuba.



The National Lawyers Guild’s San Francisco Bay Area Chapter wrote an opinion piece for the San Francisco Chronicle entitled “We Are All Antifa,” in which they declared that the “campaign to recast antifa as a violent, leftist suppression of speech is a dangerous effort eerily reminiscent of the left-baiting that accompanied the Nazi rise to power.”

Credit: Antifa BH. License: <https://bit.ly/3sGyag8>.

Why Understanding Antifa Is Important

Mark Hemingway said it best when he wrote that “Antifa is, in fact, hard to pin down.” This is a frustrating reality for many Americans who are angry with the rioting, destruction, and general lawlessness that they’ve seen in America’s cities and want an explanation. How much of this lawlessness to assign to Antifa specifically is unknowable with any degree of precision. At the same time, everybody understands that in many places Antifa groups are, at the very least, contributing to lawlessness.

Even more fundamentally, for the gigantic swath of America that is hostile to both the far-left and the far-right—those of us who rather like our traditions of capitalist liberal democracy and think, for all its current and historical flaws, it’s

still the best manner of structuring a society that anyone has yet devised—understanding Antifa feels critical. How could someone possibly develop so much antipathy toward the United States that they would entertain the idea of destroying it? And to what could they possibly point, with even a modicum of honesty, as a better model?

For these reasons, questions about Antifa—and indeed about all militant ideologies on either side of the spectrum—should continue to be asked and answered as accurately as available information allows. ■

Read previous articles from the Deception and Misdirection series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/deception-and-misdirection/.



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

LIBERAL *RIGHT-OF-CENTER*
LEFT WING **CONSERVATIVE**
GREEN *FREE-MARKET*
FAR LEFT *LIBERTARIAN*
PROGRESSIVE **RIGHT-WING**
LEFT OF CENTER *RIGHT-LEANING*

Political and Policy-Oriented Giving After *Citizens United*: An Update to CRC's 2017 Analysis

CRC's update to the 2017 report found: In the 2018 election cycle, liberal grantmakers increased their public policy 501(c)(3) giving, increasing the imbalance from nearly 3.4 to 1 in 2014 to 3.7 to 1 (\$8.1 billion to \$2.2 billion) in 2018. "Dark money" funding through 501(c)(4) groups flipped from a 3.6 to 1 advantage for conservatives to a nearly 2 to 1 (\$81 million to \$42 million) advantage for liberals.



“DARK MONEY” AND THE SUPREME COURT: CONFRONTING SEN. WHITEHOUSE’S LATEST CRUSADE WITH THE FACTS

By Scott Walter

Summary: On March 10, 2021, Scott Walter, president of Capital Research Center testified before the Subcommittee on Federal Courts, Oversight, Agency Action and Federal Rights of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. In his testimony, he corrected the one-sided picture painted by Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) et al., condemning “dark money” funding on the right that they allege has enabled conservatives to capture the federal courts, especially the Supreme Court. In reality, the Left has deployed more “dark money” in these judicial battles, and the Left’s funding arrangements are often more dark than conservatives’ arrangements. This is his prepared statement.

Chairman Whitehouse, Ranking Member Kennedy, distinguished members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to speak. At Capital Research Center, where I work, we’re in our fourth decade of studying the sort of money flows discussed in the *Captured Courts* report issued by the Democratic Policy and Communications Committee.

The report has 18 references to “dark money,” a popular insult among the political classes that’s rarely defined clearly. The page devoted to explaining “dark money” in *Captured Courts* certainly lacks legal precision: Is it money in 501(c)(3) nonprofits? in (c)(4) nonprofits? (c)(6)s? in donor-advised funds? All these and more meet the report’s sole criterion of “funding for organizations and political activities that cannot be traced to actual donors.” The report goes on to call dark money “troubling,” “a uniquely pernicious threat” to our courts.

Perhaps the best definition of “dark money” came from the wit who said, *Dark money is support for speech the Left wants to silence*. That definition brings to light the way “dark money” conjures up a bogeyman; it shifts debate away from the substance of legal and political disputes by implying that one’s opponents are nefarious, even though they simply use the same kind of funding arrangements that everyone else does.

That’s not to say all sides today are equal when it comes to “dark money.” The Left, by any measure, has far more of it



Credit: zeevvez. License: <https://bit.ly/3apqfL1>.

*The page devoted to explaining “dark money” in *Captured Courts* certainly lacks legal precision: Is it money in 501(c)(3) nonprofits? in (c)(4) nonprofits? (c)(6)s? in donor-advised funds?*

than conservatives. And the Left’s funding arrangements are, in some ways, more dark than conservatives’ arrangements.

Before we look at the numbers, let’s consider how this very hearing is unthinkable without “dark money” flowing to everyone here. A decade ago, a liberal group coined “dark money” to refer only to 501(c)(4) nonprofits—the independent expenditure groups helped by, and demonized because of, the Supreme Court’s *Citizens United* decision—though now the term is used vaguely to encompass all nonprofits, donor-advised funds, and sometimes super PACs.

Well, the Democratic Members of this Subcommittee, according to the left-leaning OpenSecrets website, have had your election campaigns boosted via “outside spending” by (c)(4)s, super PACs, and the like, and all your witnesses, including me, work at nonprofits that receive regular, but not completely disclosed, support from major donors on the Left and Right. Both side’s witnesses today include a profes-

Scott Walter is president of Capital Research Center.



The Left's funding arrangements are, in some ways, more dark than conservatives' arrangements.

sor from a nonprofit college, while Ms. Graves and I work at (c)(3)s and Mr. Jealous works at a (c)(4). To paraphrase President Nixon, we are all dark-money partakers now.

In short, to say that a group of people making an argument in the public square receives “dark money” is like saying that those people use words, that they talk on telephones, that they have friends—donors and fellow advocates—with whom they regularly work on common projects to support that argument.

People who receive “dark money” fight passionately *for*, and *against*, every judicial nominee this Committee considers; they loudly advocate for and against abortion, for and against deregulation, for and against forced union dues. In other words, they fight for and against every single issue mentioned in *Captured Courts*.

Yet the report keeps silent—“in the dark,” let’s say—that simple fact, with one glancing exception when it says in passing, “dark money” is “now used by Republican and Democratic interests alike.” The report also keeps in the dark, save for one brief reference to the “liberal-leaning” American Constitution Society, the existence of the massive, interlocking web of donors, activists, and nonprofits of all kinds that use various forms of “dark money” in support of advocacy that aligns with the views of the report’s authors.

(A sidenote: Because *Captured Courts*—though published by the Democratic Policy and Communications Committee—includes those two momentary glimpses of the other side of these fights, it is actually less biased than the long *Washington Post* attack on Leonard Leo that the report relies on for its oft-repeated claim that he wields hundreds of millions of dollars. The *Post* never even hints that the liberal side of these debates has fundraisers, or nomination advocates, or “dark money.” When the *Post* article appeared two years ago, I wrote the lead author, whom I know, asking when he would devote thousands of words to the other side of his story? I also provided him with research showing Demand Justice, the top group opposing Trump’s judicial nominees, is less transparent than groups supporting those nominees. The world still awaits *that* article, and such skewed coverage demonstrates that non-monetary goods, including a partisan prestige press, provide power to the left side of these disputes.)



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/3tB8m3P>.

The Democrats' Captured Courts report, compiled by Sen. Whitehouse et al., is actually less biased than the long Washington Post attack on conservative groups that the report relies on to make its case.

In the interest of painting Americans a more complete and accurate picture than *Captured Courts* provides, allow me to bring to light some of the many facts the report keeps in the dark.

For example, the report says that in court battles, the Right “is fueled by hundreds of millions in special-interest dollars, the sources of which are never fully disclosed to the public.” This fuel powers “a complex network of think tanks, law school centers, policy front groups, political campaign arms, and public relations shops.” This may sound troubling unless one realizes that the authors are hiding their own friends at the generously funded Brennan Center, at Columbia’s Center for Social Welfare Policy and Law and Berkeley’s National Housing Law Project, at Demand Justice and Fix the Courts, at union-funded groups like the Economic Policy Institute, at Fenton Communications, and so many others.

Nineteen times the report decries “millions of dollars” in anonymous giving, yet hardly any of the nation’s more than a million nonprofits disclose their donors, nor does the law force such disclosure, nor does this donor privacy that is built into our laws lack for defenders on the left as well as right, including such pillars of liberalism as the American



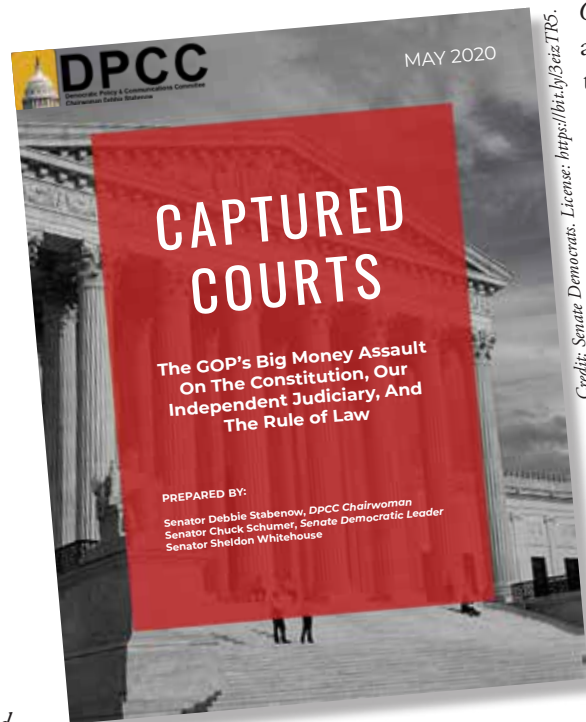
George Soros's philanthropies are roughly equal to Ford in grantmaking, further dwarfing the conservative philanthropies the report targets.

Civil Liberties Union, the Human Rights Campaign, and the NAACP. Those three groups just came out strongly against a scheme that would mandate government-coerced disclosure of nonprofit donors. In our days, when violent extremists at both ends of the political spectrum threaten Americans' ability to speak out, that is eminently reasonable.

Captured Courts never mentions, much less refutes, the Supreme Court's leading case in this area, *NAACP v. Alabama* (1958), but that is understandable: It would be embarrassing to acknowledge how the government named in that case—state officials that included the notorious bigot Bull Connor—tried to force the disclosure of donors who provided, and beneficiaries who received, “anonymous money.” Bull Connor's Alabama lacked the terms, but experienced the phenomena of, “dark money” and “cancel culture.”

Captured Courts also attacks “public interest” law firms supported by “Ideological foundations established by wealthy industrialists—such as the Olin Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation.” Left unsaid: the Olin Foundation has been defunct since 2005, and the Scaife and Bradley Foundations' grantmaking, *combined*, is barely one-eighth of the grantmaking of the left-leaning Ford Foundation alone, for 2014–2017 (the years the report uses when calculating fund-raising by the groups it claims have “captured” the courts). George Soros's philanthropies, to name but one more left-wing megadonor, are roughly equal to Ford in grantmaking, further dwarfing the conservative philanthropies the report targets. But Ford is the appropriate foundation to cite because it effectively invented the public interest law firm, years before conservatives founded the Pacific Legal Foundation that the report targets.

Captured Courts quotes with disdain a conservative's observation that judicial confirmations “are more like political campaigns.” But the report scants the story of how, decades ago, the first eruption of judicial politicking of the ugliest sort—fueled by millions of dollars—arose when a lavishly funded campaign of attack ads was launched in 1987 against the nomination of Robert Bork, led by the “dark money” group People for the American Way—a group still so powerful in judicial politics that its current head was invited to testify today.



Credit: Senate Democrats. License: <https://bit.ly/3eizTR5>.

*At Capital Research Center, we're in our fourth decade of studying the sort of money flows discussed in the *Captured Courts* report issued by the Democratic Policy and Communications Committee.*

Captured Courts' authors, quoting their allies at the *Washington Post*, note that the groups the report targets for attack “often work in concert” and are linked to “one another by finances, shared board members, phone numbers, addresses, back-office support and other operational details.” The report adds, “The extraordinary overlaps suggest a common effort seeking to hide behind a confusing but coordinated array of front groups.” The report hides the fact that this description perfectly describes the workings of Demand Justice, the leading advocacy group opposed to its targets. Demand Justice is a fiscally sponsored project of the Sixteen Thirty Fund, itself but one in-house nonprofit in the vast empire of “dark money” controlled by the for-profit Arabella Advisors LLC, which wields far more money and more front groups than *Captured Courts*' targets.

The Arabella empire behind Demand Justice is barely known, despite its immense size and influence. *Captured Courts* repeatedly cites its targets' \$250 million in revenues from 2014 to 2017; over the same years, Arabella's nonprofits raised \$1.5 billion. In the 2018 election cycle alone, those nonprofits raised \$1.2 billion, or more than double the funds raised by the DNC and RNC *combined*. Supposedly independent, Arabella's

nonprofits have heavily overlapping board members and share the same address as well as the same general counsel and chief financial officer as Arabella itself.

This “dark money” colossus enjoys major funding from billionaires like Bill Gates and Warren Buffett, and it sends their cash through a legal structure that darkens its donors and their dollars far more thoroughly than normal nonprofits can achieve. By law, a nonprofit need not reveal its donors, and very few do. But normal nonprofits, like those targeted by *Captured Courts*, must disclose revenues, assets, board members, salaries, largest vendors, total expenses (broken into categories like fundraising and travel), lobbying, grants to other nonprofits, and much more.

The *Washington Post* relied on such public disclosures in its attack on conservative judicial groups, but the Arabella empire avoids those disclosures by concocting hundreds of “pop-up” groups fiscally sponsored by its four umbrella nonprofits.

These hundreds of projects, like Demand Justice and Fix the Court, reveal neither their donors nor any details a genuine nonprofit must disclose. Nor can you try to pressure their board members, because they haven’t any. Each is merely a website and an accounting code at one of the four umbrella nonprofits. Although those four nonprofits file the usual disclosures, each one amalgamates data from dozens of pop-up groups, obscuring any particular project’s information.

No mainstream news outlet has ever exposed this scheme, although Politico has called one of Arabella’s nonprofits—the Sixteen Thirty Fund, fiscal sponsor of Demand Justice—a “massive ‘dark money’ network.” The *Washington Post* editorial page, after reading Politico’s report, expressed outrage that Sixteen Thirty’s top donors anonymously gave \$51.7 million, \$26.7 million, and \$10 million. The *Post* concluded that Sixteen Thirty caters to “big campaign donors who want to have impact but hide their identity.” Note that those anonymous donation amounts are considerably larger than the ones *Captured Courts* complains of.

Amusingly, *Captured Courts* reports that its targets are forming “a new venture, CRC Advisors,” but it hides the fact that the name was chosen explicitly to highlight the “dark” behemoth, Arabella Advisors, arrayed against the new venture.

Captured Courts also bemoans how its targets fundraise from “enormously wealthy and influential family foundations,

whose fortunes generally derive from wealthy corporate interests,” an especially ironic complaint to make when the authors’ preferred policies and advocacy groups receive generous funding from giant foundations like Ford, Pew, MacArthur, Surdna, and other beneficiaries of corporate wealth—with the added insult that those philanthropies have been entirely captured by the Left, which treats their original donors’ intent with contempt.

A repeated target of *Captured Courts* is DonorsTrust, a provider of donor-advised funds that caters to conservative givers. Yet the report ignores that DonorsTrust was not the

first donor-advised fund provider with an ideological bent. That honor goes to the left-wing Tides Foundation, which was established a quarter-century earlier and has grown into an empire of “dark money” comprising eight nonprofits that channel nearly double the dollars flowing out of DonorsTrust and its sister

Donors Capital Fund. Tides was originally founded by a wealthy investment banker aiming to help rich donors anonymously support left-wing causes, and at its birth relied on money from the Reynolds tobacco fortune.

Tides incubated People for the American Way or PFAW, which later became an independent nonprofit and is now run by my fellow witness Ben Jealous. Tides has long channeled anonymized money across the left-wing landscape, including to PFAW and to the Center for Media and Democracy, a nonprofit group whose research is often cited by Chairman Whitehouse and which is represented today by witness Lisa Graves.

Yet another group targeted in *Captured Courts* is called the Wellspring Committee, which closed in 2018 after a decade of funneling “millions of dollars a year” to “right-wing judicial nonprofits.” This is one of the report’s richest ironies, because Wellspring is also the name of a left-wing entity that was launched years earlier, still exists, and may be the darkest, most opaque nonprofit I’ve come across in decades of study. The Wellspring Philanthropic Fund was created in 2001 as part of a secretive network of grantmaking organizations funded by three hedge fund billionaires. Philanthropy News Digest reports their intent was to “disguise” donations and “avoid almost all public scrutiny.” The group was originally named after the Hebrew for “anonymous gift,”



Nor can you try to pressure board members of these pop-up groups, because they haven’t any. Each is merely a website and an accounting code at one of the four umbrella nonprofits.

but what makes the group extraordinarily opaque is the way it sent every penny of its donations from 2001 to 2016 through donor-advised funds at the commercial providers run by Fidelity and Vanguard; these donations averaged around \$50 million a year. Of course, when conservatives donate using donor-advised funds, *Captured Courts* denounces the practice for “laundering” donors’ identities, but Wellspring Philanthropic will no doubt be safe from such abuse because, now that it’s making some publicly disclosed donations, we learn that it supports causes perfectly aligned with the report’s authors, including the Alliance for Justice (\$550,000 in 2017), the American Constitution Society (\$200,000), and the Center for Popular Democracy (\$420,000). That last group is best known for the time one of its leaders, protesting the Brett Kavanaugh nomination, blocked the elevator doors for Sen. Jeff Flake (R-AZ) as a CNN camera broadcast live.

Unfortunately, the sorts of distortions and half-truths found in *Captured Courts* also crop up in Judiciary Committee hearings, all because partisans want to pretend that there’s something odd, or diabolical, when conservatives form groups, then cooperate with each other on a public policy issue where they agree, and fundraise from a donor universe far smaller and poorer than the one their left-wing peers enjoy. For example, one hears Members citing Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) research that claims to expose “the \$45 million money trail” behind the *Janus* decision.

How did CMD concoct that big scary number? First, it looked at the two nonprofits bringing the *Janus* suit and 15 groups filing *amicus* briefs in support. Then it ignored that those groups weren’t a majority of all *amici* in the suit. CMD targeted these 17 groups because they received funding from either or both DonorsTrust and the Bradley Foundation, which are two of the largest funders of conservative groups (albeit much less large than the biggest funders of left-wing groups). CMD then totaled every penny any of these groups received from those funders *for an entire decade*, willfully ignoring that only a minute fraction of the funding went for work on the *Janus* suit; that, in fact, nearly all the funding was earmarked for completely different projects or for no project at all.

The *Janus* debate also presents us with the bizarre spectacle of Members who, on the one hand, produce reports that attack Americans’ voluntary contributions to groups they agree with, and on the other hand, demand that courts coerce American workers into involuntary contributions to unions they don’t agree with.

Before closing, let me note just how strongly the big numbers on “dark money” skew leftward. In the 501(c)(4)



The Tides Foundation incubated People for the American Way or PFAW, which later became an independent nonprofit and is now run by Ben Jealous.

universe of giving that expanded after the *Citizens United* decision and was the original definition of “dark money,” the numbers show that for both the 2020 election cycle and the 2018 cycle—for half a decade—the Left and Democrats have received more such “dark money” than the other side. In 2018, the Left enjoyed 54% of the cycle’s \$150 million, while in 2020, the Democratic presidential candidate enjoyed, in rounded terms, a whopping \$132 million to \$22 million advantage over the Republican candidate, according to the left-leaning Center for Responsive Politics.

But all these numbers are dwarfed by the “dark money” ocean in which sail 501(c)(3) nonprofits active in public policy disputes. The Capital Research Center studies the Left/Right split here, where one finds think tanks like Heritage and the Center for American Progress, media watchdogs like Media Matters and Media Research Center, public interest law firms like EarthJustice and Alliance Defending Freedom, and so many more. A few years ago, the Left’s advantage was about 3.4 to 1 in revenue, but the 2018 data now available show the Left’s advantage grew to 3.7 to 1. In raw dollars, that was \$2.2 billion for conservatives versus \$8.1 billion for liberals, and note that these sums dwarf both *Citizens United*-fueled independent expenditures by (c)(4) nonprofits and “hard” dollars given to candidates and parties.

Still, money is *not* magic. It never guarantees success. Capital Research Center found that in the six federal election cycles from 2004 to 2014, the top-spending outside individual donors lost, whether it was left-wing billionaires like Herbert and Marion Sandler in 2004 supporting John



A few years ago, the Left's advantage in the funding of public policy groups was about 3.4 to 1 in revenue, but the 2018 data now available show the Left's advantage grew to 3.7 to 1.

Kerry for President, or right-wing billionaires like Sheldon and Miriam Adelson spending \$93 million in 2012 in a fruitless attempt to help Mitt Romney become President and the Republicans take the Senate.

Most recently, Democratic candidates and their outside allies outraised and outspent Republicans and their allies in eight of the top 10 most expensive Senate races (by spending) in this cycle. Yet Republicans won six. In the two races with a Republican advantage (in Georgia), Republican allies outspent Democratic allied outside groups; Democrats won anyway.

Which brings us to where we started: Focusing on money is always a dangerous mistake, whether in Senate races or

judicial politics. I'd suggest that focusing on making better arguments to the public is a much better strategy than focusing on the money possessed by your less-rich opponents. Maybe you should stop trying to restrict others' speech and try harder to produce persuasive speech for your preferred policies.

The citations were omitted in this version. The prepared statement with citations is available online at [CapitalResearch.org](https://www.CapitalResearch.org). Also available online are the video and text of Scott Walter's oral testimony, Sen. Whitehouse's letter to CRC, and CRC's answers to Questions for the Record. ■

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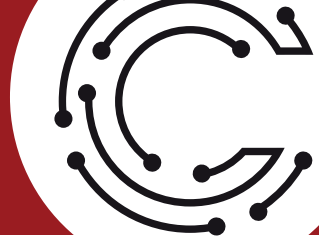


CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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



IMMIGRATION DECEPTION: A PAGE FROM THE LEFT'S ASTROTURF ACTIVISM PLAYBOOK

How one foreign foundation poured \$70 million into changing America's immigration policies

By Hayden Ludwig

Summary: Many on the Left would have the public believe their issue campaigns are born from broad grassroots support for Big Government policies. But it is far from the truth. The biggest “echo chambers” surrounding Congress on topics like health care and immigration reform were created by a cabal of professional activists with funding from many of the biggest foundations in America . . . and sometimes beyond. This is the untold story of how one Bermuda-based foundation spent \$70 million over a decade trying to overhaul America's immigration policies—and nearly succeeded.



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The Cambridge Dictionary defines “echo chamber” as “a situation in which people only hear opinions of one type, or opinions that are similar to their own.”

While the echo chamber model has been used countless times since “Progressives” began organizing a century ago, perhaps the most potent example of this deception was in 2009–2010, when the Left orchestrated an unprecedented campaign to pass Obamacare.

That plus three features of most historical left-wing activism—a minority cast as the majority; special interest partisans framed as selfless, impartial advocates; and coordination meant to look like spontaneity—forms the basic model of echo chamber deception. Vladimir Lenin used this type of deception with great success when he styled his tiny band of communist revolutionaries as the *Bolsheviki* (“members of the majority”) and the opposition communist group as *Mensheviki* (“members of the minority”) in the lead up to the 1917 Russian Revolution.

While the echo chamber model has been used countless times since “Progressives” began organizing a century ago, perhaps the most potent example of this deception was in 2009–2010, when the Left orchestrated an unprecedented campaign to pass Obamacare. That campaign began in

earnest in 2007 with the creation of Health Care for America Now (HCAN), a coalition of hundreds of labor unions, environmentalists, agitation groups, and think tanks led by hardened Democratic operatives. HCAN is credited with forming the blueprint that became Obamacare. More importantly, it used its members’ advocacy to form a bubble around the Democratic-controlled Congress and hammer home a single message: overhaul America’s health care system. And it succeeded, with President Barack Obama signing the bill into law in March 2010. Mission accomplished, HCAN dissolved later that year.

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ZOMBIECARE

Although Health Care for America Now kicked the bucket after Obamacare's passage in 2010, it didn't stay in the grave for long. Sometime after Trump was elected in 2016, HCAN was resurrected as a project of the Sixteen Thirty Fund, the 501(c)(4) lobbying wing of Arabella Advisors' \$600 million "dark money" empire. This "zombie" HCAN joined Arabella's other pro-Obamacare projects to savage Republicans in the 2018 midterms for supposedly angling to strip Americans of health care. It staged a July 2017 rally outside the U.S. Capitol during which 155 demonstrators were arrested for unlawful activities in dozens of congressional offices.

The key difference between this undead HCAN and its predecessor is that, as a Sixteen Thirty Fund project, the zombie HCAN doesn't file IRS Form 990 reports, making the operation even darker than before. Arabella also created the HCAN Education Fund, a new project sponsored by the 501(c)(3) New Venture Fund (Arabella's flagship nonprofit) to support HCAN's advocacy.

But at the same time, another campaign of nearly equal scale was being coordinated by activists: Reform Immigration for America (RIFA). This now-forgotten coalition of some 800 groups paralleled HCAN's echo chamber to pressure Democrats into passing comprehensive immigration reform. Yet RIFA fell short and eventually disappeared altogether—ironically, probably due to HCAN's success in shepherding Obamacare through Congress, leaving little room for another major overhaul bill before the 2010 midterms.

RIFA and HCAN had a lot in common and serve as useful case studies for those who study the professional Left and orchestrated mass political action. (I have speculated this tactic was first perfected by Margaret Sanger and her coalition of socialists, eugenicists, and white supremacists in the early 20th century.)

The membership of both coalitions overlapped substantially. Both followed the echo chamber deception model, hemming in Congress with an array of special interests meant to mimic a tidal wave of public support for health care and immigration reform.

Both coalitions were heavily funded by Atlantic Philanthropies, a Bermuda-based foundation that poured \$27 million into HCAN and \$70 million into RIFA and other immigration campaigns from 2004 to 2014.

This was perhaps the ultimate exercise in unaccountable dark money and phony democracy, deploying huge grants from a foundation outside U.S. borders to transform vast swathes of the U.S. economy and its very borders. It attracted almost no attention from the media and zero criticism from supposedly anti-"dark money" liberals.

"Dark Money" Monster of the Atlantic

Atlantic Philanthropies' island headquarters gives it critical advantages: Unlike domestic U.S. foundations, it never has to reveal its finances and can grant money to U.S. 501(c)(4) advocacy groups to influence laws and elections.

To be fair, Atlantic Philanthropies *does* disclose some of its grantmaking on its website. In fact, the group is quite proud of its role in influencing America's health care and immigration policies and has published lengthy reports on those topics. But Atlantic Philanthropies (collectively called "Atlantic") is actually a collection of six for-profits and non-profits, muddying nonprofit watchdogs' efforts to map out the network and vast influence. A few of these—namely the **Bridge Charitable Trust and Atlantic Charitable Trust**—have little publicly available information except that they have made charitable donations in the United Kingdom and Bermuda (a British Overseas Territory).

The Atlantic Foundation is the central part of Atlantic Philanthropies and the original grantmaking foundation created in Bermuda in 1984 when Chuck Feeney, co-founder of the Duty Free international retail chain, endowed it with over \$600 million he earned from selling the multi-billion-dollar conglomerate. The foundation's existence was publicly revealed only in 1997, according to



The Atlantic Advocacy Fund is a New York-based 501(c)(4) and consistently ranks among the top "dark money" donors according to left-leaning watchdog OpenSecrets.

CHUCK FEENEY

Atlantic Philanthropies' New Jersey-born founder, Chuck Feeney, is one of the few examples of philanthropists who practice "giving while living," taking to heed Andrew Carnegie's warning in his 1889 essay "The Gospel of Wealth" that "the man who dies rich, dies disgraced."

Feeney committed his foundation to paying out all grants and closing by 2020 to ensure it will not go awry after his death and fund causes he wouldn't support. In some ways, that makes Atlantic Philanthropies a "picture-perfect" example of a foundation that honors its founder's original intent for his wealth, writes philanthropy expert Martin Morse Wooster—unlike the Ford and Carnegie foundations, which have abandoned donor intent to pursue other causes. "The donor gets both high grades—for how he gives away his own money—and low grades," notes Wooster, "for what he spends his money on."

In Feeney's eyes, anonymity was key to his success with building the Duty Free Shops business empire, and he applied it to philanthropy by forming Atlantic Philanthropies in 1982 in Bermuda in order to avoid prying eyes—even obtaining a special exemption from the island's legislature to do so. Feeney's early grantmaking was focused on Ireland, where he became a dual citizen, soon aligning his personal giving with the U.K.- and U.S.-designated terrorist faction Sinn Féin until an Irish Republican Army bomb in London killed two people and injured 38.

According to scholars, he's a self-described liberal who opposed the Iraq War and has a "libertarian's aversion to taxes," but rarely discusses his politics in public. He wanted his foundation to fund hospitals and universities. But Atlantic Philanthropies shifted toward funding strictly *political* ventures in the U.S. with the appointment of

Gara LaMarche—the former head of George Soros's Open Society Foundations and an ACLU staffer—as president in 2006. Funding for Health Care for America Now and Reform Immigration for America now followed in 2008 and 2009, respectively.

In 2009, Feeney sent a letter to the foundation's board criticizing HCAN and other "social justice" grants, but he was ignored. (One board member complained that the real danger facing the foundation was that it could become "too interested in building buildings, research centers, etc.") The internal war of Feeney's donor intent that followed should be studied by every philanthropist in America. Critically, it ended with LaMarche's resignation in 2011 and Feeney's in 2010, with the promise that the board would honor his intent.

the *New York Times*, "when a lawsuit over the sale of the duty-free shops was about to reveal [Feeney's] secret gift."

In 2006, Feeney committed the foundation to spending down its massive endowment by 2020, and the foundation's latest self-published financial report for 2017–2018 stated end-of-year cash and cash equivalents of just \$191,214—an incredible reduction considering its estimated assets in 2001 were a staggering \$4.8 *billion*. By the time Atlantic Philanthropies was set to close at the end of 2020, it claimed it will have paid out \$8 billion in grants.

Atlantic Philanthropies also has two U.S.-based nonprofits that file Form 990 reports with the IRS. Despite its name, the **Mangrove Foundation** is not a foundation, but a 501(c)(4) advocacy nonprofit formed in Bermuda in 1999 with a \$60.2 million grant from the Atlantic Foundation, according to its final Form 990 from 2017. Between 2008 and 2017, it paid out \$284 million in grants and ceased operations on December 31, 2017.

The **Atlantic Advocacy Fund** is a New York-based 501(c)(4) and consistently ranks among the top "dark money" donors according to left-leaning watchdog OpenSecrets. (It's #7 as of writing.) Atlantic Advocacy was also created by a grant from the Atlantic Foundation "because of its commitment to bringing about fundamental change," in the words of a top Atlantic staffer. Between 2007 and 2018, Atlantic Advocacy paid out \$233 million in grants.

In 2014, Atlantic Advocacy formed its own spin-off with at least \$50 million in funding: the **Civic Participation Action Fund**. The fund promotes "progressive policy change that will improve the lives of low-income people of color through advocacy and civic engagement."

The recipients of Atlantic Advocacy and Mangrove grants are almost universally left-wing activist groups, think tanks, and "dark money" pass-through funders. They include multiple six-figure grants to the Democracy Alliance, a shadowy collective of major leftist donors who gather to coordinate

their political spending. Atlantic's grantmaking has a few emphases, notably voter mobilization, criminal justice policy, immigration, health care, and foreign policy toward communist Cuba. Notable grants include:

- \$1,000,000 to Catalist, a leading Democratic data firm, "to provide Atlantic grantees with access to a nationwide comprehensive voter file";
- \$250,000 to FairDistricts Now "to support reform efforts to establish constitutional rules that would stop politicians from drawing districts to favor themselves";
- \$100,000 to New Organizing Institute "to support training of immigration rights advocates, especially DREAM Act advocates";
- \$700,000 to Tides Advocacy "to advance a strategy that increases Latino voter registration and mobilization";
- \$90,000 to Latin America Working Group "to support . . . efforts to end restrictions on travel to Cuba for U.S. citizens";
- \$75,000 to the Washington Office on Latin America "to continue to improve prospects for closure of Guantanamo Bay";
- \$525,000 to Human Rights Watch "to end abusive counterterrorism policies that undermine U.S. national security";
- \$4,500,000 to the Proteus Action League "to advance coordinated efforts to repeal the death penalty in the United States"; and
- \$1,000,000 to America's Voice, a get-out-the-vote group, "to secure momentum for the eventual passage of federal immigration reform legislation."

Atlantic's Silent War on America's Borders

For a decade, Atlantic Philanthropies quietly bankrolled perhaps the largest ongoing campaign to drastically overhaul American immigration policy in U.S. history. From 2004 until liberals gave up on the issue in 2014, Atlantic spent \$70 million across three coalitions to obtain amnesty for and virtually end deportation of 11 million illegal immigrants. (It spent another \$50 million in South Africa, Ireland, and Northern Ireland on related immigration campaigns, bringing the total to a staggering \$120 million.)

These campaigns were closely connected with other left-wing standbys, including Tides Advocacy—the 501(c)(4) wing of the Tides Foundation, which incubates new activist

groups—and the Center for Community Change, an agitation group dating back to the 1970s.

We only know about this silent war because Atlantic still brags about it. "Atlantic Philanthropies was the biggest contributor of 501(c)(4) funding to the immigration reform field from 2004 to 2014," the Bermuda foundation wrote in a 2015 autopsy report commissioned by Atlantic for use by other liberal donors in charting future campaigns like those it funded. Atlantic wrote of its campaigns:

[They] have used their 501(c)(4) designations to bolster pro-immigration reform and threaten anti-immigration reform candidates and electoral issues (e.g., ballot initiatives), **most notably in the 2010 presidential and 2012 midterm elections.** The added flexibility and muscle engendered by a 501(c)(4) structure would prove critical to the ensuing fight as the issue of immigration quickly morphed from policy to politics and elections became a key battleground. [emphasis added]

It's important to remember that the period when Atlantic was funding immigration activism (2004–2014) was rife with immigration bills introduced by both political parties. During this period, "undocumented immigrant" replaced the term "illegal alien" (still the legal term, for now), and so-called DREAMers (children born to illegal immigrants in the U.S.) was established as part of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program by President Obama's executive order. Given the apparent bipartisan interest in passing an overhaul bill, reforms to existing law looked likely—yet never succeeded.

Like Health Care for America Now, which was launched around the same time as Atlantic's second immigration coalition in 2007, these coalitions sought to construct an echo chamber around Congress and bludgeon lawmakers into supporting major legislation by hammering the same coordinated message: Americans demand *action* on immigration. While the coalitions were largely funded by Atlantic, domestic activist groups used every pillar of the professional Left to lobby their message.

Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform (2004–2007)

The Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CCIR), originally called the New American Opportunity Campaign, was created in 2004 as a coalition of 10 groups. Members included the Center for Community Change,



Credit: Daily Chalkup. License: <https://bit.ly/3tEoH7Z>.

“With then-Senator Obama’s election to the presidency, immigration reform returned to the federal agenda,” Atlantic recalled in its 2015 report. Consequently, the foundation “increased [its] investments” in immigration activism “after high-ranking Obama campaign officials promised to prioritize federal immigration reform legislation.”

National Immigration Forum, National Council of La Raza (“the race,” now UnidosUS), the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and one of the unions that later formed UNITE HERE (an AFL-CIO affiliate). It soon expanded to include dozens of unions and union-affiliated groups and immigration lobbies.

From the start, CCIR (which shared office space first with AFL-CIO and later with the National Immigration Forum) had “an intense focus on message, voter mobilization and targeted grassroots activity.” It was led by Frank Sharry, executive director of the National Immigration Forum and an amnesty advocate who was arrested by U.S. Capitol police during a 2019 protest against President Donald Trump’s refugee resettlement policies.

Notable board members included Deepak Bhargava, an Open Society Foundations board member and longtime director of the Center for Community Change (a group featured heavily in this story), and Cecilia Munoz, also an Open Society Foundations board member and 20-year lobbyist for La Raza who later became a senior staffer in

the Obama administration. Munoz is credited with being a major driver of the DACA program for illegal immigrants in 2012. Interestingly, both Sharry and Bhargava have spoken at Democracy Alliance conferences.

CCIR was a sophisticated, well-thought-out organization. Atlantic called it the “embodiment of [its] decision to pursue a campaign-based strategy for comprehensive immigration reform” and pumped \$10 million into the group between 2004 and 2007, accounting for 96 percent of CCIR’s \$10.4 million in revenue over that period.

CCIR launched its first major lobbying efforts with the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006, introduced by Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA), who rejoined the Democrats in

2009. The so-called Hagel-Martinez compromise—scathingly called the “amnesty bill” because it would have created a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants and expanded border security funding—passed the U.S. Senate but failed in the House of Representatives.

CCIR “went on the offensive to move and improve” its successor in 2007, but that bill died in the Senate, and Atlantic’s report notes that “campaign members” were forced “to rethink their strategies attempting to effect comprehensive immigration reform.” Ultimately, that meant scrapping and restructuring the entire coalition to move beyond bipartisan bills, which had continuously failed.

In 2008, CCIR changed its name and became America’s Voice—one of the top illegal immigration lobbies in DC today (revenue of \$3.2 million in 2018). In 2009 it created a 501(c)(3) wing strictly to fundraise from left-wing foundations, which—as Atlantic candidly put it—“were unable to or uneasy about making grants to a 501(c)(4) organization.” America’s Voice has also grown more radical since its creation, demanding in 2018 that Congress “abol-

ish” Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE)—the federal agency responsible for enforcing immigration law and pursuing cross-border crime—calling it a “destructive deportation force.”

Although now a separate organization, America’s Voice played a major role in CCIR’s successor: Reform Immigration for America.

Reform Immigration for America (2007–2012)

A huge opportunity for comprehensive immigration reform materialized with the Democrats’ nomination of Sen. Barack Obama (D-IL) in the 2008 election, and Atlantic curried the support of Latino voters as well as Latino interest groups to support his election. Democrats swept the White House and Congress, taking 21 House and 7 Senate seats from Republicans and seizing control of both houses of Congress. Suddenly faced with an undivided Democratic government and an apparent mandate for sweeping change, Atlantic went all in.

“With then-Senator Obama’s election to the presidency, immigration reform returned to the federal agenda,” Atlantic recalled in its 2015 report. Consequently, the foundation “increased [its] investments” in immigration activism “after high-ranking Obama campaign officials promised to prioritize federal immigration reform legislation.”

In addition to Obama’s support, the fact that both houses of Congress were controlled by Democratic legislators signaled the opening of a very promising opportunity window. **Atlantic applied a lot of pressure in the field to concentrate funding within RIFA to lock in federal legislative change as the focus of immigration reform efforts** [emphasis added].

The Bermuda foundation gathered 15 key activists (including Frank Sharry, now leading America’s Voice) who outlined four pillars to their new strategy. Each pillar is more in tune with an election campaign than a charity:

1. Communications
2. Policy and Advocacy
3. Civic Engagement and Voter Registration
4. Field Mobilization

While the objective—amnesty for illegal aliens—didn’t change, the name did, and Reform Immigration for America soon spun off from CCIR (now America’s Voice) as a project of Tides Advocacy, the 501(c)(4) arm of a collection of non-profits known as the Tides Nexus.

While its predecessor had focused on lobbying, RIFA pursued “civic engagement, voter registration, voter mobilization, community organizing, and other forms of electoral engagement” to create *outside* pressure on Congress. It was also more partisan than CCIR, shifting “into closer alignment with Progressives and the Democratic Party.”

This change is important. It signals a shift from the founding principal of the campaign to be a non-partisan entity to a new type of advocacy machine rooted in politics to build the necessary power to enable policy change. It also marked a deepened reliance on the part of Atlantic and pro-immigration reform advocates on the Democratic Party—an investment that has yet to deliver on comprehensive immigration reform.

As a Tides project, RIFA never filed annual Form 990 filings with the IRS. Its sole donor, the Atlantic Advocacy Fund, gave Tides \$5 million for the project between 2010 and 2012. And its budget, staffers’ salaries, and board oversight (if it had any) were all internal to Tides Advocacy, rendering RIFA a tentacle of Tides and wholly unaccountable to the public while it lobbied for sweeping changes to America’s immigration system.

This writer only discovered RIFA through lobbying filings showing that Tides Advocacy (doing business as RIFA) spent \$500,000 lobbying Congress in 2009–2010 for “comprehensive immigration reform,” although the specifics are unknown. It’s also almost the only money Tides Advocacy has spent on congressional lobbying in its nearly three-decade existence, as shown by a query of the Senate’s Lobbying Disclosure Act Database.



America’s Voice has grown more radical since its creation, demanding in 2018 that Congress “abolish” Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE) calling it a “destructive deportation force.”

As befits the brainchild of professional activists, RIFA's pressure campaign was announced in a *Huffington Post* op-ed by Sharry on July 4, 2009: "President Obama has committed himself to immigration reform and *now* is the time that we should hold him, members of Congress and ourselves accountable for getting this critical legislation done this fall."

In June 2009, RIFA held a three-day summit in Washington, DC, to train activists in lobbying and community organizing. It was organized by the Center for Community Change, a CCIR member that absorbed RIFA from Tides Advocacy sometime in early 2010 (according to the group's archived privacy policy) and controlled it until RIFA's quiet dissolution in 2018. Representatives from nearly every pro-illegal immigration group and other pillars of the Left were present:

- America's Voice
- National Immigration Forum Action Fund
- USAction (formed by arch-activist Ralph Nader)
- Service Employees International Union (SEIU)
- National Council of La Raza (now UnidosUS)
- Gamaliel Foundation (created by infamous agitator Saul Alinsky)
- United Methodist Church

RIFA identified a critical window for passing immigration reform: April 1, 2009, to June 30, 2010, squeezed comfortably between the period when members of Congress were sworn in and would run for reelection. That RIFA failed *probably* owes much to its direct competition with another single-issue coalition: Health Care for America Now, which Atlantic Philanthropies was heavily funding simultaneously with RIFA.

Registrant Name	Client Name	Filing Type	Amount Reported	Date Posted	Filing Year
FULCRUM PUBLIC AFFAIRS LLC	Tides Advocacy	REGISTRATION		03/04/2019	2019
FULCRUM PUBLIC AFFAIRS LLC	Tides Advocacy	FIRST QUARTER REPORT	\$20,000.00	04/22/2019	2019
FULCRUM PUBLIC AFFAIRS LLC	Tides Advocacy	SECOND QUARTER TERMINATION	\$20,000.00	07/22/2019	2019
American Continental Group	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FIRST QUARTER TERMINATION	\$20,000.00	04/07/2010	2010
American Continental Group	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	SECOND QUARTER REPORT	\$30,000.00	07/17/2009	2009
American Continental Group	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FOURTH QUARTER REPORT	\$40,000.00	01/19/2010	2009
American Continental Group	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	REGISTRATION		08/10/2009	2009
American Continental Group	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	THIRD QUARTER REPORT	\$40,000.00	11/18/2009	2009
NVG, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FIRST QUARTER TERMINATION	\$30,000.00	04/20/2010	2010
Global Strategic Partners, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FOURTH QUARTER REPORT	\$40,000.00	01/20/2010	2009
Global Strategic Partners, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FIRST QUARTER TERMINATION	\$40,000.00	04/21/2010	2010
Global Strategic Partners, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	REGISTRATION		07/01/2009	2009
Global Strategic Partners, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	SECOND QUARTER REPORT	\$40,000.00	07/20/2009	2009
Global Strategic Partners, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	THIRD QUARTER REPORT	\$40,000.00	10/20/2009	2009
NVG, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	SECOND QUARTER AMENDMENT	\$40,000.00	07/21/2009	2009
NVG, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FOURTH QUARTER REPORT	\$50,000.00	01/20/2010	2009
NVG, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	REGISTRATION		07/20/2009	2009
The Thorsen Group, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	FIRST QUARTER TERMINATION	\$40,000.00	04/12/2010	2010
NVG, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	THIRD QUARTER REPORT	\$50,000.00	10/20/2009	2009
The Thorsen Group, LLC	Tides Advocacy Fund (Reform Immigration for America Project)	REGISTRATION		02/01/2010	2010
Registrant Name	Client Name	Filing Type	Amount Reported	Date Posted	Filing Year

Source: U.S. Senate, Lobbying Disclosure Act Database.

Considering the scale of both politically fraught issues, health care and immigration, the two echo chambers were almost destined to compete in a zero-sum game. Only a month after Obamacare's passage in March 2010—itsself a gargantuan feat that passed with zero Republican votes—Obama told reporters that there “may not be an appetite” in Congress to tackle immigration that year. The Tea Party's surge in the 2010 midterms returned a Republican majority to the House and dashed RIFA's plan.

RIFA was effectively dead (although its website lingered on until 2018), but Atlantic's larger war continued. RIFA's final act was conducting “civic engagement work focused on registering more Latinos to vote and getting them to the polls” to support Obama's reelection in 2012, “studying what does and does not work in regards to Latino voter registration.”

That involved gathering 1.7 million email addresses, social media profiles, and phone numbers—usually the lot of politicians’ campaigns and political consultants—which Atlantic Philanthropies says is RIFA’s “main legacy.” Atlantic later bragged about its role in this electoral work:

Earlier in 2012 Atlantic staff had consulted with a wide variety of immigration reform stakeholders . . . and had decided to make a sizeable, **\$3.9 million short-term investment to promote civic engagement among Latino voters** and their allies. The investment was multifaceted, providing support for **developing a Latino voter strategy, mobilizing voters across the US**, deploying RIFA’s online grassroots organizing capacity to bring attention to the Latino vote, and developing a national media narrative linking the Latino vote to immigration reform.

The goal of the timely cash infusion was to **demonstrate the formidable Latino vote** and to prove that the immigration reform field had mobilization power that could be brought to bear on federal immigration reform. **This effort was thought to impact the Republican Party and cause it to take the issue of immigration more seriously.**

Atlantic and others were pleased with the outcome—in fact, the high turn-out of the Latino vote was a top story for many news outlets following President Obama’s reelection. **One individual said that “that’s the best role Atlantic can play: to show politicians that the Latino vote has to be reckoned with.”** [Emphasis added.]

Alliance for Citizenship (2013–2017)

Obama’s reelection fueled Atlantic Philanthropies’ third—and final—attempt at comprehensive immigration reform. Shortly after the 2012 election, Atlantic and George Soros’s Open Society Foundations invited some 40 unnamed donors to discuss strategy for a successor coalition to RIFA:

the Alliance for Citizenship (AFC). As Atlantic saw it, RIFA had not addressed two major factors: Congress was divided, and many new left-wing immigration advocacy groups had “matured” in recent years. It could draw on a deeper bench of allies, but immigration bills would not pass on a strictly partisan basis. As one attendee put it, “If you believe the Republican Party is critical to the outcome, and you don’t have a Republican strategy, then you don’t have a strategy.”

Like RIFA, AFC was a project of Tides Advocacy. Between 2013 and 2015, Atlantic granted Tides just under \$6 million for the project. Soros’s Open Society Foundations contributed at least another \$1.7 million.

Unlike RIFA, AFC was almost entirely a communications hub. Through America’s Voice and other allies it pushed a message blaming Republicans for being “anti-immigrant” hatemongers and racists. Its pressure campaigning began with the “Gang of Eight” bill, a hotly debated compromise introduced in 2013 by Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-NY) and co-sponsored by Republican Sens. Marco Rubio (R-FL), Jeff Flake (R-AZ), John McCain (R-AZ), and Lindsey Graham (R-SC). The bill would have created a five-year path to citizenship for young illegal aliens (the so-called DREAMers), granted permanent resident status after living in the country above the poverty line for 10 years, overhauled the country’s guest-worker program and visa system, and eliminated the visa lottery.

Conservatives soured on the 800-page bill for failing to provide border fencing provisions, allowing illegal immigrants access to welfare programs, and not including workplace verification programs—effectively granting amnesty to upward of 11 million illegal aliens. Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) calling it “an immigration version of Obamacare.” The bill passed the Senate but failed in the House.

Although Obama declared immigration reform the main priority for his second term in office, little came of it. In 2014 the *Washington Post* declared the issue effectively dead until a future administration could tackle it. Later that year Obama established DACA by executive order.



Atlantic’s incredible campaigns prove that the professional Left is very good at faking grassroots activism, coordinating swarms of activists to ram home a single issue in Congress.

Fading into the Sunset

Without a doubt, Atlantic's impatience to revolutionize America's immigration system owed much to its own limited lifespan. When Chuck Feeney attached a 2020 sunset clause to his foundation, Atlantic committed itself to paying out its last grants in 2016, although it reports paying out millions of dollars in grants through 2019.

Although its campaigns failed to drive immigration reform through Congress, Atlantic Philanthropies credits itself with encouraging other liberal foundations to be more bold in their political giving:

The Atlantic Philanthropies has not acted in a vacuum; it has been a part of a vibrant funding community including organizations such as the Ford Foundation, Unbound Philanthropy, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Hagedorn Foundation, [George Soros's] Open Society Foundations, and many others.

Atlantic succeeded in its *other* pressure campaign to pass Obamacare: Health Care for America Now. Yet despite the \$100 million or so this Bermuda foundation pumped into U.S. politics, neither campaign has been scrutinized by the "dark money" hawks in the left-leaning media and political field.

Foreign money intended to change policy and sway U.S. elections is the very *definition* of "dark money," yet to this writer's knowledge no journalist at the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, or *Huffington Post* has ever documented what are perhaps the worst examples of anonymous political spending—not to mention foreign meddling—in modern American history. Despite his tough talk about shadowy donors and cryptic special interests, Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI)—the biggest advocate of donor disclosure in Congress—has yet (to our knowledge) criticized Health Care for America Now or Reform Immigration for America.

Atlantic's incredible campaigns prove that the professional Left is very good at faking grassroots activism, coordinating swarms of activists to ram home a single issue in Congress.



Credit: Forbes. License: <https://bit.ly/3t47Zq6>.

In Chuck Feeney's eyes, anonymity was key to his success with building the Duty Free Shops business empire, and he applied it to philanthropy by forming Atlantic Philanthropies in 1982 in Bermuda in order to avoid prying eyes—even obtaining a special exemption from the island's legislature to do so.

Perhaps it's *too* good, given another echo chamber—Health Care for America now—likely ruined Atlantic's illegal immigration coalition. In an alternate 2020, we might be documenting its success—and the defeat of Obamacare and HCAN.

With Atlantic's looming demise the Alliance for Citizenship seems unlikely to have a successor, but the Left's desire to weaponize foundations and tax-exempt charities to win elections is more powerful than ever. The Atlantic model has worked once before, and there's every reason to assume it will be tried again. With open-borders radicals back in the White House and Congress in 2021, we may see it again quite soon. ■

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



THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

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

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

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





THE STATE OF REDISTRICTING 2022

By Michael Watson

Summary: Every decade, the federal Census determines the apportionment of congressional seats among the 50 states and compels states to reallocate the seats in Congress and state legislatures to ensure equal representation. The process of drawing the new district boundaries, known as “redistricting,” is profoundly political, and Democrats and Republicans—and their respective liberal and conservative outside allies—are locked in battles across the country to secure advantages in legislative elections for the next 10 years.



In the round of redistricting after the second Census in 1810, then-Gov. Elbridge Gerry’s Democratic-Republicans drew a salamander-shaped district that secured his party’s control of the Massachusetts State Senate, earning the practice the name “gerrymandering.”

Since the government conducted the first Census in 1800, the representation in Congress has been apportioned every decade according to its outcome. With rare exceptions, states have apportioned representation through geographic districts dividing up the states, making control of those districts’ geographies a way to sneak in a partisan advantage in congressional and state legislative elections. This advantage was recognized as early as the First Congress, in which Patrick Henry’s anti-Federalist Virginia allies tried (unsuccessfully) to draw out then-Federalist James Madison. In the round of redistricting after the second Census in 1810, then-Gov. Elbridge Gerry’s Democratic-Republicans drew a salamander-shaped district that secured his party’s control of the Massachusetts State Senate, earning the practice the name “gerrymandering.”

Since 1929, the Permanent Apportionment Act has capped the size of the House of Representatives and placed no specific restrictions on how states shall draw congressional districts. From 1790 until 1911, the Congress passed a once-a-decade apportionment law setting the size of the House (usually expanding its size modestly) and in some cases (like

the Apportionment Act of 1911) setting guidance on how districts should be drawn. But after the 1920 Census, Congress could not agree on an updated Apportionment Act, leading to wild disproportions in representation.

In 1929, Congress settled the matter for its part by passing the Permanent Apportionment Act. The act set the size of the House at 435 members, a number that has not changed except for two years after the admission of Hawaii and Alaska as states. Now, the apportionment automatically adjusts after the completion of each decennial Census, causing states that gain or lose seats to redraw their district boundaries. Supreme Court decisions since the passage of the 1929 Act further require that legislative and congressional districts contain equal represented populations. As a result, even states that do not gain or lose seats must adjust their district lines to ensure equal representation, unless they have only one seat elected at-large. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 placed additional constraints on redistricting to prevent dilution of ethnic minorities’ rights to representation.

The result is now a decennial ritual: State legislatures draw the new districts, often in a manner that their political opponents say resembles Gov. Gerry’s. From the 1960 redistricting cycle through the 2000 cycle, this strongly benefited Democrats, helping the party secure a “lock” on the House of Representatives, which it held from the 1954 elections until the 1994 elections. But now that Republicans

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The process of apportionment and representation is inherently political.

have gained a foothold in state legislatures and secured the powers to draw large numbers of districts themselves, liberal groups like Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, and FairVote have sought to place the power of redistricting outside the normal political process—into “independent” processes unaccountable to voters and ripe for takeover by organized special interests that disproportionately fall on the political Left.

In truth, the only “law” of redistricting is Barone’s: “All process arguments are insincere, including this one.” The process of apportionment and representation is inherently political. Even assigning “technocratic” criteria to draw districts requires privileging some over others, a decision laced with political considerations.

We will now survey the landscape as states consider redistricting in advance of the 2022 elections. I start with an update of our previous work to determine the state-considered proportionality of congressional elections. I follow with an examination of how “independent” redistricting commissions, the favored approach of the Left in state-level campaigns and in federal legislation like H.R. 1. Yet redistricting commissions are compromised by vested interests, which we will then examine before drawing conclusions.

Update to the Proportionality Analysis

In 2020, the Republican Party made unexpected gains in the U.S. House of Representatives, even though the party failed to retake control of the chamber. Democrats and liberals naturally blamed gerrymandering, but the proportionality analysis showed the same outcome in 2020 as 2018: The Republican and Democratic coalitions in the hypothetical case of proportional representation would be exactly equal in size to the actual results. In 2020, the test case showed each party holding one more seat in reality than it would in a hypothetical proportional-by-state allocation. The excess seats would go to the Conservative Party of New York (allied with the Republicans) and the Working Families Party of New York (allied with the Democrats), leaving the “party coalitions” equal in size in the test and real-world cases.

Further, the findings from the previous proportionality analyses concerning the effects of independent redistricting

commissions continued to hold. California’s “independent” mapmaking, which was reportedly manipulated by the state Democratic Party, created a map that returned 10 “excess” Democratic seats. Despite Republicans recovering four seats relative to the 2018 elections, those gains only narrowed the “excess” to seven of the state’s 53 seats, a percentage deviation of 13 percent. That deviation is far out of line with the effect of the map the state’s “independent commission” generated through the full 2012–2020 districting period. In fact, it matched the average deviation from proportionality of the full period.

For comparison, in Texas—an open Republican “gerrymander”—the average deviation was 9 percent, and the deviation in 2020 was three seats, or 8 percent of the state delegation. Further, two (Arizona and Washington) of the other four states that used the Democratic model of “independent commissions” returned one “excess” Democrat, with Arizona returning more Democrats than Republicans despite Republicans winning more aggregate House votes in the state.

Republicans continued to pay the price for their New Jersey “dummymander.” The state’s map, drawn by a Republican-leaning commission of politicians, returned three “excess” Democrats of its 12 allocated seats, with the one change from 2018 being the defection of ex-Democratic U.S. Rep. Jeff Van Drew (R-NJ).

Connecticut’s and Massachusetts’ maps perfectly wipe out Republicans, who poll somewhere between one-third and two-fifths of votes in those states. Maryland, Illinois, and New York—all recognized Democratic gerrymanders—returned “excess” Democrats. Likewise, the Republican-drawn map in Ohio returned “excess” Republicans.

In short, if there is a “gerrymandering” crisis, the 2020 elections to U.S. House of Representatives failed to demonstrate it.

Broken Commissions

The Left has sought to replace state legislative redistricting with so-called “independent redistricting commissions” of nonpolitical professionals, most prominently in the For the People Act (H.R. 1), an omnibus bill that would legislate a federal takeover of elections. For the post-2020 Census redistricting cycle, congressional districts will be redrawn in at least seven states and as many as ten states. Montana may gain a second congressional seat and engage in redistricting using this system. New York and Virginia maps, a responsibility shared between a commission and the state legislature, will be drawn by such commissions.



While the Left presents commissions as the surest way to achieve “fair” districts, the proportionality analysis shows that they are often unsuccessful.

While the Left presents commissions as the surest way to achieve “fair” districts, the proportionality analysis shows that they are often unsuccessful. Important to figuring out the likely impact of commission-drawn districts is to examine how previous commissions broke down and why they yielded de facto gerrymanders. In the 2010 cycle, the two most disproportionate commissions (in California and Arizona) both drew de facto Democratic gerrymanders: California’s by apparent accident, and Arizona’s by the apparent design of its chairperson.

Capture from Without: California’s Citizens Redistricting Commission

California adopted an independent redistricting commission for its congressional districts in a 2010 referendum; it had already adopted a redistricting commission for state legislative districts in 2008. Democratic donors spent heavily on an unsuccessful 2010 referendum to overturn the 2008 commission referendum; nevertheless, that referendum was defeated, and the congressional commission proposal was adopted.

The California Citizens Redistricting Commission (CCRC) created by those referenda consists of five registered voters of the Democratic Party, five registered voters of the Republican Party, and four voters registered with no party or a minor party. By rule, none of the commissioners or their immediate families are allowed to have been a political candidate, a registered lobbyist, or a donor of more than \$2,000 to a candidate. This left political professionals (largely) off the commission but did not keep them out of the process.

As the left-leaning nonprofit investigative journalism group ProPublica

reported in 2011, “Democrats surreptitiously enlisted local voters, elected officials, labor unions and community groups to testify in support of [district] configurations that coincided with the party’s interests.”

The CCRC’s own practices created openings for creative activists to manipulate redistricting. ProPublica’s report noted that the commissioners agreed “not to even look at data that would tell them how prospective maps affected the fortunes of Democrats or Republicans,” leaving “the commissioners effectively blind to the sort of influence the Democrats were planning.”

The California commission’s reliance on preserving ambiguous “communities of interest” gave further avenues for Democratic-aligned meddlers to entice the CCRC into drawing a de facto Democratic gerrymander. Consultants

aligned with U.S. Rep. Judy Chu (D-CA), who represents a district mostly within Los Angeles County, apparently formed a front group called the “Asian American Education Institute” to persuade the commission to include Chu’s political home base of Rosemead in the district; the commission ultimately did so. Of course, other “communities of interest” not aligned with a Democratic incumbent fared less well. ProPublica noted that the Vietnamese “Little Saigon” neighborhoods of Orange County, which have elected Republicans to state and municipal office, were split among multiple districts.

The consequences of the capture of the California Citizens Redistricting Commission are observed in the proportionality analysis. While California Democrats’ vote share would entitle them to a projected 35 seats, they won an additional seven. The percentage of “excess” Democrats returned by the commission’s map in California exceeds the percentage of “excess” Republicans returned by Texas’s map, generally considered a Republican partisan gerrymander.



Public Domain.

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Capture from Within: Arizona's "Mathismander"

Arizona's independent redistricting commission has a fundamental structural flaw. It is evenly divided between two Democrats and two Republicans with an unaffiliated chair presiding, but either partisan bloc plus the chair can make decisions up to and including approving final maps without support from the opposite party. In effect, this enables the "independent commission" to be captured by the partisan bloc with which the "unaffiliated" chair is most aligned.

In 2010 that alignment was clear, and the proportionality analysis through the decade tells the tale. Independent commissioner Colleen Mathis sided with the Democratic bloc on most matters, most notably by acting contrary to the letter of the Arizona redistricting mandates and placing "political competitiveness" as the *most*, rather than *least*, important consideration in districting. Republican commis-

sioners further alleged that Mathis and Democratic commissioners made decisions outside of public meetings.

The result was a map that handed Democrats a majority of congressional seats in the state despite Republicans winning the popular vote for the House in the state by 8 percentage points in 2012. A similar split between the popular vote and seats won occurred under the same map in 2020, in the same direction.

Both parties could see the effect of the map Mathis's commission drew. The Republican-controlled legislature attempted to oust Mathis, voting to impeach and remove her only to see the move blocked by state courts in litigation supported by the state Democratic Party. After the Mathismander took effect and Democrats profited from the popular vote–seats won split, and Democrats could praise the map more openly: One Democratic congressman admitted, "The maps performed like they were designed."



While Democrats proclaim a "gerrymandering" crisis, an analysis of the U.S. House election results shows that even under a European-style proportional representation system the sizes of the House party caucuses would not have changed.

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The Coming Commissions

In the 2021 redistricting cycle, up to 11 states will draw their congressional districts using a commission of some kind. (The “up to” question centers on whether Montana will in fact gain the second congressional seat that previous projections of the Census apportionment have indicated. If it does, it will join the 10 other states using commissions.

Arizona. Arizona’s independent redistricting commission has not changed in structure since the 2011 redistricting cycle. The structural flaw that led to the Mathismander remains. However, the alignment of the commission may change. Chair Erika Schupak Neuberg has been involved with the cross-partisan pro-Israel group American Israel Public Affairs Committee and contributed to members of both major parties. The commission’s first major vote to choose an executive director split 3-2 with Neuberg joining the Republican bloc to choose Republican-aligned political operative Brian Schmitt for the role. Arizona is unlikely to adopt a functional partisan-Democratic gerrymander like the one for the post-2010 cycle—at least not deliberately.

California. California’s Citizens Redistricting Commission has not changed in structure since the 2011 redistricting cycle. Democrats are well-positioned to repeat their success from the 2020 cycle simply based on the makeup of the commissioners. The Republican commissioners include a Berkeley resident with strong environmentalist ties, a civil servant with ties to the charter school movement, a Los Angeles sheriff’s investigator, a retired federal civil servant, and a former pastor who writes on religious topics.

The Democratic commissioners have extensive ties to liberal institutions, with one having founded a community organizing group, another having worked for left-leaning nonprofit groups, a third having worked extensively in California-based left-leaning community philanthropy, another having worked extensively in international election assistance, and the fifth working as a university professor of political science.

The no-party-preference commissioners include one who included protests against the Trump administration in her application and one whose online presence demonstrated extensive support for left-wing U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT). While it is possible that the expert-level Democratic commissioners will *not* attempt to leverage their expertise to run over the average-voter-level Republican commissioners *and* that the no-party-preference commissioners (who also include the chair of Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics’ Alliance for Board Diversity) will *not* act as closet partisans, Democratic interest groups may find themselves pushing on a functionally open door to gain maps favorable to their interests, as they did in 2010.

Colorado. Colorado adopted a new redistricting commission in a 2018 referendum. If voters had not done so, Democrats would have controlled district drawing through the state legislature. Instead, a blended system of random drawings, choices by a panel of judges, and choices by state legislative caucus leaders generates a commission split 4D-4R-4 unaffiliated. The final map must be approved by a vote that includes affirmative votes from at least two of the unaffiliated commissioners. It is not clear how the process will proceed. The commission’s most notable action as of press time was sidelining its Republican chair for an unaffiliated chair on a unanimous 11-0 vote for statements the ousted chair (who remains a commissioner) made alleging without evidence widespread fraud in the 2020 presidential election.

Hawaii. Hawaii was the first state to adopt a redistricting commission, and its commission has not changed in composition. State legislative caucus leaders each choose two commissioners, with a 3/4 supermajority vote needed to choose a chairperson, who is chosen by the state Supreme Court if a deadlock occurs. Hawaii’s Democratic partisanship in 2010–2020 has been such that even proportional representation typically yields a Democratic whitewash in its two seats. The Hawaii commission is unlikely to appreciably change the national House alignment.

Idaho. Idaho’s commission has not changed in form since the 2010 cycle. The commission is evenly divided between the parties and acts by 2/3 majority vote. While the state is not as mono-partisan Republican as Hawaii is Democratic, a proportional map yielding a 1-1 result (which would hold anytime the Republicans won between one-third-plus-one to two-thirds-minus-one of the vote) is difficult to draw in Idaho without a nasty gerrymander. Elections Daily’s “Democratic Gerrymander” of the state creates one R+50 seat and one snaking R+12 seat (by 2016 presidential election results). The Idaho commission is unlikely to appreciably affect the national House alignment.

Michigan. Michigan adopted a redistricting commission in the “Voters Not Politicians” Proposal 2 of 2018, since immortalized by the factually problematic documentary film *Slay the Dragon*, which Ken Braun critiqued for Capital Research Center in June 2020. The Michigan commission relies heavily on random draw for its selection. Eric Cunningham of the political analysis website Elections Daily suggested the commissioners selected by a the convoluted series of draws might be “people who might be way in over their head and have no idea how any of this works,” with one commissioner having written in an application that he sought the statistically impossible (and likely illegal) goal that “a random sampling of individuals out of a district will yield approximately 50% each of two main parties.”

Passage of any map requires a majority and a minimum of two commissioners from each bloc of five unaffiliated, four Democratic, and four Republican commissioners.

Montana. While finalized 2020 Census data have been delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic, projections for the 2021 reapportionment of House seats suggest that Montana would gain a second seat, which it has not had since the 1990 Census cycle. Montana's constitution gives redistricting authority to a commission of two Democrats and two Republicans appointed by their state legislative caucus leaders plus a chair selected by either a majority of commissioners or the state Supreme Court. Republican commissioners complained about the process used by the liberal-leaning state Supreme Court to select the chair, but it is not clear how successful even an aggressive Democratic-favoring gerrymander could be, given the state's alignment with the Republican Party in most recent federal elections. It is likely that an at-least-somewhat competitive, but Republican-tilting, district and a staunchly Republican district could be drawn if Montana secures a second seat.

New Jersey. New Jersey uses a politician-commission chosen by state legislative caucus leaders and state major-party chairmen. A voting chair is chosen by the state Supreme Court if the commission cannot select a chair. The 2010-cycle commission for congressional districts (a separate, similar commission draws state legislative boundaries) aligned with Republicans and drew a Republican-favoring map that collapsed into a Democratic-favoring "dummysmunder" after the 2016–2018 election cycles and the attendant political realignments. As of writing, the chair has not been chosen, and until the chair is chosen it is unclear how the redistricting plan may play out. However, given the collapse of the Republican-favoring map into an 10-2 Democratic map, it will likely not substantially affect the balance of national power.

New York. New York adopted an independent commission in a 2014 referendum. However, the state legislature, now under control of a Democratic supermajority, has proposed a new referendum to give the state legislature more powers to override the commission's decisions on a party-line basis. Until the commission is set and the vote threshold to override a map is solidified, New York's outcomes could range from an outright partisan-Democratic gerrymander to a more moderate disproportion similar to its current map, which returns two more Democratic-Working Families members than Republican-Conservative members in real life than in the proportional test case. Also notable is that New York is all but assured to lose one seat to reapportionment and may lose a second depending on the precise outcome of the 2020 Census.

Virginia. Virginia adopted a hybrid politician-citizen commission in a 2020 referendum. The commission is evenly divided between the major parties and must adopt a map based on a cross-partisan supermajority. The commission removed redistricting power from the Democratic trifecta in the state legislature and governorship. Virginia's post-2010 maps that initially favored Republicans were substantially altered by litigation and turned into a very mild Democratic-favoring dummysmunder after the 2016–2018 election cycles and the attendant political realignments. What effect the commission might have on the national balance of power is unknowable as of writing.

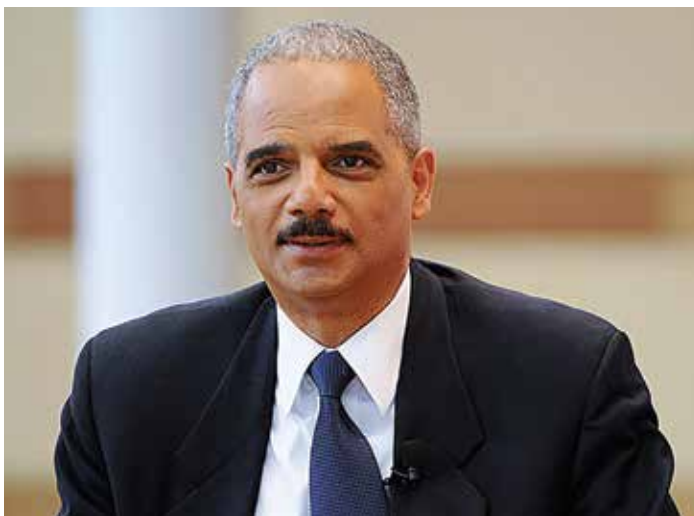
Washington. Washington state's independent commission has not changed in structure for the post-2020 redistricting cycle. Through much of the post-2010 period, the commission map yielded a slight Democratic advantage relative to strict proportionality. Liberal racial- and ethnic-interest groups as well as the left-leaning League of Women Voters (about which more later) have mobilized to promote "public involvement," likely to resemble in effect the Democratic-aligned advocacy that turned California's post-2010 redistricting into a de facto mild Democratic gerrymander.

Power Players

As redistricting heats up, activists aligned with both political parties will rally support for districts that favor their preferred party and target the other party. And as noted before, the only "law" of redistricting is Barone's, so everyone's definition of "fair districts" is "districts favorable to my side."

Eric Holder and the Democrats. In early January 2017, the Democratic Party announced a major effort to secure redrawing of congressional districts for the last two elections of the 2010–2020 cycle and to win control of redistricting for the post-2020 period. Launched by then-President Barack Obama and headed by former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, the National Democratic Redistricting Committee (NDRC) would serve as a "strategic hub for a comprehensive redistricting strategy" to secure a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and in state legislatures for the post-2020 Census districting period. Its announcement proclaimed that the NDRC was the "first organization of its kind: A Democratic group that brings together major party organizations on a multi-cycle, state-by-state redistricting strategy ahead of the 2020 Census."

In October 2017, Holder's NDRC formed a formal partnership with Organizing for America, the successor organization to Obama's presidential campaign committees. By



Credit: The Aspen Institute. License: <https://bit.ly/3xbAnzj>.

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2018, the partnership was characterized as a “merger” to “create a ‘joint force that is focused on this issue of singular importance’ (redistricting).”

The NDRC is associated with two other entities that perform Democratic-aligned redistricting advocacy under nominally nonpartisan IRS tax-exempt statuses: The National Redistricting Foundation, a charitable 501(c)(3) that litigates to secure district maps more favorable to Democrats and liberal interests, and the National Redistricting Action Fund, a 501(c)(4) “social welfare” lobbying organization.

National Redistricting Action Fund (NRAF) lobbies and advocates for ballot measures. It spent \$250,000 backing Michigan’s Proposal 2 of 2018. That measure replaced the known faults of legislative redistricting with a redistricting commission that may have more faults than other redistricting commissions. NRAF’s funding is not well identifiable, though the National Education Association labor union reported a \$100,000 contribution to the group in 2018 and the Ironworkers Union reported a \$25,000 contribution in 2019.

The National Redistricting Foundation (NRF), which handles the Holder-Democratic network’s litigation, is substantially funded by donor-advised funds, philanthropic vehicles sometimes derided as “dark money” organizations that allow donors to hide their connections to recipient organizations.

Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund, the nation’s largest provider of donor-advised funds, handled \$1,142,000 in contributions directed to National Redistricting Foundation in 2018. For comparison, National Redistricting Foundation reported total revenues of \$3,325,489 in its tax year ending June 2018.

Other major funders of National Redistricting Foundation include several community foundations, which may also provide “dark money” donor-advised funds. The Greater Washington Community Foundation provided \$1 million to NRF in 2017. The San Francisco Foundation provided grants of \$50,000 in 2016 and \$100,000 in 2018. The Baton Rouge Area Foundation, California Community Foundation, and East Bay Community Foundation all provided five-figure grants in various years.

Known liberal institutional funders of National Redistricting Foundation include the Hopewell Fund, an entity in the Arabella Advisors network of liberal “dark money,” which provided NRF with \$683,330 in 2019. Other known funders include the Goldhirsh Foundation, Miner Anderson Family Foundation, and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation.

Republican-Aligned Networks. The Republican Party also has a redistricting advocacy network coordinated through the National Republican Redistricting Trust (NRRT). The trust is aligned with two nonprofit groups modeled on the Holder empire: Fair Lines America, a “social welfare” organization, and Fair Lines America Foundation, a charitable organization. While Holder’s NDRC intervenes substantially in state legislative elections, the NRRT’s political campaigning is limited, with its National Republican Redistricting PAC being reportedly created principally as a means to access small-dollar fundraising through the GOP’s “WinRed” funding platform. The Republican State Leadership Committee handles the party’s national coordination for state legislative and down-ballot state-executive campaigns.

Democratic Wolves in “Nonpartisan” Clothing. While both the Republican-aligned Fair Lines and Democratic-aligned National Redistricting 501(c) organizations are nominally nonpartisan for legal reasons, other, less-obviously-aligned groups campaign for and assist the Democratic redistricting efforts.

The most prominent of these Democratic-aligned organizations is the League of Women Voters (LWV) and its many state and local chapters. They have allied with Democratic efforts to set up redistricting commissions and supported liberal efforts to influence redistricting commissions. While the League made its name first promoting civil rights and later hosting candidate forums and presidential debates,



While Democrats proclaim a “gerrymandering” crisis, an analysis of the U.S. House election results shows that even under a European-style proportional representation system the sizes of the House party caucuses would not have changed.

the organization has aligned with—and received substantial funding from—left-progressive institutions, especially since the 1980s.

In states without commissions, the LWV and LWV chapters have established “Fair Districts” front organizations, among them Fair Districts PA for Pennsylvania and Fair Districts NC for North Carolina. In Pennsylvania, the league joined National Redistricting Foundation in litigation challenging the state’s congressional map, and the partisan-Democratic state Supreme Court later found in favor of Holder and the league.

Conclusion

While Democrats proclaim a “gerrymandering” crisis, an analysis of the U.S. House election results shows that even under a European-style proportional representation system the sizes of the House party caucuses would not have changed. This is not the sort of outcome that demands a fundamental reordering of how legislative apportionment works.

Further, the redistricting commission system—perhaps especially the “independent commission” system that H.R. 1 would mandate nationwide—does *not* yield a more propor-

tional outcome. Rather than placing power in the hands of people’s elected representatives and statewide officials above them, it places power in the hands of organized advocacy groups and nonprofits.

Those wondering why partisan progressives would want to take power from legislatures and elected officials and give it to organized advocacy nonprofits need only remember that Capital Research Center found that liberal advocacy nonprofit revenue exceeds conservative advocacy nonprofit revenue by approximately four-to-one. Further, these organized liberal interests freely hide behind front organizations like the League of Women Voters that appear to be and are sold by the metropolitan-liberal press as far less partisan than they are in reality.

For now, the trench warfare of redistricting continues as scheduled, subject only to Barone’s Law, the Voting Rights Act, and the Supreme Court’s one-man-one-vote standard. How it proceeds will greatly determine how the next Congresses look, until changes in the political winds demolish the best-laid plans of politicians and activists. ■

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



SELLING TERRORISM THROUGH NONPROFITS

By Sarah Lee



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The Clarion Project lays out the case that an Iranian-backed terrorist group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) has been using pop-up, fake charitable organizations to scam people into donating to a cause that appears respectable on the surface, but masks terrorist activities condemned by the U.S., Israel, Canada, and the European Union.

As the U.S. tries to grapple with how—and how much—funding is used to promote anti-American propaganda within the U.S., the Confucius Institutes have attracted an enormous amount of attention. The Confucius Institutes are ostensibly Chinese language and cultural events institutes scattered throughout U.S. on university campuses and even in K–12 schools. They been increasingly deemed influence-peddling operations of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

As Secretary of State Mike Pompeo pointed out to students and faculty at the Georgia Institute of Technology in December 2020, the Confucius Institutes illustrate a growing problem: China and other adversarial nations have been paying U.S. universities to push anti-American ideology. According to Pompeo, the U.S. Department of Education tracked \$1.3 billion that U.S. universities received from China since 2013.

The number of Confucius Institutes is shrinking in response to the attention, with the National Association of Scholars noting the over 100 institutes in 2004 will drop to less than 50 by the end of 2021.

But China is hardly the only player on the world stage who is trying to buy a good reputation via the American nonprofit and charitable giving system. Other ideological causes are working just as hard to convince charitable donors and young Americans on college campuses that their work is admirable and should be supported both with word of mouth and open pocketbook.

Sarah Lee is director of communications and external affairs at CRC.



*China and other adversarial nations have been paying
U.S. universities to push anti-American ideology.*

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

A recent example comes from the Clarion Project, a self-described “non-profit organization dedicated to reducing the threats of extremist groups and individuals who threaten the safety and security of North America.”

In its report “Army of NGOs: Iran-Linked Terror Group Uses Fronts to Operate in America & Europe,” the Clarion Project lays out the case that an Iranian-backed terrorist group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) has been using pop-up, fake charitable organizations to scam people into donating to a cause that appears respectable on the surface, but masks terrorist activities condemned by the U.S., Israel, Canada, and the European Union. And PFLP is using college campuses to help sell the message.

The Daily Wire reports that Addameer, a nongovernmental group that has a presence on U.S. college campuses and purportedly works to support captive Palestinian prisoners, is actually steeped heavily in PFLP work through members of its board:

The organization’s activities include providing free legal representation for Palestinian prisoners and detainees—including convicted terrorists—and ensuring that prisoners have rights to medical assistance and education.

[But] some of Addameer’s board members and staff are also connected to the PFLP. For example, the Director of Addameer, Sahar Francis, allegedly has close ties to Ahmad Saadat who was the PFLP’s Secretary-General before he was imprisoned by

Israel for killing Israeli citizens and planning the assassination of the Israeli Tourism Minister, Rehavam Zeevi.

Under Addameer, Francis has traveled to U.S. college campuses to give lectures sponsored by campus organizations, including Jewish Voice for Peace and the Students for Justice in Palestine, both of which operate under the purview of progressive politics and have been criticized for alleged anti-Semitic agendas.

The Daily Wire report also lists speaking tours Francis gave in 2013 and 2017, with appearances at the Mosque Foundation in Chicago, San Francisco State University, and the University of California, Irvine. Other stops included Atlanta, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. These events were often co-organized by Jewish campus groups, despite PFLP’s history of anti-Israel terrorism.

Nonprofits for Terrorism

This arrangement uses what the U.S. Treasury called in 2018, “fraudulent or sham charitable organizations . . . established with purported charitable aims but [operating] almost solely to facilitate terrorist financing or support for a terrorist group.” Such organizations sell terrorism to America’s youth under the guise of humanitarian work. U.S. legislators should make it a priority to address this form of nonprofit abuse. ■

Read previous articles from the Deception and Misdirection series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/deception-and-misdirection/.

A group of people in a meeting, with a man standing and pointing at a screen.

BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

Arabella Advisors' Half-billion-dollar
"Dark Money" Network

Hayden R. Ludwig

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

Learn more about liberal "dark money" in CRC's original report.



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