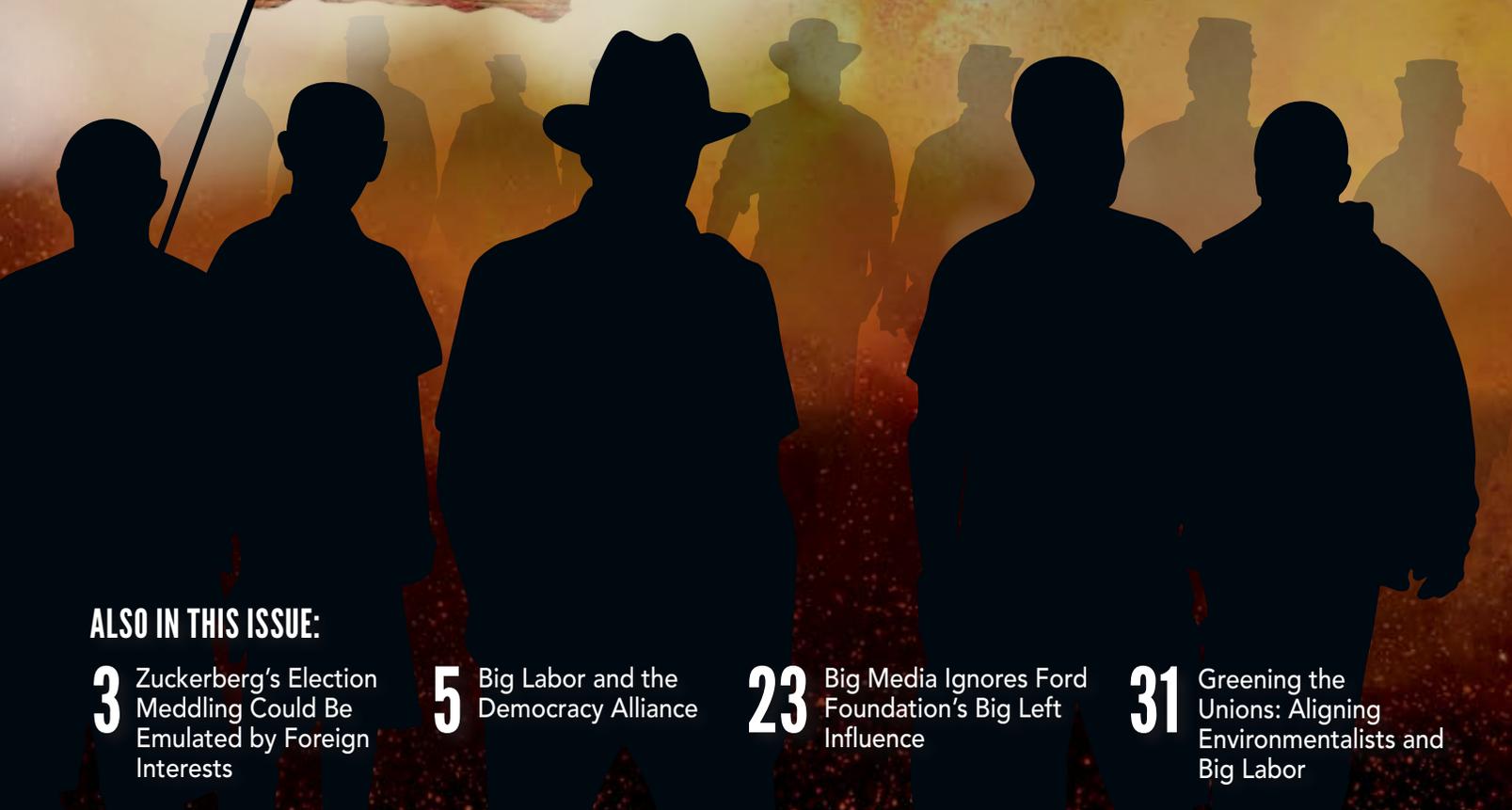




COURAGE IS NOT ENOUGH TO OVERCOME WOKE-PROGRESSIVISM

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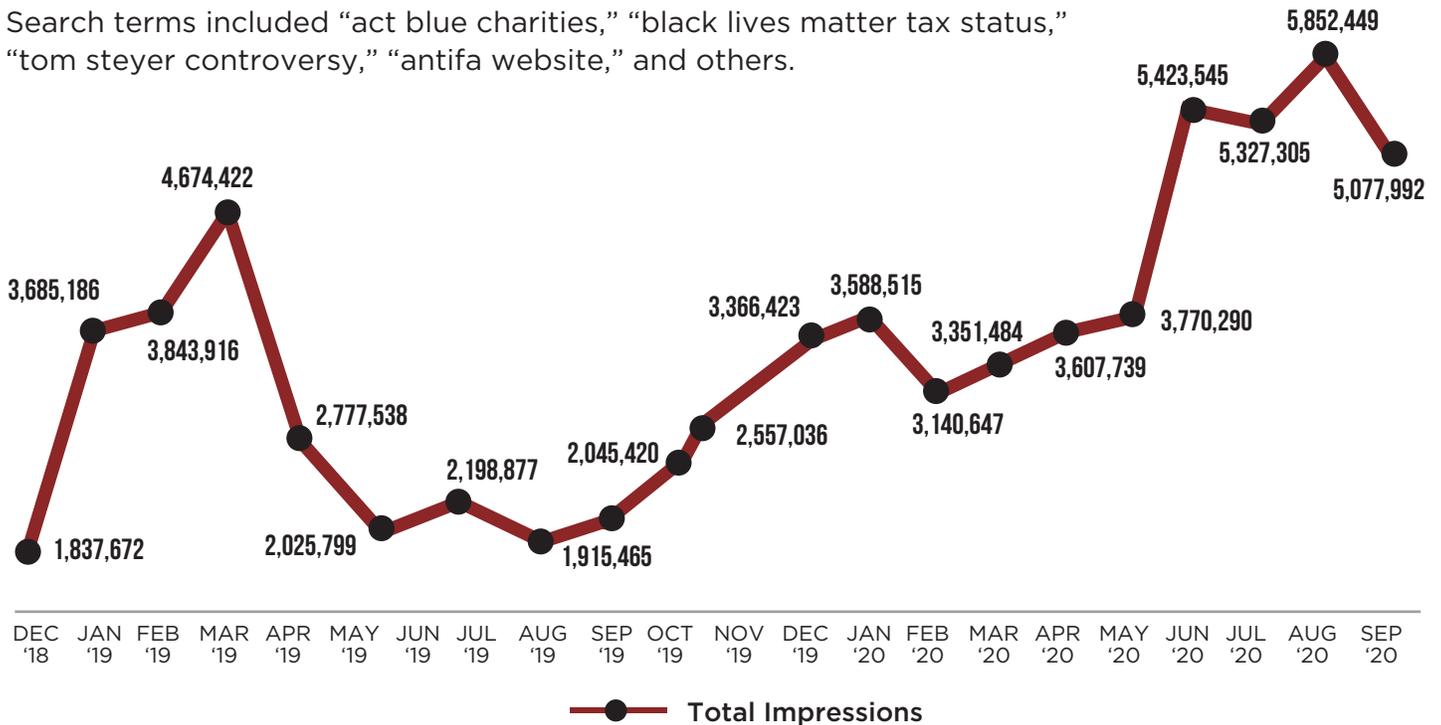
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CRC was established in 1984 to promote a better understanding of charity and philanthropy. We support the principles of individual liberty, a free market economy, and limited constitutional government—the cornerstones of American society, which make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

CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER

1513 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.483.6900

CapitalResearch.org

Contact@CapitalResearch.org

Internship inquiries are welcome.

Publisher, Scott Walter
Editor-in-Chief, Kristen Eastlick
Editor, Jon Rodeback
Photo Editor, Gayle Yiotis

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL



& RACISM WITHOUT RACISTS

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK & THE ROMANCE OF REVOLUTIONARY TERROR



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

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

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

Watch the entire series at [DangerousDocumentaries.com](https://www.DangerousDocumentaries.com).

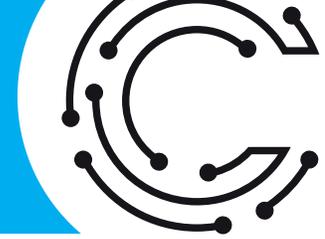


Howard Zinn, Hollywood, & the Fairy Tale of American Evil



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DANGEROUS
DOCUMENTARIES



ZUCKERBERG'S ELECTION MEDDLING COULD BE EMULATED BY FOREIGN INTERESTS

By Parker Thayer

Facebook might be a cesspool filled with lies, vitriol, and organized disinformation campaigns, but is it more frightening than a billionaire-funded political consultant with, quite literally, the keys to an election?

Mark Zuckerberg's invention opened U.S. elections up to manipulation by foreign powers that everyone should be aware of.

No, not Facebook. His other invention. The private funding of public election offices.

When Zuckerberg contributed roughly \$400 million to the Center for Tech and Civic Life to privately finance public election offices, he was the first person ever to do so. It was a strategy simply unheard of before 2020.

And this second invention of the billionaire, who became famous for his serious effect on tech, had a serious effect on elections.

But, while speaking out against Facebook and the damage it's done to democracy earns a segment on *60 Minutes*, speaking out about Zuckerberg and his "Zuck bucks" might find one labeled a conspiracy theorist.

The idea that Zuckerberg impacted elections in partisan ways through Facebook is almost universally accepted, but strangely the idea he did the same through the Center for Tech and Civic Life (CTCL) is somehow too farfetched. The reality is that CTCL impacted the 2020 election in ways Facebook never could, and legislators should be just as anxious to address "Zuck bucks" as they are Facebook.



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

The idea that Mark Zuckerberg impacted elections in partisan ways through Facebook is almost universally accepted, but strangely the idea he did the same through the Center for Tech and Civic Life is somehow too farfetched.

What Happened in Wisconsin

For proof, look no further than Wisconsin, where, in true Facebook fashion, one of CTCL's "grant advisers" leveraged the terms and conditions of Zuckerberg's funding to access information they had no right to see.

Reports show that Michael Spitzer-Rubenstein, CTCL's Wisconsin "grant adviser" who once worked as a Democratic consultant in New York, became "de facto elections chief" for Wisconsin's five largest cities despite holding no office.

Parker Thayer is a research assistant at CRC.

Spitzer-Rubenstein re-wrote the rules for ballot curing in Milwaukee, requested to be allowed to personally cure ballots in Green Bay, helped election administrators decide how ballots would be transported, rented the room where ballots were to be stored in Green Bay, and as was given the keys to the hotel convention room where absentee ballots in Green Bay were stored “days in advance” of the election. In fact, Spitzer-Rubenstein was so intrusive and domineering that the Green Bay City clerk resigned just before the election in disgust after her superiors ignored *repeated* email complaints questioning the legality and ethics of Spitzer-Rubenstein’s involvement.

Facebook might be a cesspool filled with lies, vitriol, and organized disinformation campaigns, but is it more frightening than a billionaire-funded political consultant with, quite literally, the keys to an election?

Opening the Floodgates

The details of how CTCL funds were used in Wisconsin are disturbing, but more disturbing is the fact that it was all legal. Most disturbing is that anybody else is now free to do the same. *Anybody*.

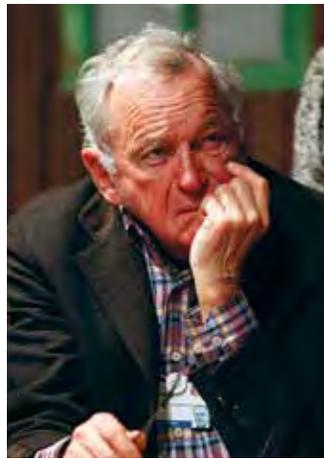
Oil tycoons, hedge fund managers, banking executives, literally anybody can fund 501(c)(3) nonprofits like the Center for Tech and Civic Life, and they can do it anonymously since 501(c)(3)s are not legally required to disclose their donors. Worse yet, they wouldn’t even have to be a U.S. citizen because there are no rules against foreign donors either.

A Russian oil-oligarch looking to cripple his U.S. competitors could create a charitable front-group to disproportionately fund election offices of more environmentally conscious counties in hopes they would shut down drilling. A foreign dictator hoping to lift economic sanctions could use a nonprofit cultural center to pay for an election office’s voter outreach campaign but provide much more money to counties where a senator or presidential candidate sympathetic to their plight is winning.

Foreign Actors

This may sound like modern day McCarthyism, but there are numerous examples of foreign actors influencing U.S. elections in both 2016 and 2020.

Hansjörg Wyss, for example, is a little-known Swiss billionaire who illegally gave thousands to PACs (which non-citizens are not allowed to do) more than 30 times over several years before the FEC caught on. In 2021, the *New York Times* called Wyss an “influential force among Democrats,” despite



Credit: Grosvenors Foundation. License: <https://bit.ly/30JNCOu>.

Hansjörg Wyss, for example, is a little-known Swiss billionaire who illegally gave thousands to PACs (which non-citizens are not allowed to do) more than 30 times over several years before the FEC caught on.

the fact that he can’t contribute to candidates or political parties, because he uses his private foundation to funnel tens-of-millions of dollars into “nonpartisan” political advocacy groups each year, many of them 501(c)(3)’s just like CTCL.

Just this year, accusations surfaced that Wyss once again broke election law due to his involvement with the Arabella Advisors network, along with reports that he attempted to purchase numerous U.S. newspapers including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Baltimore Sun*, and the *Daily News*. Furthermore, leaked internal memos show that the Wyss Foundation developed

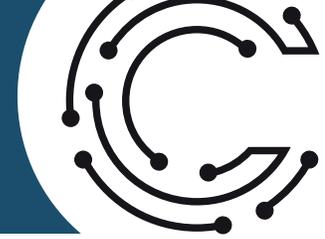
a \$100 million “Democracy Strategy” that included funding get-out-the-vote drives and lobbying to change election laws, and shared it directly with John Podesta, Hillary Clinton’s campaign manager, just before the 2016 election.

Wyss has no qualms about intervening in U.S. elections, and now that Zuckerberg has paved the way, Wyss might attempt to use his dark money network to follow suit. The same goes for the Russian government who famously tried to influence elections using targeted misinformation campaigns on Facebook in 2016, and the Iranian and Chinese governments who reportedly attempted to do the same in 2020.

It’s far from a conspiracy theory to say that “Zuck bucks” gave Mark Zuckerberg a concerning level of influence over the 2020 election, and it’s just as reasonable to be worried that foreign interests will attempt to mimic Zuckerberg in the future. Luckily, dozens of states have put forward legislation to ban further private funding of election offices, but dozens more have yet to act. With 2022 fast approaching, time is running out for state legislatures to act, and if they don’t, our elections could be open to more interference and manipulation than ever before. ■

*This article originally appeared in *Legal Insurrection* on November 21, 2021.*

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



BIG LABOR AND THE DEMOCRACY ALLIANCE

By Robert Stilson

Summary: For years the Democracy Alliance has embodied big money on the American Left. The alliance is as notable for the tremendous depth of its partners' pockets and for the relative secrecy of its operations. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the partisan proclivities of organized labor in the United States, unions have occupied a central place in the Democracy Alliance from the very beginning.

Few groups exemplify politically active money on the American left quite like the Democracy Alliance. The self-described “preeminent network of donors dedicated to building the progressive movement in the United States”¹ has been called “[t]he country’s most powerful liberal donor club.”²

The alliance, which channels vast sums of money into left-of-center causes every year, is as notable for the tremendous depth of its members’ (known as “partners”) pockets as for the relative secrecy of its operations. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the partisan proclivities of organized labor in the United States, unions have occupied a central place in the Democracy Alliance from the very beginning.

Unions and the Democracy Alliance’s Beginnings

The origins of the Democracy Alliance can be traced to the aftermath of Democratic Party losses in the 2004 U.S. general election, especially the reelection of President George W. Bush.³ The results frustrated much of the ultra-wealthy liberal donor class, who had spent serious money on defeating the president. According to journalist Matt Bai’s 2007 book *The Argument: Inside the Battle to Remake Democratic Politics*, “In all of American history, no small group of partisans had ever invested so much money to win a single campaign.”⁴

In the weeks following Bush’s reelection, renewed focus was placed on a fledgling idea inspired in large part by a PowerPoint presentation created by political operative Rob Stein the previous year. The presentation detailed Stein’s research on how a relatively small number of right-of-center



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/3J2nJf4>.

Mary Kay Henry, SEIU president since 2010, would ultimately take a seat on the Democracy Alliance’s board of directors.

funders had effectively created the long-term “infrastructure” underlying modern conservatism, largely through funding ideologically aligned think tanks and advocacy groups.⁵

Some major funders on the left began to see the need for something similar and officially came together in 2005 to create the Democracy Alliance. Much of the network’s initial gravity centered on billionaires like George Soros and Peter Lewis, whose families would contribute roughly a third of the initial \$39 million invested in the alliance. Soros was

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



*The Democracy Alliance has been characterized as
“a kind of progressive investment marketplace.”*

the single largest early contributor, pledging more than \$10 million by the fall of 2005.⁶

The Democracy Alliance’s early years are recounted in considerable detail by Bai in *The Argument*, and he relates how labor unions quickly became involved. While the AFL-CIO (the largest union federation in the country) was an early alliance partner, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) was the nascent network’s first institutional member. It was also one of its biggest early funders. By the end of the alliance’s spring 2006 conference the SEIU had committed more than \$5 million and was even housing the alliance’s offices at its headquarters in Washington, DC.⁷ Before the year was out, SEIU’s secretary-treasurer Anna Burger was sitting as vice chair of the Democracy Alliance’s board of directors.⁸

The enthusiasm with which the SEIU embraced the alliance almost from its inception was due in large part to the influence of then-SEIU president Andy Stern. Having himself viewed Rob Stein’s PowerPoint presentation, Stern not only brought the union into the alliance as a partner, but personally sought to guide it along a path toward funding “innovative ideas that would change the [Democratic] party.”⁹ He was a key opening night panelist at the alliance’s spring 2006 conference in Austin, Texas, where he expounded his views about the future of Democratic politics.¹⁰ Although Stern stepped down from the SEIU presidency in 2010, his successor Mary Kay Henry would ultimately take a seat on the alliance’s board of directors.¹¹

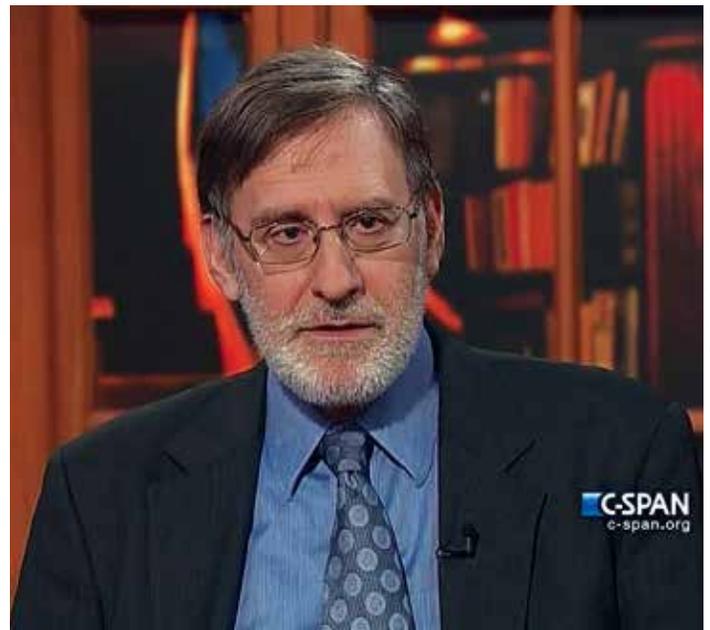
Other unions and union officers would follow the AFL-CIO and the SEIU into the Democracy Alliance. According to conference documents obtained by the *Washington Free Beacon* in 2014, then-president of Workers United (a SEIU affiliate) Noel Beasley was listed as a new partner. The prior year saw Communications Workers of America (CWA) president Larry Cohen and senior director George Kohl along with American Federation of Teachers (AFT) president Randi Weingarten and assistant to the president Michelle Ringuette listed as new partners.¹²

The National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) have also been identified as Democracy Alliance partners,¹³ as has the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).¹⁴ The American Federation

of Government Employees (AFGE) reported a \$70,000 contribution to the alliance on its 2019 Form LM-2 filed with the U.S. Department of Labor,¹⁵ which corresponds to the annual dues required of institutional Democracy Alliance partners.¹⁶

Funding Union Priorities

The Democracy Alliance functions largely to channel contributions pledged by its well-heeled partners to left-of-center organizations that the alliance has recommended. It has been characterized as “a kind of progressive investment marketplace.”¹⁷ In addition to yearly dues, individual partners are reportedly expected to commit at least \$200,000 per year to such groups, while institutional partners (like unions) are required to commit at least \$1 million.¹⁸ According to documents obtained by the *Washington Free Beacon* in 2019, partners have collectively steered as much as \$1.83 billion into liberal causes since the alliance’s founding in 2005.¹⁹



Michael Podhorzer, who is assistant to the president for strategic research at the AFL-CIO, has served as one of Catalyst’s co-chairs.

Credit: Newsmakers. License: <https://bit.ly/32fj63X>

The opportunity for union-backed activist groups to gain access to serious left-of-center capital has been given as a primary motivator behind labor's involvement with the Democracy Alliance. Materials reviewed by *Politico* in 2015 reportedly demonstrated how "labor leaders have invested considerable time and union cash to secure preferential treatment from the preeminent club of major liberal funders, the Democracy Alliance." They also evidenced "labor's efforts to identify rich donors who could pump money into union-linked nonprofits."²⁰

A perusal of the portfolio of organizations recommended by the Democracy Alliance provides some clear examples. As of September 2021, the alliance's website listed 30 recommended groups that it considered to be "high-impact, progressive organizations that generate bold policy ideas, drive progressive messages, organize key constituencies, and support the next generation of leaders."²¹ While most of these organizations are tied to the labor movement in some manner, a few are particularly closely linked:

- America Votes is a liberal advocacy and voter mobilization coalition that has received substantial labor funding and counts major unions like the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, the AFT, the NEA, the SEIU, and the CWA among its national coalition partners.²² Andy Stern was among the group's co-founders.²³
- Americans for Financial Reform is an activist group focused on strengthening regulation of the financial sector, and a number of unions are among its more than 200 state and national coalition members.²⁴ The group's founding director, Heather Booth, served as the AFL-CIO's health care campaign director in 2008.²⁵
- Catalist is a data firm that "works exclusively with Democratic and progressive organizations that share our values." Selected clients include AFSCME, the SEIU, the UFCW, and the AFL-CIO.²⁶ Michael Podhorzer, who is assistant to the president for strategic research at the AFL-CIO, has served as one of Catalist's co-chairs.²⁷ Its current board chair is former Democracy Alliance vice-chair Patricia Bauman.²⁸
- Economic Policy Institute is a union-aligned think tank that has sent several high-profile alumni into the Biden Administration, including two of the three members of the president's Council of Economic Advisors.²⁹ Nearly one-third of the members of the group's board of directors are the sitting presidents of some of the largest unions in the country.³⁰ In 2020, about 17 percent of the Economic Policy Institute's total funding came from labor unions.³¹

- National Employment Law Project is a think tank and advocacy group that receives funding from and works closely with organized labor. As of 2021, two-thirds of the members of its board of directors are current or former union staff.³²
- Working America is the "community affiliate" of the AFL-CIO, which provided Working America with over \$7 million in its fiscal year 2019.³³ Working America's founding director Karen Nussbaum was formerly the president of District 925 SEIU as well as special assistant to the AFL-CIO's former president John Sweeney.³⁴
- Working Families Party is a left-wing political party based in New York. Traditionally it has been closely tied to organized labor, with unions having provided the party with substantial funding in the past. However, a prominent dispute over whom to endorse in New York's 2018 gubernatorial election led some unions to withdraw from the party.³⁵

It's not possible to know exactly how much revenue these groups derive each year by virtue of their status as Alliance-recommended organizations. The Democracy Alliance is structured as a "taxable nonprofit" and thus does not file yearly disclosures with the IRS.³⁶ Even if it did, those disclosures would likely not be particularly informative because partners mostly contribute to recommended organizations directly, rather than through the Democracy Alliance itself.³⁷ Still, it's safe to say that Big Labor's ideological and policy priorities are well served and well funded through the alliance's efforts.

Union Personnel in the Democracy Alliance

Still further evidence of the close relationship between Big Labor and the Democracy Alliance can be found in the number of current or former union personnel serving on the alliance's board of directors or as senior staff members. Board member information is not available on the alliance's website as of September 2021, but it was available as recently as January 2021.³⁸

As of 2021, among the Democracy alliance leadership, the National Education Association—the larger of the two national American teachers unions—appears to hold particular influence. The NEA's former executive director John C. Stocks is the Democracy Alliance's board chair, while the union's current executive director Kim Anderson also serves on the board.³⁹ Before succeeding Stocks as the NEA's executive director, Anderson was the alliance's



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Lee Saunders, president of AFSCME since 2012, is a member of the Democracy Alliance board of directors.

executive vice president.⁴⁰ Secky Fascione, now senior director of investment services at the alliance, was the NEA's director of organizing from 2012 to 2018.⁴¹

Lee Saunders, president of AFSCME since 2012, is a member of the Democracy Alliance board of directors.⁴² So is Keith Mestrich, who until recently⁴³ served as president and chief executive officer of Amalgamated Bank, the largest union-controlled bank in the United States and reportedly a Democracy Alliance institutional partner.⁴⁴ Mestrich had a long career in labor prior to joining the bank, working at the AFL-CIO, UNITE, and Workers United and ultimately serving as chief financial officer and deputy chief of staff at the SEIU.⁴⁵

Another way to measure the personal ties that bind the Democracy Alliance to America's labor movement is to analyze participation in the alliance's semi-annual conferences, held since its founding in 2005. These conferences have been described as a "major gathering of the institutional left"⁴⁶ and as meetings of "the vast liberal conspiracy."⁴⁷ They are typically multi-day affairs held at a luxury hotel or resort.

Democracy Alliance conferences serve to connect alliance partners with the leaders of organizations that the alliance has vetted and recommended. This opportunity for potential donors and the prospective recipients of their money to rub elbows means that "furious networking is the order of the day" at conferences.⁴⁸ Numerous speeches, presentations, and panels featuring some of the most influential figures populating the left side of America's political landscape fill conference agendas.



Journalist Matt Bai, the first "outsider" to attend a conference in 2006, was assigned a full-time handler to "monitor my every movement."

In keeping with the alliance's penchant for secrecy, security at its conferences has traditionally been extremely tight. When journalist Matt Bai became the first "outsider" to attend a conference in the spring of 2006, he was only allowed to view the first 24 hours of proceedings, made to wear uniquely identifying credentials, and assigned a full-time handler to "monitor my every movement."⁴⁹ Locked disposal bins are frequently provided so that attendees may securely dispose of unwanted conference materials, and alliance staff have reportedly asked guests to inform them if any journalists ask questions about conference proceedings.⁵⁰

Despite these precautions, various news outlets have reported on Democracy Alliance conferences, publishing agendas and other materials. Analysis of these materials from nine past conferences between 2014 and 2019 demonstrates just how deeply involved America's unions are in them. During that period, the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, the AFGE, the AFT, the CWA, the NEA, the SEIU, the UFCW, and Working America all hosted at least one conference panel, caucus, or other function.⁵¹ Most hosted multiple panels.



Credit: Center for American Progress. License: <https://bit.ly/3c097W>

Before the year 2006 was out, SEIU's secretary-treasurer Anna Burger was sitting as vice chair of the Democracy Alliance's board of directors.



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/3p8XOUK>

Another AFL-CIO official who has attended conferences is Thea M. Lee, the union's former deputy chief of staff and now deputy undersecretary for international labor affairs in the Biden Administration.

Union presence at these conferences is even more robust when individual attendees are considered. Analysis of the same nine agendas reveals that at least 50 participants identified in those agendas have been professionally connected to a labor union at some point in their careers. Some individuals participated in three or more different conferences. Naturally, high-ranking labor figures who also happened to serve on the alliance's board—including John C. Stocks, Kim Anderson, Keith Mestrich, and Lee Saunders—were regular attendees.⁵²

The SEIU has been characteristically well-represented at alliance conferences. The union's president Mary Kay Henry participated in at least four of them, while former secretary-treasurer Anna Burger was at the spring 2016 event. The SEIU's former national political director Brandon Davis and its current one Maria Peralta have both attended multiple conferences, while the heads or former heads of affiliates like SEIU California, SEIU 775, SEIU Local 26, and SEIU District 925 all attended at least one conference between 2014 and 2019.⁵³

Late AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka spoke at the spring 2014 conference, while assistant to the president for strategic research Michael Podhorzer was a panelist at the spring 2018 conference. Other AFL-CIO officials who have attended conferences include the union's former deputy chief of staff (and now deputy undersecretary for international labor affairs in the Biden Administration) Thea M. Lee, former political director Steve Rosenthal, and former

legislative field operations director Ken Grossinger. Working America executive director Matt Morrison has been a panelist at several conferences.⁵⁴

Natural Allies

For years the Democracy Alliance has embodied big money on the American Left, annually facilitating massive spending to alter the country's sociopolitical landscape to suit the priorities of its wealthy partners. As those priorities are often (though not always⁵⁵) closely aligned with Big Labor, it is not difficult to understand why unions have always occupied a central place in the alliance. That said, one might wonder at how some among those unions' dues paying rank-and-file membership would view the closeness of the relationship. ■

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

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- 55 Vogel and Mahoney, “Big Labor Targets Steyer, Soros.”



THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

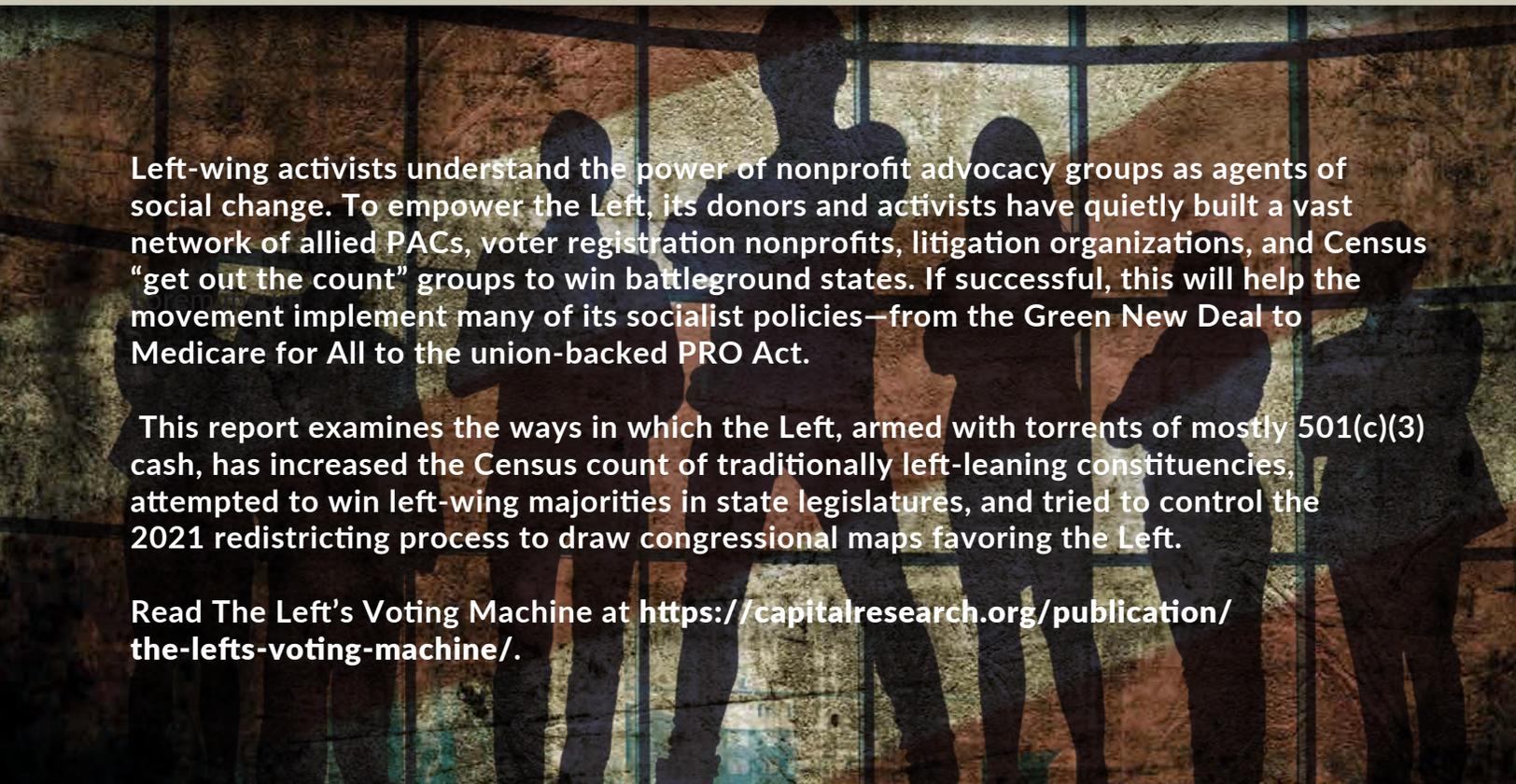


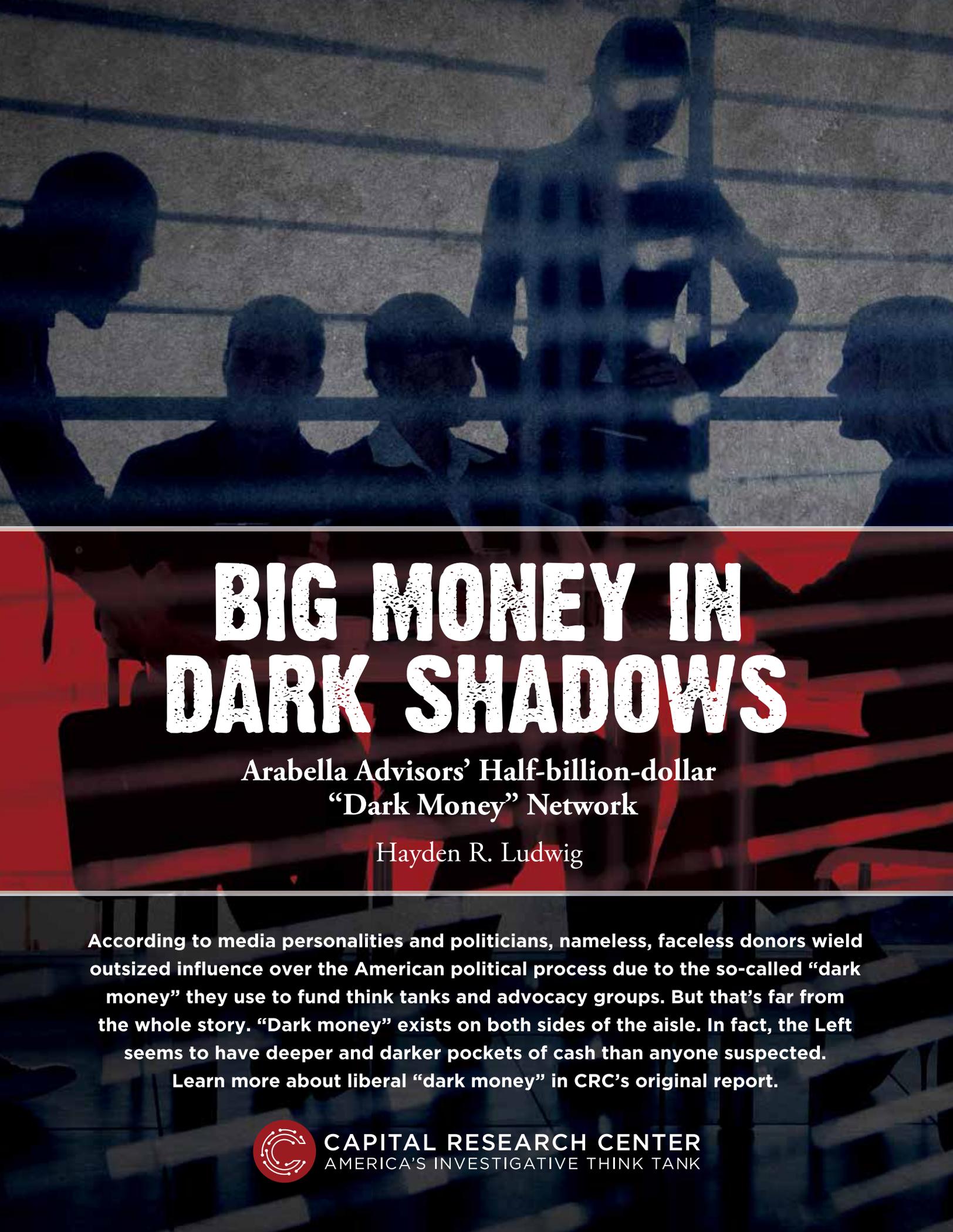
CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

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

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

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





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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COURAGE IS NOT ENOUGH TO OVERCOME WOKE-PROGRESSIVISM

By Michael Watson

Summary: *The most important fact about woke cancellation is that it rarely if ever arises from individual action. Organized institutions carry out the famous firings and relegations. “Internal mobs,” sometimes aided and abetted by the labor unions, enforce the ideological line. Teachers unions, school administrators, major corporations, and liberal and main-line religious denominations have all supported, instituted, or advanced woke ideology. The woke faction enjoys three classes of institutional advantages: Most major institutions have chosen or conceded to pressure to make critical race theory and similar ideologies part of their standard operating procedures and employee indoctrination. Institutional ideological progressivism employs aggressive tactics like secondary boycotts to coerce institutions to adopt its viewpoints. Finally, when liberals control government institutions, they exploit the letter of expansive legal precedents to coerce even the unwilling to follow the left-progressive line.*

Just after noon two weeks before Christmas 1862, Brigadier General Thomas Francis Meagher gave the order to his men: “Shoulder arms, right face, forward, double quick, march.” With that command, the Irish Brigade of the Army of the Potomac followed its comrades into the doomed assault on the well-entrenched Confederates atop Marye’s Heights outside Fredericksburg, Virginia. Almost half would not return. None denied the courage of the men of the 63rd New York, 69th New York, 88th New York, 28th Massachusetts, and 116th Pennsylvania Regiments, but the folly of Union commander Ambrose Burnside’s assault doomed them in spite of it.

With that consequence of doomed courage in mind, one reads the admonitions from a certain sort of classical liberal, prominently including Bari Weiss, late of the *New York Times*; David French, the free-speech litigator turned pundit for Jonah Goldberg’s the Dispatch; and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, the Somali-born former member of the Dutch Parliament driven to exile in the United States by jihadist death threats. All have shown courage in their own lives and careers, and they exhort the masses to the same courage in the face of the cancel mob and woke activism.

But these prominent public intellectuals, much like the Irish Brigade’s heroic commander Meagher (a veteran of Irish insurrections against English rule, escapee from the prison colony of Australia, and unit commander in the brigade’s previous battles of 1862), leave the troops they order into battle unprotected against the aimed musketry of a well-organized foe.

It will take more than personal courage to overcome the strong advantages that woke-progressivism and the cancel mob enjoy in the institutions subject to O’Sullivan’s Law that “all organizations that are not actually right-wing will over time become left-wing.”



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None denied the courage of the men of the 63rd New York, 69th New York, 88th New York, 28th Massachusetts, and 116th Pennsylvania Regiments, but the folly of Union commander Ambrose Burnside’s assault on the Confederates near Fredericksburg doomed them in spite of it.

Michael Watson is Capital Research Center’s research director and managing editor for InfluenceWatch.

Three Woke Advantages

The institutional advantages that the woke faction enjoy are of three classes, each raising the cost of individual acts of courage like the Confederate emplacements on Marye's Heights. First, higher education, K-12 education, major corporations, institutional nonprofit groups and liberal foundations, "mainline" and theologically liberal religious groups, and even the military have all chosen or conceded to pressure to make critical race theory (CRT) and similar ideologies part of their standard operating procedures and employee indoctrination, usually under the title "diversity, equity, and inclusion" or DEI. Second, institutional ideological progressivism, which outspends institutional conservatism by approximately four to one, employs aggressive tactics like secondary boycotts to coerce institutions to adopt its viewpoints as the path of least resistance. Finally, when liberals control government institutions, they exploit the letter of expansive legal precedents to coerce even the unwilling to follow the left-progressive line.

Overcoming the institutional positions of the woke-progressive Left will require courage worthy of the Fighting 69th. But before charging the heights, one must know the adversary's true strengths and deployments if one intends to take the hill.



Credit: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung. License: <https://bit.ly/3q1YcZk>.

The originator of the ideologically charged critical race theory was Columbia Law School Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, who derived the approach from "neo-Marxism, postmodernism, liberal integrationism, radical feminism, leftist Black nationalism and the like" in the early 1990s.

Wokeism's Institutional Ramparts

The most important fact about woke cancellation is that it rarely if ever arises from individual action. Organized institutions carry out the famous firings and relegations. "Internal mobs," sometimes aided and abetted by the labor unions supposedly intended to protect workers from arbitrary firing, enforce the ideological line. Institutions that have not purged dissenters have decided that it is easier to appease the internal, external, and governmental mobs by adopting "diversity, equity, and inclusion" (DEI) programming aligned with expansive critical race theory. Teachers unions, school administrators, major corporations, and liberal and mainline religious denominations have all supported, instituted, or advanced woke ideology.

Education. Critical race theory itself emerged from the academy. The originator of the ideologically charged methodology was Columbia Law School Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, who derived the approach from "neo-Marxism, postmodernism, liberal integrationism, radical feminism, leftist Black nationalism and the like" in the early 1990s.

Within education schools, the training arena for school-teachers, the rise of critical race theory built on top of longstanding left-progressive and radical-left pedagogy. Pedagogy is the theory of teaching practice. One of the most assigned texts is *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, written by the late Brazilian academic and socialist politician Paulo Freire. In the Manhattan Institute's City Journal, Sol Stern described Freire's influence:

Of course, the popularity of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* wasn't due to its educational theory alone. During the seventies, veterans of the student-protest and antiwar movements put down their placards and began their "long march through the institutions," earning Ph.D.s and joining humanities departments. Once in the academy, the leftists couldn't resist incorporating their radical politics (whether Marxist, feminist, or racialist) into their teaching. Celebrating Freire as a major thinker gave them a powerful way to do so. His declaration in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* that there was "no such thing as a neutral education" became a mantra for leftist professors, who could use it to justify proselytizing for America-hating causes in the college classroom.



Steeped in Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed and academic critical theories including critical race theory, university administrations provide the shock troops of campus cancel culture.

Daniel Buck, a conservative writer and schoolteacher in Wisconsin, explains how Freire’s and Crenshaw’s leftist theories manifest in classroom structure and instruction:

Few, if any, public schools are teaching scholars like Crenshaw, [critical race theorist Richard] Delgado, or Freire in K-12 curricula. But the ideology’s core concepts are an influential force in public education and underlie the design of course material from inception to evaluation. To claim otherwise is like saying a dinner includes no salt because there isn’t a salt course. CRT can influence every decision within schools—curricula, behavior policies, instructional practices, and the like—even if high school students don’t read lengthy monographs of legal theory.

Given that critical race theory and the broader “pedagogy of the oppressed” movement aligns comfortably with the interests and ideologies of the socialist Left, it should not be surprising that the teachers unions back the ideology. In 2018, the National Education Association (NEA) issued a “racial justice in education” guidebook inspired by critical race theory. It managed to avoid hostile notice until the Freedom Foundation unearthed and publicized it in 2021.

As pushback against critical race theory in education grew in 2021, both the NEA and its major-city counterpart, Randi Weingarten’s American Federation of Teachers (AFT), doubled down on pushing critical race theory and aligned ideologies. At its 2021 convention, the NEA adopted a resolution to:

Provide an already-created, in-depth, study that critiques empire, white supremacy, anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, racism, patriarchy, cisheteropatriarchy, capitalism, ableism, anthropocentrism, and other forms of power and oppression at the intersections of our society, and that we oppose attempts to ban critical race theory and/or The 1619 Project.

For its part, Weingarten’s AFT brought the academic theorist Ibram X. Kendi to speak at its TEACH 2021

Conference. Kendi has proposed changing the Constitution to force all policies to conform to his radical-left notions of racial “equity.”

Unsurprisingly, higher education is worse. Packed full of education-program graduates steeped in Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and academic critical theories including critical race theory, university administrations provide the shock troops of campus cancel culture. Even given the leftism of university professors and students, administrators are the most progressive. And the administrators handle matters such as hiring for on-campus jobs, adjudicating academic disputes, and administering campus social programming.

Research suggests that liberal administrators outnumber conservative-leaning administrators by 12 to one. The relative ratio for professors is six to one, and for incoming students it is two to one. A right-leaning professor characterized the situation: “It appears that a fairly liberal student body is being taught by a very liberal professoriate—and socialized by an incredibly liberal group of administrators.”

Corporate America. Politically, the business community at large still leans right, if not by as much as it once did. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce’s employees and its political action committees (PACs) gave 75.6 percent of their 2020 congressional campaign contributions to Republicans (down from 95.9 percent in 2016) according to OpenSecrets data. The National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB) gave 96.9 percent to the GOP (up slightly from 95.6 percent in 2016). But a major social shift, especially in the largest American companies, has accompanied the rising prominence of environmental, social, and governance (ESG) investing and the profound leftward lean of the FAANG—Facebook, Apple, Amazon, Netflix, and Google—tech giants.

As Chris Rufo of the Manhattan Institute has extensively documented, major corporations have adopted radical-left critical race theory as their frame for “diversity, equity, and inclusion” programming. It is perhaps not surprising that one of the corporations whose programs Rufo has profiled

is Google, given the political inclinations of Silicon Valley. (OpenSecrets identifies employees and PACs associated with Alphabet, the parent company of Google and YouTube, as breaking 83.7 percent Democratic against 6.4 percent Republican in their 2020 contributions to congressional candidates.) Rufo writes:

In a foundational training module called “Allyship in Action,” Google’s head of systemic allyship Randy Reyes and a team of consultants from The Ladipo Group train employees to deconstruct their racial and sexual identities, and then rank themselves on a hierarchy of “power [and] privilege.” The trainers then instruct the employees to “manage [their] reactions to privilege”—which are likely to include feelings of “embarrassment, shame, fear, [and] anger”—through “body movement,” “deep breathing,” “accessing [their] ‘happy place,’” and “cry[ing].”

But the movement reaches beyond openly left-progressive Silicon Valley tech giants. Walmart, the nation’s largest brick-and-mortar retailer, has a fairly divided political allegiance (OpenSecrets breakdown for 2020: 48.9 percent Democratic and 37.7 percent Republican). Rufo reports on the company’s CRT-aligned DEI programs:

According to a cache of internal documents I have obtained from a whistleblower, Walmart launched the program in 2018 in partnership with the Racial Equity Institute, a Greensboro, North Carolina, consulting firm that has worked extensively with universities, government agencies, and private corporations. The program is based on the core principles of critical race theory, including “intersectionality,” “internalized racial oppression,” “internalized racial inferiority,” and “white anti-racist development.” Since the program’s launch, Walmart has trained more than 1,000 employees and made the program mandatory for executives and recommended for hourly wage workers in Walmart stores. When reached for comment, Walmart confirmed that the company has “engaged REI for a number of training sessions since 2018” and has “found these sessions to be thought provoking and constructive.”

Even Republican-leaning heavy industries like defense contractor Lockheed Martin (OpenSecrets 2020 breakdown: 51.7 percent GOP and 44.5 percent Democratic) are not immune from the DEI fad. Rufo again writes:



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/3s9H1rC>.

In reaction to corporate America’s embrace of critical race theory and similar social-liberal “woke” activism, some—most notably U.S. Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL)—have suggested that organized labor could serve as a counterbalance to “woke capital,” most clearly represented by the FAANG [Facebook, Apple, Amazon, Netflix, and Google] tech giants.

Last year, Lockheed Martin Corporation, the nation’s largest defense contractor, sent white male executives to a three-day diversity-training program aimed at deconstructing their “white male culture” and encouraging them to atone for their “white male privilege,” according to documents I have obtained.

Organized Labor. In reaction to corporate America’s embrace of critical race theory and similar social-liberal “woke” activism, some—most notably U.S. Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL)—have suggested that organized labor could serve as a counterbalance to “woke capital,” most clearly represented by the FAANG tech giants. But that would require organized labor to completely reverse its present position on the questions related to wokeness.

The clearest evidence of organized labor’s position on the social-policy question comes from within the tech giant Alphabet. Early in 2021, workers at Google’s parent company announced their intention to organize under the Communications Workers of America, a notoriously left-wing labor union that endorsed socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) for the 2016 and 2020 Democratic presidential nominations. In the press announcements that the Alphabet Workers Union had formed, organizers and worker-activists emphasized that the union would seek not only to improve Alphabet employees’ material circumstances but also to



Perhaps the most prominent “woke” project to date has been the New York Times Magazine’s 1619 Project, which recenters the founding of the United States on the first importation of enslaved Africans to the Thirteen Colonies.

affect “the role their companies have in society.” Reporting on the formation of the Alphabet union focused on how the union had emerged from a pattern of broader left-wing social activism among Alphabet workers.

CWA locals were also involved in two other events demonstrating the social-Left position of the labor movement. Best known was the 2020 revolt of the “internal mob” at the *New York Times*, which conducted a campaign against op-ed page staff after the page published a piece by U.S. Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR) encouraging the use of troops to restore order amid wide-scale rioting and civil disorder after George Floyd’s death in police custody. (A Minnesota jury later convicted a police officer of second-degree murder in Floyd’s death.) Staff claimed that publishing the senator’s position, which polling indicated was shared by a near-majority of American voters, “puts Black [*Times*] staff in danger.” Reporting later revealed that they had been coached on the language by representatives of the *Times* reporters’ union, the CWA-affiliated NewsGuild of New York.

Less well remembered was a targeted attack on law-and-order columnist John Kass, then of the *Chicago Tribune*. The Chicago Tribune Guild, the *Tribune* reporters’ union, sent a letter to management accusing Kass of “religious bigotry and fomenting conspiracy theories” for a column in which Kass *accurately* detailed campaign contributions from George Soros to controversial left-wing Cook County State’s Attorney Kim Foxx (D). In 2021, Kass left the *Tribune* to become an independent journalist.

Foundations. Subsidizing the woke-progressive movement is the overwhelmingly liberal world of Big Philanthropy. Billion-dollar foundations have funded major woke-progressive ideologists and projects.

Perhaps the most prominent “woke” project to date has been the *New York Times Magazine*’s 1619 Project, which purported to recenter the founding of the United States on the first importation of enslaved Africans to the Thirteen Colonies. While the *Times* houses the Project’s architect Nikole Hannah-Jones and published the project, Big Philanthropy has funded its further dissemination. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, which holds

over \$7 billion in assets and makes annual grants exceeding \$200 million, provided \$1.8 million to the Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting, which is turning the project into school curriculums and named Hannah-Jones as one of its “genius grant” fellows for 2017.

Ibram X. Kendi, the “antiracism” theorist and author, was named a MacArthur Fellow for 2021, and his Center for Antiracist Research at Boston University is also firmly backed by Big Philanthropy. While outgoing Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey is the center’s largest known donor as of late 2021, the Rockefeller Foundation also provided Kendi’s shop with \$1.5 million. In 2020, the *Washington Free Beacon* reported that the Ford Foundation, a major funder of liberal causes with \$14 billion in assets, had made \$250,000 in grants to Kendi’s former academic home, the Antiracism Research and Policy Center at American University, alongside \$300,000 from the Marguerite Casey Foundation, \$150,000 from George Soros’s Open Society Foundations, and \$150,000 from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.



At the TEACH 2021 Conference. Kendi proposed changing the Constitution to force all policies to conform to his radical-left notions of racial “equity.”

Credit: Montclair Film. License: <https://bit.ly/3EXZ5sk>

Religious Institutions. Even religious institutions are not immune from the institutional promotion of wokeness, which some commentators have suggested resembles a religion in its structure and dogmas. One of the two main popularizing texts of woke ideology, Robin DiAngelo's *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism*, was published by Beacon Press, an arm of the Unitarian Universalist religious movement. DiAngelo had previously consulted extensively for Unitarian congregations, and other leading woke ideologists have been involved in the Unitarian movement since the mid-1990s.

Even where woke ideology is not being promoted by liberal religious movements, the descendants of Yankee Social Gospel Progressive Protestantism, though largely secularized in form, continue to propagate woke ideology. Social critic Michael Lind has argued:

Shedding its specifically Northern mainline Protestant cultural attributes, a version of Social Gospel Protestantism has mutated into the secular religion of wokeness, the orthodoxy of the universities and the increasingly important nonprofit sector. Its converts include many of the affluent white secular children and grandchildren of members of mainline Protestant denominations like the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists, which are hemorrhaging membership to the category of religious “nones.”

By evolving from an ethnoregional culture into a crusading secular creed disseminated by the universities, the public school system, the corporate media, and corporate HR departments, post-Protestant wokeness is capable of assimilating anyone, of any race or ethnicity, native-born or immigrant, who is willing to conform to its weird rituals and snobbish etiquette. The Long Island lockjaw accent has been replaced by the constantly updated “woke” dialect of the emerging American elite as a status marker. You may have an Asian or Spanish surname, but if you know what “nonbinary” means and say “Latinx” (a term rejected by the overwhelming majority of Americans of Latin American origin) then you are potentially eligible for membership in the new national ruling class.

Lind places the power centers of ex-Protestant Yankee culture in three classes of institutions that survived the democratizing effects (as Lind, a liberal, sees them) of the New Deal era: the institutional federal bureaucracy (the “deep state”), major nonprofit foundations like the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and elite prep schools that feed Ivy League universities and the universities themselves.

The Left's Ultimate Weapon

Even the institutional supports that the Left enjoy would not be enough to turn courage into casualties without powerful weapons. And it is not as if the field on which woke progressives are contesting is entirely in their favor. Much of the business community remains at least somewhat conservative, as demonstrated by political contributions associated with the NFIB and Chamber of Commerce.

State-level politics also favors Republicans, as they have since 2010. As of January 2022, when Republicans elected in the 2021 Virginia state elections will have taken office, the Republican Party has “trifecta” control of the governorship and legislatures of 23 states against the Democratic Party's 14; the GOP holds 21 state executive “triplexes” (governorship, secretary of state, and attorney general) to the Democrats' 16 after flipping Virginia's state executive completely.

Polling and other tea leaves suggest that the midterm elections, which have in recent cycles seen “thermostatic” reaction waves against both Democratic and Republican incumbent presidents, are likely to see Republicans gain a foothold in federal offices. A *Washington Post*/ABC poll in November showed Republicans with an unprecedented-for-the-party 10-point advantage among registered voters. In an indication that the unexpected shifts in Hispanic voting that appeared in 2020 will prove sticky, Texas State Representative Ryan Guillen switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party while denouncing the national Democrats.

So why, despite broad strength for conservative and wokeness-skeptical interests in certain cultural institutions, does wokeness seem to be pre-positioned in insurmountable redoubts? The answer is that the woke side is well armed for culture war and equipped with a most powerful weapon: the secondary boycott.

Secondary Boycotts Defined. A “secondary” boycott differs from a traditional boycott in which entity suffers the activists' pain. A traditional “primary” boycott (or primary strike, primary picketing, or other primary action) targets the actor whose behavior the activist wishes to change. A labor union

Polling and other tea leaves suggest that the midterm elections are likely to see Republicans gain a foothold in federal offices.

might boycott a business with which it has a contract dispute. A civil rights group might boycott a business that provides substandard service to ethnic minorities. An environmentalist group might boycott a car company that does not produce enough electric cars. In all those cases, the business under boycott is the activists' target—the pressure is directed at the actor whose behavior the activists wish to change.

Secondary boycotts have different direct targets. The activist targets a victim with the intent of changing the behavior of a third party with whom the victim engages, usually in a commercial transaction. An animal rights group might target a grocery store that does business with a farm that the group alleges is cruel to animals, not to change the store's behavior but to induce the store to coerce the farm to change its behavior. A liberal pressure group might target the advertisers of a conservative talk show to get them to withdraw sponsorships and force the network to cancel the show. A gun-control advocacy group might target a bank to induce it to ban gun retailers from using its services, denying the retailers revenue and potentially putting them out of business. In each case, the true target is the *secondary* actor, not the primary entity being pressured.

The Strategy. So, why do this? As labor-union-organizer-turned-nominally-objective-labor-journalist Josh Eidelson declared explicitly: "Secondary targets make for soft targets."

But *why* do secondary targets make for soft targets? It is a case of costs and benefits. The primary target is *deeply* invested, both financially and ideologically, in whatever it is that the activists do not like. If a primary action would inflict enough pain to end the activity, activists would carry out a primary action.

But the secondary target is not invested and may even be ideologically at odds with the primary target. By training their power against the secondary target's reputation, which can be extremely costly to the target, activists impel the target to take coercive action against the principal the activists hope to harm. Further, as Dan McLaughlin has noted, when "powerful interests within the boycotted intermediary are sympathetic to the boycotters," the secondary boycott campaign is much more likely to succeed.

The ability of secondary boycotts to disrupt the social order and the functioning of the economy is clear from the legal treatment of secondary boycotts by labor unions. Under the Taft-Hartley Act, passed in response to a wave of strikes after the end of the Second World War, labor unions are barred from engaging in secondary boycotts.

The power of the secondary boycott is clear in Big Labor and its Democratic allies' response to the proscription. The Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act (H.R. 842), which the Democrats and Biden administration have advanced, would overturn most of Taft-Hartley, empowering labor unions to again order secondary boycotts.



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/3IQV7U4>.

Media Matters for America had a Stop Rush Limbaugh campaign in utero since 2009, modeled on its campaigns against then-Fox News host Glenn Beck (not shown). Media Matters conducted a secondary campaign targeting Limbaugh's advertisers, most prominently the online security firm Carbonite.

Case Study: Rush Limbaugh. The archetypal modern-era liberal-activist secondary boycott dates from 2012. That year, legendary conservative radio host Rush Limbaugh courted controversy (as was his wont) with an insulting reference to abortion activist Sandra Fluke. A flurry of outrage ensued from the Left that culminated in Limbaugh making an insincere apology to Fluke.

But the outrage was not grassroots revulsion; it was targeted professional activism. Media Matters for America had a Stop Rush campaign in utero since 2009, modeled on its campaigns against then-Fox News host Glenn Beck. Media Matters conducted a secondary campaign targeting Limbaugh's advertisers, most prominently the online security firm Carbonite.

While Media Matters was not able to force Limbaugh off the air—he broadcast three hours daily until he passed away in early 2021—the secondary boycott did cause him injury through loss of sponsorships. And Limbaugh was protected from "full cancellation" by the same thing that protects J.K. Rowling, the Scottish Labour Party-supporting but transgender-ideology-skeptical author of the Harry Potter books: Eff-you money and a massive independent brand.

Case Study: National Rifle Association. While management controversies in recent years have strained the finances of the National Rifle Association of America (NRA), it retains a massive independent brand. That has not discouraged left-progressives from targeting the gun-rights advocacy group with secondary boycotts, including government-orchestrated secondary boycotts that violate the Constitution.

Left-progressive local governments in San Francisco and Los Angeles passed legislation targeting government contractors that might have ties to the NRA. Los Angeles passed a city ordinance requiring “those seeking to do business with the City [of Los Angeles] to fully and accurately disclose any and all contracts with or sponsorship of the NRA.” A federal court enjoined the ordinance as a violation of the First Amendment rights of the NRA and of current and prospective city contractors. San Francisco’s resolution went further, declaring the NRA a domestic terrorist organization and ordering the city to “take every reasonable step to limit those entities who do business with the City and County of San Francisco from doing business” with the NRA. The ordinance did not even survive long enough to reach litigation, with the city’s mayor clarifying that the resolution did not change the city’s contracting policies in any way.

New York State also took secondary action against the NRA. Using the state’s power over financial institutions, then-Gov. Andrew Cuomo (D) ordered his “Department of Financial Services to urge insurance companies, New York State–chartered banks, and other financial services companies licensed in New York to review any relationships they may have with the National Rifle Association and other similar organizations.” After the directive was issued, the NRA lost at least two major business partnerships.

Outside government, gun-control groups have also pressured airlines, credit card companies, and other businesses to end promotions with the NRA, with considerable success in the immediate targeting. The primary objective, neutralizing the NRA, has thus far not succeeded.

Other Case Studies. Once one becomes familiar with the form of the secondary boycott, it’s clear that cancel culture uses secondary boycotts as a weapon to control 21st-century American society.

Activists pressuring eyewear brand Warby Parker to drop advertising on the Daily Wire, a conservative news outlet? Secondary boycott. Major League Baseball capitulating to activists to pull the All-Star Game from Georgia over election administration changes? Secondary boycott. Targeting Netflix because Dave Chappelle made less-than-woke comments about trans ideology? Secondary boycott. Targeting Disney to force them to fire Gina Carano for impolitic and unwise public statements? Secondary boycott.

Until opponents of the cancel mob can derive a stratagem to overcome the secondary boycott, the cancellers will remain well entrenched, and the courageous will become casualties. An outright ban, like that which prevails in the constitutionally unusual domain of labor law, would almost certainly not survive constitutional scrutiny.

Forced by the Government

Where private action has not yet forced compliance with woke ideology, our adversaries bring the power of the state to bear. Unencumbered by notions of constitutional propriety, federalism, or local-state balance of power, the Left employs whatever level of government it controls to impose its ideology on unwilling citizens and sovereigns alike.

Federal Demands on States and Citizens. Since the Biden administration took office in January 2021, it has brutally—and openly extraconstitutionally—used its power against citizens and states that stand against its diktats.

The administration’s most brazen maneuver was the extension of the national eviction moratorium. In his remarks on the order, President Joe Biden himself said, “The bulk of the constitutional scholars say it’s not likely to pass constitutional muster.” Unbounded by constitutional propriety and pressured by the socialist “Squad” on the left wing of his congressional party, he ordered it anyway until the Supreme Court struck it down.

Further unbounded by constitutional propriety and at the urging of the National School Boards Association (which later recanted its initial request), the Department of Justice ordered the FBI to conduct investigations into parents protesting mask mandates and the teaching of critical race theory at school board meetings. In November, a whistleblower alleged that, contrary to the implications of Attorney General Merrick Garland’s testimony to Congress, those investigations were being conducted using anti-terrorism tools and “threat tags.” The chilling effect of being “tagged” as a potential “domestic terrorist” does not need further remark. Attorney General Garland’s motives were further questioned after it was revealed his son-in-law was the cofounder of a CRT-aligned diversity consulting group.

States that have opposed the Biden administration’s collusion with teachers unions on permanent lockdowns and



Since the Biden administration took office in January 2021, it has openly extraconstitutionally used its power against citizens and states that stand against its diktats.

mask mandates for public schools have also been targeted. The Department of Education has threatened and sued states that enacted laws or issued orders prohibiting local authorities from issuing in-school mask mandates, claiming that doing so violated laws prohibiting discrimination against students with disabilities. One federal district court has affirmed this preposterous assertion (mask mandates may in fact inhibit students with disabilities most of all) as of writing.

State Demands on Localities. Where the woke control state governments, local power may as well not exist. Despite the fevered assertions of former governor Terry McAuliffe (D-VA) in his unsuccessful campaign for his old job, the Virginia state Department of Education under both McAuliffe and his successor (Democrat Ralph Northam) promoted and encouraged critical race theory and similar race-essentialist ideologies.

Democrats' and progressives' objections to actions that states (most prominently Florida) have taken to prohibit COVID lockdowns and mask mandates have cloaked themselves in notions of "local control." But in states like New York and California where Democrats and progressive interest groups control the levers of state policymaking, local control goes out the window, with the liberal state government ordering mask mandates and (in California's case) a mandate for the emergency-use COVID vaccines for all schoolchildren. Conservative localities are not entitled to "local control" when the left-progressive faith can be decreed from the governor's pulpit.

The liberal disregard for consistency in assigning powers among the levels and branches of government creates the maddening situation in which conservatives and the anti-woke facing *any of three* levels of government under control of their enemies must endure whatever the left-progressive movement throws at them, while liberals need control only one level both to protect themselves and to inflict their agenda on their conservative "neighbors."

Conclusion and Reflections

Understanding the institutional strength, powerful weapons, and government supports available to the woke-progressive movement and other liberal pressure campaigns is critical to turning courage into something more productive than the casualties the Irish Brigade suffered at Fredericksburg. Developing a strategy to counter these advantages is much more difficult.

The classical conservative approach is to create parallel institutions. Conservative think tanks like the American Enterprise Institute and Heritage Foundation were created in part to house right-leaning intellectuals unwelcome at mainline liberal institutions like Brookings or the increasingly liberal universities. Fox News, created to serve what longtime host Bret Baier has called "this niche market ... the niche was literally half the country," became the alternative to the liberal-leaning metropolitan press and television networks. Hillsdale College has functioned and presented itself as a sort of "college for activist conservatives" alongside a number of smaller religious schools. A group including Bari Weiss has created the University of Austin to be a non-sectarian university committed to open inquiry.

Alternative institutions are good, as far as they go. But they do not create a critical mass of rivals to the dominant woke narrative, and they do not enjoy the ancient prestige of the universities, media outlets, and policy outlets that they parallel.

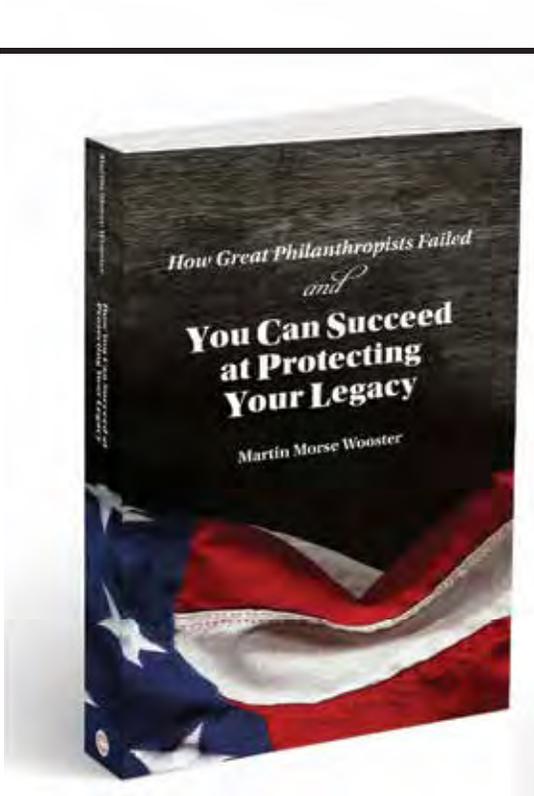
More contemporary efforts have focused on proscriptions, most notably bans on teaching critical race theory in K-12 public schools. Like alternative institutions, these are good only as far as they go. Given the extent to which Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* underlies teacher education, how effective can a "ban" on critical theory be? The ban on secondary boycotts by labor unions is reasonably effective in controlling the effects of labor disputes, but it is constitutionally problematic to extend it to other groups.

And proscriptions may last only as long as and may prevail only where conservatives win consecutive elections, which is difficult in a closely divided country with extremely competitive politics. Every state has elected at least one Republican to a statewide office since the turn of the 21st century, and every state has elected at least one Democrat to a statewide office since 1990.

So whatever response ultimately develops must include more than both of these two approaches, though both will and should contribute to it. We will still need courage, both personal and political, to carry it out. But more of the same, no matter how courageously pursued, will not reverse a 40-year effort to instill progressive premises in the foundations of our institutions. Courage is necessary, but it is not enough. ■

Read previous articles from the Special Reports series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/.

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.

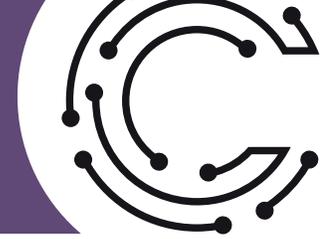
It is hard enough to give well when you're living. After you're gone, the odds of successful giving are stacked even higher against you. Entrepreneurial geniuses like Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Henry Ford were rarely tricked out of their money in business deals. But when they gave their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

This fascinating book covers the history of some of the biggest philanthropic mistakes and offers practical tips on how to protect your legacy. Everyone who wants to use their money to change the world needs to read this book.

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BIG MEDIA IGNORES FORD FOUNDATION'S BIG LEFT INFLUENCE

Hypocritical climate alarmists and Big Labor subsidies are some of the 2021 grants

By Ken Braun

Summary: One “lefty” billionaire that has been exerting a big influence on our politics for decades and yet escapes nearly all media scrutiny. This is more striking because Henry Ford died in 1947 and didn’t develop his left-leaning politics until after his death. The people spending his money—\$150 million annually—give grants to left-leaning groups advocating for all manner of left-leaning policies. Things were bad in 1977, when Henry Ford II, grandson of Henry Ford, loudly resigned from the foundation’s board, sniping on his way out that the well-heeled staffers had no appreciation for the capitalist system that left them so much loot to play with. The Ford Foundation has continued its march to the left.

Big Media has a big obsession with big money in politics. Google “Koch brothers,” and you’ll unleash a torrent of negative-spin stories from the conventional titans of print and broadcast media. Try it with “George Soros” and the torrent slows to a trickle.

But there’s one “lefty” billionaire that has been exerting a big influence on our politics for decades and yet escapes nearly all media scrutiny. This is more striking because he died in 1947 and didn’t have left-leaning politics even when he was alive. The enormously influential billionaire escaping the Big Media’s critical eye is Henry Ford, the Ford Foundation, and the people spending the fortune left by the auto pioneer.

Earlier this year the folks at Ford shipped a \$2 million grant off to Blueprint NC, a tax-exempt North Carolina nonprofit with a left-leaning political agenda. Today, a legal disclaimer at the bottom of the group’s webpage states it is “a public charity” that is “strictly prohibited from participating or intervening in any political campaign” and that its “activities will be strictly non-partisan.” But the very name is a partisan metaphor: Blueprint NC’s mission is to (politically speaking) turn the state “blue.”



Public domain.

The enormously influential billionaire escaping the Big Media’s critical eye is Henry Ford, the Ford Foundation, and the people spending the fortune left by the auto pioneer.

The Ford Foundation’s Millions

In 2013, the *Charlotte Observer* revealed that Blueprint NC circulated a strategy memo to its lefty allies describing a plan to “weaken our opponents’ ability to govern by crippling their leaders.” The missive specifically named its targets: North Carolina’s then-recently elected Republican Gov. Pat McCrory and GOP leaders in the state legislature. In case that wasn’t clear enough, the document elsewhere reiterated the goal was to “eviscerate the leadership and weaken their ability to govern.”

Dozens of other partisan combatants across the nation received more than \$150 million combined from the people spending Henry’s money in 2021. Now with net assets just

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

shy of \$16 billion, the Ford Foundation has for decades been one of the most influential partisan-left donors in America. This pattern had grown so severe by 1977 that Henry Ford II, grandson of Henry Ford, loudly resigned from the foundation's board, sniping on his way out that the well-heeled staffers had no appreciation for the capitalist system that left them so much loot to play with.

Like Blueprint NC, some of the other partisan players raking in Ford's big bucks may occasionally endure prying from the political press. But the same cannot be said of the paymasters behind the scenes. The people spending the Ford money literally cannot buy bad press from the conventional Big Media.

Right-center journalist Ira Stoll compiled an embarrassing collection of recent boot-licking accounts from just the *New York Times*. In April 2020, months before Joe Biden was even the Democratic presidential nominee, *Times* columnist Thomas Friedman was pushing Ford Foundation president Darren Walker as a great choice for a Biden cabinet. This was preceded by a gushing July 2019 *Times* profile of Walker and was followed in September 2020 by yet another puffy interview. In September 2020 piece the hard-boiled newspaper went with a soft headline: "How Being a 13-Year-Old Busboy Prepared Darren Walker to Lead the Ford Foundation."

Stoll concluded with the revelation that Ford grants pay the *Times* to report the news. One example was a \$1.5 million grant from Ford to the *Times* that was announced in ... December 2020. (Ahem ... nothing to see here ...)

Try to imagine similar profiles for a political donor with an eight-figure net worth who gives out \$150 million each year to right-leaning groups such as Americans for Prosperity. If you're not feeling terribly creative, then just conjure up some Darth Vader music and insert "Ford Foundation" as



In April 2020, months before Joe Biden was even the Democratic presidential nominee, New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman was pushing Ford Foundation president Darren Walker as a great choice for a Biden cabinet.



Credit: Gavin Peters/Cage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/3s8Cp0r>, <https://bit.ly/3yKJW0j>.

(Charles Koch left, David Koch right) Big Media has a big obsession with big money in politics. Google "Koch brothers," and you'll unleash a torrent of negative-spin stories from the conventional titans of print and broadcast media.

the subject into commentaries such as "Why Charles Koch Wins When Our Energy System Breaks Down" (*New York Times*, May 2021).

"Why the Ford Foundation Wins When Our Energy System Breaks Down" could even be a clumsy but somewhat on-point description for more than \$3.5 million shelled out by Ford in 2021 to lefty climate alarmist organizations that hypocritically oppose our largest and most reliable source of zero-carbon energy: nuclear power. Noting the virtue and critical necessity of carbon-free nuclear in a 2018 report, the Nature Conservancy recommended a staggeringly ambitious goal of hiking the nuclear contribution to world energy output from 7.8 percent to 33 percent.

On October 18, 2021, the Ford Foundation raked in more criticism-free headlines with its announcement that it would be divesting from fossil fuel energy investments. The PBS *NewsHour* account said: "Going forward, the foundation says it will invest its energy portfolio in alternative and renewable energy, and funds that 'address the threat of climate change, and support the transition to a green economy.'"

And ... drum roll ... PBS also said this: "Editor's note: The Ford Foundation is a funder for the PBS NewsHour."

Expecting a carbon-free or even just low-carbon future to arise solely from weather-restricted power sources such as wind and solar is to expect the lights to go off and people to begin eyeing one another covetously as sources of protein. That is effectively the agenda of at least seven of the Ford Foundation's 2021 grant recipients.

This report examines those recipients and dozens of other lefty advocacy groups cashing in on the more than \$150 million the Ford Foundation handed out to them this year.

Credit: Karuati Tang. License: <https://bit.ly/3j6kcpB>.

The \$150 million figure is a low-ball conservative estimate. It doesn't even include paying PBS or the *Times*. In the 1990s the Public Broadcasting Service solicited donors with the slogan: "We're PBS. If we don't do it, who will?"

Well, since PBS won't do this, the Capital Research Center will.

The reports draw on grant information provided by the Ford Foundation website and profiles at InfluenceWatch.

The Climate Hypocrites

In January 2019, more than 600 left-leaning policy and climate organizations co-signed a letter to members of Congress under the headline "Legislation to Address the Urgent Threat of Climate Change." Outlining their proposals demanding "renewable energy" and "100 percent decarbonization," the letter pointedly singled out nuclear power as being "dirty energy" and said that "any definition of renewable energy must also exclude all combustion-based power generation, nuclear, biomass energy, large scale hydro and waste-to-energy technologies."

As of 2020, according to the Department of Energy, "large scale hydro" and nuclear power together provided 27.3 percent of U.S. electricity, all of it carbon-free power. Nuclear alone provided 20 percent. Wind, solar and geothermal put together, the only sources of (intermittently) available electricity acceptable to these extremists, provided just 11.1 percent.

So, that January 2019 letter to Congress was effectively asking for a U.S. energy policy of achieving 100 percent decarbonization by wiping out 75 percent of our carbon-free alternatives, including the only alternative (nuclear) that can be scaled up with few theoretical limits.

The Ford Foundation has spent millions of dollars this year subsidizing this dangerous and delusional recommendation. Four of its grant recipients are signatories on that letter:

- **Center for Popular Democracy** (\$1.2 million from Ford in 2021).
- **Friends of the Earth** (\$450,000).
- **Institute for Policy Studies** (\$750,000).
- **Voices for a Sustainable Future** (\$300,000). Voices for a Sustainable Future has been a project of the Labor Network for Sustainability. The Labor Network for Sustainability signed the letter to Congress. The Ford Foundation grant description identifies the \$300,000 award as going to Voices for a Sustainable Future.



As of 2020, nuclear power provided 20 percent of U.S. electricity; wind, solar and geothermal put together provided just 11.1 percent.

- **Public Citizen Foundation** (\$400,000). The Ford grant was to the Public Citizen Foundation, a tax-exempt nonprofit created as a partner for Public Citizen, a left-leaning advocacy group. The two groups share a common website and executive leadership. The letter to Congress was signed "Public Citizen."

Two other 2021 Ford Foundation grant recipients were not signatories on the letter but have also adopted positions in opposition to nuclear energy:

- **Environmental Defense Fund** (\$130,000). EDF has recently supported the premature closure of nuclear power plants in New York and California. The pro-nuclear environmentalist group Environmental Progress has identified EDF as "one of the most influential anti-nuclear organizations in the United States." Environmental Progress has also accused EDF of "hypocrisy" because EDF supports wind and solar energy subsidies but opposes far smaller price supports for nuclear power.
- **Movement Strategy Center** (\$300,000). A 2015 policy document co-produced by the Movement Strategy Center praised a community in India for opposing the construction of both nuclear power and hydroelectric plants. The document also defined nuclear energy as an example of "false solutions" to carbon reduction.

Together, these seven so-called "environmentalist" anti-nuclear groups received \$3.53 million from the Ford Foundation in 2021.

Clearly Partisan Democrats

In addition to the \$2 million grant to Blueprint NC, eight additional 2021 Ford Foundation grant recipients have a clear agenda favoring the success of Democratic politicians. In total, the nine organizations received \$19.7 million from Ford in 2021.

- **Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation** (\$10 million). The Babcock Foundation funds numerous state-level partisan advocacy organizations. For example, during



And these numbers do not factor in the transportation sector, which is 26 percent of all U.S. energy use and dominated by fossil fuels. Shifting all the cars over to electric vehicles would mean even more demand for the zero-carbon sources doing most of the work to keep the lights on. Right now, the electric cars are running mostly on coal and natural gas.

the 2020 election cycle it gave more than \$2 million to Blueprint NC. In its 2019 tax filing Babcock reported total grants of \$15.5 million.

- **New Florida Majority Education Fund** (\$2 million). The New Florida Majority Education Fund website describes the group as “the non-partisan, nonprofit, educational 501c(3) arm of the New Florida Majority.” New Florida Majority is a partisan 501(c)(4) advocacy group that endorsed Joe Biden for president in 2020. The Ford Foundation website also describes the New Florida Majority Education Fund grant as “d/b/a Florida Rising Together.” The main page of the Florida Rising Together website boasts: “We organize multi-racial movements to win elections.”
- **State Voices** (\$2 million). The State Voices website shows that it is the national network for partisan state-based groups such as Blueprint NC.
- **Repairers of the Breach** (\$2 million). Repairers is a partisan religious group based in North Carolina led by left-wing pastor William J. Barber II. The Repairers’ blog stridently supports the agenda of President Biden and his Democratic allies. The blog harshly criticizes U.S. Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV) for failing to sufficiently support Biden, often calling Manchin’s faith and morality into question. A September post stated: “Senator Manchin claims to be a person of faith. But what he’s doing is sinful, immoral.” An October statement declared: “Sen. Manchin continues to not only ignore the teachings of his own faith tradition, he also ignores the voices of the people he was elected to serve.”
- **Workers Defense Project** (\$675,000). The Workers Defense Project is a Texas-based organization that promotes the agenda of left-leaning labor unions. The group’s leadership council includes representatives from the AFL-CIO, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and Jobs With Justice. The Workers Defense Project shares its senior leader and its leadership council with the Workers Defense Action Fund, a partisan 501(c)(4) advocacy group



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://bit.ly/3GRFz7s>.

A “2020 Impact Report” on the common website of Take Action Minnesota Education Fund and TakeAction Minnesota boasts of electing 12 politicians, including supporting left-wing Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-MN), and “winning seats historically held by Republicans.”

that boasted of its work electing Democrats during the 2020 election cycle.

- **Take Action Minnesota Education Fund** (\$400,000). IRS reports filed for 2019 show that the TakeAction Minnesota Education Fund shares a website and executive leadership with TakeAction Minnesota, a partisan 501(c)(4) advocacy group. A “2020 Impact Report” on the common website of the two groups boasts of electing 12 politicians, including supporting left-wing Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-MN), and “winning seats historically held by Republicans.”
- **Engage Michigan** (\$400,000). The grant was given to a recipient labeled in the Ford Foundation grant database as “Progress Michigan/Education.” This likely refers to a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt charitable group that operates publicly as Engage Michigan, but files with the IRS as the Progress Michigan Education Fund. As of the IRS filings for 2019, both this group and Progress Michigan, a partisan 501(c)(4) advocacy group, share the same principal officer and office address. During the 2018 gubernatorial election Progress Michigan ran independent advertisements attacking the Republican general election candidate.

- **New Virginia Majority Education Fund** (\$325,000). The grant was given to a recipient labeled in the Ford Foundation grant database as the “Virginia New Majority Education Fund.” This was likely a typo intended as the New Virginia Majority Education Fund. The New Virginia Majority Education Fund shares senior leadership with its partner, New Virginia Majority, a partisan 501(c)4 advocacy group. New Virginia Majority endorsed Joe Biden for president in 2020.

Subsidizing the Big Labor Left

Large labor unions, particularly the powerful and often left-wing public employee unions, are major supporters of Democratic and left-leaning causes. The Ford Foundation gave grants totaling \$44.5 million in 2021 to 10 groups that promote the policy objectives of labor unions.

- **National Domestic Workers Alliance** (\$10 million). The NDWA is a worker center affiliated with the SEIU, a left-wing labor union.
- **Neighborhood Funders Group** (\$7.2 million). Two grants for labor union projects, one of which is Funders for a Just Economy (FJE). The Neighborhood Funders Group webpage describes FJE as “committed to placing organized labor, worker centers, worker justice campaigns, policy efforts, and organizing strategies at the center of our various efforts.”
- **Jobs with Justice Education Fund** (\$7.1 million). Jobs with Justice promotes the interests of Big Labor. It lists many of the largest left-of-center labor organizations in America as its “Union Partners.” The eight-member board of directors includes representatives from the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, the SEIU, the Center for Community Change, and the National Domestic Workers Alliance.
- **National Black Workers Center Project** (\$4 million). This is a fiscally sponsored project of NEO Philanthropy, a left-leaning donor-advised fund. The

National Black Workers Center Project promotes several objectives of major labor unions, such as higher minimum wage laws. The eight-person board of directors includes two representatives from the SEIU. The website asserts that “racial capitalism operates and maintains” a “systemic exploitation of Black workers.” The group also proposes enactment of \$2,400 monthly checks paid by the federal government to all mothers (\$28,800 annually) and an additional \$1,000 monthly check (totally \$40,800 annually) for mothers who “are Black, Indigenous, or other economically disadvantaged people of color.”

- **CARE Fund** (\$3.5 million). This is a fiscally sponsored project of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, a left-leaning donor-advised fund. The CARE Fund provides grants to advocacy groups affiliated with labor unions, such as Family Values @ Work and the National Domestic Workers Alliance.
- **Center for Innovation in Worker Organization (CIWO) at Rutgers University** (\$3 million). The CIWO trains union activists and promotes the interests of left-leaning labor unions. It lists major labor unions and advocacy groups as its partner organizations. Examples include the American Federation of Teachers, AFSCME, the National Education Association, the SEIU, the National Black Workers Center Project, the National Domestic Workers Alliance, Jobs with Justice and the Partnership for Working Families.
- **Economic Policy Institute** (\$2.65 million). EPI is a research group that is funded and run by labor unions. Its board of directors includes representatives from left-leaning labor, policy and political groups, including the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, the SEIU, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the United Steelworkers, the Democratic National Committee, and The American Prospect.
- **The International Comparative Labor Studies Program at Morehouse College** (\$1.5 million). The program trains union activists, and the website states that part of the program mission is to “serve local labor developments, global unions, works councils, and other governance and education needs.” A description of the program’s senior seminar states that it trains students in the theory that capitalism and racism are linked both historically and in the present day and that “it should come as no surprise that the language of democratic socialism is again moving more squarely into the public discourse, and in ways that resonate



The National Black Workers Center Project website asserts that “racial capitalism operates and maintains” a “systemic exploitation of Black workers.”



The International Comparative Labor Studies Program at Morehouse College trains students in the theory that capitalism and racism are linked both historically and in the present day.

especially among a diverse cadre of young people who are eager to think more clearly about where we are.”

- **New York Taxi Workers Alliance** (\$1.5 million). This group is an affiliate of the AFL-CIO that seeks to impose conventional and protectionist taxi regulations on non-union Uber/Lyft-style rideshare drivers.

The “Dark Money” Arabella Network

Arabella Advisors is a partisan for-profit firm that manages four left-leaning nonprofits: the Sixteen Thirty Fund, New Venture Fund, Windward Fund, and Hopewell Fund. In 2018 alone this Arabella network spent more than \$600 million on partisan Democratic political work and left-leaning advocacy.

An April 2021 *New York Times* report described Arabella as “an opaque network” that “often obscures the identities of donors” and funnels “hundreds of millions of dollars through a daisy chain of groups supporting Democrats and progressive causes.” The *Times* identified Arabella as a “leading vehicle” for “dark money” on the left.

The obscurity of these donations is sometimes made clear when a donor to an Arabella fund publicly identifies how much was given and for what purpose. According to its online grants database, the Ford Foundation gave nearly \$13 million to left-leaning projects run by Arabella’s Hopewell Fund and New Venture Fund in 2021.

For some of these grants, the Ford database describes an obvious and identifiable purpose. In other cases, the language is less clear.

- **Public Interest Technology Infrastructure Fund** (\$3 million). The specific objective of this New Venture Fund project is not clear. The Ford Foundation has a general giving goal of funding enhancements to the technical and human capacity of left-leaning “social justice” groups so that they can counter the work of “well-funded and well-organized opposition.” The Ford Foundation described the

purpose of this particular grant as follows: “For the development and administration of the Public Interest Technology Infrastructure Fund, to design a governance structure for grantmaking to strengthen the field of public interest technology.”

- **Public Interest Technology University Network Challenge Fund** (\$700,000). This project of the New Venture Fund appears to be related to the Public Interest Technology Infrastructure Fund. The specific objective of this project is similarly unclear. The Ford Foundation described the purpose of the grant as follows: “Core support for the Public Interest Technology University Network Challenge Fund for subgranting for curricula development, research agendas, & experiential learning programs to create a pipeline of technology talent toward careers in the public interest.”
- **Redistricting Reform Project** (\$2.5 million). Also known as the Fair Representation in Redistricting Project, the Redistricting Reform Project is a run by the New Venture Fund. It advocates for gerrymandering state legislative and congressional districts so that the districts have a higher probability of electing Democrats. Another Arabella-managed foundation was the largest donor (at \$5.5 million) to a left-leaning constitutional amendment campaign in 2018 that successfully removed Michigan’s redistricting process from the representatives of the people and put it instead under the authority of an unelected and randomly selected commission.
- **All Above All** (\$2.35 million). A project of the New Venture Fund, All Above All is a pro-abortion group. It opposed the confirmation of U.S. Supreme Court justices Brett Kavanaugh and Neil Gorsuch.
- **Media Democracy Fund** (\$1.26 million). This project of the New Venture Fund advocates for left-leaning technology policies such as so-called net neutrality.
- **Social and Economic Justice Leaders Planning Group** (\$1 million). This New Venture Fund project develops and trains staffers for left-leaning activist organizations. The Ford Foundation described the purpose of the grant as follows: “Core support for the Social and Economic Justice Leaders table to identify and implement aligned advocacy responses to strategic opportunities and challenges.”
- **Economic Security Project** (\$1 million). The Economic Security Project is fiscally sponsored by the Hopewell Fund. It advocates for greater regulation on businesses and other left-leaning economic policies.

Additional Large Lefty Grants

Finally, here are nine additional left-leaning policy and advocacy groups that each received multi-million-dollar 2021 grants from the Ford Foundation:

- **Colorofchange.org Education Fund** (\$5 million). Color of Change is a left-wing activist group co-founded by Van Jones that engages in pressure campaigns that drive the Democratic Party further left. In one example from 2010, Color of Change opposed the elevation of Rep. Bobby Rush (D-IL) to the position of Ranking Member of the House Communications, Technology and the Internet Subcommittee because Rush had supported only five of the six elements of a net neutrality proposal. For historical perspective, in 1967 Congressman Rush was the co-founder of the Illinois chapter of the communist Black Panther Party.
- **Amalgamated Charitable Foundation** (\$4.7 million). Amalgamated Charitable is a donor-advised fund that fiscally sponsors left-leaning advocacy groups. The largest 2021 grant from the Ford Foundation (\$4 million of the total) was for Amalgamated's HousesUSFund. This project funds rent control groups such as the Florida Housing Justice Alliance. The Ford grant description read as follows: "Core support for the HouseUS Fund, a combined impact fund for housing justice coalitions and field organizing in states to advance a bold agenda for racial and economic justice in housing."
- **Movement for Black Lives** (\$4.5 million). Movement for Black Lives is a left-wing advocacy group that identifies itself with the Black Lives Matter movement. Movement for Black Lives supports socialist policy goals such as a "progressive restructuring of tax codes at the local, state, and federal levels to ensure a radical and sustainable redistribution of wealth." Movement for Black lives is a fiscally sponsored subsidiary of the Common Counsel Foundation. The Ford Foundation funded Movement for Black Lives through a grant to Common Counsel.
- **Allied Media Projects** (\$4.4 million). Allied Media is a left-wing media strategy nonprofit that promotes the position that capitalism is racist. One of the grant descriptions provided by the Ford Foundation states that Allied Media is receiving the funds "for the Decolonizing Wealth Project to disrupt existing systems of moving and controlling capital through education, radical reparative giving, and narrative change."
- **Asian American Pacific Islander Civic Engagement Fund** (\$3.5 million). This group funds other left-leaning and left-wing activist groups, such as the Chinese Progressive Association (San Francisco). The Asian American Pacific Islander Civic Engagement Fund is a fiscally sponsored project of NEO philanthropy, a donor-advised fund for left-leaning activist contributors.
- **Center for Democracy and Technology** (\$3.25 million). CDT is an advocacy group that promotes left-leaning technology policies such as so-called "net neutrality."
- **Faith in Action Network** (\$3.1 million). Faith in Action is an advocacy group that promotes left-leaning economic goals, such as increasing government spending on the welfare state and hiking the minimum wage.
- **Washington Center for Equitable Growth** (\$3 million). This group advocates for left-leaning economic policies such as increased government spending and higher taxes.
- **Center for Working Families** (\$2.95 million). The Ford Foundation website cites the Center for Working Families as the ultimate recipient of \$2.95 million in grants given to the Tides Foundation in 2021. Tides is a pass-through donor-advised fund used by left-leaning activist contributors. In the past the Center for Working Families has supported left-leaning budget and policy priorities such as higher taxes and government spending. But as of this writing the last post on the CWF website appeared to have been from more than eight years prior. IRS records for 2019 show the nonprofit formerly using the name Center for Working Families was filing as the "United for Respect Education Fund." Under this new name the group runs left-leaning advocacy campaigns against large retailers such as Walmart and promotes a government-mandated \$15 per hour wage. ■

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

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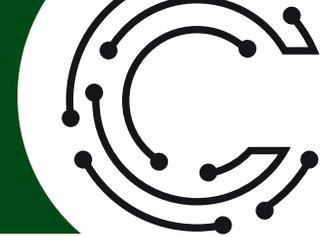


CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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



GREENING THE UNIONS: ALIGNING ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND BIG LABOR

By Hayden Ludwig

Summary: *Uniting America's labor unions and environmentalists has been the dream of the Left for decades: a coalition that can overcome the threat to manufacturing job security posed by anti-carbon radicals. Such has been the goal of the BlueGreen Alliance, which promises to force decarbonization policies on the country's dwindling unionized workforce in exchange for "green" jobs programs. But the window for passing legislation under the Democratic Congress is fast shrinking given the looming 2022 midterms.*

For decades, the Left has sought a marriage between two of its biggest pillars: Big Labor and Big Green. The two are not natural allies. Much of the anti-carbon agenda driving today's environmentalists promises less industrialization—with fewer factories, cars, and planes—and less reliance on and employment in the global supply chain on which they depend.

On the surface, such a marriage seems destined for divorce. What do blue-collar laborers in the Midwest have in common with blue-blooded eco-activists on the coasts? And why would labor unions that depend on natural gas to fire their furnaces, coal to produce their steel, and oil to power trucks and trains back something so radical as the Green New Deal?

Critics might also point out that President Joseph Biden's war on the Keystone XL pipeline—a privately financed expansion to an *existing* pipeline bringing Canadian crude oil to refineries on the Gulf of Mexico—reveals the tensions between union workers and die-hard environmental



Conservatives should be wary of forecasting the death of the BlueGreen Alliance.



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While the idea of a Big Labor–Big Green union is nothing new, the formal BlueGreen Alliance began as a strategic partnership in 2006 between the United Steelworkers of America and the Sierra Club, the country's oldest major environmental organization.

activists, which will inevitably lead to a breakdown in their alliance. The Keystone XL expansion would have provided numerous high-paying blue-collar jobs to construct and maintain. If the eco-friendly government of Canada—a signatory to the Paris Climate Accord—has approved the pipeline, why can't American "greens"?

But conservatives should be wary of forecasting the death of the BlueGreen Alliance. Despite tensions, the AFL-CIO, America's largest federation of labor unions, has announced that it's making global warming policy a top priority under the Biden administration, seeking federal tax credits for "green" building standards and other union-friendly actions.

Many of the top bills proposed under the Biden administration—including the Green New Deal, infrastructure bill, and proposals for an FDR-style Civilian Climate

Hayden Ludwig is a senior research analyst at CRC.

Corps—are arguably the pinnacle of what any BlueGreen alliance was meant to achieve: a fundamental transformation of America’s energy and economy that puts unions and environmentalists in charge. Under President Biden and a Democratic Congress, they may get their wish.

Big Labor, Meet Big Green

While the idea of a Big Labor–Big Green union is nothing new, the formal BlueGreen Alliance began as a strategic partnership in 2006 between the United Steelworkers of America (USW), North America’s largest union with 1.2 million members and an AFL-CIO affiliate, and the Sierra Club, the country’s oldest major environmental organization. Their goal was clear: use their combined lobbying power to steer public funds toward renewable energy projects built by unionized workers.

Both groups are highly political and overwhelmingly favor Democrats. In the 2020 election alone USW spent \$1.6 million aiding Democrats nationwide, plus another \$4.2 million through its associated super PAC, USW Works. Between them United Steelworkers has poured \$47 million into politics since 1979.

The Sierra Club spent \$7.3 million between its PAC and super PAC in 2020, much of it helping the Biden campaign. Since 1979 the groups have spent \$25 million influencing federal elections.

USW is also the second-largest lobbyist among industrial unions, spending \$1.3 million in 2020 alone, mostly on bills governing energy efficiency in manufacturing, decarbonization mandates, workers’ rights in NAFTA/USMCA and other international trade agreements, and health care. The

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Sierra Club has spent close to \$7 million lobbying the federal government since 2008, almost all of it in conservation and climate-related bills.

Unions and “green” groups are structured very differently. Big Labor commands a legion of dues-paying members, granting it huge leverage in negotiations where sit-ins and strikes loom large. Environmental groups tend to attract many of the Left’s most devoted activists and persistent lawyers, as well as funding from ultra-wealthy donors like Tom Steyer or the Swiss-born Hansjörg Wyss who are concerned for the planet’s future.

Big Labor has its roots in the 19th century and has always wavered between American patriotism and out-and-out communism, most famously in the merger of the centrist American Federation of Labor and the far-left Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1950s to form the AFL-CIO. The Big Green ostensibly began in earnest with the conservation work of Theodore Roosevelt and Sierra Club founder John Muir—now ousted by the group he founded for his alleged racism—but it really emerged as the modern activist force we now know in the late 1960s, when Rachel Carson published her famous (and dubiously researched) anti-pesticide book *Silent Spring*. Since then, the environmentalist movement has bounced between the center-left and far-left, espousing an almost religious

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aversion to “fossil fuels,” nuclear energy, and often humanity itself.

On the surface, their objectives may seem contradictory or at least unrelated. But consider that almost all climate mandates involve massive government spending sprees and regulations restricting how and which kind of products companies may manufacture. Electric vehicles (EV) are a fast-growing commodity, but only one of the three biggest EV manufacturers—Chevrolet—is unionized. Expensive “green” energy will only drive up fuel costs for commuters, encouraging the use of (union-built) public transportation.

Numerous bills proposed in the past year would also subsidize “green” retrofitting for commercial buildings and houses, replacing gas appliances with electric appliances. Because wind and solar are fickle and unreliable energy sources, every solar panel farm and wind turbine requires a natural gas–burning backup plant. This means renewable energy replacement mandates actually *increase* the total megawatts produced for the U.S. electric grid instead of swapping out one form of electricity production for another, wasting resources. Those same renewables are also incredibly resource-intensive to construct. A single wind turbine requires some 550 tons of concrete and 45 tons of steel for the base *alone*. It’s been estimated that by 2028 the global wind turbine fleet will consume over 5.5 million tons of copper wiring, making it the most copper-intensive form of electricity generation.

All of that is good news indeed for the unions whose members mine, refine, ship, install, maintain, or replace the products Uncle Sam declares will save the planet from catastrophic manmade climate change.

BlueGreen’s goals outlined in 2019 put infrastructure and manufacturing squarely in the center:

- Rebuilding roads and bridges,
- “Stopping fugitive emissions from our water systems,”
- Overhauling the natural gas pipeline system,
- Redesigning new *and* existing buildings in all sectors,

- Changing the entire electric grid to support renewables (at some point an engineering impossibility),
- Federally funding universal broadband construction,
- Doubling of federal funding into “clean technology” research,
- Negotiating project-labor and prevailing wage agreements, and
- Increasing union density by overturning right-to-work laws.

The Apollo Alliance

The current BlueGreen Alliance operates as a pair of 501(c)(4) and (c)(3)—the BlueGreen Alliance Foundation—nonprofits, a common practice among political groups. This modern group was formed from a 2011 merger with a slightly older environmental-labor coalition: the Apollo Alliance.

Apollo was birthed in 2004 as a project of the San Francisco-based Tides Center, the arm of the left-wing



Apollo was birthed in 2004 as a project of the San Francisco–based Tides Center, the arm of the left-wing pass-through Tides Foundation responsible for incubating new groups. Its emergence marked a turning point in the environmental movement, which had started to fizzle out.

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pass-through Tides Foundation responsible for incubating new groups. Its emergence marked a turning point in the environmental movement, which had started to fizzle out. At a meeting of the Environmental Grantmakers Association, environmentalists Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus revealed a shocking report declaring that “environmentalism was dead,” blaming activists for failing to realize a real solution to global warming beyond restricting the world’s access to resources and energy. Shellenberger and Nordhaus saw Apollo as the solution to this stagnation:

Whether or not you believe that the New Apollo Project is on the mark, it is at the very least a sincere attempt to undermine the assumptions beneath special interest environmentalism. Just two years old, Apollo offers a vision that can set the context for a myriad of national and local Apollo proposals, all of which will aim to treat labor unions, civil rights groups, and businesses not simply as means to an end but as true allies whose interests in economic development can be aligned with strong action on global warming.

That project found a home in the Tides Center, which specializes in taking new groups which haven’t yet obtained tax-exempt status under its fold until they’ve become fully fledged nonprofits, at which point they’re spun off. Tides has incubated dozens, perhaps hundreds, of nonprofits this way since the late 1970s.

Van Jones, President Barack Obama’s “green jobs czar” and the alliance’s California chair, saw Apollo as “sort of a grand unified field theory for progressive left causes,” and the group’s ultimate vision was to create a \$500 billion “green-collar” economy by the mid-2010s. Little wonder the Sierra Club, League of Conservation Voters, United Steelworkers, Service Employees International Union (SEIU), AFL-CIO, and other environmentalist and labor groups endorsed it. The Apollo Alliance received funding through the Tides Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, the Nathan Cummings Foundation, Google, and the West Coast utility Pacific Gas & Electric.

Apollo’s board included former U.S. Rep. and later Washington Gov. Jay Inslee, a 2020 Democratic presidential candidate. Phil Angelides—a wealthy real estate developer, former California state treasurer, and the unsuccessful Democratic 2006 gubernatorial nominee—chaired the Apollo Alliance. Former National Wildlife Federation chair Jerome Ringo was its president. And the group’s advisory board included the likes of Julian Bond, NAACP chair; Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-IL), legally troubled son of the famous reverend; Carl Pope, Sierra Club executive director; and Art Pulaski, California Labor Federation secretary-treasurer.

The coalition’s most lasting impact was crafting the 2008 Apollo Economic Recovery Act, which called for \$110 billion in government funding for “green” jobs program. The measure was ultimately folded into the 2009 stimulus bill passed by the Democratic Congress, and Apollo was reportedly so influential in its passage that Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) credited it “in helping us develop and execute a strategy that makes great progress on these goals.”

Representing the Professional Environmental Movement

Since the group’s merger into the BlueGreen Alliance in 2011, it has picked up support from the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), Union of Concerned Scientists, and various labor unions. The group’s current membership roster represents what one might term the “professional” environmental movement, including more litigation and lobbying giants than wild-eyed 1960s throwbacks like 350.org and Greenpeace.

But make no mistake, these groups are extreme. One National Wildlife Federation vice president Tracy Stone-Manning once worked for and covered up the actions of the eco-terrorist group Earth First!, which hammered hundreds of metal spikes into trees at logging sites across Oregon. When a logger’s chainsaw hits a spike, it can maim or kill the logger. Biden nominated Stone-Manning as head the

Bureau of Land Management, and she was confirmed in September 2021, putting her in charge of America's vast public forests and parks.

The League of Conservation Voters (LCV) spends so heavily supporting Democrats each election cycle that it's earned a reputation as a "dark money" heavyweight" by the left-leaning Center for Public Integrity. LCV strongly supports a federal tax on carbon dioxide emissions to halt global warming, which would raise the price of almost every commodity and utility in the country.

Predictably, this alliance presents as many problems as it does solutions. The Laborers International Union of North America (LIUNA), a major labor group, quit the alliance in 2016 over the latter's opposition to the Keystone XL natural gas pipeline.

The coalition's finances have somewhat stagnated over the years, too. In 2010 the (c)(4) arm reported record high revenues of \$3.9 million. That same year it spent millions of dollars lobbying on climate change bills and the Democrats' proposed union card check bill. In recent years the (c)(4)'s revenues have rarely exceeded \$1.6 million, although the (c)(3) BlueGreen Foundation regularly brings in between \$4 and \$6 million annually.

The top donors to the coalition include the Hewlett Foundation, the philanthropy of the late co-founder of Hewlett-Packard; the Energy Foundation, a bundler formed by various foundations to support environmental groups; the MacArthur Foundation; the Sierra Club; and a number of unions, including the AFL-CIO. Interestingly, in 2010 the BP Foundation donated \$50,000 to the



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Why would labor unions that depend on natural gas to fire their furnaces, coal to produce their steel, and oil to power trucks and trains back something so radical as the Green New Deal?

BlueGreen Alliance, the same year BP (formerly British Petroleum) had the infamous Deepwater Horizon oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico.

Pushing Climate Legislation Further to the Left

But the BlueGreen Alliance is gearing up for expansion under President Biden. In January 2021, it was reported that the coalition is hiring for 11 new positions, including field organizers and a campaign manager. It's clear the group sees opportunity under Biden, who was the first candidate endorsed by BlueGreen. The Biden administration is already the most extreme on climate in American history, exceeding even the Obama administration. The Biden campaign website promises to "make environmental justice a priority across all federal agencies" and "hold polluters accountable":



The environmentalist movement has bounced between the center-left and far-left, espousing an almost religious aversion to "fossil fuels," nuclear energy, and often humanity itself.

On Day 1, Biden will require public companies to disclose climate-related financial risks. . . . In his first year, he'll work to enact legislation **requiring polluters to bear the full cost of their climate pollution**. But that's not all: Biden will direct his EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] and Justice Department to **pursue these cases to the fullest extent permitted by law** and . . . seek additional legislation to **hold corporate executives personally responsible—including jail time** when merited [emphasis added].

Climate groups have been vying to take the lead in shaping Biden's environmental agenda prior to the 2022 midterm elections, when Democrats may lose control of one or both houses of Congress. BlueGreen wants net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050—"but not necessarily end the fossil fuel industry itself, with its tens of thousands of high-paying jobs," according to The Intercept. Predictably, that concession to the fossil fuel industry has drawn criticism from the most extreme eco-activists, including Friends of the Earth.

Unlike the far Left, BlueGreen supports carbon capture and storage techniques—an expensive technology that allows companies to pull carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and bury it—which is also favored by right-leaning environmental groups. Biden supports federal subsidies for carbon capture, which was included in the Green New Deal (despite radical criticism).

But the Green New Deal is controversial among union workers. In 2019, BlueGreen founding director David Foster (a United Steelworkers officer) wrote this of the legislation:

Unfortunately, to America's 75,000 nuclear power plant workers, who produce 20 percent of the country's electricity, all of it carbon-free, [100 percent renewable energy] sounds more like a declaration of war. And to the country's 600,000 employees in the natural gas industry whose growth in the last decade, displacing coal as the primary fuel for electricity, is the single largest reason that US carbon emissions have dropped during most of the past decade, it sounds like an assault on their living standards.



The Biden administration is already the most extreme on climate in American history, exceeding even the Obama administration.

But the BlueGreen Alliance is hardly moderate, criticizing the 2021 infrastructure bill for its compromises with Republicans by calling the \$600 billion proposal "watered down" and with fewer union handouts compared to its original \$1.7 trillion. "None of the proposals we've seen emerge from bipartisan negotiations come close to meeting the mark on jobs, climate or justice," the group's current executive director, Jason Walsh (a former Obama administration staffer and environmental activist), told Reuters. "It's time to move on."

Don't Count On a Collapse—Yet

All of this points to underlying tensions between the "greens" who want a carbon-free economy (if such a thing were even possible) and the workers who rely on carbon-based energy to do their jobs. Unity comes cheap when faced with a common enemy under a Republican president or Congress, but can that marriage be sustained when real policy victories are on the line? That unity may fray even more with the Build Back Better Act (H.R. 5376) apparently dead in the Senate after the House passed it in November—though time will tell.

Union desperation, not affinity, may be the decisive factor. Membership rates for private-sector unions fell by 428,000 in 2020 (out of 7.1 million members nationwide), less than half of what it was in 1983. That decline makes the "blue" half of BlueGreen less and less influential in the alliance, certainly given activists' influence over the most pro-environmentalist administration in U.S. history. Simply put, America's biggest labor unions can't afford *not* to toe the "green" line—but the costs may prove too high for workers. ■

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