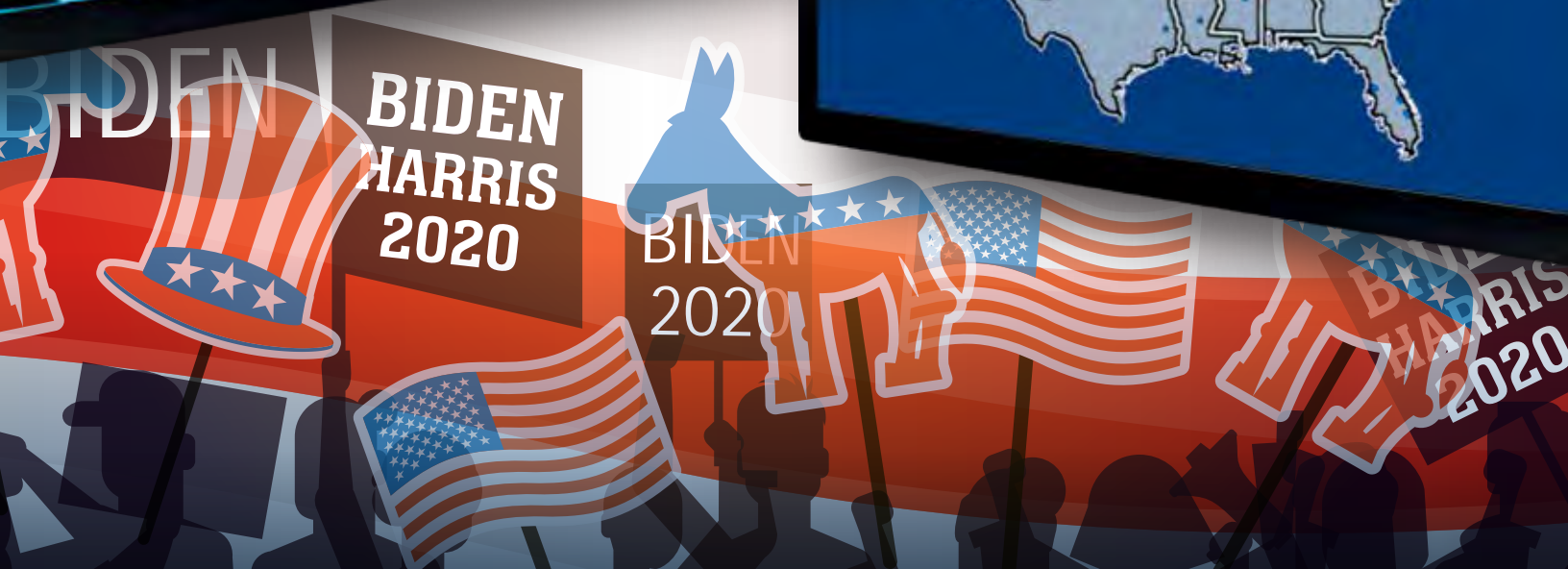




THE LEFT-PROGRESSIVE MACHINE IN INDIAN COUNTRY, 2020 ELECTION

PAGE 15



ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

7

Local Philanthropy Isn't
Local for "Citizens of
the World"

25

Secretary of State
Blinken's "Dark Money"
Track Record

31

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3

COMMENTARY

Telling Lies,
Ignoring Truths:
Jane Mayer Strikes Again

By Scott Walter

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

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CONTENTS

SEPTEMBER 2021

Volume 6, Issue 6



7

FOUNDATION WATCH

Local Philanthropy Isn't Local
for "Citizens of the World"

By Hayden Ludwig



15

SPECIAL REPORT

The Left-Progressive Machine
in Indian Country, 2020 Election

By Ike Clayton



25

ORGANIZATION TRENDS

Secretary of State Blinken's
"Dark Money" Track Record

By Shane Devine



31

GREEN WATCH

The Fight over Climate Change
Regulations in Pennsylvania

By Kevin Mooney

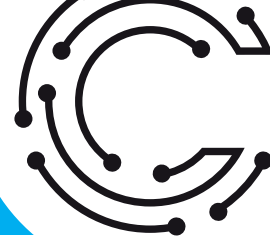


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LIBERAL *RIGHT-OF-CENTER*
LEFT WING **CONSERVATIVE**
GREEN *FREE-MARKET*
FAR LEFT *LIBERTARIAN*
PROGRESSIVE **RIGHT-WING**
LEFT OF CENTER *RIGHT-LEANING*

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.



TELLING LIES, IGNORING TRUTHS: JANE MAYER STRIKES AGAIN

By Scott Walter

You can understand why Jane Mayer didn't call Capital Research Center before publishing her latest *New Yorker* article, even though it references my testimony to the Arizona state legislature on 2020 election issues. It's uncomfortable to talk to people who've exposed you as—no other word will do—a liar.

A “Few” Good Donors

In her last book, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*, Mayer bewails the “100 biggest known donors in 2014,” who spent “nearly as much money on behalf of their candidates as the 4.75 million people who contributed \$200 or less.” Who were those terrible donors? Mayer says, “A few of the biggest spenders were now Democrats.”

Check her source in the endnotes, and you find how many “a few” equals:

Donors who gave exclusively or primarily to Democratic candidates and groups held down 52 of the top 100 spots—including by far the biggest donor of disclosed 2014 cash: retired San Francisco hedge fund billionaire Tom Steyer.

I chose Mayer's “a few” as the worst lie in the book, but I had to write a long review to catalog all her other distortions and falsehoods. One book chapter had previously appeared as a *New Yorker* hit piece, and my earlier dissection of that partisan journalism drew this response from John Hinderaker of *Powerline*:

Walter's article was perhaps the most devastating refutation of a magazine article I have ever read. In a calm, dispassionate manner, he laid waste to Mayer to a degree that in a more just world would end her career in journalism.

Hinderaker asked readers to leave comments at Mayer's blog, begging her to respond, but of course she refused. Silence is golden when you're a wealthy New Yorker from a famous



Credit: Politics and Prose. License: <https://bit.ly/2NGWgQ5>.

You can understand why Jane Mayer didn't call Capital Research Center before publishing her latest New Yorker article; it's uncomfortable to talk to people who've exposed you as—no other word will do—a liar.

banking family, writing for prestige media whose business model is to give an overpaid, underinformed audience only what it wants to hear.

CRC president Scott Walter's testimony to the Arizona Senate refutes claims made by a Democratic legislator Mayer quotes in her article.



Silence is golden when you're a wealthy New Yorker from a famous banking family, writing for prestige media.

Long-Winded Attack Ads

Mayer's own business model for her articles is simple, and she uses it in this new attack on any conservative who doubts the 2020 election process went flawlessly: Take banal facts and coincidences (preferably uncovered by other writers to save you the trouble of research), then make them appear ominous. If that sounds like a cheap 30-second attack ad, you're correct. Those brief ads, like Mayer's long-winded articles, savage their target while ignoring their own side.

But just as those ads quickly bore anyone subjected to them, so do Mayer's partisan articles. That explains why a liberal-but-honest reporter at another prestige media outlet, asked for an opinion on her latest hit piece, replied, "I honestly cannot remember the last story of hers that I read."

Straining at Gnats

Thus, Mayer's current attack deserves little comment. For the unusually curious, here are a few new examples of her very old tricks. First, she focuses on a single conservative foundation and observes portentously that all the persons and groups she criticizes (including Capital Research Center) have some connection to that foundation. Because the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee does indeed fund nearly every conservative group in the country, that's not simply a lie. Of course, this factoid doesn't mean Bradley was directing all its donations toward the small amount of work on elections that most of those grantees carry out.

In fact, if Mayer had enough work ethic to do a bit more research, she would likely find other conservative donors who fund as widely in the movement, including some who gave more money to the groups she demonizes (even though, again, many of the groups spend scant time talking about the election issues she's discussing).

Currently Projected Voter Engagement Funder Budgets for 2012

Foundation	Allocated	New Funding	Total Funding
Ford Foundation	\$10 million	\$10 million	\$20 million
OSF	\$7.3m	\$9m request	\$16.3m (if approved)
Wellspring Advisors	\$10m	possible; unclear	\$10m
Carnegie	\$5.6m		\$5.6m
Bauman	\$5m		\$5m
Stoneman Foundation	\$5m		\$5m
Committee on States	\$4m		\$4m
Democracy Alliance	\$3.5m		\$3.5m
Smaller voter funders (5)	\$15m		\$15m
TOTAL	\$65.4m	\$10m (\$19m w/OSF)	\$84.4m

Source: Deepak Bhargava and Andy Stern, "New Thinking on 2012 Election and Beyond," memorandum to Sherrilyn Ifill, George Soros, and the U.S. Programs Board, Open Society Foundations, 2011, 5. Archived by Capital Research Center.



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/38cLMo8>.

An even wilder disproportion between left and right spending on elections appears when you consider Mark Zuckerberg's \$400 million in electioneering poured into one year, 2020.

Another example of Mayer's crude analysis: she is honest enough to note that the left-wing Ford Foundation is bigger than the Bradley Foundation, but she's not honest enough to spell that out. Here's the truth too inconvenient for her: In 2019, Ford paid \$519 million in grants, or 12 times Bradley's \$43 million. In other words, Ford donates the equivalent of a Bradley Foundation every month. And Ford is not even the biggest left-wing foundation.

Or take another comparison, tightly focused on real election interference. As our Ken Braun has reported, a leaked 2011 memo describes the tens of millions of dollars that Ford, George Soros's Open Society Foundations, Soros's Democracy Alliance donor group, and some of their friends planned to spend to bolster Democratic voter turnout in the 2012 election. Ford alone was expected to kick in \$20 million, and the memo's full budget for left-wing donors totaled \$84.4 million. That vast sum wasn't going to grantees who would *comment* on the election or criticize afterwards how it was carried out. No, the cash was going to grantees to register voters and get them to the polls in order to win the election for the donors' preferred political party, the one they said would uphold "our open society values."

Compare the \$84+ million for electioneering these non-profits planned to spend in two years (2011–2012) to the \$18 million Mayer alleges the Bradley spent since 2012 "supporting eleven conservative groups involved in election issues." That's \$18 million divided by nine years, so \$2 million a year, divided among 11 groups, for an average of \$182,000 per group annually. And who knows how much of that \$182,000 was spent on things unrelated to "election issues"?

The \$400 Million Donkey in the Room

An even wilder disproportion appears when you consider Mark Zuckerberg's \$400 million in electioneering poured into one year, 2020. And he didn't give the money to 11 nonprofits but just two, run by Democratic partisans who in turn sent that astronomical sum directly into actual government election offices to manipulate how the election took place. (Our extensive reporting on Zuckerberg's effort starts here.)

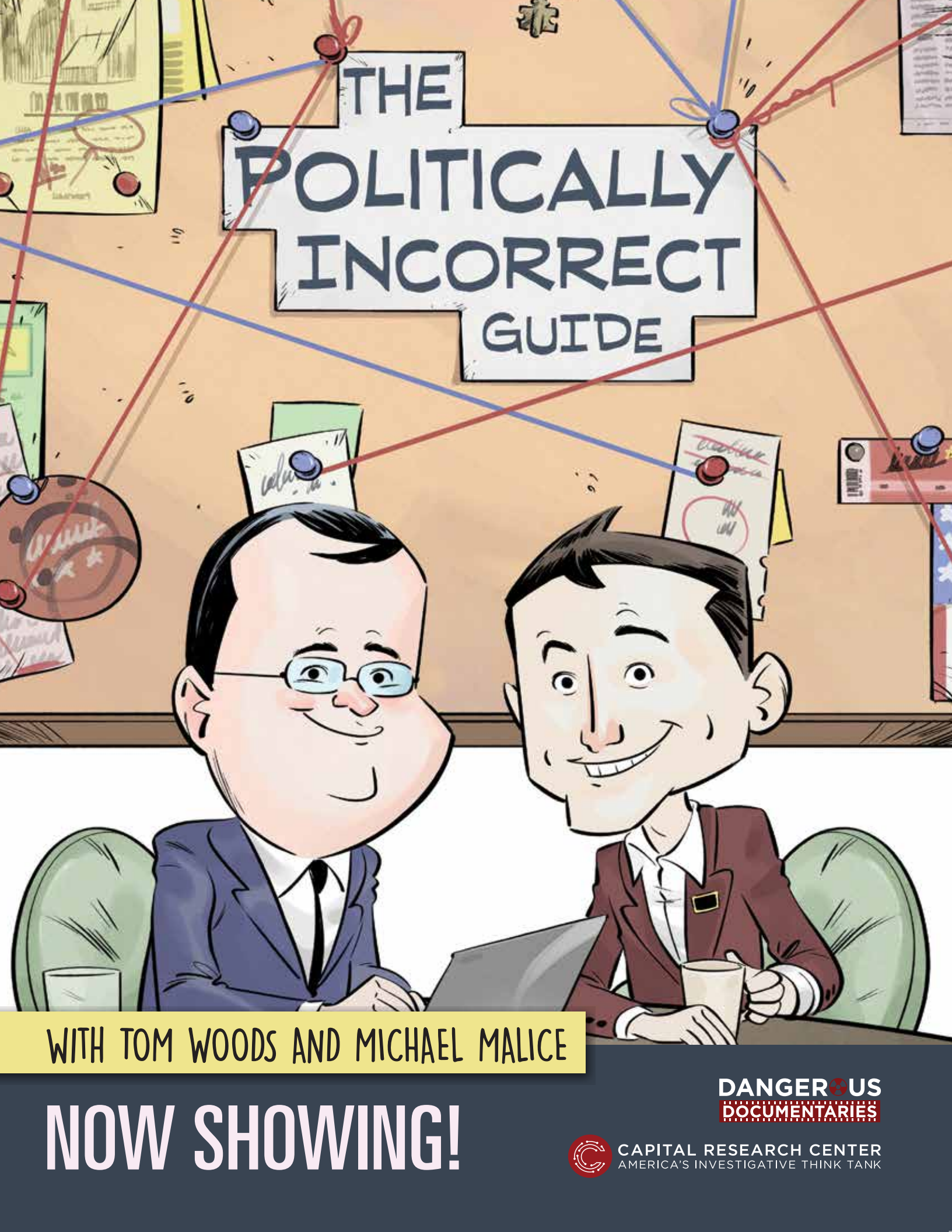
But don't take our word on how one billionaire donor manipulated elections via nonprofits that federal law requires to be entirely "nonpartisan." Read the internal emails of some of the affected government offices, which describe outrageous, likely illegal behavior that appalled election officers, some of whom resigned in protest.

What state is the poster child for this misbehavior? You guessed it: Wisconsin, the home state of the Bradley Foundation that Mayer tries desperately to smear.

Footnote: Mayer claims Capital Research Center "testified in support of Hoffman's legislation," which banned private funding of elections in Arizona. Once again, she's not quite truthful, nor did the *New Yorker's* famed fact-checkers check that with us. The Arizona legislature's website shows CRC testified to the state's House and Senate, neither time in support or opposition to the bill but as "neutral" (Senate testimony record p. 2; House testimony record p. 47). We simply carried out our mission to educate the public on special interests that influence government. That is, we described the deeds of donors and activists which Mayer refuses to report. We admit that the facts she covers up could lead—and in the states where CRC has testified, have led—lawmakers to crack down on such misbehavior.

No wonder a political operative masquerading as a journalist is trying to hide those facts. ■

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



THE POLITICALLY INCORRECT GUIDE

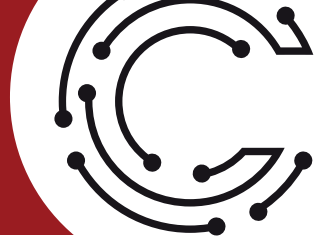
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LOCAL PHILANTHROPY ISN'T LOCAL FOR “CITIZENS OF THE WORLD”

By Hayden Ludwig

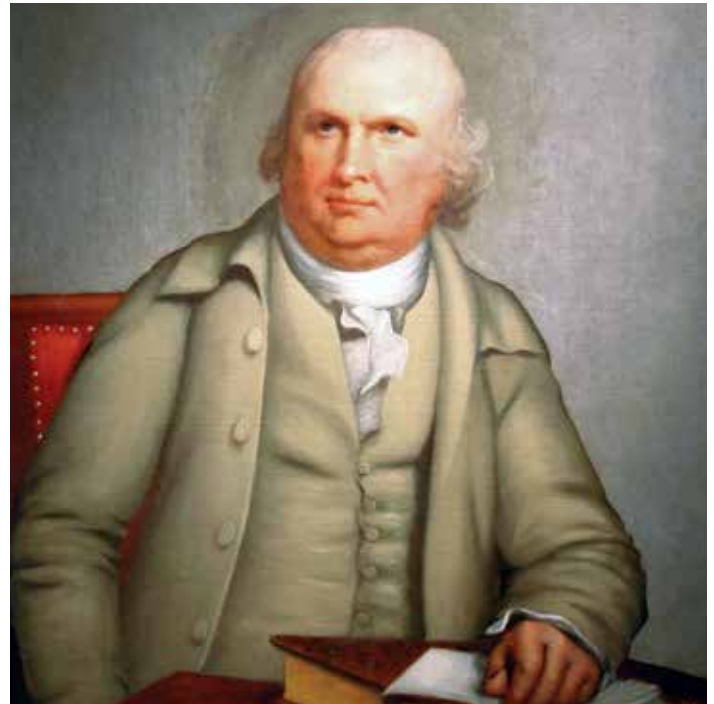
No single word better describes modern America's liberal plutocrats than “cosmopolitan,” from κοσμοπολίτης (*kosmopolites*), literally “universal citizen.” We have the ancient Greeks to thank for the concept as well as the word. The first cosmopolitan was Diogenes, the first of the Cynics, ascetics who cast away their property and possessions to pursue a more virtuous life of the mind governed by reason and intellectual clarity in accord with nature. Diogenes may have hailed from the city of Sinope, but against the patchwork of city-states that peppered Greece he famously declared, “I am a citizen of the world.”

A greater affinity for humankind than individual humans is about the only thing our own “citizens of the world” have in common with the Cynics, however. The lives of modern America's transnational liberal billionaires are about as far from spartan as one can get: The climate-conscious fly private jets and buy island mansions, famous socialists own multiple houses, and the biggest critics of income inequality leverage capital gains losses to pay little-to-no income tax.

America has always had its patricians, but as the word suggests, they saw themselves as patriotic “fathers” of their country, and their wealth and prestige were tied up in their country's well-being. George Washington commanded armies. Thomas Jefferson was a statesman and diplomat. Robert Morris, probably America's first millionaire, personally bankrolled the American Revolution.

Contrast that with the spacefaring Jeff Bezos, land-grabbing Bill Gates, or Big Brother-inspired tech billionaires Jack Dorsey and Mark Zuckerberg. The combined forces of global commerce, jet travel, and militant secularism make today's elites more akin to aircraft carriers than individuals—travelling micro-states able to project power and influence anywhere in the world with wealth equivalent to a small nation's GDP. Is it any wonder that one strains to find genuine, unabashed patriots in their ranks?

Nowhere is that clearer than in their “philanthropy,” humanitarian giving that is more political than charitable and utterly disconnected from its roots in Christianity's love for one's fellow man.



Artist: Robert Edge Pine (c. 1720–1788). Credit: cliff1066. License: <https://bit.ly/3Lucu8>.

America has always had its patricians who saw themselves as patriotic “fathers” of their country, and their wealth and prestige were tied up in their country's well-being. Robert Morris, probably America's first millionaire, personally bankrolled the American Revolution.

It isn't only the Ford Foundation or George Soros's Open Society Foundations, either. Across the nation, a host of community foundations—groups that are supposed to aid their local communities—serve as funnels for liberal billionaires to fund environmental activists, get-out-the-vote groups, litigation nonprofits, labor union fronts, mass immigration advocacy, and think tanks that support the kinds of socialist policies that would have made it impossible for entrepreneurs like Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, or Zuckerberg and Soros to succeed in the first place.

Hayden Ludwig is a senior research analyst at CRC. Victoria Ydens, a CRC intern, contributed to this report.



Credit: Dan Farber. License: <https://bit.ly/3zernkve>.



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Credit: Anthony Quintano. License: <https://bit.ly/3B4dv7S>.

(From left to right: Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg) Combined forces of global commerce, jet travel, and militant secularism make today's elites like Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates, and Mark Zuckerberg more akin to aircraft carriers than individuals. Is it any wonder that one strains to find genuine, unabashed patriots in their ranks?

We've analyzed grants flowing from a few dozen community foundations to uncover \$2.3 billion flowing to 110 highly politically active nonprofits on the Left since 2010. These groups range from top liberal think tanks, such as the Center for American Progress, to "animal rights" radicals demanding global population control. Far from merely supporting local philanthropy, America's community foundations are some of the biggest conduits for activist groups we've discovered—yet they receive almost no scrutiny from the press.

That isn't to say that these community foundations don't fund bona fide charities, from local philharmonic orchestras to campaigns against child hunger and the Salvation Army. Nor does it suggest that there's something inherently wrong with community foundations as a philanthropic vehicle.



Across the nation, community foundations—groups that are supposed to aid their local communities—serve as funnels for liberal billionaires to fund environmental activists, get-out-the-vote groups, and other liberal causes.

What it *does* reveal is how thoroughly our country's generous nonprofit sector has been hijacked by the Left. Charity has been weaponized. It's less about doing what the government cannot (and should not) do and more of a tax-free political cudgel aimed at changing policies and even the outcome of elections.

What Are Community Foundations For?

According to the Council on Foundations, there are over 800 community foundations nationwide. They have a simple premise: Serve the local public, be it in a particular city (St. Louis), geographic region (Middle Tennessee), or an entire state (Oregon). They're meant to fill a void between private foundations belonging to a wealthy individual or family such as the Ford Foundation and 501(c)(3) public charities supported by multiple donors, inviting donations from local philanthropists to fund an array of charitable causes.

Structurally, community foundations are 501(c)(3) public charities and almost universally centered on donor-advised funds (DAFs), a kind of charitable investment account meant to encourage small-dollar donors to give early and accumulate funds in a local philanthropy, before picking out the charities they ultimately wish to support. My colleague Michael Hartmann and I have written extensively about the advantages of and proposed reforms to DAFs.



The Cleveland Foundation is the world's first community foundation, formed in 1914 by the banker Frederick Harris Goff.

The Cleveland Foundation is the world's first community foundation, formed in 1914 by the banker Frederick Harris Goff. Goff, whose Cleveland Trust Company (now KeyBank) serviced fellow Clevelander John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil, was an innovator in philanthropy, envisioning a kind of vehicle that would prioritize the public good over self-interest. That led the Cleveland Foundation to launch a crusade against industrialized urban neglect, poverty, and corruption plaguing the city.

But it also had the unfortunate effect of involving it in the city's 1967 mayoral race. Philanthropy expert William Schambra has recorded how the Cleveland Foundation—with help from the Ford Foundation—quietly funded a private media adviser and voter registration drives to boost election turnout for Democratic candidate Carl Stokes, who became the first black mayor of a major city by a scant 1,851 votes.

In civic participation there's a fine line between partisan politics and philanthropy, and the Cleveland and Ford Foundations crossed it—so concluded Democratic members of the powerful U.S. House Ways and Means Committee. Big Philanthropy's role in tilting an election directly led to potent nonprofit provisions in the 1969 Tax Reform Act passed by Democratic majorities in Congress and signed into law by President Richard Nixon. This law gave us the modern definition of a “private foundation” and strict limits on its electoral activities and lobbying.

Although community foundations escaped Congress's wrath, the Cleveland affair lays bare their decades-long immersion in American politics, a trend that continues today. It leads this writer to ask: What are community foundations for? If the answer involves helping politicians of *either* party get elected, it's time for Congress to go back to the drawing board.

Charting the Grants

So which politically active organizations are the biggest beneficiaries of community foundation money? Our analysis of grants from nearly 170 community foundations between 2010 and 2019 (2018 in the case of groups with missing Form 990 filings) traced \$2.3 billion to 110 left-wing groups and their affiliates.

To sift through tens of thousands of grants and avoid cherry-picking recipients, we identified nonprofits that are prominent in a variety of political causes—such as the Center for American Progress, Planned Parenthood, and Southern Poverty Law Center—or are especially notable for their radicalism (e.g., the communist Alliance for Global Justice) and influence (e.g. the libertarian-turned-lefty Niskanen Center), as well as any local or lobbying affiliates. While not scientific, it gives a sense of just how much the institutional Left depends upon funds flowing through community foundations.

Top recipients include:

1. Planned Parenthood, including affiliates: \$111 million. America's largest abortion provider and a pillar of the professional Left
2. Earthjustice: \$97 million. Sierra Club spin-off that litigates against oil, gas, and coal use and other environmental issues
3. Tides Center: \$93 million. Tides Foundation arm responsible for incubating new activist groups
4. Food & Water Watch: \$85 million. Anti-fossil fuel activist group heavily active on the state level
5. Sierra Club Foundation: \$73 million. 501(c)(3) arm of the country's oldest environmental organization, which recently disowned founder John Muir as irredeemably racist
6. Tides Foundation: \$62 million. Key pass-through funder that specializes in using DAFs to bundle donations from liberal donors to politically active nonprofits
7. Humane Society of the United States, including affiliates: \$57 million. Militant vegetarians lobbying for animal rights and animal-free clothing
8. Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors: \$54 million. Rockefeller Foundation affiliate that provides consulting services to other left-leaning nonprofits related to “social justice,” environmentalism, and similar causes

9. American Civil Liberties Union, including affiliates: \$49 million. Historic civil liberties litigation group that's become a hub for left-wing activism and electioneering on behalf of Democrats.
10. New Venture Fund: \$37 million. Flagship of a \$731 million "dark money" network run by Arabella Advisors in Washington, DC, specializing in pass-through donations to activist groups and "popping up" new lobbying campaigns
11. Conservation International Foundation: \$34 million. Left-leaning climate group that supports international greenhouse gas reductions
12. FWD.US: \$32 million. Mass immigration advocacy group heavily funded by Mark Zuckerberg. Friends of the Earth: \$27 million. Dutch environmentalist group associated with the Sierra Club that has expanded into LGBTQ and anti-free speech lobbying.
13. Barack Obama Foundation: \$20 million. Primarily maintains Chicago's to-be-completed Obama Presidential Library, but also pushes for continuation of Obama's policies.
14. Human Rights Watch: \$17 million. Left-leaning civil liberties group primarily focused on developing countries, criticized for connections to Saudi Arabia and lack of transparency in its funding (e.g., receiving strong support from George Soros' Open Society Foundations).
15. National Audubon Society: \$16 million. A 19th century conservation nonprofit that has expanded into climate change advocacy.
16. Clinton Foundation: \$15 million. Enough said.
17. Center for Biological Diversity: \$14 million. Radical group that has supported voluntary male sterilization to curb global population growth, fought against Justice Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court confirmation, and tried to block President Trump's border wall.



Credit: Duke University Sanford School of Public Policy. License: <https://bit.ly/3go9dQY>.

Fred Stanback is a mega-donor characterized by the Knoxville News in 2018 as a "known proponent of anti-humanist environmentalism" who believes that "protecting the environment hinges on population control," a fusion of radical environmentalism and what we could call the abortion-industrial complex.

18. Environmental Defense Fund: \$13 million. "Green" advocacy and litigation group with a lot of "green" (\$210 million in 2018).
19. 350.org, including affiliates: \$12 million. Hard-line environmentalist group founded by Bill McKibben, notably a target of Michael Moore's *Planet of the Humans* (2020) for selling out to Big Oil.
20. Immigrant Legal Resource Center: \$12 million. Mass immigration group based in San Francisco.
21. Greenpeace Fund: \$9.5 million. 501(c)(3) arm of one of the country's most extreme environmental groups, infamous for opposing modern agriculture and its attention-seeking stunts involving harassing whaling ships in the Pacific Ocean.

22. Center for Reproductive Rights: \$8.5 million. Pro-abortion litigation group that aims to overturn pro-life laws in conservative states.
23. NEO Philanthropy: \$6.6 million. Pass-through for liberal donors best known for running the Funders Committee for Civic Participation, an affinity group for leftist donors to strategize over voter mobilization and 2020 Census turnout in order to favor Democrats.
24. Vera Institute of Justice: \$6.4 million. Originally created to help poor New Yorkers get bail bonds, now a broad advocacy front for “racial justice,” anti-incarceration, and mass immigration policies.
25. Center for American Progress: \$6.4 million. The Left’s Heritage Foundation—a Democratic Party-aligned think tank founded by Clinton crony John Podesta and funded by a Who’s Who of liberal funders to formulate policy on pretty much every issue.
26. New America: \$6 million. Think tank epitomizing the technocratic Left founded by the late Ted Halstead with close leadership ties to the Obama administration.
27. Anti-Defamation League: \$6 million. Originally created in 1913 to combat anti-Semitism, but has since morphed into a general leftist pressure group, even removing the words “anti-Semitism” from its mission statement in recent years.
28. Voter Participation Center: \$5.6 million. Part of a set of two nonprofits run by the get-out-the-vote guru Page Gardner to register unmarried women and minorities and help Democratic turnout, as well as a key supporter of vote-by-mail in the 2020 election (and beyond).
29. American Immigration Council: \$5 million. Arm of the American Immigration Lawyers Association responsible for lobbying; regularly cites the hate-spewing Southern Poverty Law Center in its criticism of right-leaning immigration groups.

Meet the Donors

It’s important to note that these grants ultimately originated with (mostly) anonymous donors, not the community foundations themselves, which serve as conduits for DAF account holders. The largest community foundation givers on this list come from a handful of locales, mostly in California: Los Angeles, San Diego, the San Francisco Bay Area and Marin County, Chicago, Boston, Kansas City, Atlanta, and Memphis, to name a few.

By far the biggest is the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (SVCF), an \$8.5 billion behemoth and favorite left-wing vehicle I’ve documented in these pages. Grants from SVCF and its runner-up, the little-known Foundation for the Carolinas (FFTC), account for an impressive *75 percent* of the giving in our list, or more than \$1.75 billion over nine years.

These are organizations that almost no one has heard of, yet they’re pillars of the professional Left and the most abhor-



One black staffer was disturbingly told “Work, slave, work” by the group’s chief fundraiser, Mari Ellen Loijens (pictured above), whose reported chronicle of misdeeds includes attempting to kiss another female staffer.

Credit: IIT Global Leadership Conference 2015. License: <https://bit.ly/3B8nKYV>.



All this not only calls attention to a major river of money flowing to political groups, but asks a burning question: Whom does philanthropy serve?

rent causes in America. FFTC in particular is the preferred pass-through of Fred Stanback, a mega-donor characterized by the *Knoxville News* in 2018 as a “known proponent of anti-humanist environmentalism” who believes that “protecting the environment hinges on population control,” a fusion of radical environmentalism and what we could call the abortion-industrial complex.

SVCF serves at the pleasure of a handful of Big Tech billionaires, including Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg, former eBay president Jeff Skoll, Netflix’s Reed Hastings, WhatsApp’s Brian Acton, and Twitter’s Jack Dorsey, and former Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz.

There’s a case to be made that SVCF is a private pass-through vehicle for politically active mega-donors, all of whom are donors to the Democratic Party and left-wing causes. SVCF’s 2019 Form 990 report notes that 70 percent of its contributions that year came from just 11 donors. That figure was worse in 2018, when three quarters of SVCF’s \$2 billion in contributions came from only 10 donors. Zuckerberg was and likely still is SVCF’s largest single donor, contributing \$1.75 billion in Facebook stock in 2010, followed by another \$200 million in shares in November 2018.

That’s *after* SVCF’s #MeToo scandal in April, when allegations of sexual and emotional abuse by SVCF employees prompted an investigation leading to a flurry of resignations among the top brass, including longtime CEO Emmett Carson. One black staffer was disturbingly told “Work, slave, work” by the group’s chief fundraiser, Mari Ellen Loijens, whose reported chronicle of misdeeds includes attempting to kiss another female staffer.

Former employees’ scathing reviews on Glassdoor.com painted SVCF’s leadership as avaricious and “incredibly misguided,” with “no mission outside of being the largest community foundation in the world. ... SVCF ultimately serves little purpose beyond helping the 1% evade taxes by putting money into charitable brokerage accounts.”

The California Bay Area may be blessed with a bumper crop of the affluent, but the shocking overreliance of the country’s largest community foundation on a sprinkling of top-dollar donors undermines its image as a publicly supported non-profit—or even as one focused on local affairs. As philanthropy critic Alan Cantor noted shortly after the scandal, Carson and associates “found the notion of geographical

community too limiting,” choosing to see SVCF as more of a global citizen. The “geographic location, interests, and identity” of SVCF’s community “cannot be placed on any one map,” Carson wrote in 2013. A year after his resignation, the group’s Form 990 report revealed that SVCF’s assets plunged by an incredible \$4.6 billion.

What Is Philanthropy For?

All this not only calls attention to a major river of money flowing to political groups, but asks a burning question: *Whom does philanthropy serve?* Until we answer that question—one that our forebears understood—community foundations, private foundations, and 501(c) groups are immaterial.

It’s revealing that the United States is one of a very few countries to offer tax exemption and other benefits to nonprofits. The practice dates back to the Revenue Act of 1909, but the spirit behind it is much older than the republic. Colonial Americans—unlike the British, French, and Spanish—chose to organize numerous citizens’ committees to tackle problems beyond the scope of either individuals or the government—a first in world history. These were the first corporations organized for the public good rather than to sustain a business venture, and their roots reach deep into English common law and the Protestant Reformation, which put the responsibility for godliness in the community upon each individual Christian, not ecclesiastical or secular authorities.

As families were expected to study and emulate the Bible, so were they expected to “work out [their] own salvation with fear and trembling” in the *public* sphere—that is, do works fit for holiness in an unholy world that reflect their redemption in Jesus Christ. Gratitude for what God has accomplished for the individual believer, not the threat of slipping back into damnation, drove the Puritan colonists in New England. Is it any wonder that in early America the greatest outpouring of committees created for the public benefit was centered there?

φιλανθρωπῶς (*philanthropos*) is the love of mankind rooted in the divine image. Modern philanthropy has mistaken itself with the love of money. Once we’ve started down that road, all the good intentions in the world won’t help us escape it. ■

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

Is Your Legacy Safe?



An instructive and cautionary tale for our time.

—W.J. Hume,
Jaquelin Hume Foundation

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

—Linda Childears,
*Former President and CEO
The Daniels Fund*

No, your legacy is not safe.

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

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THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

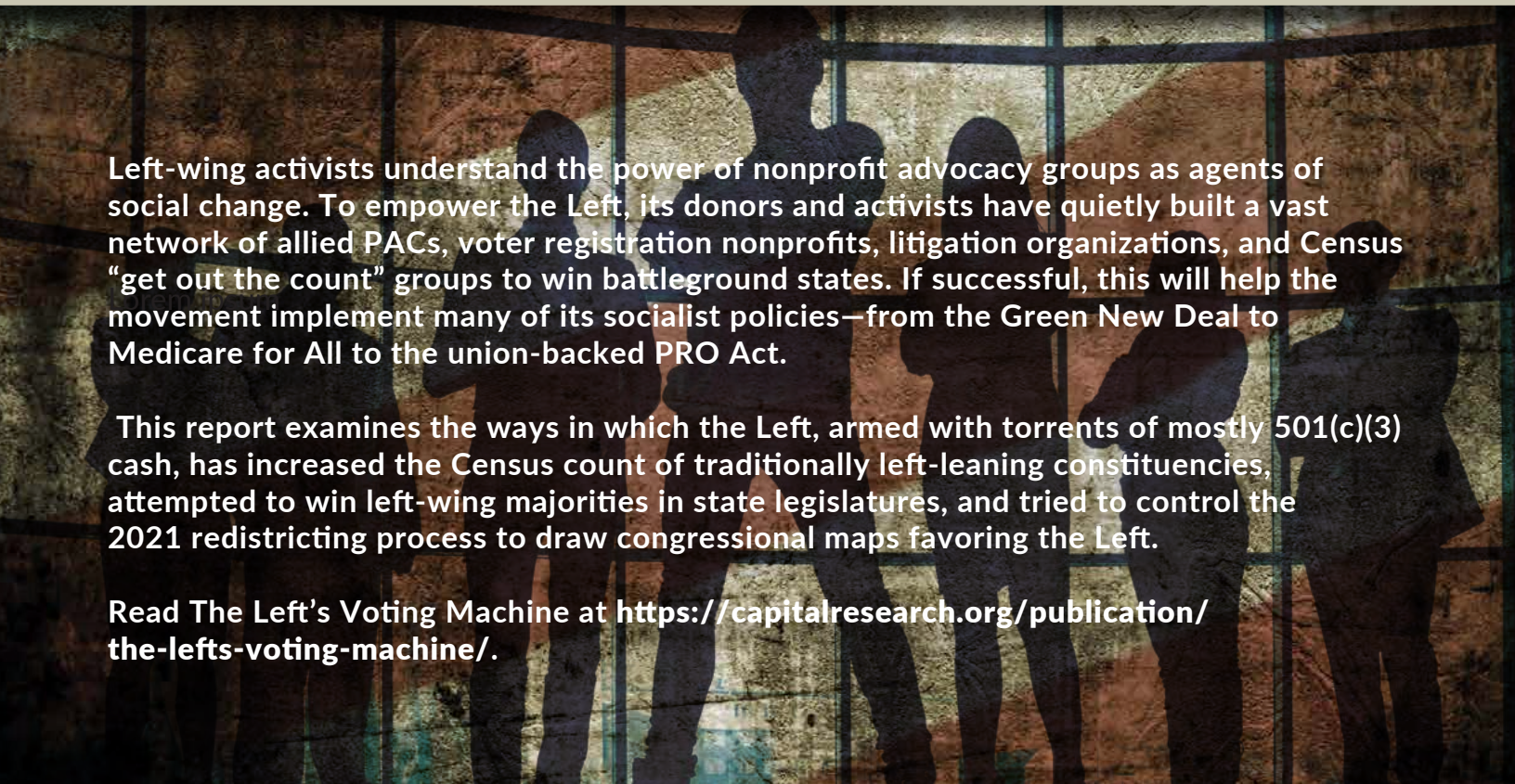


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Left-wing activists understand the power of nonprofit advocacy groups as agents of social change. To empower the Left, its donors and activists have quietly built a vast network of allied PACs, voter registration nonprofits, litigation organizations, 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 LEFT-PROGRESSIVE MACHINE IN INDIAN COUNTRY, 2020 ELECTION

By Ike Clayton

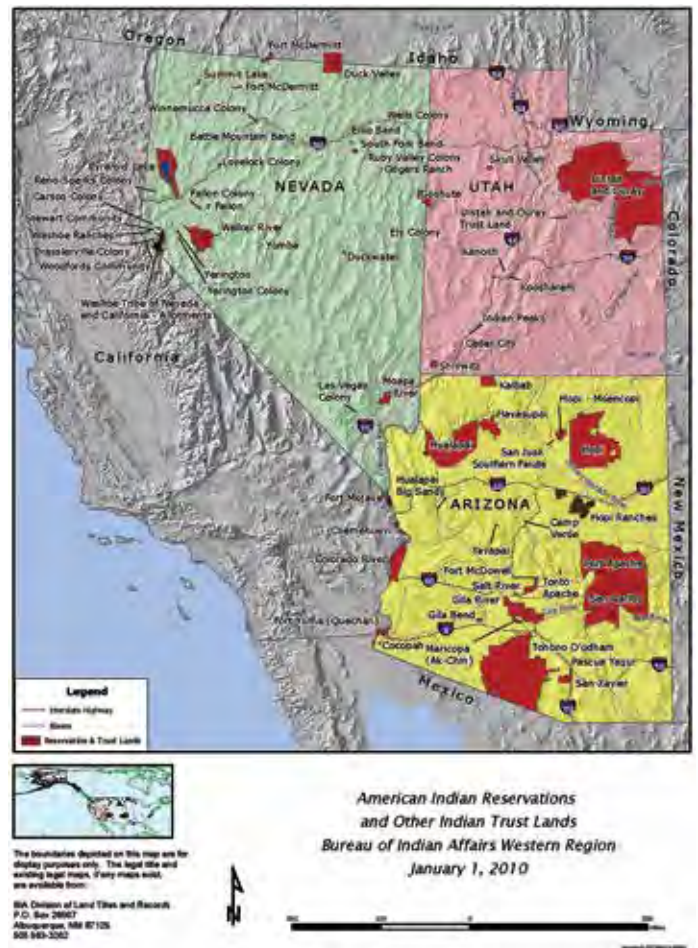
Shortly after CNN called the 2020 presidential election for Joe Biden on the afternoon of November 4, 2020, on-air commentator and former Obama administration official Van Jones read off the names of several nonprofit organizations he thought helped pave the way for Biden's victory. While the untrained eye may think this was normal, Jones was oddly specific, glancing down at a notecard on the desk as he said the following:

You see those little blue dots in Arizona? Those are Native American Reservations. The Native American community played a tremendous role—the Native Organizers Alliance, the Inter-Tribal Council. ... These are groups that expect to be treated with respect. They are responsible for the victory.”

While Jones had mentioned prominent left-of-center Hispanic get-out-the-vote (GOTV) organizations earlier in the broadcast, it seemed peculiar that he had a list of non-profit names ready to read on air once the results came in.

Investigation into Native Organizers Alliance (NOA) financial records explains why Jones mentioned them by name on November 4. The left-of-center Alliance for a Just Society reported a \$842,921 program expense in 2020 in support of NOA, which it says heavily influenced historic Native American turnout and other programmatic expenses.

Oddly enough, the national press's coverage of Native American activism in the election was not limited to Democratic insiders like Jones or to discussions of Arizona and Nevada. Much like the *Time* piece about the operatives who schemed “to save” the 2020 election from Donald Trump, John Nichols of *The Nation* recognized the NCAI's Native Vote as one of the most important organizations behind Biden's victory in Wisconsin, emphasizing the group's efforts to boost Democratic turnout in Menominee County. According to *The New Republic*, Menominee County shares borders with the Menominee Indian Reservation and experienced the greatest swing to the Democratic Party in all Wisconsin, with voters casting 82 percent of their ballots for Joe Biden (up from 78.4 percent



Credit: English, Public Domain.

In the 2020 election, the Native American vote may have had the greatest impact in Arizona. Native American get-out-the-vote organizations were quite active in Nevada and in several instances appear to have violated election laws.

for Hillary Clinton in 2016). *HuffPost* emphasized Biden may not have flipped Arizona without Native American voters and noted that Democratic National Committee Chair Tom Perez met with Navajo Nation President Jonathan Nez earlier in 2020.

Ike Clayton is a freelance researcher and writer.

Press coverage of the Native American vote as a key voting bloc that would propel the Democrats to victory over President Trump appeared as early as 2019, when the *Des Moines Register* suggested that increasing turnout of historically Democratic-leaning Native American voters would help the Biden campaign overcome Hillary Clinton's 2016 margins of defeat in key states such as Michigan, Wisconsin, Arizona, and North Carolina.

Predictably, on Election Day reports of record turnout across Indian Country in Arizona, Wisconsin, Nevada, and other locations trickled in alongside reports of potential fraud on Nevada reservations, but it was too late to address any nonprofit activities on the ground. Record turnout in Navajo Nation and parts of Wisconsin helped flip the two swing states in favor of Biden and hasten President Trump's electoral demise. Shortly after the election, the *New York Times* was ready to identify the Native American activist nonprofits and the activists who were directly responsible for Joe Biden's victory in Arizona.

If progressive activists like Van Jones and news reporters knew about various Native American nonprofit organizations and their plans at the national and state levels to increase Native American turnout on and off reservations, it begs some important questions: How ubiquitous and coordinated was the effort? Does this effort continue to the present day? And will Native American activists and other left-of-center nonprofit organizations replicate their electoral successes in the 2022 midterm election and the 2024 presidential election?

This piece examines the pivotal role that left-of-center nonprofit organizations played in augmenting Native American turnout on and off reservations to seal Joe Biden's victory over President Trump in the 2020 presidential election. This constellation of Native American nonprofits that supercharged the Native American vote appear to be part of a larger left-wing political machine designed to skew elections to the left. As CRC has documented, the machine largely funds these partisan efforts with "dark money" funneled through nonprofits that are legally required to be nonpartisan. For example, in the 2020 presidential election Mark Zuckerberg and the Center for Technology and Civic Life (CTCL) played this role in numerous battleground states. Evidently, the pattern extends to Indian Country, a broad term for all "Native spaces and places within the United States," not limited to reservations.

Nationwide Organizational Structures

At the national level, several Native American organizations stand out.

Native Organizers Alliance. Van Jones's remarks correctly identified NOA as a critical nationwide nonprofit organization involved in turning out heavily Democratic-leaning Native American voters to propel Joe Biden to victory in key states such as Arizona, Wisconsin, and Nevada. The group is known for its weeklong community organizing trainings for Native American community leaders and Native-focused community grassroots campaigns.

NOA is run by former national vice-chair of the Communist Party USA Judith LeBlanc. It is fiscally sponsored by the left-wing Alliance for a Just Society, a member of the left-wing Movement Voter Project's Native Vote Fund, and heavily funded by other prominent left-of-center "dark money" organizations such as the Tides Nexus and the NoVo Foundation.

In 2020, the Alliance for a Just Society gave \$21,000 to Native Organizers Alliance to support various voter engagement activities across nine states, including educating and mobilizing the Native vote for the 2020 election with an outreach of over 100,000 participants.



Native Organizers Alliance is run by former national vice-chair of the Communist Party USA Judith LeBlanc.

Credit: Terry Fox. License: <https://bit.ly/3B4tRlu>.



NCAI may have had the strongest direct impact on voting, electioneering, and the 2020 presidential election in favor of Democratic candidates across the board.

The left-of-center Alliance for a Just Society reported a \$842,921 program expense in 2020 in support of NOA, which they say heavily influenced the historic Native American turnout and helped pay for programmatic expenses. Its outreach efforts focus on anti-pipeline activism and calls for a “truth and reconciliation process” for the reevaluation of how the U.S. government has treated Native Americans.”

In Arizona, NOA expressed concern about the Ninth Circuit upholding Arizona ban on ballot collection. The organization worried the decision would impact tribal ballots cast in an incorrect precinct. In Nevada, NOA brought lawsuits to expand early voting as the campaign season dragged on and vote by mail became a reality across the nation.

But NOA’s impact extended beyond lawsuits. It influenced the 2020 election cycle by co-sponsoring events with other influential left-of-center Native American activist organizations including the Frank LeMere Presidential Forum with the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), Four Directions, and Native American Rights Fund (NARF). While Van Jones may have mentioned NOA by name during his election coverage, NCAI may have had the strongest direct impact on voting, electioneering, and the 2020 presidential election in favor of Democratic candidates across the board.

National Congress of American Indians. NCAI is the largest and oldest 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization that advocates on American Indian and Alaska Native issues. NCAI’s 501(c)(3) arm is the NCAI Fund.

NCAI’s foundation partners include George Soros’s Open Society Foundation and other prominent left-of-center foundations such as the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Ford Foundation, and Northwest Area Foundation. With backing from seven different government agencies and business allies including Bank of America, Walmart, and Wells Fargo, NCAI has the funds to influence national political discourse in Indian Country.

In 2019, NCAI Fund received over \$6 million in contributions and grants, of which over \$2.3 million came from federal government grants. The fund reported expenses of \$1,674,927, which included Native vote and Census

outreach, which raises the question of whether federal funds were used to support some of NCAI’s efforts, including its drive to increase turnout and run the Native Vote campaign.

NCAI partnered with other organizations included NARF and Four Directions for a 2020 presidential forum, which included leading Democratic Party candidates Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, and Amy Klobuchar and a Facebook livestream with NOA’s Judith LeBlanc. But its most influential program in the 2020 election and beyond is undoubtedly Native Vote.

Native Vote. Native Vote is NCAI’s national GOTV, grantmaking, voter registration, and election campaign. Native Vote’s coordinators work as liaisons between NCAI and local-level Native American voters. Funded directly by NCAI, the group selects key states based on Native American population, elections, and the impact of Native American vote, with local coordinators divided into eight regions across all 50 states. (Native Vote should not be confused with Natives Vote, a different project of NOA and IllumiNatives that used imagery of the destruction of Mt. Rushmore and other art-related outreach to increase Native American turnout.)

In the 2020 election cycle, NCAI distributed “mini grants” to tribal organizations and state Native Vote chapters to support projects prior to the election. Grants were limited to \$2,000 per tribal organization and listed “ordering Native Vote merchandise for tribal nations/communities” as one of the possible uses of the funds. On the ground, more than 100 Native Vote volunteers fanned out across Arizona on Election Day to deal with issues such as early voting and provisional voting.

Native Vote’s “Every Native Vote Counts” t-shirts were ubiquitous across Indian Country in social media posts and election photos, and this grant program likely made that possible. Native American activist organizations that may have received grant funding told individuals to “go vote and swing by and get an awesome shirt” while posting a photo of NCAI’s Native Vote shirts on its Facebook page. Nevada Native Vote Project (NNVP) representatives in the Lovelock Paiute Tribe called these shirts “goodies and incentives for voting” in a Facebook video post.

Prior to Election Day, NCAI and Native Vote held events encouraging turnout and handing out voter kits including t-shirts, masks, and gloves in the weeks before the election. At a Native Vote rally prior to the election, one speaker said American systems “have a foundation in genocide and slavery.” The group distributed a 2020 Voter Action Kit, which explained Native Vote and suggested actions for Native Vote coordinators. It also instructed coordinators not to endorse candidates while representing Native Vote.

As is often the case, the lines between representing a non-profit and electioneering were blurred, as demonstrated at the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (RSIC) in Nevada. RSIC’s information officer also allegedly distributed “Every Native Vote Counts” t-shirts to voters inside the polls on Election Day, promoted Visa gift card raffles for voters, filmed videos on RSIC’s Facebook page promoting high Native-vote turnout, and wore a Biden-Harris campaign mask during a Biden-Harris campaign bus stop at the colony.

Since the 2020 election, NCAI’s organizing work has continued, praising election officials for making sure “every vote counts” on November 4. NCAI hosted an event with far-left UnidosUS (formerly known as the National Council of La Raza) to discuss Arizona voter turnout in Latino and

American Indian Electorates and released a post-election report claiming Native American voters broke by a margin of 60-35 in favor of Joe Biden over Donald Trump. Of particular note for the next election cycle, Native Vote shifted its activities to focus on Georgia during the 2021 U.S. Senate runoff elections, despite the state’s relatively low Native American population.

Four Directions Native Vote. The *New York Times* identified Four Directions as an important driver of increasing Native American votes for Joe Biden in swing states such as Arizona after the election, and for good reason. Four Directions is a left-of-center organization that used different tactics to turn out as many of the 100,000 voting-age Native Americans as possible in Arizona. Their efforts were instrumental to Biden receiving more than 80 percent of the vote on Navajo tribal lands, where Biden received 13,500 more votes than Hillary Clinton did in 2016.

As a member of NARF’s Native American Voter Rights Coalition, Four Directions joined NCAI, California Native Vote, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and others to develop a comprehensive litigation strategy for the 2016 election. The group has been active on election issues ever since, including receiving over \$100,000 from NARF in 2018 for “poll monitoring” and \$10,000 from the Tides Foundation for “equality and human rights.” It worked alongside NOA director Judith LeBlanc on GOTV efforts at the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe headquarters in North Dakota.

With a footprint in several swing states for the 2020 election cycle, Four Directions played a key role by suing Arizona to extend absentee ballot cutoff deadlines, hosting presidential election forums, and using then-Rep. Debra Haaland (D-NM) to try to drive up Native American turnout.

Since the November election, Four Directions’ network and intentions of growing have become clear. In a conversation with then-Senate candidate Raphael Warnock (D-GA), Four Directions director O.J. Seamans said the group had begun knocking on doors in Atlanta to identify Native American voters in Atlanta (despite Georgia’s small Native American population) and acknowledged it was active in Arizona, Nevada, Wisconsin, and Minnesota during the 2020 election cycle. Four Directions even ran a Georgia-specific fundraising call on the ActBlue platform to support operations for the runoff election.

Since Sen. Warnock and Sen. Jon Ossoff (D-GA) won their elections, Four Directions has continued to grow. In June 2021, the group announced a new agreement to join with Stacey Abrams’s voter registration organization Fair Count



Credit: U.S. Department of the Interior. Public Domain.

Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) supported the confirmation of Deb Haaland (pictured above) to be the secretary of the interior in a political move that could be seen as a ploy to weaken Alaska Native opposition to her candidacy.

to strengthen outreach to Native Americans in Georgia and across the nation through civic programs, increased ballot box access, and communications in hard-to-count areas. This new relationship, and the money that comes with it, will make Four Directions Native Vote one group to monitor in upcoming election cycles.

Arizona

In the 2020 election, the Native American vote may have had the greatest impact in Arizona.

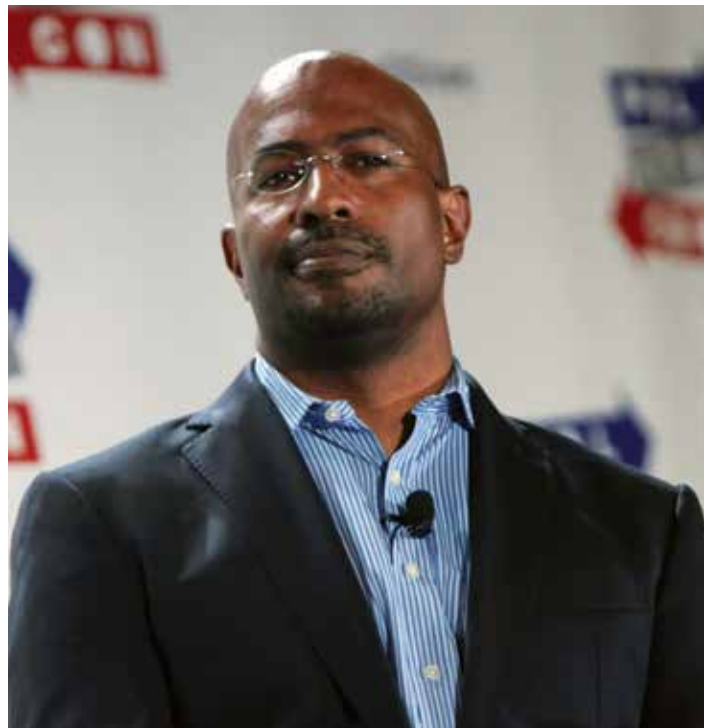
Navajo Nation. American Indians make up 6 percent of the vote in Arizona, a state that Joe Biden won by fewer than 12,000 votes. Predictably left-of-center nonprofit work was extremely focused on delivering the state for Biden. While the Democratic Party fought to weaken Arizona's voting rules by expanding mail-in ballot timing, allowing ballot harvesting, and allowing Native Americans to vote out of precinct, nonprofit groups were working hard to register voters and galvanize turnout.

Navajo Nation, which is concentrated in northeast Arizona, contains approximately 67,000 eligible voters and broke for Joe Biden between 60 and 90 percent based on precinct-level data. They increased their turnout by 116 percent in 2020 due to the work of VoteAmerica, Four Directions, and the Rural Utah Project (RUP). In a *Time* piece about different groups that propelled the Biden campaign to victory, Navajo Nation members were seen wearing the ubiquitous Native Vote t-shirts and jackets from RUP.

RUP is a 501(c)(4) that works across state lines and focuses on voter engagement with the Navajo Nation in Utah and Arizona. Both the 501(c)(4) and the group's 501(c)(3), Rural Utah Project Education Fund, route donations through left-aligned ActBlue. RUP has previously received six-figure donations from the far-left Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance.

RUP hired 12 organizers, who distributed plastic bags with voting information to voters in door-to-door campaigning, worked with Google to create "plus codes" to serve as mailing addresses for the reservation so more Navajo could participate in the state's vote-by-mail system, and registered over 4,000 voters in Arizona.

To enhance its efforts in Arizona, RUP created a spinoff project, the Rural Arizona Project (RAP). RAP registered 5,672 voters despite the COVID-19 pandemic and produced unique media, digital organizing, and content that reached 2.2 million online.



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/3z4Yfj6>.

Van Jones's remarks correctly identified Native Organizers Alliance as a critical nationwide nonprofit organization involved in turning out heavily Democratic-leaning Native American voters to propel Joe Biden to victory in key states such as Arizona, Wisconsin, and Nevada.

RUP and RAP's efforts paid off for the Biden campaign, as the historic Navajo Nation turnout may have been the difference in Arizona. Tribes in other parts of Arizona also came out strong for Biden, with some precincts on Tohono O'odham Nation, which opposed the construction of the border wall, delivering 98 percent of their votes for Biden.

Native Organizers Alliance and the left-of-center Inter Tribal Council of Arizona (ITCA) were also involved with increasing turnout on Navajo Nation lands. ITCA is one of the groups Van Jones labeled as responsible for Biden's election victory, and they were deeply involved in the 2020 election.

ITCA reached out to over 50,000 voters through phone and text in addition to the organization's 200,000 Facebook followers. Unlike other organizations, ITCA administers federal, state, and private grants in Native American communities. ITCA is directly linked to the national Native Vote infrastructure. ITCA is listed as project coordinator for NCAI's Native Vote efforts in Arizona and received a \$100,000 grant from the New Venture Fund 2019 as a part of the 2020 Census Project, which labeled Arizona as a "priority state."

ITCA received a \$1,156,250 grant from the Department of Health and Human Services in 2020 and distributed over \$8.7 million in grants in 2018.

During the 2020 election cycle, ITCA partnered with other left-of-center organizations including All Voting is Local, Election Arizona, One Arizona, and left-aligned immigration advocacy organizations to advocate for expanded mail-in voting and higher Native American turnout.

Nevada

Native American organizations were quite active in Nevada and in several instances appear to have violated election laws.

Nevada Native Vote Project (NNVP) is the Nevada affiliate of NCAI's Native Vote project focused on the 27 tribes and colonies across Nevada and supported by NOA. NNVP worked with All Voting is Local to distribute voter information organize voter registration drives and turnout events with the Democratic Party. NNVP is also known for potentially illegal and fraudulent behavior on Election Day.

In what may have been isolated incidents at various precincts on different Indian colonies and reservations, NNVP allegedly gave incentives such as t-shirts, gift cards, and raffle tickets in exchange for voting. NNVP promoted raffles, including gift card raffles for voters, on several different colonies and reservations across the state. One post on Election Day went as far as showing an image of an exchange of a ballot for a gas card with the caption, "McDermitt and Owyhee voters dropping off their ballots and picking up their gas cards!" The Nevada Indian Commission—a state agency—even shared posts from NNVP promoting their election gift card raffles.

Even more troubling, the public information officer for Reno-Sparks Indian Colony allegedly distributed Native Vote's "Every Native Vote Counts" t-shirts inside of a Reno polling location during voting hours while also promoting Visa gift card raffles, stickers for tribal members, residents, and employees that was sponsored by Native Vote Project.

NNVP leadership took partisan stances online despite its nonpartisan stance, claiming the Native Vote was the "mean left hook that defeated Donald Trump" on social media.

Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. Similar to the ITCA, the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada (ITCN) is an organization which seeks to represent the tribal nations and also conducted Census activities across Nevada. ITCN worked in conjunction with Four Directions Nevada, NARF, NOA, and NCAI to host a Native American Presidential Forum which included GOTV training from Four Directions.

ITCN promoted free raffles for adult voters for \$250, \$100, and \$25 Visa gift cards, limited to tribal members, residents, and employees with an "I Voted" sticker or a ballot completion to Reno-Sparks Indian Colony leadership and allowed members of the Bernie Sanders campaign to attend Inter-Tribal Council meetings.

Wisconsin

In an interview with Four Directions following the 2020 election, then-Rep. Haaland said President-elect Biden won Arizona and Wisconsin with the help of the Native Vote. Wisconsin Native Vote (WNV), a voter turnout initiative of Wisconsin Conservation Voices, was one of the driving factors for the vote change, spending over \$80,000 in advertisements that included 12,900 mailers to voters across Wisconsin. Originally founded in 2011 to oppose an open-pit mine project, WNV was active the 2018 election cycle, contacting over 80,000 voters, knocking on thousands of doors, and pushing turnout levels to over 80 percent across Red Cliff, Bad River, Menominee, and Lac du Flambeau nations.

WNV's organizing work led to large turnout increases in the 2020 cycle, with increases as high as 28 percent in Red Cliff, 24 percent in Menominee, and 18 percent in Mole Lake. WNV's Democracy for All initiative targeted specific reservations to drive turnout and claims it worked by expanding early voting in Green Bay, installing absentee ballot drop boxes in Eau Claire, having absentee ballot mailers sent to all voters, and having the Wisconsin Department of Motor Vehicles set up satellite offices.



Nevada Native Vote Project allegedly gave incentives such as t-shirts, gift cards, and raffle tickets in exchange for voting.



North Dakota has an active Native Vote organization, which was founded in 2018 to oppose voter identification laws in the state.

WNV has deep ties to the Biden White House and the Biden Administration despite its claimed nonpartisan status. Matthew Dannenberg left WNV to work as a field director for the Biden-Harris campaign as Wisconsin coalitions director and turned this experience into a brief stint as a senior associate director of the Office of Presidential Personnel at the White House, where he staffed positions related to the Environmental Protection Agency and Departments of Interior and Energy until he moved to the Department of Energy to be deputy chief of staff for the office of energy efficiency and renewable energy in May 2021.

California

California is home to the largest number of active Native Americans in the U.S., and California Native Vote (CANV) is one of the largest Native American activist groups in the nation, representing the 109 federally recognized tribes in 50 counties. CANV works directly with Native American Rights Coalition and other left-of-center Native American advocacy organizations in the state, gaining distinction as one of only two organizations contracted by the State of California to conduct outreach for the 2020 Census, receiving a funding allocation of \$499,000 for Census purposes. Despite its nonprofit status, the group published a 2020 voter guide for general election ballot propositions.

Given the organization's penchant for receiving large six-figure donations from left-wing foundations including \$630,000 from the California Endowment in 2018, \$250,000 from the California Wellness Foundation in 2019, and a \$400,000 grant to work on Census-related activities in 2018, the group said they were "building information for outreach efforts for the Census and to inform voters of the right to vote and whom to contact if they experience 'voter suppression'" in the 2020 election. This large organization could flex its organizational muscle in future elections, such as the 2021 California gubernatorial recall election and play a role in mass mail-in voting, ballot harvesting, and the state's print-at-home ballot system (RAVBM) to their electoral advantage.

Outside of California, CANV has been an active regional participant in NARF's Native American Voting Rights Coalition alongside the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona, Four Directions, Navajo Nation's Department of Justice, Western Native Voice, and national organizations such as NCAI, ACLU, NARF, Fair Elections Network, and the Lawyer's Committee. This illustrates complex web of national, regional, state, and tribal organizations targeted at Native American voters with GOTV campaigns.

Other States

North Dakota has an active Native Vote organization, which was founded in 2018 to oppose voter identification laws in the state. North Dakota Native Vote (NDNV) and Four Directions received \$500,000 from left-wing website Daily Kos readers in 2018 to support GOTV activities. NDNV also received \$100,000 from the Northwest Area Foundation in 2020. In turn, NDNV leadership asked for third-party ballot harvesting in 2020, is pressuring the Biden Administration to shut down the Dakota Access Pipeline project after other tribal organizations pushed the administration to cancel the Keystone XL pipeline in 2021, eliminating thousands of jobs to placate tribal interests. Despite its nonprofit status, NDNV routinely blasted President Trump on its social media streams.

Other Organizations

Beyond the major national organizations and most prominent state organizations are dozens of other active Native American organizations that influenced the 2020 elections. These are two of the more notable.

Center for Native American Youth (CNAY) is an education and advocacy group run by the center-left Aspen Institute that set up voter registration drives and distributed mail-in-voting information throughout the 2020 election cycle. During the election cycle, CNAY representatives advocated for Native Americans to build political organizations to influence federal elections in support of Democrats and

bemoaned the lack of coverage of the importance of the Native American vote in Arizona and Wisconsin, states targeted by national Native American organizations. With NOA, CNAY helped publish a document outlining how to build Native American power from protests to the ballot box. It claimed that Native Americans had the opportunity to use their collective power and influence 77 electoral votes in the 2020 election.

NDN Collective. NDN Collective is another left-wing Native American activist organization that was involved in the 2020 election cycle and is primed for more future involvement through direct activism, podcasts, and social media. NDN's board features CPUSA activist and NOA leader Judith LeBlanc and far-left activist Edgar Villanueva, among others, and its questionable reputation does not stop there.

NDN Collective has led calls to close Mt. Rushmore, calling it an "international symbol of white supremacy and racial injustice." NDN president and CEO Nick Tilsen faced charges for his alleged role in a July 3, 2020, protest of President Trump's speech at Mt. Rushmore, where he allegedly stole a shield from a member of the National Guard.



Credit: TED Conference. License: <https://bit.ly/3D8Nk1C>.

In June 2021, Four Directions solidified the relationships it made with left-aligned activist groups during the 2020 Georgia Senate runoff election, announcing a new partnership with Fair Count, a census group founded by failed Georgia gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams, to strengthen voter outreach to Native Americans in Georgia and across the country.

With a new \$12 million grant from the Bezos Earth Fund to tackle climate change in November 2020, the NDN Collective will have the funds to lead left-of-center Native American activists for years to come.

Beyond 2020

As the IRS begins to release updated nonprofit reporting documents from the 2020 reporting cycle that were delayed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the direct financial impact and the full extent to which several of these left-aligned nonprofit organizations and groups influenced the 2020 election cycle across the nation will become more evident.

The Democratic Party's electoral victories have expanded the influence of several Native American foundations where they operate.

Immediately following the 2020 presidential election, left-aligned Four Directions began work to support the campaigns of Democratic Senate candidates Jon Ossoff and Raphael Warnock in Georgia. As a part of a different discussion prior to the Georgia Senate runoff election, then-Rep. Haaland encouraged viewers of the Four Directions feed to "do the same thing they did in Arizona this past November" because Biden won Arizona and Wisconsin with the help of the Native American Vote.

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After the Democrats won both Senate races and gained functional control of the 50-50 Senate, several left-of-center activist groups shifted their focus yet again, from election activism and organizing to pressuring the Biden Administration to nominate and appoint then-Rep. Debra Haaland as the first Native American to serve as U.S. Secretary of the Interior. These efforts were highly effective, and Haaland was confirmed by the Senate by a 51-40 vote. Native American activists have been rewarded so far during Haaland's term, most notably by the cancellation of the Keystone XL pipeline, transfer of 18,000 acres of federal lands from the Department of Interior to tribal authorities, and the establishment of the Missing and Murdered Unit at DOI to search for missing or murdered American Indians and Alaska Natives.

What Comes Next?

Left-wing Native American nonprofits and organizations are working to expand their influence.

Redistricting. As this analysis shows, one organizing pillar of Native American-focused nonprofits and organizations was the 2020 U.S. Census. At the top level, these groups were highly organized to ensure an accurate count of their tribes for increasing federal funding opportunities, ensure accurate congressional apportionment and state-level representation, and prepare organizing networks for the 2020 presidential election. Several state-level nonprofits involved in U.S. Census activism are working hard to influence the redistricting discussion.

NARF has released a guidebook for how tribal citizens can influence redistricting in Indian Country and state-specific redistricting guides for New Mexico, Montana, Arizona, North Dakota, and South Dakota. Left-of-center activist groups including NCAI, Western Native Voice, and New Mexico Native Vote have hosted webinars or distributed literature about influencing the redistricting process in their respective states. Wisconsin Native Vote's Democracy for All initiative includes redistricting as one of their three main projects for the future. California Native Vote is a part of left-aligned Advancement Project's Integrated Voter Engagement Redistricting Alliance, which aims to influence California Citizens Redistricting Commission.

2021 California Gubernatorial Recall Election. Keen observers should not limit their analysis and investigation of these special interest groups to Indian Country, nor should they look directly to the 2022 midterm elections. California is home to the largest number of active Native Americans of any state in the union, and CANV is one of the largest Native American GOTV and activist groups in the country. CANV was one of only two organizations contracted by the State of California to conduct outreach for the 2020 Census, and this group will likely be highly involved in recruiting volunteers, conducting GOTV efforts, turning out Native American voters, and helping members of this highly Democratic constituency complete mail-in ballots in the recall election of Gov. Newsom this September.

2022 Election Cycle. As the 2022 election cycle approaches, the Native American vote could affect Senate and gubernatorial elections in several states where the Native American population is proportionally highest. Native American left-of-center nonprofits have been operating for several cycles and can target that demographic to drive Democrats to victory, particularly in Arizona, Nevada, and Alaska.



Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) is seeking re-election, but unlike other Republican officeholders, her 2010 Senate write-in victory is credited to support from Native American tribes.

Election observers and fraud watchers should carefully follow how different nonprofit organizations and traditionally left-of-center activist groups such as the Anchorage-based Native Peoples Action behave in the 2022 Alaska Senate election cycle. Alaska has the most voting-age Native Americans per capita in the nation and Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) is seeking re-election, but unlike other Republican officeholders, her 2010 Senate write-in victory is credited to support from Native American tribes. Murkowski supported the confirmation of Deb Haaland to be the secretary of the interior in a political move that could be seen as a ploy to weaken Alaska Native opposition to her candidacy.

With the control of the U.S. Senate hinging on the 2022 midterm elections, there will be ample opportunities to seek out fraud and monitor close races outside of Alaska. The contentious re-election campaigns of Sens. Mark Kelly (D-AZ), Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV), the potential re-election campaign of Ron Johnson (R-WI), and the open seat caused by a Republican retirement in North Carolina—states with proportionally high Native American populations—are in the national spotlight for both activist groups and commentators alike. Groups such as the Rural Utah Project and Rural Arizona Project should be carefully monitored for their activities in Arizona in what looks like it will be a close race. Gubernatorial races in Arizona, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Nevada may also see significant spending and organizing efforts from left-aligned nonprofits on Indian reservations and other tribal lands to push these marginal races into Democratic hands.

Left-aligned interest groups and nonprofits will likely use the knowledge and experience they gained in mail-in voting, absentee voting, and preexisting election architecture during the 2020 presidential election to test new GOTV strategies in the 2022 midterm elections and 2024 presidential election. Once the IRS updates its 2020-cycle postings in the coming months we will have a clearer idea of where the money went in the 2020 election and where it will likely go in the next election cycle. ■

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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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SECRETARY OF STATE BLINKEN'S "DARK MONEY" TRACK RECORD

Biden's choice for secretary of state promises an unrestrained foreign policy in the name of left-progressivism.

By Shane Devine

When Trump chose Rex Tillerson as his secretary of state, there was much uproar among even centrist outlets about his CEO position at ExxonMobil. They reasoned that an individual from such a background would have conflicts of interest when considering agreements with foreign nations, oil companies, defense contractors, and so on. This liberal press coverage, reminiscent its coverage of Dick Cheney during the Bush years, is a well-known avenue that by now needs little elucidation.

But are the glossy experts that Democrats pick all that different? Sure, they may play the part of educated, disinterested clergy sworn to a life of peacekeeping for the postwar liberal international order. Beneath the surface, though, they are doing the same things to make money, only with more rhetorical fluff.

Far from standing on the moral high ground and motivated purely by progressive ideals and world peace, the members of the infamous expert class that Biden has picked to run his administration are just as involved in the corporate world as any run-of-the-mill advisor a Republican would pick. It is an illusion—that was never true in the first place—to think any Washington liberal policy adviser is in any conceivable way detached from corporate interests, “dark money,” or any of the other things their activists complain about.

Antony Blinken

One of the best examples of this is Antony Blinken, Biden's secretary of state, who was confirmed on January 26, 2021. Blinken feels more at home coauthoring op-eds with neoconservatives castigating non-interventionist schools of foreign policy than he would be among the war-skeptic conservatives and progressives addressed in the piece.

Blinken served as deputy secretary of state under Obama from 2015 to 2017 and worked as a personal adviser to Biden for years, coaching Joe on his controversial policy decisions on the Iraq War.

“I’ve never told him this,” Daniel Fried, a distinguished fellow at the Atlantic Council, said about his colleague, “But I



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Antony Blinken served as deputy secretary of state under Obama from 2015 to 2017 and worked as a personal adviser to Biden for years, coaching Joe on his controversial policy decisions on the Iraq War.

suspect his foreign-policy thinking is derived from his sense of America's identity as a country of values, a country that could lift his refugee stepfather right into America, and a country that knew that the advance of its values and interests were somehow linked.”

When put like that his views sound very nice, but what do they mean in practice?

They mean reckless interventions under the guise of humanitarianism, like the 2011 campaign to help overthrow Libya's

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Or as *The Atlantic's* Jeffrey Goldberg reported: “Mess is the president’s diplomatic term; privately, he calls Libya a ‘shit show.’”

dictator, Col. Muammar Gaddafi. At the time, Blinken was serving under Vice President Biden. He went against Biden to agitate for the operation. Obama initially gloated about the mission before coming to realize that his administration had insufficiently prepared for the aftermath, calling it the “worst mistake” of his presidency.

Or as *The Atlantic's* Jeffrey Goldberg reported: “Mess is the president’s diplomatic term; privately, he calls Libya a ‘shit show,’ in part because it’s subsequently become an ISIS haven—one that he has already targeted with air strikes.”

The Libyan chapter of ISIS acquired over 200 square kilometers of land by 2016, forming “what many called a fall-back caliphate where it could retreat to in case it was pushed out of Syria and Iraq.”

In July 2020, Blinken finally admitted it was a failure: “I have to acknowledge that we obviously did not succeed in the Obama-Biden administration in getting that right.” But it apparently doesn’t matter that he messed up, since he got the big job and will likely pursue the same policy of unrestrained interventionism that engendered ISIS strongholds in Iraq and Libya.

More Madeleine Albright Than Obama

In that same interview with the Atlantic Council, Fried went on to say, “In core views, Tony may be closer to Madeleine Albright (for whom America is also a personal beacon of liberty) than to the cooler outlook Obama brought to America’s foreign-policy purposes.” In other words, Blinken is less temperate and will be more inclined to incite conflicts than Obama was.

He continued:

Some elements of Biden’s foreign approach already announced—an emphasis on rebuilding America’s alliances, especially with Europe, and bringing together the world’s democracies from all continents to deal with aggressive authoritarian powers—follow from Tony’s past record and probably reflect his input.

These aggressive authoritarian powers include Putin’s Russia and the Chinese regime. Blinken has already condemned Putin, threatened China, butted heads with Biden on the status of China’s treatment of the Uyghur population, and met with EU leaders to assess their commitment to resisting



Credit: Ralph Abusang. License: <https://bit.ly/3yeA15E>.

China and other world powers. All this at a time when America is at its weakest, least organized, and most polarized point in decades, and the U.S. is in no position to begin trolling for conflicts. In response, European leaders expressed wariness with the prospect of inadvertently creating “potentially dangerous new Cold War blocs” and instead seek a multilateral order in which China would play a significant role on the world stage.

CSIS and CNAS

There were rumors that Biden would pick Michèle Flournoy as his secretary of defense. He has since chosen Gen. Lloyd J. Austin III instead, but Flournoy plays an interesting role in this story.

Flournoy is a military policy veteran, having served in the Pentagon under both the Clinton and Obama administrations. Like Blinken, she advocated for the 2011 Libyan invasion. Her hawkishness influenced Obama’s Afghanistan policy, which escalated tensions and increased American presence in the region.

In 2007 she co-founded the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), a liberal foreign policy think tank deeply entrenched in the Washington swamp. She served on and off as its CEO over the past decade. The center has received funding from defense contractors like Northrop Grumman, oil companies, banks, the U.S. State Department, tech giants like Google and Microsoft, and private foundations like the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Skoll Global Threats Fund, and Ploughshares Fund.

CNAS ranks second only to the RAND Corporation in think tanks that receive the most government and defense



WestExec not so subtly tries to influence Washington's foreign policy establishment to pursue objectives that would enrich its clients.

contractor funding, according to a recent study by the Center for International Policy (CIP). Almost half of CNAS's funding between 2014 and 2019 came from five defense contractors: Lockheed Martin, Boeing, General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, and Raytheon. CNAS received more from defense contractors than any other think tank CIP analyzed.

Flournoy had worked as senior advisor to the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) for several years before the founding of CNAS. CSIS, sixth on that list of which CNAS was second, was also the home of Antony Blinken for some time.

Pine Island Capital Partners

Another connection between Blinken and Flournoy is a private equity firm called Pine Island Capital Partners. Both were listed as partners of the firm as of December 2020. Pine Island was formed in 2018 by three heavy hitters in the financial world and focuses on the aerospace and defense industries, boasting to clients about how “deeply connected” its partners are with government and military officials.

Advisers to Pine Island include one of its founders, Merrill Lynch CEO John Thain, four former senators, three former ambassadors, and former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Mike Mullen.

WestExec Advisors

In 2017, Flournoy and Blinken founded WestExec Advisors, a consultancy firm for defense contractors. Its name derives from West Executive Avenue, a small private street that runs between the White House and the Eisenhower Executive Office Building.

Flournoy no doubt brought her rolodex assembled during her years at CNAS and CSIS, and Blinken likewise has his list of names accrued from his time under Biden and Obama. As of November 2020, both Blinken and Flournoy were working as managing partners of the firm. To give an idea of Flournoy's power through contacts (and no doubt Blinken's is similar), in her time at Boston Consulting Group she increased its defense contracts from \$1.6 million in 2013 to \$32 million in 2016.

Their positions at Pine Island Capital Partners make sense given that WestExec Advisors is formally partnered with the investment firm. The two groups share insights back and forth in the world of for-profit defense contracting, no doubt sharing data on their clients in the process.

WestExec defines itself as “a strategic advisory firm that offers unique geopolitical and policy expertise to help business leaders make the best decisions in a complex and volatile international landscape.” The Project on Government Oversight offered a more clear-cut description of their business practices: “helping defense corporations market their products to the Pentagon and other agencies.”

Strategic consultancy firms like WestExec blur the distinction between the public sector and the private sector. Yet this separation of powers is crucial to maintaining a free republic—namely, a genuinely liberal democracy that does not boil down to a mere oligarchy ruled by an entrenched, privileged class that controls both commerce and the state.

WestExec not so subtly tries to influence Washington's foreign policy establishment to pursue objectives that would enrich its clients. For example, in 2019, Blinken and Flournoy were chairs of the biannual meeting of Foreign Policy for America, a liberal organization that gathers foreign policy state officials and over 50 representatives from various national security think tanks to discuss dozens of topics pertaining to international affairs. When the war in Yemen was brought up, many progressive attendees argued that U.S. sales of weapons to Saudi Arabia should be completely cut. Flournoy objected and began a lengthy argument as to why they should be reduced only partially. Some attendees confided to journalists that they felt suspicious about Flournoy's stance, insinuating that she might have been on Raytheon's payroll.

WestExec has its staffers sign nondisclosure agreements and does not release the names of its clients to the public. While Jonathan Guyer at the *American Prospect* repeatedly requested WestExec's client lists and was rejected every time, he wrote,

In conversations with members of the firm, I learned that Blinken and Flournoy used their networks to build a large client base at the intersection of tech and defense. An Israeli surveillance startup turned to them. So did a major U.S. defense company. Google billionaire Eric Schmidt and Fortune 100 companies went to them, too.

Flournoy has confirmed elsewhere that Jigsaw, a Google-connected think tank, and Boston Consulting Group are partnered with WestExec.

The founders are usually quiet to the press about WestExec's activities, but Flournoy has previously opened up about the firm's role in helping Silicon Valley get deals with the Pentagon. "The name of the game is how do you enable the Department of Defense to really access that cutting-edge commercial technology and adapt it to military purposes," Flournoy said in a 2019 interview.

Disclosures? Nope

Politico referred to WestExec as "a government-in-waiting for the next administration" considering "21 of the 38 WestExec employees listed on the firm's website donated to the Biden campaign," WestExec principals Bob Work and David Cohen briefed Biden during the transition process, and employees Blinken, Flournoy, Director of National Intelligence Avril Haines, Press Secretary Jen Psaki, and Deputy Attorney General nominee Lisa Monaco have all been appointed or considered for cabinet positions.

As such, one would have expected Congress to force the firm to hand over all relevant financial information about these staffers: Who paid them? Whom did they work with? Which regions of the world did they have dealings with? In a word, where potential conflicts of interests might lie.

But as an intelligent swamp operation, WestExec complied only with the bare minimum of disclosure requirements, requirements that they had preemptively skirted around by craftily constituting their organization as a consultancy firm rather than as a lobbying group.

Since WestExec is not *technically* a lobbying group, it does not have to disclose the identities of its clients. Likewise, appointees who worked at the firm are not inhibited by existing laws preventing incoming presidential administrations from appointing individuals who have lobbied in the past year. Essentially, WestExec employees can influence transactions between foreign and domestic corporations and the military industrial complex *and* keep the nature and scope of that influence hidden.

The Project on Government Oversight (POGO) called this practice "lobbying by remote control," a clever method that "simply circumvents the legalities" usually surrounding the relationships between government officials and private interests. Identifying as strategy consultants rather than lobbyists makes it "impossible to assess the influence they



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have on federal expenditures," a spokesperson from POGO told *Politico*.

So, what did WestExec do when it was time for Congress to scrutinize its relationship to foreign influences? Well, it simply scrubbed certain mentions of countries like China off its website. "WestExec can advise on strategies to screen foreign research partners and donors, reduce risk associated with operations in China and ... navigate these issues with the Defense Department," one removed line read. These changes were brushed aside by one WestExec spokesperson as updates to more "accurately reflect its current work." But a paragraph highlighting how the firm helped a "leading American pharmaceutical company" and "a multi-billion-dollar American technology company" expand their market access in China remains, meaning its current work still involves China and it likely removed that line only because it mentioned the Defense Department.

On top of that, the Biden transition team website made no mention of Blinken's roles in WestExec Advisors and Pine Island Capital Partners, hoping people would overlook it.

Blinken's Confirmation

Blinken was sworn in quickly—only six days after Biden's inauguration. His review before the Senate's foreign relations panel went swimmingly, and he went on to be confirmed with a bipartisan vote of 78-22. Some Senate Republicans, like Lindsey Graham, were overjoyed to find out how much they had in common with him, such as their mutual determination to keep Iran sanctioned. Others, like Rand Paul, voted against Blinken due to his support for the Libyan intervention. But since the Senate and the Biden administration were trying to rush him into office ("The world is on fire right now, with pressing crises in every region and hemisphere," explained Senator Bob Menendez), he was not questioned much about WestExec.

WestExec Advisors does not plan to close down now that Biden has become president. In fact, it sees its alumni working in the Biden White House as potential leverage. "Think about it: If Biden were to win, we do think that companies will start coming to WestExec, for 'Hey, what is the commerce secretary thinking?'" one firm member told *American Prospect* in July 2020. "Because we likely have a

history with that person or that staffer in our network somewhere.”

While Blinken’s role in WestExec has been singled out in this piece, he is but one Biden foreign adviser among many with similar backgrounds that could be or have been confirmed, including:

- Jake Sullivan of Macro Advisory Partners (confirmed as National Security Advisor);
- Julianne Smith, also from WestExec Advisers (a potential pick for NATO ambassador who now works as the senior advisor to the secretary of state);
- Nicholas Burns of the Cohen Group (rumored to be a top contender for China ambassadorship);
- Kurt Campbell of the Asia Group (who was chosen for a new Asia-related position in the National Security Council); and
- Wendy Sherman of the Albright Stonebridge Group (chosen for deputy secretary of state).



Julianne Smith, also from WestExec Advisers, a potential pick for NATO ambassador, now works as the senior advisor to the secretary of state.

Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/3jckg0C>.



Kurt Campbell of the Asia Group was chosen for a new Asia-related position in the National Security Council.

Credit: Brookings Institution. License: <https://bit.ly/2WMTD0K>.

international social justice always get appropriated by corporate Democrats, who use their progressive language to paint over the ugliness of their avaricious and bloodthirsty policies. The only difference between the two parties’ foreign policies is whether the interventionism

is being carried out with the United Nations or with adventurist neocon allies—whether Uncle Sam’s bomber is being flown by Blinken or Pompeo.

What remains to be seen is if the new wave of establishment-counter-establishment critics of interventionism will actually fight against the Biden administration in any substantial way now that “normalcy” has been restored.

The progressive wing of the Democratic Party has not been silent about their disapproval of Blinken: In fact, more than 275 DNC delegates signed a letter protesting Biden’s choices for his foreign policy and intelligence teams, with Blinken being called out by name. “We ask you not to rely on foreign policy advice from those who may have a conflict of interest as a result of their relationships and lobbying on behalf of merchants selling weapons and surveillance technology,” read one line.

The Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, a new think tank that calls for a non-interventionist policy (or at least for a significant curbing of American military adventures and overseas presence), should be the most vocal critic of Biden’s new foreign policy department. It has been decent in its coverage of Biden so far, but we will see if it amounts to anything. Likewise, *The Hill’s* show *Rising* has hosted guests that have criticized the recent airstrikes in Syria. Good on them. But the raggedy populist movement is still far from truly preventing or reversing America’s solidification into an empire and the dissolution of its status as a republic. ■

Return of the Old Democratic Guard

The establishment restoration is underway: The ascendent Biden administration simply wants to revert to the status quo under the Liberal World Order that Trump threatened with extinction. As Guyer wrote, “With Blinken as secretary of state, we’re likely to see a return to an old guard of Democratic foreign policy.” This is because, as he went on to argue, Biden has never had a clear-cut philosophy on foreign affairs, leaving a vacuum open to be filled by his advisers.

That Liberal Order is responsible for all the military, CIA, and State Department meddling in foreign affairs since WWII, things American leftists have traditionally criticized relentlessly. But since such leftists are mere reformists who attempt to work within the system and bring the Democrats to the left, they end up getting played time and time again: Their demanded change never happens in deed, only ever in word. The aesthetics of their slogans about domestic and

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A project of Capital Research Center



CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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



THE FIGHT OVER CLIMATE CHANGE REGULATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA

By Kevin Mooney

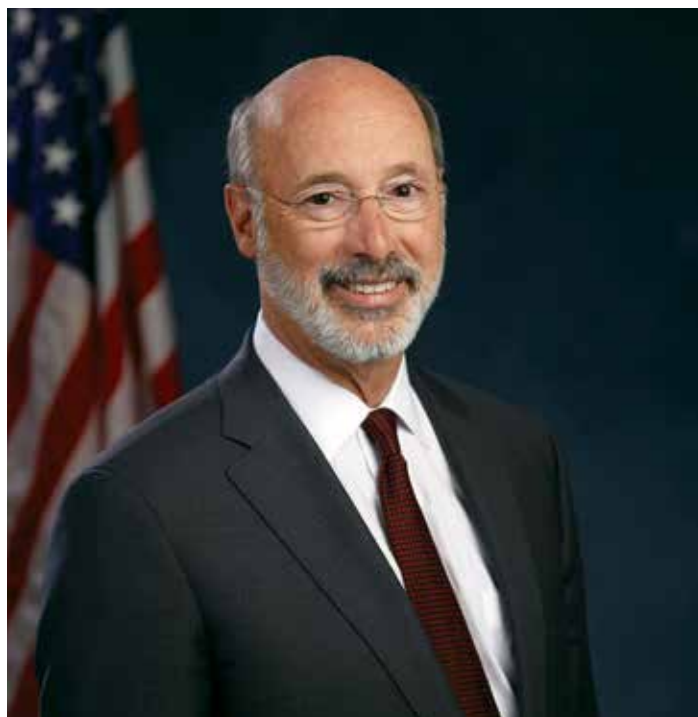
What happens next in the legal and legislative battles over proposed climate change regulations in Pennsylvania depends in large part on who controls the narrative about carbon dioxide emissions and their impact. Since the scientific and environmental justifications that government figures have used to rationalize restrictions on energy production have been called into question during legislative hearings, opponents have been making the case that the costs of mitigating carbon dioxide emissions far outweigh any theoretical benefits.

Meanwhile, the Power PA Jobs Alliance, a broad coalition of labor and industry leaders, has emerged to highlight the dangers of unconstitutional, unilateral executive actions that could impose carbon taxes that would undermine the economy, eliminate energy-sector jobs, and raise consumer prices. With a potentially decisive vote pending in the state's General Assembly and a decision pending before an independent regulatory commission this September, it's not at all certain that Pennsylvania will become part of the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI). RGGI, a multistate "cap and trade" agreement that sets limits on CO₂ emissions, currently includes 11 states in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regions.

No Discernable Benefits

In testimony before Pennsylvania's House of Representatives, David Stevenson, director of the Center for Energy and Environment at the Caesar Rodney Institute in Delaware, encouraged policymakers to learn from a neighboring state's experiences with RGGI. Stevenson points to his own study and others that show RGGI has raised electricity rates where it has been implemented without any discernable climate benefits. He also told lawmakers that thanks to the switch from coal to natural gas Pennsylvania has already made significant progress in reducing CO₂ emissions through private-sector innovation without government intervention.

"Pennsylvania doesn't owe anybody an apology about the carbon dioxide they are emitting at this point," Stevenson said in his testimony. "They have done more for this country



Credit: Governor Tom Wolf. License: <https://bit.ly/3gxyuLH>.

Since Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Wolf first issued the executive order in October 2019 directing his environmental department to take steps to join RGGI, he has invoked the notion of a "scientific consensus" devoid of any real debate on the question of climate change, its causes, and impacts.

to reduce carbon dioxide than any other state." But he also warned that Pennsylvania would lose energy-intensive businesses just as Delaware has if the state joins RGGI.

For Pennsylvania residents and business owners still reeling from the health and economic effects of COVID-19, raising energy prices in the short term to combat climate change over the long term is not an easy sell. That might be why Gov. Tom Wolf (D), who leaves office on January 17, 2023,

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[Pennsylvania has] done more for this country to reduce carbon dioxide than any other state.” —David Stevenson

and his top administration officials have repeatedly told the public that climate change associated with human CO₂ emissions is already harming their state and that the effects will only accelerate over time.

“On our current path, the Pennsylvania our children and grandchildren inherit will be very different from the one we grew up in and continue to enjoy today,” Wolf said in a press statement announcing the release of the Pennsylvania Climate Impacts Assessment 2021, which is laced with dire forecasts. “We simply cannot afford to ignore the warning signs, and this report underscores the critical need to take action to reduce emissions and do our part to address climate change.”

Patrick McDonnell, Wolf’s secretary of the Department of Environmental Protection, followed up by pointing to data that already suggest palpable signs of the ill effects of climate change: “Data show that Pennsylvania’s average temperature has been rising, heavy rainfall events are increasing, and these climate changes will continue with considerable impact on our lives and economy by midcentury.” He added, “Reducing greenhouse gas pollution must be done quickly to stave off the most dire impacts of climate change.”

But with just one more full year in office, a few questions come to mind that complicate Wolf’s pursuit of burdensome regulations: What does the science actually say about CO₂ and climate? How do Wolf’s predications of climatic catastrophes and extreme weather hold up under fresh research? What is the economic fallout from RGGI? And what are the environmental and health benefits if any?

Disputing the Official Findings and Data

In July, the CO₂ Coalition, a Virginia-based nonprofit of roughly 70 scientists released a new report that disputes the findings of Pennsylvania’s 2018 Climate Action Report, which Wolf and his Department of Environmental Protection have cited to bolster their claims about the current and future impact of CO₂ emissions on climate. With the fall looming as a make-it-or-break period for Wolf’s regulatory plans, the 2021 Climate Impacts Assessment reiterates many of the predictions and forecasts of extreme weather found in earlier reports. But the CO₂ Coalition’s analysis focuses on the data in the 2018 report, which the Wolf administration has used to justify enrolling Pennsylvania into RGGI.

The CO₂ Coalition report is mostly based on the work of Gregory Wrightstone, a geologist who serves as executive director of the CO₂ Coalition; Patrick Michaels, a climatologist who is a senior fellow with the CO₂ Coalition and the Competitive Enterprise Institute; and David Stevenson, director of the Center for Energy and the Environment at the Caesar Rodney. Wrightstone and Michaels testified before the Pennsylvania House Environmental Resources and Energy Committee during a June 22 hearing where they presented their report on behalf of the CO₂ Coalition just as it was released.



Credit: KJWP. License: <https://bit.ly/3ydlbzE>.

“Pennsylvania doesn’t owe anybody an apology about the carbon dioxide they are emitting at this point,” David Stevenson said in his testimony.

Michaels unraveled the flaws in the Climate Action Report’s climate modeling that greatly overstates the amount of likely warming. Observed behavior of the atmosphere is widely separated from what most models in the Climate Action Report predicted. Moreover, Michaels found that the models use emissions assumption scenarios that are widely recognized as exaggerating future atmospheric changes. In fact, of the 102 models in the mix, Michaels identified just one (a Russian model known as INM-CM4) that came close to simulating what was actually observed.

If the Climate Action Plan had “followed best scientific practice,” it would have used the Russian model in combination with a more realistic projection of future emissions,

Michaels told lawmakers. “This is similar to what operational meteorologists do every day,” he said. “They generally don’t take all the available daily forecast models and average them up, as some perform better or worse depending upon the daily weather situation. Instead, they rely on the one that performs best.” If the Climate Action Plan had embraced this approach, its projected 2000–2050 statewide average warming would plummet by 40 percent, Michaels concludes.

But what about CO₂ itself? Shouldn’t the public and its elected officials be concerned about rising emissions and what they mean for health and the environment? Since Wolf first issued the executive order in October 2019 directing his environmental department to take steps to join RGGI, he has invoked the notion of a “scientific consensus” devoid of any real debate on the question of climate change, its causes, and impacts.

Ironically, just a short walk from the governor’s office in Harrisburg, the Pennsylvania statehouse has witnessed the vigorous and open debate missing from the governor’s office. Just a few weeks after Wolf’s RGGI announcement, David Legates, a professor and climatologist at the University of Delaware, testified before the Pennsylvania House that “carbon dioxide does not dictate the climate” and is “merely a minor player in climate change.” Legates identified water vapor as “the most important greenhouse gas” that “accounts for nearly 90% of the net warming of the planet due to the radiative impact of the Earth’s atmosphere.”

While there has been some global warming, Legates drove home the point that higher temperatures have some benefits:

Historically, civilization has thrived under warmer conditions and struggled when global temperatures plummeted. More vegetation and longer growing seasons are partly responsible, but, simply put, colder temperatures kill more people than warmer temperatures. We have currently entered a warmer period in human history, but I do not believe humans are responsible for most of this warming as many other factors exist that cause climate to change.

Legates returned to testify before the House in June 2021 where he reiterated some of his key points about CO₂ and water vapor and the natural influences behind climate change that far outweigh human activity. Legates also cautioned lawmakers against adopting regulatory policies “that will have no measurable effect on the occurrence of severe weather.” He also said that carbon mitigation efforts were not likely to lead to any reduction of atmospheric CO₂ and encouraged lawmakers to consider the positive benefits increased CO₂ could have on the ecosystem and biodiversity.

Any effort made “to create a plan to stabilize earth’s climate is like trying to keep the sun from shining,” Legates said. But those efforts could extract significant costs, he warned:

If climate change regulation proceeds unchecked, it will produce policy that is out of touch with both the real world and objective science and will likely impose large costs on society that benefit only a small cadre of “climate entrepreneurs,” will provide no meaningful effect on Pennsylvania’s climate, and will adversely affect Pennsylvania’s economy.

He also made the critical point that warmer conditions exhibit less climate variability than colder conditions, which would suggest that instances of extreme weather will diminish rather than increase. But that’s not what Wolf and his team of regulators have been telling the public. In the Climate Action Plan, they insist that “extreme weather and catastrophic natural disasters have become more frequent and more intense.” Wolf’s Department of Environmental Protection anticipates increased precipitation, rising sea levels, flooding, heat waves, droughts, and damage to agriculture based on the data in the plan. By joining with other states as part of the greenhouse gas initiative, Wolf claims that Pennsylvania will head off the worst effects of climate change that his administration now forecasts.

“Participating in RGGI will further our commonwealth’s climate goals, mitigate ongoing damage from climate change and invest in our workforce,” Wolf said during a recent appearance. “Funds brought in through RGGI will allow us to make targeted investments to support workers and communities affected by energy transition, invest in environmental justice, and strengthen Pennsylvania’s clean energy, commercial and industrial sectors.”

That part about “environmental justice” is something to pay attention to going forward because it figures prominently into the 2021 assessment and recent press statements. They are using “environmental justice” to rationalize green energy schemes that fail to pass scientific and economic muster. The report from CO₂ Coalition comes at a critical time as it could prove to be the coup de grace against alarmist claims and unfounded predictions that have been used to cajole



Gov. Tom Wolf and his team are using “environmental justice” to rationalize green energy schemes that fail to pass scientific and economic muster.

the public and the legislature into accepting restrictions on industry activity that jeopardize Pennsylvania's position as an economic powerhouse. Pennsylvania is second only to Texas in natural gas production, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration. But that could change quickly if Wolf has his druthers.

"If the reasons presented to justify imposition of the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative are shown to be false, then the governmental bodies tasked with review of RGGI should 'follow the science' and reject this economically crippling program," Wrightstone says in the CO₂ Coalition report. Using historical data and updated research, Wrightstone's report dismantles the Wolf administration's dire forecasts.

"Governor Wolf seems fixated on his belief that flooding is being made worse by climate change and has referred repeatedly to several high-precipitation events that occurred in 2018, but here the governor makes the common mistake of conflating weather with climate," Wrightstone says. "For example, Governor Wolf personally viewed flooding of the Susquehanna River in Harrisburg in July of that year when it crested at 17.3 feet. Much was made of the flooding at the time, but it ranks just 31st on the list of the greatest floods at Harrisburg—and only a bit more than half the record set by Tropical Storm Agnes in 1972." Moreover, while precipitation "has increased slightly" in the past century, this precipitation has actually benefited vegetation, crop growth, and livestock, Wrightstone observes. He also cites a section of a report from the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that concludes "it can discern no connection between a modest increase in temperature and any change in flooding worldwide."

Where prospects of droughts are concerned, as Wrightstone explained in the report and in his House testimony, data from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) show that there is in fact decreasing "aridity" in Pennsylvania.

Then there is the specter of heat waves and droughts, which also conflict with the data Wrightstone cites. The data show the longest and most severe heat waves in the U.S. occurred back in the 1920s and 1930s when CO₂ levels were much lower than they are now.

What about sea level rise? Once again, hard science implodes overblown predictions. While there has been a small amount of sea level rise around Philadelphia, "about 2 inches of that sea level rise is due to the long-term downward movement of the land mass in the Philadelphia area as measured by a station some six miles to the north of the

tide gauge and anchored on bedrock," according to the CO₂ Coalition report. This downward movement can most likely be attributed to a "well-documented isostatic rebound along the eastern seaboard responding to glacial melt at the end of the last ice advance." Even if someone were to accept the premise that human activity is primarily responsible for climate change, they would have to acknowledge that the sea level rise that has occurred cannot be tied with humanity's industrial emissions.

Global sea levels have been rising for over 200 years, long before we began adding prodigious amounts of CO₂ to the atmosphere in the mid-20th century, and they are likely to continue to do so whether RGGI is adopted or rejected. Having successfully, if unwittingly, already adapted to 200 years of rising sea levels, Philadelphia, with modern technology and capabilities, can expect to easily adapt to the projected 6 to 8 inches of rise expected between now and 2100.

So then, what exactly is the point of RGGI if it's not going to impact the climate?

Green Activism in Pennsylvania

The answers involve political influence, government power, well-endowed special interests, and foreign interference.

The Institute for Energy Research, a nonprofit group based in Washington that supports free-market policies in the energy sector, has collected data on one of the most important, but unheralded geopolitical developments in decades. In 2019, the U.S. became energy independent for the first time since 1957. That's partly because innovative drilling techniques like hydraulic fracturing, also known as fracking, made it possible to access large deposits of oil and gas in places like the Marcellus Shale, a geological formation of sedimentary rock that cuts across a large portion of Pennsylvania. The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that the Marcellus Shale contains about "84 trillion cubic feet of undiscovered, technically recoverable natural gas and 3.4 billion barrels of undiscovered, technically recoverable natural gas liquids."

Hydraulic fracturing used in combination with horizontal drilling has made it possible for the U.S. to access oil and gas reserves that were previously locked away in shale and other tight-rock formations." Often vilified by self-described environmentalists, fracking exercises have a very small footprint in comparison to the logistics involved with acquiring

Marcellus Shale Formation



Credit: Elias Scheuvel. License: <https://bit.ly/3kietX6>.

Hydraulic fracturing, also known as fracking, has made it possible to access large deposits of oil and gas in places like the Marcellus Shale, a geological formation of sedimentary rock that cuts across a large portion of Pennsylvania.

rare earth minerals used in wind turbines, solar panels, and electric vehicles. This much was made clear in a 287-page International Energy Agency report “The Role of Critical Minerals in Clean Energy Transitions.” What the Biden administration in Washington, DC, and the Wolf administration in Harrisburg describe as clean and green is not so clean and green.

On the political and economic front, the proposed transition away from fossil fuels toward so-called renewables could sabotage America’s hard-earned energy independence. “U.S. energy production in 2019 was higher than U.S. energy consumption for the first time in 62 years,” Institute for Energy Research reports. “One can thank the oil and gas industry and its use of hydraulic fracturing and horizontal drilling for that milestone as production in those industries increased a combined 11 percent in 2019. Total U.S. energy production increased by 5.7 percent in 2019 while U.S. energy demand decreased by 0.9 percent.”

Foreign powers like Russia and China, which would like to constrain American energy production and by extension American military power, are not exactly keen on the idea of American energy independence and what the Marcellus Shale Coalition aptly describes as the “Natural Gas Revolution.” The nonprofit, Pittsburgh-based group, which coordinates support among energy companies for natural gas development in the Marcellus Shale, has circulated statistics highlighting the economic and environmental benefits of natural gas. The natural gas industry has supported hundreds of thousands of jobs in Pennsylvania while contributing \$45 billion to dollars to the commonwealth’s economy and boosting annual household income by \$1,200, according to the coalition.

During the public comment period on RGGI regulations, which ended on January 14, the coalition challenged the modeling methods of the commonwealth’s environmental department, claiming that it used “inaccurate baseline emissions data to justify purported benefits of RGGI participation.”



Credit: Peg Hunter. License: <https://bit.ly/3gv40uk>.

Often vilified by self-described environmentalists, fracking exercises have a very small footprint in comparison to the logistics involved with acquiring rare earth minerals used in wind turbines, solar panels, and electric vehicles.

The coalition pointed to “significant” environmental improvements made possible through “free market innovations,” which it says the Wolf administration has ignored. “From 2005 through 2017, Pennsylvania’s share of electricity from natural gas increased from 5% to 34%, resulting in a 39% decrease of CO₂ emissions during this same time-period,” the coalition says in its comments. “Furthermore, as measured from 2008 (the year before RGGI’s first full compliance year), Pennsylvania has achieved a cumulative reduction of 184 million tons of CO₂ emissions.”

Put simply, natural gas is one of the greenest forms of energy available today. But that’s not what environmental advocacy groups like the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) have told elected officials during public hearings in the Pennsylvania state legislature or in their many press statements (here for NRDC and here for Sierra Club). They continuously vilify fossil fuels and the American oil and natural gas industry. An attorney with

the NRDC participated in the June 2021 House hearings, while the Sierra Club testified before the state Senate just last year. Both environmental advocacy groups have come under congressional scrutiny for allegedly colluding with Russian interests to block American energy development. The NRDC has also been the subject of congressional investigations probing the relationship between green advocacy groups and China. As previously reported, members of



Both the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council have come under congressional scrutiny for allegedly colluding with Russian interests to block American energy development.

Congress sent letters to the NRDC, Center for Biological Diversity, Earthjustice, and the World Resources Institute asking about their relationship with the communist regime in Beijing. In their letters, congressional figures also asked if the nonprofit advocacy groups were in compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Whether or not green advocacy groups are explicitly taking stage direction from America's strategic adversaries, they are advancing policies that put the U.S. at a disadvantage in accessing reliable and affordable domestic energy supplies while enabling Russia and China to double down on oil, gas, and coal resources.

Meanwhile, as also previously reported, green activists backed by tens of millions of dollars in grants from left-leaning foundations from inside and outside of Pennsylvania, continue to advocate for Pennsylvania joining RGGI. They also give political cover to Wolf and other elected officials who do their bidding. This might help to explain why Pennsylvania's executive agencies have continued full speed ahead on anti-CO₂ initiatives despite the growing body of scientific, economic, and environmental evidence that debunk the Wolf administration's climate scare campaigns.

Just a few days before the July House hearings, Pennsylvania's Environmental Quality Board (EQB), a 20-member board charged with promulgating the Department of Environmental Protection Agency's regulations, voted in favor of adopting rulemaking that would establish the "cap and trade" program that would enable the commonwealth to participate in RGGI. A press release from the EQB explained:

This final-form rulemaking includes a declining annual CO₂ emissions budget, which starts at 78 million tons in 2022 and ends at 58 million tons in 2030. This is anticipated to reduce CO₂ emissions in Pennsylvania by 31% compared to 2019. The declining annual CO₂ emissions budget is equivalent to the CO₂ allowance budget, which is the number of CO₂ allowances available each year.

The EQB board members make no mention of the progress Pennsylvania has already made in terms of reducing CO₂ emissions without joining RGGI. So Sen. Gene Yaw, Republican chairman of the Senate Environmental Resources and Energy Committee, did it for them:

I support efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but it is worth noting that, since RGGI began trading allowances in 2009, the current 10

RGGI states have reduced carbon emissions by 23%, while Pennsylvania has reduced carbon emissions by 29%. This was accomplished all without government mandate and at great savings to consumers. [Virginia joined RGGI, becoming the 11th member state.]

Yaw also raised several questions in his release about RGGI that the EQB left unanswered: "How is this going to impact industry? How many jobs will be lost? What are the impacts on ratepayers?"

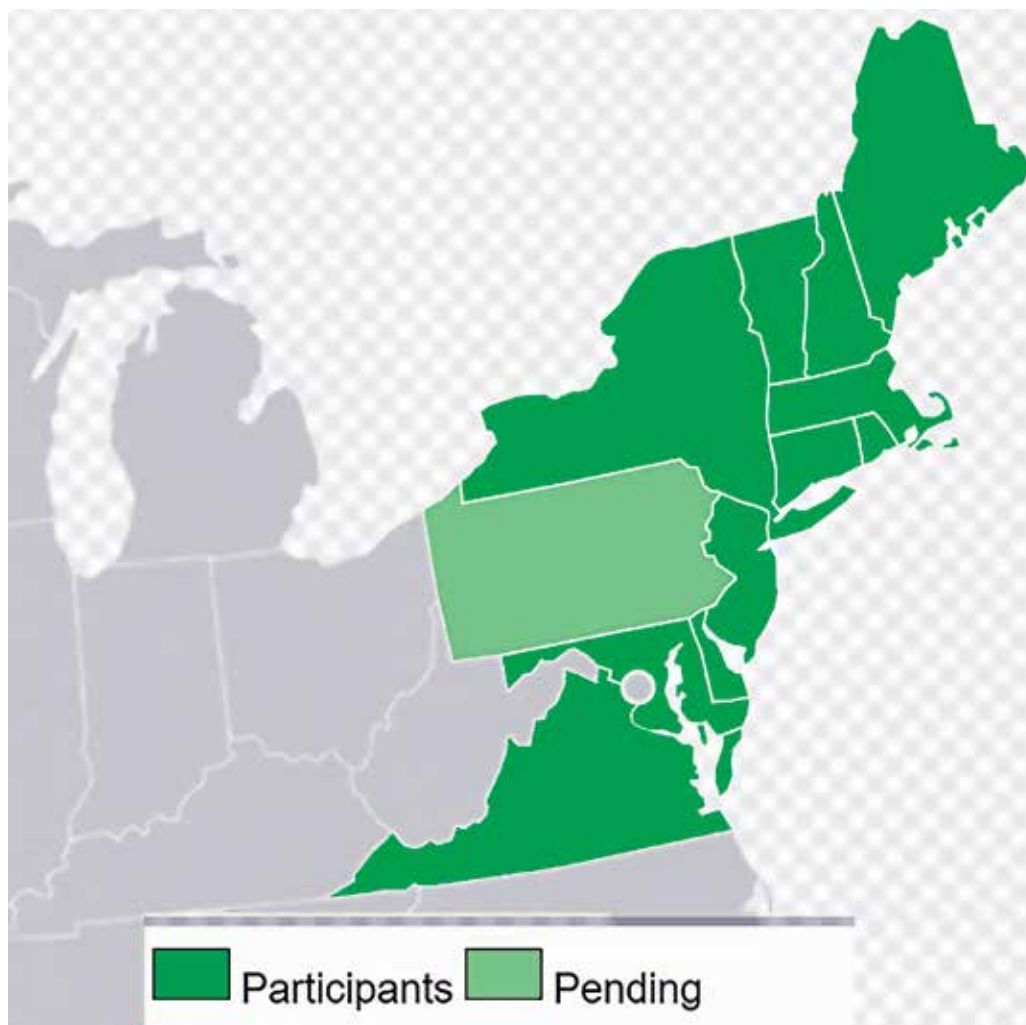
Carbon Taxes and Constitutional Questions

But the EQB will not be the final word on RGGI. In fact, the day after the EQB approved cap and trade regulations, the state Senate by a veto proof margin passed legislation that would prohibit Wolf from joining RGGI without legislative approval. Six of Wolf's own Democrats voted to pass the legislation blocking unilateral executive action. The House is expected to vote on a similar bill when it reconvenes in late September. That's not all. The Independent Regulatory Review Commission (IRRC), an independent state agency that reviews regulatory proposals, is expected to take action on RGGI when the commission next meets on September 1. The commission has already recommended the EQB delay implementing RGGI in response to lawmakers' and other stakeholders' concerns about RGGI's impact and legal concerns about the governor's authority to act without a vote in the General Assembly.

The commission's role is to determine whether a regulation is in the public interest, and to accomplish this end, the commission applies specific criteria spelled out in Pennsylvania's Regulatory Review Act, which addresses the statutory authority of the agency, economic impact, and reasonableness.

The agency must review and respond to those comments in preparing its final regulation, usually making changes based on the comments in the final version of the rulemaking. At the final state of the process, the IRCC and the legislative standing committees in the General Assembly vote to approve or disapprove the final form of the regulation. This is an up-or-down vote on the entire regulation: The commission cannot approve some parts and reject others.

"If a regulation is approved by IRRC and the standing committees (or if the committees do not take any action) the agency can proceed to implement the regulation after a final



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The RGGI agreement currently includes Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Virginia.

review by the Office of Attorney General,” David Sumner, executive director of the IRCC explained in an email. “If IRRC disapproves the regulation, the commission will issue an order stating the criteria of the Regulatory Review Act which have not been met. The agency may then resubmit the regulation (possibly with revisions based on IRRC’s order) for reconsideration.”

Another negative IRRC recommendation against RGGI would come just a few weeks before the House is set to vote on its own version of a bill requiring the legislature to approve any new regulations that enroll Pennsylvania into the multistate greenhouse gas initiative. The future of RGGI and its ability to expand could reach a critical turning point in September. The agreement currently

includes Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Virginia. State regulators set a cap on CO₂ emissions in participating states from electric power generators and then require power plants in the RGGI states to purchase a credit or “allowance” for each ton of CO₂ they emit.

Lawmakers who oppose Pennsylvania’s involvement with RGGI have argued that the “cap and trade” arrangements and quarterly auctions that figure into the multistate initiative would impose carbon taxes on state residents that only the state legislature has the authority to approve. Anthony Holtzman, an attorney with K&L Gates in Harrisburg, explained where carbon taxes come into play during his

testimony before the Pennsylvania House in July 2020. He also told lawmakers that Pennsylvania's constitutional and statutory laws do not give the executive the authority to sign or implement a multistate compact or agreement like RGGI.

"Because the Pennsylvania Constitution does not provide the governor or any other executive department official or entity with the power to enter into interstate compacts or agreements, the General Assembly alone possesses that power," Holtzman said. The Harrisburg attorney also spoke at length on the tax question:

Our Supreme Court has long held that, under the Pennsylvania Constitution, the power to impose a tax is vested solely in the General Assembly. Under prevailing Pennsylvania case law, something qualifies as a "tax" if it is a "revenue-producing measure." Regulatory "fees," by contrast, are merely "intended to cover the cost of administering a regulatory scheme." And therefore, as Pennsylvania's courts have explained, whether an income-producing mechanism imposes a "tax" or a "fee" turns on the volume of income that the mechanism generates and the proportion of the income that goes to cover the program's administrative costs.

Holtzman continued:

Under this standard, RGGI's quarterly auction mechanism—which is the heart of the program—would qualify as a "tax," not a "fee," because the proceeds of the auctions are grossly disproportionate to the costs of administering the program. Through 2017, in fact, the RGGI signatory states had directed less than 6% of the proceeds toward the program's administration. RGGI's auction mechanism is designed to raise substantial sums of revenue—in fact, it has raised more than \$3 billion to date—and the signatory states have used the vast majority of this revenue to either support policy initiatives (such as energy efficiency and renewable energy initiatives) or bolster state coffers through transfers to general funds. The auction program therefore imposes a tax that only the General Assembly can impose.

With an open U.S. Senate seat and a gubernatorial election next year, Pennsylvania's political importance is dif-

ficult to overstate and hard to predict. But the battle over RGGI provides some insight into what might go down in upcoming statewide races and local races. While Wolf takes marching orders from green activists, it's apparent that more than a few Democrats in the state legislature remain more aligned with their traditional benefactors in organized labor. This is particularly true of Democrats who reside in areas where the coal industry and the natural gas industry will take a direct hit from RGGI. In the end, the broad cross section of Pennsylvania residents who are part of Power Pa Jobs Alliance, which includes labor and business representatives may be the one that carries the day. In a press release that challenges Wolf's "scheme to circumvent the General Assembly, and the Pennsylvania Constitution," while also expressing support for legislation that takes aim at the "unconstitutional RGGI tax," the alliance highlights some disturbing figures.

RGGI is a massive tax on two-thirds of Pennsylvania's current electric generation plants. It will trigger the immediate closure of all Pennsylvania coal fired generation plants and many older natural gas plants. This includes plants that are capable of running for many years, including many plants that recently committed to provide power through June 2023. ...

RGGI will also preclude the construction of any new natural gas fired electric generation plants within the Commonwealth that could otherwise replace lost generation from the closure of older fossil fuel plants.

The message elected officials and their constituents in organized labor in business harkens back to the founding period and goes something like "No Taxation, Without Representation." If Wolf wants to scuttle the energy industry at the behest of green activists who invoke faulty scientific data, it looks more and more everyday like he'll need to persuade a majority of House and Senate members to take a straight up-or-down vote in favor of new climate change regulations. Taxation with representation heading into the mid-term election cycle seems a tall order even for members of Wolf's own party. ■

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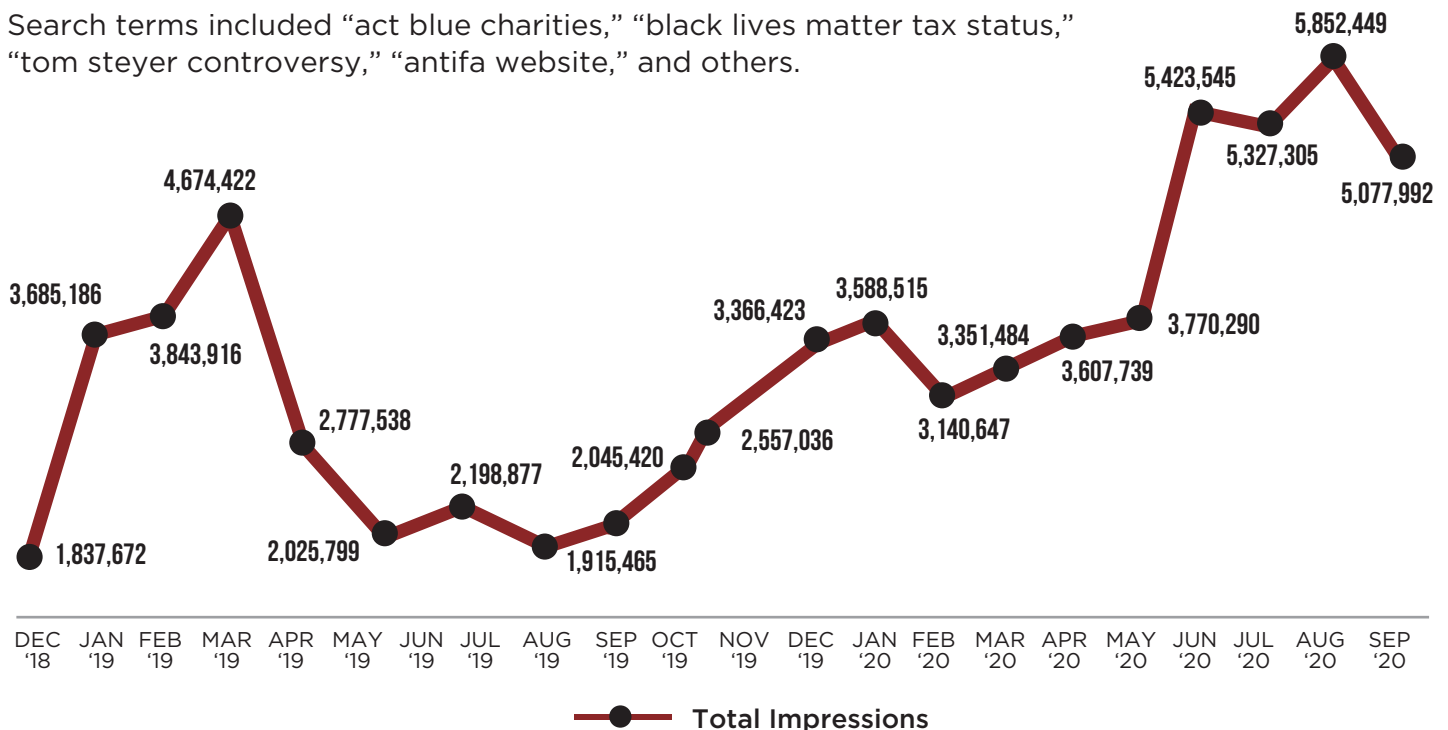
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