



## EXPOSING THE WOKEISM INFECTING AMERICA'S PRIVATE SCHOOLS

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## COMMENTARY

### The States Are Dialing “Zuck Bucks” Out of Elections for Good

By Hayden Ludwig

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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](https://www.CapitalResearch.org)

[Contact@CapitalResearch.org](mailto:Contact@CapitalResearch.org)

Internship inquiries are welcome.

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

Cover design: Dawn Winter-Haines

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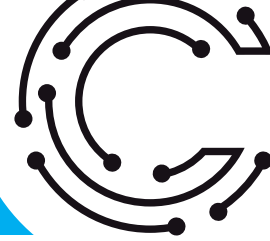
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## THE STATES ARE DIALING “ZUCK BUCKS” OUT OF ELECTIONS FOR GOOD

By Hayden Ludwig

A flurry of bills in the past few weeks brings the total number of states that have banned or restricted Zuck bucks to 16, with more on the way.

For more than a year, Capital Research Center (CRC) has been investigating how Facebook founder and billionaire Mark Zuckerberg funneled hundreds of millions of dollars through two groups—the Center for Technology and Civic Life (CTCL) and the Center for Election Innovation and Research (CEIR)—to local election offices, effectively privatizing the 2020 elections.

Thanks to our research and reporting, state legislators are shoring up American elections to ensure that transparency prevails, not private interests—often with bipartisan sup-

CC —  
*Banning private donors from bankrolling public elections shouldn't be a divisive cause.*



Credit: Germana CC. License: <https://bit.ly/3Nt957m>

*Thanks to CRC's research and reporting, state legislators are shoring up American elections to ensure that transparency prevails, not private interests—often with bipartisan support. Virginia's Democratic-controlled Senate, for instance, advanced its “Zuck bucks” ban with unanimous support from both parties.*

port. Virginia's Democratic-controlled Senate, for instance, advanced its “Zuck bucks” ban with unanimous support from both parties.

### Election Integrity

Banning private donors from bankrolling public elections shouldn't be a divisive cause. Left or right, Americans ought to—and from what we've seen, do—believe that the people

*Hayden Ludwig is a senior research analyst at CRC.*



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

*The InfluenceWatch staff has compiled a detailed history of the Center for Technology and Civic Life and charted Zuckerberg's \$350 million grant from the Silicon Valley Community Foundation to thousands of local election offices.*

who administer elections should do so without undue influence from a donor. How else can they trust that election outcomes are fair and genuine?

Our friends at the Foundation for Government Accountability put it best:

Imagine private funding of more police stops, but only in certain neighborhoods, or private funding for tax departments to conduct more audits on certain business types or in certain ZIP Codes. Surely no state would let that happen, so why would they allow it for elections, the cornerstone of democracy?

*New York Times* contributor Christopher Caldwell adds, "It is hard to imagine that anyone worried about the role of private wealth in prisons or military logistics or public schools would welcome such a role in elections."

## Following the Money

At InfluenceWatch, we've compiled a detailed history of CTCL and charted Zuckerberg's \$350 million grant from the Silicon Valley Community Foundation to thousands of local election offices.

Our groundbreaking research was also the basis of the *Wall Street Journal* Editorial Board's condemnation of Zuck bucks, which calls on lawmakers to ban private funding of elections.

CRC mapped the flow of Zuck buck from CTCL to nine battleground states in 2021, findings that we later confirmed in 2022 using CTCL's IRS disclosures. We've also charted Zuck bucks for 47 states and the District of Columbia.

In Maryland, we found that CEIR fueled a \$2 million campaign to register and turn out Democratic-leaning voters in Baltimore and the counties bordering Washington, DC.

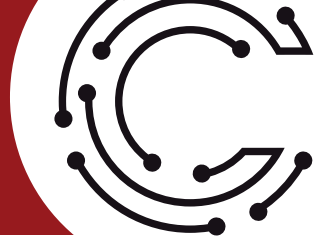
In Louisiana, we discovered CTCL working with the Arabella Advisors network—the most powerful liberal lobbying empire in America—to pressure counties into accepting Zuck bucks.

And we've built the most comprehensive database of Zuck buck bans and restrictions to capture the CTCL money flows and how lawmakers are fighting back.

As always, there's more to come. ■

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





## LEADERS OF AGGRESSIVE CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS OF PHILANTHROPY—PAST AND POTENTIAL FUTURE?

By Michael E. Hartmann

**Summary:** *Given the growing number of harsh progressive, populist, and just plain rule-of-law critiques about so much of unelected, unaccountable, and tax-favored establishment philanthropy, there may be a desire on the part of policymakers to aggressively examine some or all of it again.*

With varying levels of intensity, there have long been harsh critiques of tax-incentivized and -preferred philanthropy in America—including, among other things its anti-democratic nature, its “warehousing” of assets, its use of those assets for self-interested purposes on the part of donors, and its politicization of the actual charity that’s supposed to be incentivized and preferred.

These critiques have come from across the ideological spectrum and been offered by journalists, commentators, analysts, and foundation and other nonprofit professionals—and, sometimes, policymakers in the U.S. Congress. These policymakers, of course, are in a position to alter some practices of philanthropy by merely asking questions about it, as well as to outright alter the underlying legal structure of nonprofitdom if and when they might think warranted after hearing the answers (or not) to those questions.

Progressive and populist, and academic and popular, critiques of grantmaking certainly seem to be on the rise of late. There is an increasing intensity to them. Congressional curiosity, it sure seems safe to say, may soon be back, too. It may thus be worth looking at some past, and potential future, leaders of Congressional investigations of Big Philanthropy.



Credit: Harris & Ewing. License: <https://bit.ly/3leff77>.



Public Domain.

*The conservative Eugene E. Cox (right), a Democrat of Georgia, was apparently kind of a fighter. In 1949, then 69 years old, Cox got in a fistfight on the House floor with 83-year-old fellow Democrat Adolph J. Sabath (left) of Illinois during debate over a national housing bill.*

## Resolutions and Referrals, Foundations and Fists

In 1951, picking a non-random point at which to begin the historical refresher, U.S. Rep. Eugene E. Cox, a Democrat of Georgia, introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to conduct an investigation of tax-exempt philanthropy, including grantmaking foundations. It was referred to the Rules Committee and never presented to the full House.

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



The conservative Cox was apparently kind of a fighter, however. Two years prior, then 69 years old, he got in a fistfight on the House floor with 83-year-old fellow Democrat Rep. Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois during debate over a national housing bill.

In 1952, Cox took another swing in the effort to investigate philanthropy, introducing his resolution again. The Rules Committee reported it out in March, and it was debated on the House floor in April. It passed, 194-158. One hundred Democrats and 94 Republicans approved the measure, which created the U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations.

Cox died in December 1952, though, before the committee issued its report. It did so in January 1953, but the 15-page product was widely considered to be unimpressively shallow, given Cox's death and too short a time period to complete the necessary work.

## A Start-Over

The November 1952 elections, which saw Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower elected President, had also shifted party control of the next Congress from Democrats to Republicans. Later in 1953—referring to the work of the Cox Committee as “unfinished business”—Rep. B. Carroll Reece, a Republican of Tennessee, introduced a resolution to basically start over and conduct a new, more thorough investigation. The Rules Committee reported out Reece's resolution, which was considered by the full House in July.

It passed, 209-163. One hundred forty Republicans and 69 Democrats voted for the investigation. The probe was again conducted by a House Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations, chaired by Purple Heart recipient Reece, which released its findings in 1954.

The Reece Committee's “main contribution was to expose instances in which the promotion of political ends, favored perhaps by foundation managers, had been disguised as charitable or educational activity,” according to its general counsel René A. Wormser's 1958 book *Foundations: Their Power and Influence*. “Political activity of this kind endangers the future of the foundation as an institution.

“The often stormy hearings of the Reece Committee stimulated a widespread reexamination of the goals and methods of the major foundations,” Wormser continues. “In the resulting public discussion, even some of the most stalwart supporters of the criticized foundations were obliged to



Credit: Harris & Ewing. License: <https://bit.ly/3MSCM6P>.

*In 1953—referring to the work of the Cox Committee as “unfinished business”—Rep. B. Carroll Reece, a Republican of Tennessee, introduced a resolution to basically start over and conduct a new, more thorough investigation on tax-exempt philanthropy.*

admit certain deficiencies; indeed some major changes in personnel and in operating principles ensued.”

## “Every Flea”

As part of that reexamination, beginning in 1955—when Democrats regained control of Congress—the U.S. House Select Committee on Small Business investigated tax-exempt, charitable foundations. Since chaired by crusading New Deal Democrat Wright Patman of Texas, it was and is known as the Patman Committee.

“Down in Houston,” the populist Patman once said, “there are some neighborhoods so rich that every flea has his own dog. The Rockefellers are like that. Every one of them has his own foundation.”

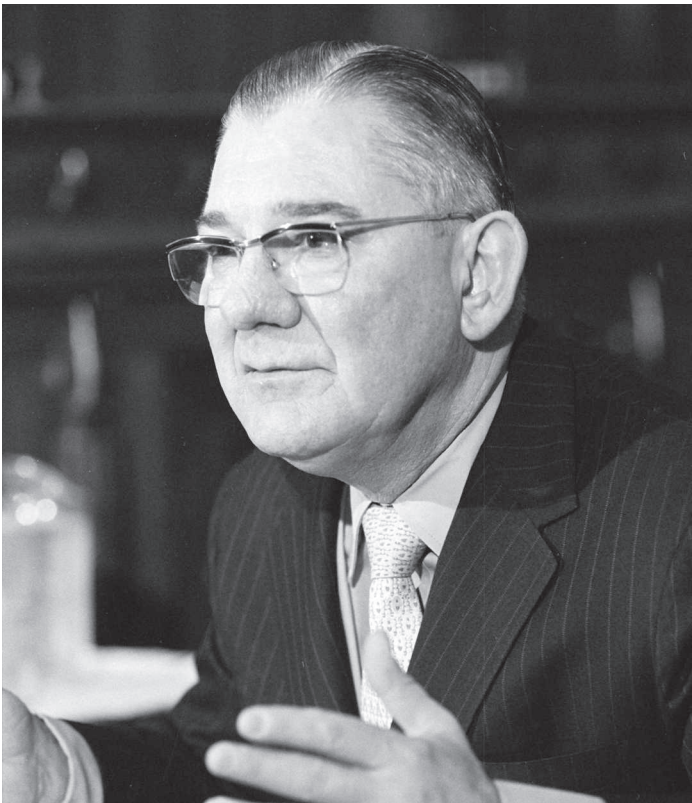
The Patman Committee issued a report in two lengthy installments in late 1962 and 1963. Warning of “possible exploitation of the people's respect and admiration for charitable acts and gifts,” it aggressively recommended a moratorium on the granting of tax-exemption for foundations.



*“Down in Houston,” the populist Wright Patman once said, “there are some neighborhoods so rich that every flea has his own dog.”*

Later in the 1960s, Congress both investigated and legislated. Among other things, the Tax Reform Act of 1969—still the basic structural framework of nonprofit law in America—defines that which is legally considered a tax-preferred private foundation and puts conditions on that tax preference, including limiting the kind of political involvement that gave rise to such worry about them and their tax status in the preceding years.

Congress was controlled by Democrats when the law was passed and this structure was created. In August 1969, it passed in the House, 395-30—with 219 Democrats and 176 Republicans voting for it. In December, it passed in the Senate, 69-22—with support from 51 Democrats and 18 Republicans. It was signed by Republican President Richard M. Nixon on December 30.



Credit: Warren K. Leffler. License: <https://bit.ly/3i6fj3r>.

*The Tax Reform Act had been considered by the House Ways and Means Committee chaired by Arkansas Rep. Wilbur Mills (1939–1977). “Powerful Ways and Means Committee” has long been used as essentially one word in Washington and, at the time, Mills was often called “the most powerful man in Washington.”*

“In recent years, private foundations had become increasingly active in political and legislative activities,” according to the *General Explanation of the Tax Reform Act of 1969*, prepared by the staff of Congress’s Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. “In several instances called to Congress’s attention, funds were spent in ways clearly designed to favor certain candidates. In some cases, this was done by financing registration campaigns in certain areas.”

As the staff explanation summarizes it, “Congress determined that a tax should be imposed upon expenditures by private foundations for activities that should not be carried on by exempt organizations (such as lobbying, electioneering, and “grass roots” campaigning) ....”

“Tax-free foundations were brought under much closer Federal scrutiny,” according to Nixon’s signing statement, “although Congress wisely rejected provisions that would have hampered legitimate activities of the voluntary sector. At the same time, we must recognize that congressional consideration of this matter reflected a deep and wholly legitimate concern about the role of foundations in our national life.”

On its path to passage in Congress, the Tax Reform Act and those matters it investigated and tried to address had been considered by the Senate Finance Committee, chaired by Sen. Russell B. Long of Louisiana, and the House Ways and Means Committee, chaired by Arkansas Rep. Wilbur Mills. “Powerful Ways and Means Committee” has long been used as essentially one word in Washington and, at the time, Mills was often called “the most powerful man in Washington.”

Cox, Reece, Patman, Long, and Mills were all of strong personality, influentially and effectively wielded in policy development and enactment. They may have a worthy successor or two, and in this same policy context.

## Potential, Pushup-Practicing President Pro Tempore from the Prairie

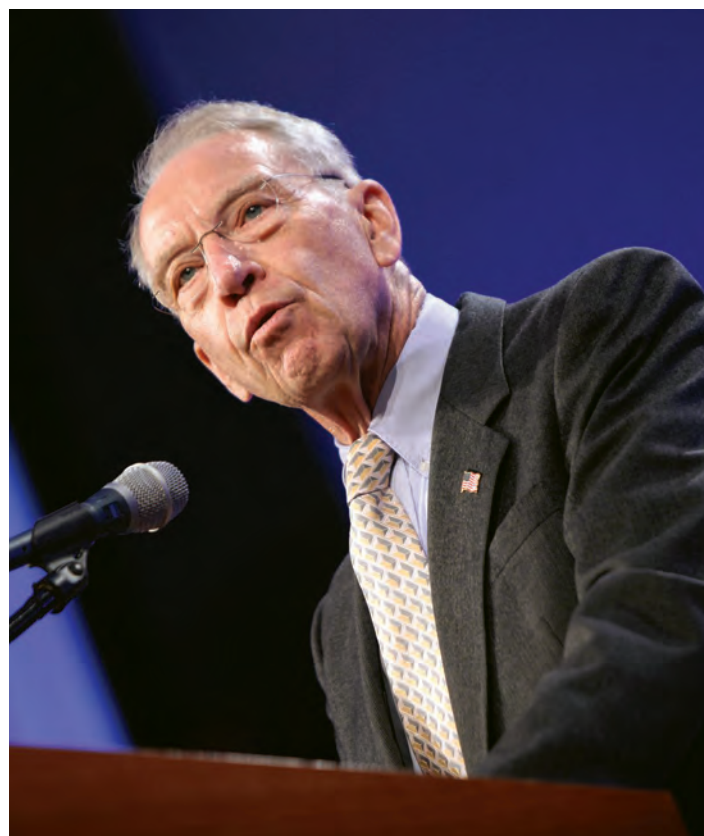
Both houses of Congress are now controlled by Democrats. The current Senate Finance Committee chair is Oregon Sen. Ron Wyden, under the leadership of whom the committee has shown no real interest in examining much goings-on in establishment philanthropy. The current House Ways and Means Committee chair is Massachusetts Rep. Richard



*“There’s a fair amount of prairie populist in” Charles Grassley, his onetime tax-policy aide and advisor Dean Zerbe told the Giving Review in a 2020 conversation.*

Neal, under whose leadership the committee has shown little interest in looking at Big Philanthropy, as well.

Many believe control of Congress may shift after the 2022 elections, as it did in the 1952 elections just before the Reece Committee’s creation kick-started Congressional curiosity about the country’s philanthropic activity. Were this to occur, of course, either house or both houses of Congress could perhaps create an independent or “select-committee” mechanism to do another, Reece-like investigation, which could be led and staffed by those most interested in and qualified to do so.



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

*If Charles Grassley wins re-election in November, he would again become the Senate’s president pro tempore—the highest-ranking member by seniority of the majority party—and likely (re-)chair the Judiciary Committee. He still serves on the Finance Committee and almost certainly would continue to do so, with a very strong voice in setting its future agenda.*

Among the existing standing committees, the Senate Finance Committee’s current ranking member is, and therefore at least one of its potential future chairmen may be, Sen. Mike Crapo of Idaho. He’s shown minimal inquisitiveness about big grantmaking in America, at least to date. In 2009, he was one of seven Senators to join the Senate Philanthropy Caucus—put together the previous year along with a partner effort in the House, as a news release from Crapo’s office put it, “to inform fellow Senators and Representatives about the important role that foundations play across the country.” The caucuses’ creation was urged by the Council on Foundations.

Longtime previous Finance Committee Chair Sen. Charles Grassley of Iowa has shown an inclination to ask tough questions about the nonprofit sector, including those who give to support it. Most recently, for example, Grassley is co-sponsor of a pending bill to increase giving through tax-exempt donor-advised funds and by tax-exempt foundations.

Were the respected Grassley to win re-election this coming November, he would again become the Senate’s president pro tempore—the highest-ranking member by seniority of the majority party—and likely (re-)chair the Judiciary Committee. He still serves on the Finance Committee and almost certainly would continue to do so, with a very strong voice in setting its future agenda, and hearing schedule.

There have been no floor fistfights from the 88-year-old in the past, at least not of which I’m aware, though he has been willing to engage in public pushup challenges for fun, and maybe to make a Midwestern point.

“There’s a fair amount of prairie populist in” Grassley, his onetime tax-policy aide and advisor Dean Zerbe told the Giving Review in a 2020 conversation, which was and may again be shown “in his charitable oversight. If you really think about what the core of him looking at the charities was and is about, it’s what are the charities doing that’s charitable? What are they doing to justify this very-significant tax break that they get? How’s that going?”

(Such queries would definitely suitably be made by a hypothetical Select Committee Chair Grassley, as well.)



## Others

In the House, its Ways and Means Committee's current Republican Leader is Texas Rep. Kevin Brady, who is retiring after this Congress. Brady's departure would open up what is at least for now considered to be a three-way race to be the top Republican on the committee. Again hypothetically, if each of them wins re-election and Republicans gain control of the House, one of them might be serving as chair.

The three are U.S. Reps. Vern Buchanan of Florida, Adrian Smith of Nebraska, and Jason Smith of Missouri—all Ways and Means members now. Buchanan and Adrian Smith each have more seniority than Jason Smith, but seniority would not be the only factor for the GOP Steering Committee and then the full party conference in deciding upon whom should be chair.

Earlier this month, Jason Smith announced that he would not run for the soon-to-be-open Missouri Senate seat, opting instead to seek re-election to another term in the House. He explicitly said he would bid to be the top Ways and Means Republican. He is the ranking Republican on the House Budget Committee right now.

Both Jason Smith and Adrian Smith have in the past strongly lamented what they thought to be unfair Internal Revenue Service treatment of Tea Party groups applying for certain nonprofit status.

Buchanan—with a net worth reportedly exceeding \$150 million, generated from auto dealerships and other businesses—is one of the wealthiest members of Congress. He is a former board member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and served on its executive committee. He and his wife have their own family foundation.

## “Unfinished Business”

Given the growing number of harsh progressive, populist, and just plain rule-of-law critiques about so much of unelected, unaccountable, and tax-favored establishment philanthropy, there may be a desire on the part of policy-makers in Congress to aggressively examine some or all of it again.

In the next Congress, Grassley, Crapo, Jason Smith, Adrian Smith, and/or Buchanan, among others, may be in a position to return to what could certainly be considered “unfinished business”—as Reece called it in '53—and lead such an investigation. ■

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*An earlier version of this article appeared in the Giving Review on February 24, 2022.*

*The Giving Review attempts to contribute to the limited public discourse about philanthropy and giving in America with what its co-editors consider to be a conservative worldview that is underrepresented in that discussion. The site's co-editors are former program-staff executives and members of Milwaukee's Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, one of whom is CRC senior fellow Michael E. Hartmann. The Giving Review is a joint project of Philanthropy Daily and the CRC's Center for Strategic Giving, which is directed by Hartmann.*

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

# ARCHITECTS OF WOKE:

## The 1619 Project's Fake History



## 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://DangerousDocumentaries.com).**



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



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## EXPOSING THE WOKEISM INFECTING AMERICA'S PRIVATE SCHOOLS

By Hayden Ludwig

**Summary:** *Don't be fooled: No school is safe from the radical Left's ideology of racism, historical revisionism, and hatred. Most parents are familiar with how this disease—dubbed “wokeism”—has conquered public school systems in many Democratic-run states. But the woke curriculum is rapidly overtaking nonprofit, private schools across America. If it isn't stopped, no child will be safe from its indoctrination.*

If you thought your children were safe from the Left's culture war in a private school, think again. Across America, a pandemic of “woke” ideology is quietly spreading through privately run schools and colleges supposedly shielded from government control.

Proponents may call this new teaching “diversity, equity, and inclusion” (DEI), but that's a euphemism for a dark agenda: inculcating kids with the Left's malicious obsession with race. Far from promoting independent thought, it's a campaign to crush dissent and rewrite history while teaching children to hate one another for the color of their skin.

The public is almost completely unaware of how activists are indoctrinating America's youth with transgenderism, racial segregation, and other far-left “virtues”—and still would be, if not for the efforts of a handful of courageous moms bent on exposing the truth.

Meet Undercover Mother, a group of roughly 100 volunteer moms and dads from across the nation engaged in some of the finest investigative journalism happening today. These Undercover Mothers are fighting in the trenches to defeat the radical Left's agenda that's taken over our schools. If they succeed, it'd mean nothing less than saving America's nonprofit schools—and the students they teach—from the radical Left.



*The strong influence of left-wing activists and teachers unions like the American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association on the public education system is universally acknowledged and well-documented, even in conservative states.*

### Going Undercover

So who are these moms and dads? The group was started in mid-2021 after Amy Gonzalez and Andrea Gross, two mothers in Ohio, fought back against the critical-race-theory curriculum being taught in their kids' private school—only for their children to be expelled.

“We tried, in the best way possible, to represent and speak up not only for our children but also our teachers,” Gonzalez told Fox News in July 2021. “At a private school, they did not have a union. I believe a lot of it is coming from The National Association of Independent Schools” (NAIS), a national body that oversees the country's private school accrediting bodies.

*Hayden Ludwig is a senior research analyst at CRC.*





Credit: FaRaRi. License: <https://bit.ly/3KKP7N8>.

*Undercover Mothers was started in mid-2021 after Amy Gonzalez (right) and Andrea Gross (center), two mothers in Ohio, fought back against the critical-race-theory curriculum being taught in their kids' private school—only for their children to be expelled.*

Her hunch forms the basis of Undercover Mother and its deep dives into NAIS, the organization responsible for enforcing leftist ideology on campus.

Undercover Mother is a truly grassroots organization, with volunteers in numerous states. While many of its members are conservative or right-leaning, the group doesn't have an ideological or partisan agenda. All of its members share the same goal: Halt the extreme, bigoted, and hypersexualized doctrines NAIS pushes on students and return schools to what they're *supposed* to be doing—equipping students to be mentally strong, intellectually curious, problem-solvers ready to face the world.

## Horror Stories from the Black Lagoon

Every volunteer that I spoke with shared his or her horror story about discovering what leftists were teaching their kids. No matter where they live, the experiences are the same.

One parent in Georgia recalled how her kids' school chapel invited a Muslim cleric, gay wrestler, and an anti-Semitic, radical black poet as guest speakers and to work with students. The school was later "outed" for "keeping a list of 'insubordinate' parents."



*Howard Zinn's A Young People's History of the United States, paints American history as irredeemably evil.*

"My kids came home with stories about racism that weren't actually racist," another anonymous parent in the Midwest told me. "Kids were taught that all civilizations had slaves but America was by far the worst," using as a textbook the far-left revisionist historian Howard Zinn's *A Young People's History of the United States*, which paints American history as irredeemably evil. "Kids were made to 'break down their identity.' White boys were taught that they were dominant oppressors."

The experience was so eye-opening that it changed her political beliefs, though she still considers herself a "traditional liberal." "I feel like I've been lied to about progressive policies," she explained. "Nothing about my liberal past is in line with these progressive policies that are ruining an entire generation of kids."

One of the founders of Undercover Mother—who considers herself "very liberal"—recounted how the head of her child's school gave a 20-minute speech "arguing the need for a social justice curriculum as a war of countering the privilege that *we* had without one mention of academics or life skills." Two years later in 2016, the school sent emails assuring parents that it was creating a "'safe space' for the children" following Donald Trump's election.

"I was surprised to see they were filtering down politics into the curriculum," she added. "The school had essentially shut down the idea of freedom of thought in front of everyone."

## Learning "Leninthink"

The march of woke ideology through private schools has been somewhat different than its takeover of public schools. Government-run schools are pretty much slaves to the political Left and have been for decades. The strong influence of left-wing activists and teachers unions like the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA) on the public education system is universally acknowledged and well-documented, even in conservative states.

It's the end result of a more than a half-century of the Left's "long march through the institutions" envisioned by Antonio Gramsci, the father of cultural Marxism. Gramsci saw the path to socialism running not through economics (as Karl Marx taught), but through control of the media, the military, and education. American Marxists took his lessons to heart starting in the 1960s.

We're witnessing the result. Codifying anti-white hatred through critical race theory, destroying the family and pro-



*NEA's adoption of New Business Item 39 committed the union to fight state bans on "critical race theory and/or The 1619 Project," which rewrites all of U.S. history around slavery.*



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/35PNJfj>.

*"The whole point of Leninism," writes ex-socialist Gary Saul Morson in "Leninthink," "is that only a few people must understand what is going on."*

moting mental illness with transgender and "nonbinary" sexual identity, obliterating language ("women" is now "womyn," Latino/Latina is "Latinx"), fabricating absurd racial categories that abolish the individual (squashing together tens of millions as "brown people"), and recasting the United States as a uniquely evil slaveocracy—all

were hatched in university Gender Studies and Sociology departments before moving into the legacy media, the Democratic Party platform, and government curricula.

If you think I'm exaggerating the sudden ubiquity of these ideas, consider how comfortable their proponents are saying things in public they wouldn't have dreamed of muttering a decade ago. Take it from Brittney Cooper, a Rutgers University professor of women's studies and Africana, at a 2021 conference titled "Unpacking the Attacks on Critical Race Theory": "I think that white people are committed to being villains in the aggregate." She continued, "You know, their thinking is so murky and spiritually bankrupt about power that the ... they fear this really existentially letting go of power because they cannot imagine another way to be." She added, "The thing I want to say to you is we got to take these motherf—kers out." She also argued, "Kids actually can grasp critical race theory because the issue that the right has, is that critical race theory is just the proper teaching of American history."

All of these things are rooted in the Marxist impulse to divide all human interactions into an ugly history of haves

and have-nots, but updated with American characteristics. In other words, the leftist mind reduces everything—religion, civil society, ancestry, language, history, and family—into a zero-sum power struggle that glorifies victimhood, even where it never existed. Karl Marx's vision of workers organized against capitalists is transformed into blacks vs. whites, women vs. men, and homosexuals vs. heterosexuals. The list of contrived rivalries is endless.

Like their forebears in the Soviet Union and Third Reich, the modern American Left's education commissariat subordinates everything to political "truth." "Facts" are liable to change from one day to the next as required for senior party officials exerting control over the next generation. "The whole point of Leninism," writes ex-socialist Gary Saul Morson in "Leninthink," "is that only a few people must understand what is going on."

Hence the NEA's adoption of New Business Item 39 in July 2021, which committed the union to fight state bans on "critical race theory and/or The 1619 Project"—which rewrites all of U.S. history around slavery—and adopt curricula on "white supremacy, anti-Blackness, anti-Indigeneity, racism, patriarchy, cisheteropatriarchy, capitalism" in all 14,000 school districts nationwide. Yet the NEA scrubbed the CRT provision from its website *three days later* after receiving negative press.

That's not a reversal, but a (temporary) cover-up. Radicals like AFT president Randi Weingarten can simultaneously claim that CRT *isn't* taught in schools while vowing to defend it. Everything is permitted in the Left's long march to "progress."

## No Bridge Is Too Far

In contrast to government education, private schools have historically been considered a safe harbor for students to receive religious and socially conservative teaching—or at least a quality education. Yet every one of the parents I spoke with eventually discovered that the same organization was at the root of it all.

NAIS, which was founded in 1962, oversees a set of regional accreditation affiliates in the U.S. covering 1,600 non-

profit schools enrolling nearly 700,000 K–12 students, plus another 300 independent colleges. That system might be of great value to parents who want to ensure they're sending their kids to a quality school. As a network of networks, it's also a rich target for cultural Marxists.

NAIS started taking a more political role in 1993 when it moved its headquarters from Boston, Massachusetts, to Washington, DC, to promote “expansion in the areas of government relations and public affairs.” NAIS reports from the past 30 years suggest a strong leftward bias in the group's leadership, with even its use of the term “independent education” taking on Orwellian overtones. “The NAIS board in 1992 was a living example of diversity in independent education,” wrote former NAIS president Peter D. Relic (1991–2001):

Of the 24 directors, there were six people of color, and there were 10 women and 14 men. The board enthusiastically supported both the expansion of the staff. . . and the commitment to bring true diversity to the staff; by the mid-90s, firmly relocated in Washington, the staff was 40 percent people of color. As a staff, we made a policy decision: in every personnel search, there would be at least one person of color.

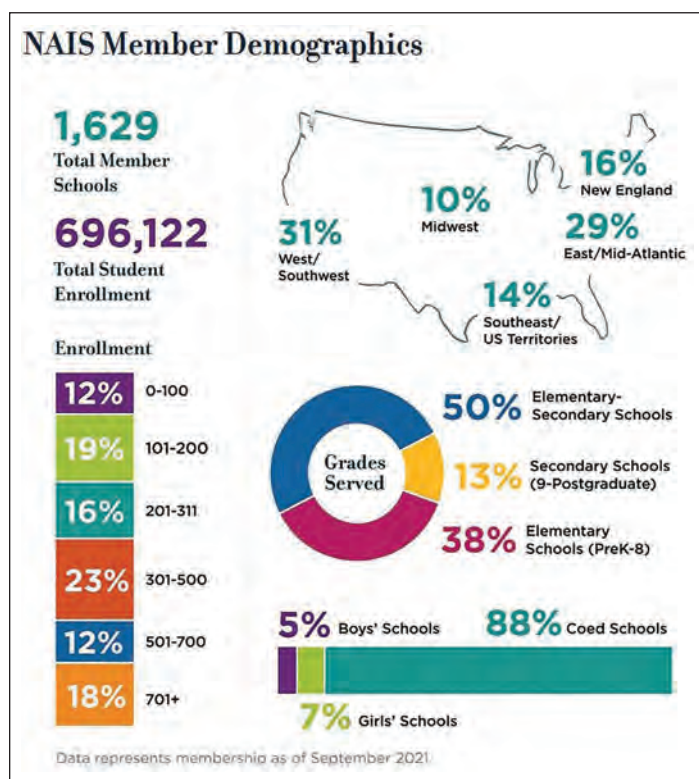
Those protocols appear to remain in place today, with the NAIS Board of Trustees reporting that it's “committed to diversity and actively seeks those belonging to underrepre-

sented communities.” The group's most recent annual report similarly lists “championing inclusivity” and “embracing diversity” among its values. Its own history even bizarrely quotes radical activist Tom Hayden.

One wonders if ultra-woke ideologues are an underrepresented minority, given the presence of the disgraced radical ex-headmaster Robin Appleby on the NAIS board.

In November 2021, Appleby was booted from her prestigious, \$550,000-a-year position at England's most expensive private school (the American School in London) after parents revolted against its far-left DEI curriculum. Under Appleby's tenure, parents were reportedly instructed on how to “raise anti-racist children” and “recognize their own implicit biases,” gym classes were replaced with debates on “politics in sport,” and teachers accused students of being “oppressors” culpable of “white fragility” and “white guilt.” It's unclear whether Appleby, who resigned in January, will remain on the NAIS board in 2022.

In addition to more traditional educational goals like computer literacy, the DC-based association's new curriculum included teaching students to “become thoroughly knowledgeable about the environment before the earth is no longer viable for human beings (even though the truths might be inconvenient)” and emphasizing “the themes of equity and justice and to explore the multiple definitions of diversity.”



Credit: NAIS

## We Hold These Truths ...

“Equity” and “equality” aren't synonyms. Most Americans believe that all citizens should be treated equally before the law, in job interviews, by retail businesses, and so on, not according to their sex, beliefs, or heritage.

Not the Left. Mandating “equity” means equal *outcomes*, which necessarily means treating people unfairly—in the name of fairness. Hence, the flood of race-based hiring quotas in major companies, anti-Asian American discrimination by university admissions apparatchiks, the arbitrary lumping different ethnic groups together in the U.S. Census, and castigation of supposed “white privilege” in recent years. Be it critical theory on campus or DEI practices in the boardroom, all are the poisonous fruit of the same vine.

## Go Woke or Get Out

These themes are now central to NAIS's accreditation standards, which means many of the country's top schools are barred entry unless they agree to enforce “woke” ideology on



campus. Not every private school has surrendered, of course, but NAIS holds a virtual monopoly on teacher training tools and vital market research. Non-woke schools risk losing accreditation and their competitive edge if they don't comply.

NAIS has been quietly ramping up its agenda for decades. So why are most parents only hearing about it now?

"I believe the NAIS has been pushing DEI since the early 2000s, but the language has changed," one Undercover Mother in Atlanta, Georgia, told me over email. "As far back as 2005 there was a movement toward focusing on race. But by 2015, there was a marked shift toward activism, and then by 2020 'DEI Practitioners' were part of the regular conversation."

A volunteer in New York City explained how woke ideology has made it harder for schools to assess their effectiveness. "Private schools have embedded a social justice curriculum that encompasses [DEI] and gender spectrum policies, transforming mission statements of independent schools"—where local tuition rates range as high as \$60,000—"into a word salad that is unclear and comes with no metric for tracking its performance," she said. "Our Head of School makes over \$1 million [per year]. That's a high salary for someone in education to pass on. Even if they disagree with what they're promoting, they can't say so for fear of being removed."

A simple search of the NAIS website reveals dozens of articles and webinars on how to spread this ideology to classrooms:

- "Taking the Long View to Eliminate Systemic Racism"
- "Managing Community Polarization Around Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion"
- "Getting the Board on Board with Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Work"
- "COVID-19 Resources: Student Health and Well-Being and the Intersection of Race, Equity"
- "NAIS Guide to Campus Climate Action"
- "Moving from Diversity to Justice"
- "Taking a Selfie for Racial Justice: Thoughts to Spur Reflection and Action"
- "Everybody's Gotta Go: Transgender Students and School Bathrooms"

One article encourages parents and teachers with "a thoughtful exercise" by comparing themselves to George Floyd's killers: "Whose necks are you kneeling on? When black and brown people can't breathe, can they tell you? If they told you they can't breathe, would you hear them? If you heard them, what would you do?"



*Another NAIS article supports a "play-based curriculum that explicitly affirms racial identity ... for students of color in predominantly white spaces"—for toddlers.*

Another article supports a "play-based curriculum that explicitly affirms racial identity ... for students of color in predominantly white spaces"—for toddlers.

Whether parents know it or not, these dogmas are prevalent in many NAIS member schools. The Milton Academy in Massachusetts (annual tuition: \$65,000), a boarding school for grades 9–12 in Massachusetts and NAIS member, offers students helpful resources on intersectionality, the gender spectrum, implicit bias, racial identity ("What Do We Call People of Multiple Backgrounds?"), and other educational links to the hate-spewing Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), discredited Anti-Defamation League, and overtly partisan American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Following the violent clash between members of the far-left Antifa and far-right counterprotesters in 2017 in Charlottesville, Virginia, NAIS published a "Post-Charlottesville Resource List." Teachers are encouraged to address "racism and hatred in the classroom," while "white parents" were taught ways to "talk to their young kids about race."

One article from *Colorlines*, an extremist magazine for "social justice" and anti-white commentary, is titled: "The Dos and Don'ts of Talking to Kids of Color About White Supremacy." Another offers "100 Race Conscious Things You Can Say to Your Child to Advance Racial Justice."

Those dogmas are transmitted down through NAIS's regional affiliates. The Independent Schools Association of the Central States (ISACS), which covers K-12 schools in the greater Midwest, hosts an entire webpage on DEI echoing NAIS propaganda. Samples include:

- "Children's Books with Transgender, Non-Binary and Gender Expansive Children"
- "Lesson in Critical Race Theory"
- "Indigenous Reads by Indigenous Writers: A Children's Reading List"
- "What White Children Need to Know About Race" (an NAIS article)

## The DEI Playbook

NAIS's most potent tool for spreading "woke" ideology is its annual conference, titled the "People of Color Conference." Andrew Gutmann and Paul Rossi, volunteer advocates for educational freedom of thought, call leaked videos of this conference the "Rosetta Stone for deciphering the DEI playbook":

The path to remake schools begins with the word "diversity," which means much more than simply increasing the number of students and faculty of color—referred to in these workshops as "Bipoc," which stands for "black, indigenous and people of color." DEI experts urge schools to classify people by identities such as race, convince them that they are being harmed by their environment, and turn them into fervent advocates for institutional change.

Every part of the NAIS curriculum is channeled through an "anti-racist," "anti-bias," and "anti-oppressive" lens, pillars of the "social justice" agenda to achieve "collective liberation." Students attending these workshops are segregated by race and inculcated with "feelings of trauma," then taught to view themselves as victims of ancestral oppression—what NAIS deems "inclusion." Schools must foster a sense of "belonging" by creating "safe spaces" in which so-called hate speech, micro-aggressions, and dangerously independent thought are banned.

This is just the tip of the iceberg. The website Declaration of Parents has collected countless video examples of how far these activists have taken leftist teaching.



Credit: The Institute for Liberal Values. License: <https://bit.ly/3pZgBH9>.

Credit: Jordan B Peterson. License: <https://bit.ly/35Ugoh9>.

*NAIS's most potent tool for spreading "woke" ideology is its annual conference, titled the "People of Color Conference." Andrew Gutmann (left) and Paul Rossi (right), volunteer advocates for educational freedom of thought, call leaked videos of this conference the "Rosetta Stone for deciphering the DEI playbook."*



*Every part of the NAIS curriculum is channeled through an "anti-racist," "anti-bias," and "anti-oppressive" lens, pillars of the "social justice" agenda to achieve "collective liberation."*

The word "goal," we're told, is "corporate and capitalistic and should be replaced with "intention." To teach social justice, second-graders' minds must be "decolonized" by showing them slideshows of one presenter's visit to a Defund the Police protest in Portland, Oregon.

Another presenter decodes "the White People Way": elements of "white supremacy culture" cleverly disguised as a "focus on perfectionism," "power hoarding" (defined as being unwilling to share), and other "sneaky pitfalls" prevalent in independent schools. In another lecture, a vice principal excitedly urges students to "burn shit down" because "sometimes things are just broken"—before hastily adding, "actually, OK, please nobody actually go and burn, like *burn*, something down."

If this is meaningless jargon to you, it's the language of today's campus Bolsheviks.

One keynote speaker in 2020, Bettina Love, is a self-identified "abolitionist educator" at the University of Georgia. But "abolition" here doesn't refer to slavery: "Destroying capitalism is part of our long-term goal" in teaching anti-racism, she explained in a 2020 webinar on black liberation.

Paul Rossi, a former math teacher-turned-NAIS whistleblower, has also traced potential ethics breaches between trustees of member schools and the consultants NAIS pays to sell it DEI "solutions"—contracts that NAIS's own bylaws define as conflicts of interest. One consultancy, Carney Sandoe, sponsored the organization's 2021 People of Color Conference. So who's paying for it?

NAIS brought in \$21 million in 2020, about 95 percent of which came from three sources: member school dues (\$10 million), its annual conference (\$8.8 million), and the group's magazine (\$963,000).

Most, if not all, of that money comes from tuition—meaning parents' pockets. Private K–12 school tuition averaged \$12,350 nationwide in 2021—ranging as high as \$23,980 in Connecticut—and is rising faster than the rate of inflation (at least before 2022). One reason is the growth in administrative staff, which is also true of public schools. Extreme inflation is sure to make it even worse.

Regardless, parents considering enrolling their kids in private, nonprofit schools should scour their Form 990 disclosures, which are filed online at ProPublica and with the IRS and legally required to be available upon request. How much money does the local school pay NAIS each year? If NAIS is using that money to indoctrinate children with ideas your family doesn't support, a single penny is too much.

## Advice from Undercover Mother

The members of Undercover Mother have some advice for worried parents:

- “Pay attention to clues in the language that your kids’ teachers and school administrators are using. Terms like ‘empathy,’ ‘curiosity,’ ‘mindfulness,’ ‘global citizenship,’ ‘cultural competency’ are *solid* evidence that the teacher is internalizing the language of teacher conferences, which are always to the far-left.”
- “Look closely at your kids’ homework and classwork assignments. Talk to them at home about your family values.”
- “Talk to other parents and do your research. Many schools deliberately hide their curriculum from parents, so spend the time familiarizing yourself with reading lists and look into any outside consultants and partnerships the school is bringing in for special programming. Once you start looking, you’ll see it—and once you see it you can’t unsee it.”
- “Join us. You don’t want to wake up to see the damage they’ve done to your children. Schools are talking more about anxiety and emotional distress in children, but they are the primary architects of this mental health crisis by infusing them with a so-called social justice curriculum.”

## Parents Fight Back

The winds of change are sweeping across the nation. Public school board recalls hit an all-time high in 2021 of 84 recall efforts against 215 board members (between 2006 and 2020 they averaged just 23 per year). As of February, 26 recalls had already been launched in 2022, driven by parents furious over endless COVID lockdowns, mask mandates, and the disturbing curricula targeting children.

Even in far-left San Francisco, the epicenter of woke ideology and a Democratic bastion, voters shocked the nation in mid-February by throwing out three Democratic school

board members over the prominence of far-left ideology given the abysmal state of local public schools, scattering the city’s bourgeois left-wing elites into a deny-then-blame frenzy. (Only 8 percent of the city are registered Republicans, but the losers still blamed right-wing conspirators and Fox News for the historic upset.)



Credit: DE SUPREMO TV. License: <https://bit.ly/3pZgBH9>.

*The winds of change are sweeping across the nation. Public school board recalls hit an all-time high in 2021 of 84 recall efforts against 215 board members. As of February, 26 recalls had already been launched in 2022, driven by parents furious over endless COVID lockdowns, mask mandates, and the disturbing curricula targeting children.*

Now the battle to stop the Left’s assault on private schools is getting legislators’ attention, thanks to the incredible revelations unearthed by Undercover Mother. At least one, Rep. Jim Banks (R-IN), has promised to investigate the NAIS should Republicans retake Congress in the 2022 midterms:

We have a moral duty to go after all of these institutions that have been co-opted by the Left ... COVID has exposed just how far removed these schools, public and private, and their administrations are from parents, and how far removed from putting the interests of our kids first over the political interests of those who run our schools.

This is all part of a large design by the Left to take over these accrediting bodies, national associations, and use them as political tools, rather than what they were designed to do. Now that we are more aware, we have a moral duty to go after them, and when we get the majority back, we’ll be in a position of power to expose organizations like NAIS.

Add to that the Parents’ Bill of Rights that Senate Republicans introduced in November to give parents a say in shaping their schools’ curricula, and one thing’s clear: The Great Parents’ Revolt is coming to a school near you. ■

*Read previous articles from the Special Reports series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/](https://CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/).*





**JULY 2021**

**EDITED BY  
HAYDEN LUDWIG**

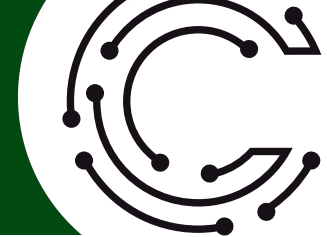
# **RISE OF THE ECO-RIGHT**

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A few dozen lobbying, litigation, and activist nonprofits that identify themselves as free market or broadly right-of-center are attempting to rebrand environmentalism and global warming ideology as conservative values. The Capital Research Center broke the news that these “eco-Right” groups also are secretly bankrolled by liberal mega-donors.



**CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER**  
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



## RGGI UPDATE: VIRGINIA ESCAPES AND PENNSYLVANIA DEBATES

By Kevin Mooney

Suddenly, climate change activists, elected officials, and environmental lawyers who favor green energy initiatives are concerned about the possibility of executive overreach in Virginia.

That's because Glenn Youngkin, Virginia's new Republican governor, has pledged to alleviate regulatory burdens on residents that raise energy prices without producing any appreciable environmental benefits.

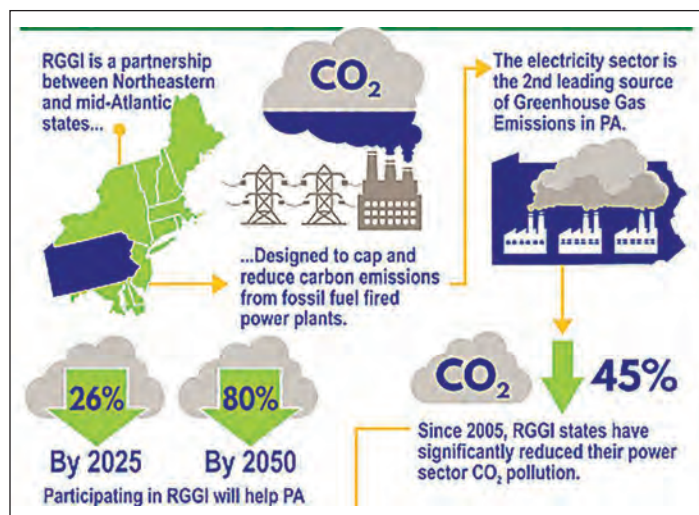
On his first day in office January 15, Youngkin signed several executive orders, including one to "reevaluate Virginia's participation in the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI) and immediately begin regulatory processes to end it."

### Virginia and RGGI

There are currently 11 Northeast and mid-Atlantic states participating in the multistate climate change agreement, widely known as RGGI, built around "cap-and-trade" regulations that limit carbon dioxide emissions. Virginia is both the newest member of RGGI and the first Southern state to join the climate change pact. Former Gov. Ralph Northam (D) had Virginia enter RGGI in 2020 after he received approval from the General Assembly. Democrats controlled both houses of the legislature at the time—and there's a twist.

When Republicans held majorities in the Virginia House and Senate in 2018, Northam sought to bypass the General Assembly along the way to joining RGGI. Northam even vetoed a bill from then-Del. Charles Poyindexter (R) that would have prohibited the governor and any state agency, especially the Air Pollution Control Board, from entering into RGGI or creating any similar program that involved cap-and-trade regulations without legislative approval. At the time, Craig Rucker, executive director and co-founder of the Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT), joined with Poyindexter and other lawmakers to express concern about the power Northam's actions could potentially give to "unelected regulators" at the expense of Virginia residents and to the detriment of constitutional limited government.

"I didn't think it was healthy for our democracy to have this change implemented administratively by individuals who



Credit: Nikita Naik. License: <https://bit.ly/3NveXoc>

*There are currently 11 Northeast and mid-Atlantic states participating in the multistate climate change agreement, widely known as RGGI, built around "cap-and-trade" regulations that limit carbon dioxide emissions.*

do not have to stand before the voters," Rucker said in an interview. "RGGI has led to higher energy costs that impact Virginia's ability to compete with other states. We need to get out."

The constitutional arguments against executive action on RGGI fell by the wayside when the Democrats gained control of the Virginia House and Senate in the November 2019 elections. The state became a full participant in the climate change pact beginning in January 2021 with the blessing of Democratic lawmakers. But with Donald Trump off the ballot and President Joseph Biden's low approval ratings sinking Democrats in the midst of high energy prices and inflation, political momentum is shifting against costly green energy schemes.

*Kevin Mooney is an investigative reporter with the Daily Signal who also writes and reports for several national publications including National Review, the Daily Caller, American Spectator and the Washington Examiner.*





Credit: Glenn Youngkin. License: <https://bit.ly/31u0x66>.

*Glenn Youngkin, Virginia's new Republican governor, has pledged to alleviate regulatory burdens on residents that raise energy prices without producing any appreciable environmental benefits.*

Youngkin, a former executive at the Carlyle Group equity firm, defeated former Gov. Terry McAuliffe (D) in Virginia's November 2021 election to succeed Northam. (Virginia governors are barred from serving consecutive terms.) Youngkin wasted no time in moving against RGGI, not just with the executive order, but also with budgetary changes and several pieces of legislation that would terminate Virginia's participation.

But more is at work in Virginia than just RGGI to create political liabilities for elected officials who have saddled their constituents with costly regulations. After taking full control of the state government, Democrats implemented their own version of the Green New Deal in 2020 known as the Virginia Clean Economy Act (VCEA), which calls for phasing out fossil fuel power generation by 2045. The Green New Deal refers to congressional resolutions introduced in 2019 at the national level by Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) and Sen. Ed Markey (D-MA).

While the Green New Deal clearly inspired Team Northam, new polling released through the Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy, a free market think tank, indicates Virginia voters have soured on Green New Deal-type schemes. When registered voters were asked about the energy restrictions and costs associated with Virginia's Green New Deal, 64 percent of the voters said they were opposed to the plan. When they asked about the prospect of "paying a new tax on their monthly bill to cover participation in a carbon cap and trade program" that is central to RGGI, 73 percent of voters said they were opposed to the taxes.

## Clean Energy's Dirty Footprint

Craig Rucker of CFACT testified before the Commerce and Energy Subcommittee of the Virginia House of Delegates in February on behalf of legislation that would repeal RGGI and portions of the VCEA. Rucker told lawmakers that the "clean energy" initiatives that flow out of the climate change regulations are neither clean nor green because wind and solar energy projects come with their own environmental baggage.

Rucker told lawmakers that 440 solar projects in 70 counties are pending government and regulatory approval:

If all these projects are constructed, they would cover an area of 778 square miles, equal to 330,000 football fields, 35 times the size of New York City, larger than Albemarle County, and 1.5 times the size of Loudon County. They are not being constructed on land zoned for industrial or commercial use. Rather, in most cases the developers have chosen to seek special use permits from counties to site them on land zoned and master planned for agricultural and forest use.

That's a big footprint and big price to pay for anyone who cares about the preservation of open land. And it gets worse. Solar factories call for clear cutting and topsoil removal of most of the acres where a proposed factory will sit, Rucker explained. Each acre will be covered with hundreds of solar panels, weighing more than five tons, he continued.

"Most of these solar panels are made in China," he said. "At the end of their useful life, they must be removed, another extensive undertaking being that they contain toxic chemicals, such as cancer-causing cadmium." Rucker anticipates a scenario where the waste generated by solar panels in Virginia could lead to a potential Superfund cleanup site.

Even so, a well-funded green lobby remains fully devoted to maintaining RGGI and other green initiatives in Virginia. The state chapter of the Sierra Club, a nonprofit environmental advocacy group; the Virginia Conservation Network, a nonprofit that brings together environmental activists across the state; and the Virginia Advanced Energy Economy, a coalition of businesses that support renewable energy, are among groups that have testified before the General Assembly in favor of climate change regulations.

Big Green Inc.—a project of the Institute for Energy Research (IER), a nonprofit based in Washington, DC, that favors free market energy policies—documents how left-leaning foundations spend billions of dollars supporting climate litigation and green regulations.

“Environmental groups have crafted a narrative that depicts their efforts as a ‘David versus Goliath’ battle against those who would like to see U.S. energy policy move in a free market direction,” Tom Pyle, the president of IER observes in a press release. “This narrative is false. Environmental groups outpace conservative and free-market groups both in terms of funding and organizational capacity.”

In Virginia, Rucker agrees that “the money and organization is on the other side of the table with the green lobby.” Even so, he finds that “it’s possible for free market activists to level the playing field with leftie environmentalists” based on the “power of ideas” and a “willingness to enter the fray.” He warns against leaving the field open to special interests that show up in force at public meetings and legislative hearings

“What they are advocating is not good for the environment or the economy,” Rucker said. “It doesn’t take much to puncture their balloon.”

So what are the prospects for Youngkin’s efforts to provide his constituents with regulatory relief? The GOP regained control of the House of Delegates in addition to sweeping the statewide races in the 2021 elections. But the Democrats retained control of the Virginia Senate by a two-vote majority. Still, with the midterm elections looming, not all Senate Democrats may be keen on the idea of supporting higher energy prices.

Stephen D. Haner, a senior fellow of state and local tax policy at the Thomas Jefferson Institute, sees a “tough row to hoe” if Youngkin expects quick action on repealing RGGI. An executive order by itself may not be enough, he said, in an interview with the Heartland Institute, a free market think tank based in Illinois. But Haner does see opportunities for Youngkin through the regulatory process. The legislation passed during Northam’s term authorized RGGI regulations but did not mandate that Virginia join.

Just prior to leaving office in January, Virginia Attorney General Mark Herring (D) issued a legal analysis in which he concluded that the governor cannot “repeal or eliminate” the regulatory requirements attached to the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative “solely through an executive

order or other executive action.” Herring narrowly lost his bid for a third term as attorney general to Jason Miyares, a Republican who previously was a member of the House of Delegates. Miyares has so far declined to offer any official comment about Youngkin’s order. But Nate Benforado, a senior attorney with the Southern Environmental Law Center, was quick to pounce describing Youngkin’s executive order as an “illegal repeal” and a “dead end” in a press statement. InfluenceWatch, a project of Capital Research Center, describes the Southern Environmental Law Center as “a left-of-center litigation group that opposes energy infrastructure projects in the southeastern United States.” The center also receives “substantial funding” from “left-of-center environmentalist institutional grantmakers.”

None of Youngkin’s critics were exactly scandalized when Northam appeared poised to circumvent the legislative process through unilateral executive action to force Virginia into RGGI. While Youngkin’s executive order remains a source of consternation for left-of-center attorneys and green activists, it is worth noting that it is being advanced in tandem with legislation and budgetary action that would also repeal RGGI. Unlike Northam, the new Republican governor is fully engaged with the legislative process. Macaulay Porter, Youngkin’s press secretary, told the Daily Signal that while the executive order “initiated the regulatory process to withdraw,” the governor is also backing several bills (including HB 1301, HB 118, and SB 532) and a budgetary amendment that would terminate Virginia’s participation in RGGI.

Northam cited “environmental threats” facing the planet as a rationale for entering the climate change agreement. The cap-and-trade regulations that sit at the center of RGGI are designed to provide energy companies with financial incentives to reduce CO2 emissions. Companies that meet or exceed emissions targets in Virginia and the other 10 states may sell any excess allowances to companies that have not done so. RGGI also includes Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Government regulators in those states impose an upper limit or “cap” on the amount of carbon dioxide emissions that power plants are permitted to emit. The initiative also creates “allowances” within interstate auctions that may be traded back and forth among companies subjected to the emission caps.

In his executive order, Youngkin describes how carbon taxes figure into the equation, compliments of Dominion Energy, the state’s largest utility. There is no denying the higher costs RGGI sticks to energy consumers in a recent filing Dominion



*“What they are advocating is not good for the environment or the economy,”*  
*Craig Rucker said. “It doesn’t take much to puncture their balloon.”*



Energy made with the State Corporation Commission, a regulatory agency with authority over utilities:

Virginia's utilities have sold over \$227 million in allowances in 2021 during the RGGI auctions, doubling the initial estimates. Those utilities are allowed to pass on the costs of purchasing allowances to their ratepayers. Under the initial bill 'RGGI rider' created for Dominion Energy customers, typical residential customer bills were increased by \$2.39 a month and the typical industrial customer bill was raised by \$1,554 per month. In a filing before the State Corporation Commission, Dominion Energy stated that "RGGI will cost ratepayers between \$1 billion and \$1.2 billion over the next four years.

## Pennsylvania Legislature Resists Unilateral Executive Action

While regulatory relief efforts gather steam in Virginia, lawmakers in Pennsylvania are taking notice. Aptly named the Keystone State for the crucial role it played in the founding and development of the United States, it is Pennsylvania that could decide the future of RGGI. Tom Wolf, the state's Democratic governor, first proposed having Pennsylvania join the climate change initiative in an executive order going back to October 2019.

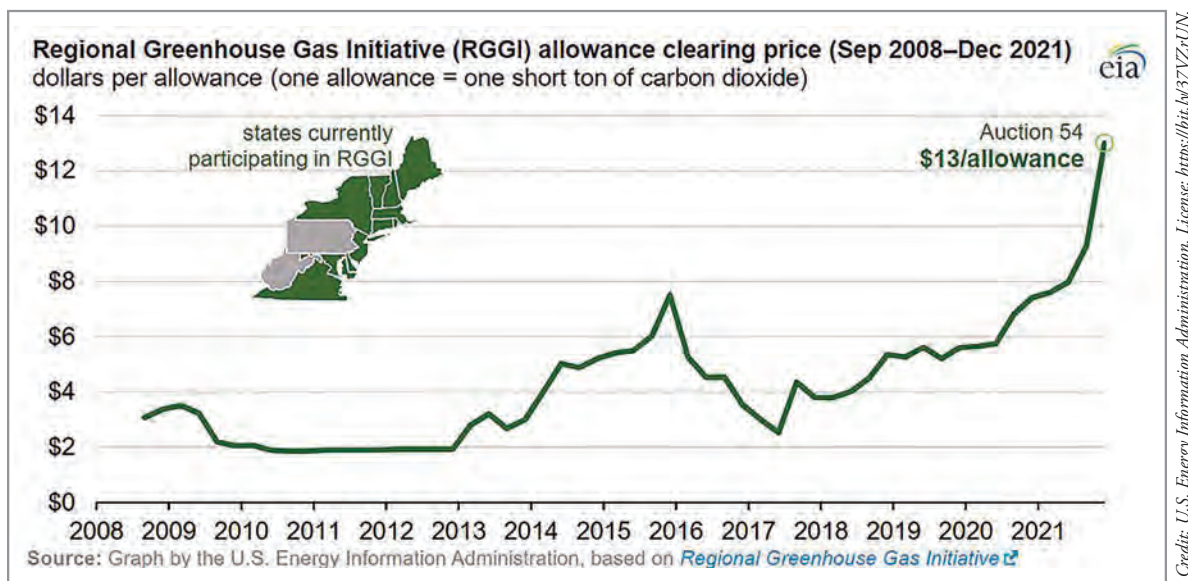
"Climate change is the most critical environmental threat confronting the world, and power generation is one of the biggest contributors to greenhouse gas emissions," Wolf said in the order. "Given the urgency of the climate crisis facing Pennsylvania and the entire planet, the commonwealth must continue to take concrete, economically sound and immediate steps to reduce emissions. Joining RGGI will give us that opportunity to better protect the health and safety of our citizens."

State Sen. Gene Yaw, who chairs the Environmental Resources and Energy Committee, has joined with fellow Republicans and several Democrats to oppose joining RGGI. In a recent press statement, Yaw explained why Virginia's experiences with the climate change regulations should be instructive to Pennsylvania:

Last year, the state's utilities spent \$227 million buying credits at the RGGI auction to offset the carbon emissions they generate.

That's double what proponents of the program said it would cost and it will be ratepayers, almost exclusively, who will foot this bill. For those living at or below the poverty line, this de facto tax hits the hardest.

Yaw also noted that the clearing price for credits at auctions has quadrupled and that eight of the RGGI states are among the top 10 states with the most expensive electricity rates in the country.



*State Sen. Gene Yaw also noted that the clearing price for credits at auctions has quadrupled and that eight of the RGGI states are among the top 10 states with the most expensive electricity rates in the country.*



*Aptly named the Keystone State for the crucial role it played in the founding and development of the United States, it is Pennsylvania that could decide the future of RGGI.*

Moreover, as an energy exporter, Pennsylvania does not exactly fit in with other RGGI states. This is a point Yaw frequently drives home. Pennsylvania is the second largest natural gas producing state, behind only Texas, and it is the third largest net supplier of energy to other states, according to figures from the U.S. Energy Information Administration. That's largely because innovative drilling techniques like hydraulic fracturing have made it possible to extract large natural gas deposits from the Marcellus Shale formation, which cuts across Pennsylvania. The formation contains roughly 84 trillion cubic feet of natural gas making it perhaps the largest natural gas field in the nation. The switch from coal to natural gas has made it possible for Pennsylvania to reduce emissions without implementing expensive regulations.

"Pennsylvania emissions have been reduced by 38% since 2006 without RGGI—more than all the 12 participating states combined," Yaw says in his release. "Moreover, our electricity rates come in 30% to 60% lower than those in RGGI states."

So, what then is the point of having Pennsylvania join RGGI aside from enabling government regulators to exert more control over private companies?

Without acknowledging the progress in meeting and even exceeding RGGI emissions goals, Wolf, like Northam, fell back on climate change alarmism to cajole a skeptical public.

"Climate change is one of the most critical issues we face and I have made it a priority to address ways to reduce greenhouse gas emissions," Wolf said last September after a regulatory review commission approved regulations that would enable Pennsylvania to participate in cap and trade with other states. "By participating in RGGI, Pennsylvania is taking a historic, proactive and progressive approach that will have significant positive environmental, public health and economic impacts."

Wolf continued:

Participating in RGGI is one more way for Pennsylvania, which is a major electricity producer, to reduce carbon emissions and achieve our climate goals. In addition to the environmental benefits,

participating in this cap-and-trade initiative will allow Pennsylvania to make targeted investments that will support workers and communities affected by energy transition.

In February, Wolf filed a lawsuit in the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania against the Legislative Reference Bureau to compel the bureau to publish "CO2 Budget Trading" regulations in the Pennsylvania Bulletin, the official register of new state laws. Senate Republicans have entered the fray by filing a request with the court to intervene in the suit.

"Governor Wolf's effort to enter the compact by Executive Order through regulation bypassed the normal legislative process," Yaw said in a press release. "Pennsylvania is the only state to attempt to enter RGGI without legislative approval."

Yaw continued:

In response to the administration's attempt to usurp the General Assembly's authority to approve or disapprove any tax increase on Pennsylvania families and employers, both the Senate and the House of Representatives approved a resolution disapproving Pennsylvania's participation in RGGI.

Put simply, elected officials' message back to Wolf is "No taxation without representation!"—a battle cry that was heard throughout Pennsylvania and the other 13 original colonies during the American Revolution. In modern parlance, the phrase could be altered to "No carbon taxation without representation." If Wolf can circumvent the state legislature to impose carbon taxes as part of RGGI, he could do lasting damage to the separation of powers and the constitutional checks and balances in Pennsylvania—all in the name of climate change.

"It creates a very slippery slope when the executive branch tries to create a new tax on Pennsylvania employers without the consent of the General Assembly," lawmakers said in a joint statement. "We will continue fighting to preserve the General Assembly's authority to legislate and protect consumers against the painful consequences of the Wolf administration's deeply flawed ideology."



Wolf vetoed the resolution from the General Assembly on January 10. The Senate has 10 legislative days or 30 calendar days, whichever is longer, to attempt a veto override.

The votes on the resolution in the Pennsylvania House and Senate indicated both bodies are a few votes shy of being able to override the veto. Legislative leaders working to close the gap could possibly attempt a veto override before the end of March.

In the meantime, an emerging bipartisan coalition continues to resist Wolf's executive actions. In the House, seven of Wolf's fellow Democrats co-sponsored a bill that would require the governor to submit his carbon tax plan to the General Assembly. The House vote was six votes shy of a veto-proof majority. The state Senate vote on the bill was just one vote shy of a veto-proof majority with five Democrats supporting the bill.

Somehow Wolf's executive actions in Pennsylvania have not scandalized environmental activists and left-leaning attorneys as they did in Virginia when Youngkin moved against RGGI. Researchers would be hard pressed to find any such comments from environmental advocacy groups or high-ranking attorneys. The attitude here seems to be "executive power for me—under the banner of a climate change emergency—but not for thee if you don't support the green agenda."

If Wolf does try to force Pennsylvania into RGGI without a vote in the General Assembly, his actions will most certainly spark litigation from multiple sources. He will contend not just with elected officials in both parties, but also with Power PA Jobs Alliance, a coalition of business and industry.



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

*If Governor Tom Wolf can circumvent the state legislature to impose carbon taxes as part of RGGI, he could do lasting damage to the separation of powers and the constitutional checks and balances in Pennsylvania—all in the name of climate change.*

## The Pennsylvania Governor's Race

There's also some election intrigue complicating the path forward with Wolf. First elected in 2014, he is term-limited and will be leaving office in January 2023. Attorney General Josh Shapiro, who is running unopposed in the Democratic primary to succeed Wolf, has expressed misgivings about RGGI.

Or to be more precise, he has expressed misgivings about how Wolf's RGGI plans might impact him politically in what is already shaping up to be a tough year for Democrats. "I understand the aims of RGGI, and the goals," he told the *Indiana Gazette*. "I have real concerns about the impact it will have on consumer prices, hurting families at a time when many are struggling really to put food on the table."

That sounds encouraging from a free market perspective, but just a few weeks after making those remarks Shapiro's Office of Attorney General approved the rule that would enable Pennsylvania to join the climate change agreement. A spokesperson for Shapiro's campaign has told media outlets that Shapiro's position has not changed, but no one knows what that position is including Shapiro. His attorney general's office has issued banal statements about the "rule of law" that dance around any substantive comments about RGGI as a matter of policy. In fact, the office claims it cannot object to regulations based on policy concerns and can only act against regulations that are presented in "improper form."

What happens next with RGGI in Pennsylvania probably depends on the outcome of the governor's race. Despite all the sly legalese, it's evident Shapiro views the climate change scheme as a political liability. Some of the unions affiliated with Power PA Jobs Alliance are on record opposing RGGI and might start asking some hard questions about Shapiro's stance. Campaign finance records show trade unions have donated more than \$2.4 million to Shapiro's campaign so far. If the actions of the attorney general's office are any indication of what Shapiro will actually do if elected governor, those unions should not expect a good return on their investment.

## Avoiding the Democratic Process

Power PA Jobs Alliance has posted commentary and testimony from Anthony Holtzman, an attorney with K&L Gates, about the constitutional implications of Wolf's efforts to join RGGI without legislative approval. Holtzman also testified before the Pennsylvania House in July 2020 where he told lawmakers that the Pennsylvania Constitution "does not contain any provision that supplies the governor or any other executive branch official or entity with the authority to sign onto an interstate compact or agreement. The General



*Historical data show predictions of increased flooding, drought, heat waves, health risks and more to be blatant fearmongering meant to advance a destructive anti-science agenda.*

Assembly alone possess that power.” Holtzman also went into some detail to describe why RGGI involves taxes and not mere fees. This is a critical point, he explained, because the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has “long held” that only the General Assembly can impose a tax.

“RGGI’s quarterly auction mechanism, which as I suspect you know is really right at the heart of this program, would qualify as a ‘tax’ and not a ‘fee’ as a matter of law because the proceeds of the auctions are grossly disproportionate to the costs of administering the program,” Holtzman continued.

In fact, the numbers indicate that it has raised more than \$3 billion to date. And the signatory states have used the overwhelming amount of that money to support policy initiatives, like energy efficiency and renewable energy initiatives, or transfer the money to general funds to bolster state coffers. Again, only 6 percent of the proceeds have gone towards administering the RGGI program itself. So the program imposes a tax, and a tax is something that only the General Assembly can impose.

Despite the higher consumers costs, Wolf insists in his veto message that “Pennsylvania is facing a climate crisis” and that “RGGI is a solution that would stimulate the economy to the tune of \$2 billion while reducing harmful greenhouse gases.” Since first announcing his executive action, Wolf’s Department of Environmental Protection has been attempting to sell the public on the health, environmental, and economic benefits of RGGI based on its modeling exercises.

Just as in Virginia, a large well-funded network of environmental advocacy groups is lining up the proponents of RGGI. They have persistently echoed the governor’s messaging. The Natural Resources Defense Council, PennFuture, the Clean Air Council, Clean Power PA, the Sierra Club, the Evangelical Environmental Network, the Pennsylvania Environmental Council and Environmental Defense Fund, and Ceres are among the groups that issued statements in tandem with the governor’s veto. But despite all their financial advantages, the green organizations and their allies in the Wolf administration continue to run away from the democratic process.

## Scientific Challenges

That might be because the alarmist rhetoric they have used to rationalize expensive, interventionist climate change regulations have been crashing against scientific reality in testimony before Pennsylvania’s state legislature. The CO2 Coalition, a Virginia-based nonprofit that includes dozens of scientists, has assumed a prominent role in debunking the notion of a pending climate catastrophe.

In June 2021 before the House Environmental Resources and Energy Committee, Gregory Wrightstone, executive director of the coalition, testified:

The Wolf administration relies on factually incorrect assertions of ongoing and future harm from CO2-driven warming. Historical data show predictions of increased flooding, drought, heat waves, health risks and more to be blatant fearmongering meant to advance a destructive anti-science agenda. Instead of relying on climate misinformation to support the imposition of a program that would destroy Pennsylvania’s billion-dollar fossil fuel industry and tens of thousands of associated jobs, the government bodies tasked with review of RGGI should “follow the science” and reject this economically crippling program.”

The coalition has been circulating scientific studies that highlight how “additional CO2 will be a net benefit to the world.” During the same testimony, David Legates, a professor and climatologist at the University of Delaware, informed lawmakers that CO2 is not the most important greenhouse gas. “That honor goes to water vapor,” he explained, “which is responsible for nearly 90% of the net warming of the planet due to the radiative impact of the Earth’s atmosphere.”

Legates added:

We have currently entered a warmer period in human history. But I do not believe humans are responsible for most of this warming as many other factors exist to cause climate to change. So, to create a plan to ‘stabilize’ the Earth’s climate is like trying to keep the Sun from shining. We cannot halt some-

thing that for all history has been variable and so all such attempts at “climate stabilization” are doomed to failure.

Power PA Jobs Alliance cites a long list of studies and articles that delve into the potential impact RGGI could have on union jobs and the economy as a whole in Pennsylvania. Given the state’s prominent position in the natural gas industry, RGGI could, if anything, harm Pennsylvania’s economic standing more than it has Virginia’s. But the difference is that Virginia residents are not dealing in theory. They are already living with the fallout from RGGI.

David Stevenson, director of the Center for Energy & Environment at the Caesar Rodney Institute in Delaware, recently submitted comments to the Virginia House of Delegates detailing the impact RGGI has had on Virginia residents and businesses.

“Virginia’s RGGI carbon tax started in January 2021, and solar power generation more than doubled to 4% of electric demand as the impact of the VCEA kicked in,” Stevenson says in his comments:

The bottom-line result was residential electric bills would likely rise to \$80 per year in just the first year. ...

According to the *US Energy Information Agency*, ten months of real data shows the fallacies of Virginia’s RGGI carbon tax program when compared to the same ten months in 2020.

In-state electric generation fell 9% as natural gas-fired power plants lost against regional electric grid bids from non-carbon tax states with 10% to 13% lower cost. Virginia generators will lose about \$330 million in generation revenue in 2021.

The Caesar Rodney Institute has released a study that shows how costly RGGI has been to Virginia in just one year.

Wolf’s original plan was to have Pennsylvania follow on the heels of Virginia by joining in January 2022. That hasn’t happened in large part because the peoples’ elected representatives have offered a stiff resistance. When this report went to press, the outcome of Wolf’s lawsuit was unknown. But the longer the forces gathered in favor of free market energy policies can hold out in an election year, the less likely Wolf will be able to coerce emissions restrictions onto the already beleaguered energy consumer.

## Conclusion

How Russia’s invasion of Ukraine might impact the debate over RGGI in Pennsylvania is an interesting question.

Yaw, the Republican state senator who chairs the energy committee, has put out a press statement equating energy independence with national security.

“And this is why short-sighted climate policies—like forcing Pennsylvania into the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI) and cancelling natural gas and oil infrastructure, the Keystone XL pipeline chief among them—are so very dangerous,” Yaw said in his statement. “People across the world, not just in Ukraine, will die from the leverage Russia holds over global energy exports.” Yaw goes on to call on Wolf to “abandon policies” that “hamstring” the oil and gas industry. He also challenges fellow lawmakers to resist environmental pressure groups.

“Our elected officials must set aside their allegiance to green energy lobbyists and turn up gas production so that we can crush Putin’s war machine without setting a single foot on foreign soil. As a nation that prides itself on its staunch defense of liberty, we must not undermine Ukraine’s fight for freedom by bankrolling their aggressor,” Yaw said. “And natural gas is the most valuable commodity Russia has—for now.”

In a new development, Yaw has joined with Sen. John Yudichak, a former Democrat turned independent, who represents parts of Carbon, Luzerne, and Monroe Counties, to send a letter to the state’s Independent Fiscal Office. In the letter, the senators ask the office to perform an audit of the modeling the Wolf administration has used to justify entering RGGI. Yudichak, who also chairs the Senate Community, Economic and Recreational Development Committee, plans to host a joint hearing with Yaw’s committee in April to discuss the findings.

“Pennsylvania taxpayers, consumers and businesses deserve honest, accurate information about the proposed RGGI program and how it will impact their everyday lives,” Yudichak in a press release. “The plan is expected to substantially increase utility bills for every small business and homeowner in Pennsylvania.” ■

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*Read previous articles from the Green Watch series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/green-watch/](https://CapitalResearch.org/category/green-watch/).*





# THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

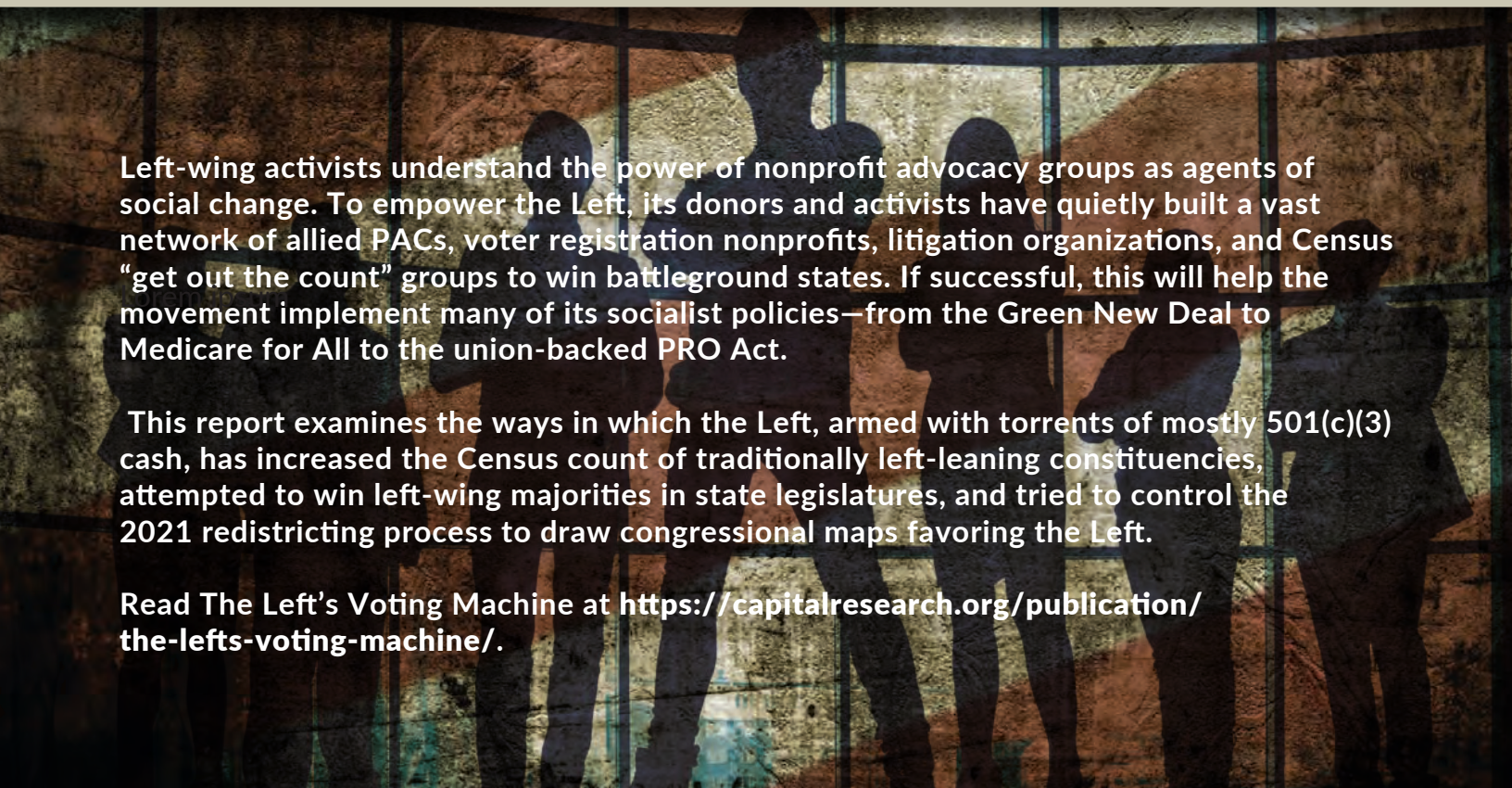


**CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER**  
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Left-wing activists understand the power of nonprofit advocacy groups as agents of social change. To empower the Left, its donors and activists have quietly built a vast network of allied PACs, voter registration nonprofits,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

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

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





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

# BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

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

Hayden R. Ludwig

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

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



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## PATIENT POWER IS DEAD: A TOUR OF THE LEFT'S ADVOCACY FOR GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF HEALTH CARE DOLLARS

By Ken Braun

On July 19, 2017, at least 155 demonstrators were arrested by U.S. Capitol Police for creating a coordinated disturbance at U.S. Senate office buildings. The scofflaw infiltration was in response to planning by lawmakers to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act (i.e., Obamacare). The *Washington Post* reported the protesters had hoped to “have more than 500 people occupy offices of 52 Republicans.”

This acrimony occurred because an astounding amount of wealth and power is at stake. The United States currently spends \$11,600 *per person* each year on health care. That adds up to well over \$900,000 during the average lifetime of 79 years.

Both before and after Obamacare, most of that cash was controlled by big insurance companies and big government. The Affordable Care Act (ACA) didn't so much change our costly third-party payment system as cram millions more people into it.

Excluding 64 million Medicare beneficiaries, the federal government alone spends more than \$750 billion per year on health care, all of it tax dollars taken from Americans whom the government programs are supposed to help. Even setting aside several hundred million dollars more chipped in by state governments every year for their share of Medicaid spending, just the federal spending on health care comes to more than \$2,700 per person each year.

That's \$10,800 in taxpayer health spending every year for every family of four. Who should control that money if not big government and big insurance bureaucrats?

On one side are the advocates of finishing the job and creating a full single-payer “Medicare for All” program in which government controls almost all health spending.

The opposing camp would empower patients with a much larger share of the control over government health dollars. In 2008, GOP presidential nominee Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) proposed dividing up a big chunk of the government health dollars into vouchers (known as a refundable tax credits) of \$2,500 per person and \$5,000 per family (\$3,300 and \$6,600 in late 2021 dollars, respectively).



Credit: Sebastian Vital. License: <https://bit.ly/3uYL5f>

*The United States currently spends \$11,600 per person each year on health care. Both before and after Obamacare, most of that cash was controlled by big insurance companies and big government. The Affordable Care Act (ACA) didn't so much change our costly third-party payment system as cram millions more people into it.*

These vouchers would have gone to everyone, providing universal health coverage. But it would have been the opposite of single payer because it would have empowered every adult and family to decide for themselves the level of health coverage to purchase and what to pay for out of pocket. Think of it as “multi-million-payer,” the payment system Americans use for most everything else.

A system biased heavily to patient control over spending has been in place in Singapore for decades. The average resident of Singapore is just as wealthy as an American, but the Singapore citizen spends one-third of what we do on health care to get results as good or better than ours. In 2013 the Brookings Institution issued a report on the Singapore program: *Affordable Excellence: The Singapore Healthcare Story*. In 2019 *Newsweek* ranked Singapore General Hospital as the third-best hospital on the planet.

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



The opposing viewpoint was represented by those 155 law-breakers arrested in the Capitol Hill office buildings back in 2017. They were a mix of those pushing for Medicare for All and those defending the ACA status quo.

According to the *Post*: “The demonstrations were to follow a meeting described as a National Town Hall Meeting on Health Care. ... Organizers included the Center for Popular Democracy, Housing Works, National Nurses United and Health Care for America Now, among others.” Nine days earlier, another incursion into congressional office buildings over the same issue resulted in 80 arrests.

As these incidents showed, the advocacy ecosystem promoting government control over health care resources is vast, well-capitalized ... and even willing to link up with extralegal measures to get its way. This isn’t surprising because they are fighting over control of 18 percent of the U.S. economy.

## Medicare for All

The Center for Popular Democracy (CPD), one of organizing groups noted above, is a tax-exempt, charitable nonprofit that reported spending nearly \$36.5 million during 2019. The Center for Popular Democracy Action Fund, a political advocacy group affiliated with it, spent almost \$7.6 million that year. CPD also advocates for other radical policies such as the Green New Deal.

Two years after the incursion at the congressional offices, the Center for Popular Democracy endorsed Medicare for All, one of many left-leaning nonprofits that have done so.

Over the years several left-wing members of Congress have introduced Medicare for All proposals, the most famous of which was probably introduced by Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT). An April 2019 news release from the office of the Vermont socialist listed dozens of nonprofits endorsing his Medicare for All legislation. When promoting her Medicare for All Act of 2021, Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D-WA) listed as supporters many of the same groups.

Some of the more prominent groups appearing on one or both lists included:

- **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).** The nation’s oldest civil rights group spent \$31.3 million in 2019. Along with its affiliates it has an enormous financial reach in the public policy and political arena. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund raised \$150 million for the year ending June 2020 and more than \$59.5



Credit: Susan Melkisebian. License: <https://bit.ly/3u9vFTB>.

*On July 19, 2017, at least 155 demonstrators were arrested by U.S. Capitol Police for creating a coordinated disturbance at U.S. Senate office buildings. The scofflaw infiltration was in response to planning by lawmakers to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act (i.e., Obamacare).*

million combined for the two prior years. The NAACP National Voter Fund spent \$1.2 million in 2019.

- **AIDS Healthcare Foundation (AHF).** The AHF exists primarily to provide health care services to HIV/AIDS patients. It too has enormous resources. It had total revenue of nearly \$1.4 billion in 2019, total expenses of nearly \$1.3 billion, and net assets of nearly \$490 billion.
- **National Organization for Women (NOW).** The left-leaning feminist advocacy group collected \$4.3 million in revenue during 2019. An affiliated educational nonprofit, the National Organization for Women Foundation, collected revenue of almost \$1.2 million in 2019.
- **National Domestic Workers Alliance.** The left-leaning labor advocacy nonprofit reported expenses of nearly \$16.5 million for 2019.
- **Demos.** This educational nonprofit promotes many left-wing positions, such as the Green New Deal. The group spent nearly \$11.3 million for the year ending June 2020.
- **Indivisible Project (Indivisible).** Indivisible is a left-leaning advocacy group created to oppose the agenda of President Trump. It reported revenue of \$14.6 million for 2019.

- **People's Action.** People's Action is a left-leaning advocacy group affiliated with the People's Action Institute. The Democracy Alliance network of wealthy leftist donors listed People's Action as a "recommended" recipient of funding and described it as a "network of grassroots organizations with a fierce reputation for direct action." People's Action Institute reported raising almost \$15.4 million in 2018 and spending \$3.1 million during 2018.
- **Public Citizen.** Public Citizen is a political advocacy nonprofit founded by left-wing activist Ralph Nader. It promotes a wide variety of left-leaning causes such as the Green New Deal. Public Citizen raised more than \$8.3 million for the year ending September 2020. An affiliated educational nonprofit, the Public Citizen Foundation, reported raising \$15.9 million during the same period.
- **350.org.** 350.org is a left-wing climate alarmist group that promotes the Green New Deal and opposes the creation of most forms of power generation currently in use, including zero-carbon nuclear power. 350.org reported spending more than \$25.2 million in 2019.
- **Friends of the Earth.** Friends of the Earth is also a left-wing climate alarmist group that promotes the Green New Deal and opposes zero-carbon nuclear power. The group reported revenue of nearly \$12 million for the year ending June 2019.
- **Food and Water Watch.** Food and Water Watch is another left-wing climate alarmist group that promotes the Green New Deal and opposes zero-carbon nuclear power. The group reported raising and spending \$17.9 million in 2019.
- **Sunrise Movement.** Sunrise is a climate alarmist advocacy nonprofit and the primary promoter of the Green New Deal. Sunrise also opposes zero-carbon nuclear energy. Sunrise reported \$3.8 million in revenue for 2019. An affiliated education nonprofit, the Sunrise Movement Education Fund, reported total revenue of more than \$4.2 million for 2019.
- **Color of Change.** Color of Change advocates left-leaning public policies on many fronts. The group reported spending more than \$5.7 million in 2019. It is affiliated with the Color of Change Education Fund, an educational nonprofit that reported spending \$15.4 million in 2019.
- **MoveOn Civic Action** (MoveOn.org). MoveOn is an advocacy nonprofit that partners with other groups to promote left-leaning political causes. MoveOn reported spending \$11.1 million in 2019. The MoveOn.org Political Action, a political action committee, reported raising more than \$49.8 million during the 2020 election cycle and spending \$43.7 million.
- **Make the Road New York** (MRNY). MRNY is an education nonprofit that has organized demonstrators to promote several left-leaning causes. The group reported raising more than \$24.9 million in 2019.
- **Be a Hero Fund.** Be a Hero is a left-leaning advocacy nonprofit that has also opposed Republican Supreme Court nominees and the reelection of Republican senators. The Be a Hero political action committee (PAC) reported raising more than \$11 million during the 2020 election cycle.
- **Refugee and Immigrant Center for Education and Legal Services** (RAICES). RAICES is a pro bono immigration legal services nonprofit. From 2017 through 2019 it reported raising a combined total of \$106 million and spending less than half of it. The group has been growing very quickly and did not report raising more than \$1 million in any single year until 2013.
- **National Immigration Law Center.** This legal advocacy nonprofit has also promoted driver licenses and a path to citizenship for non-legal residents living in the United States. The Law Center reported revenue of \$17.9 million for 2020.
- **CASA de Maryland** (also called CASA). CASA is an education nonprofit that advocates for left-leaning immigration policies. CASA reported \$19.6 million in revenue for the year ending June 2020.
- **United We Dream.** United We Dream is an educational nonprofit that provides information for undocumented residents who wish to remain in the United States. The group reported \$9.1 million in revenue for 2019.
- **National Center for Lesbian Rights** (NCLR). NCLR is a nonprofit that provides legal services for LGBT causes and clients. For the year ending June 2020 it reported revenue of more than \$6.2 million.

- **Justice Democrats.** Justice Democrats is a political action committee that supports the election of Democratic candidates who will move the party further to the left. Justice Democrats promoted the 2018 primary victory of socialist Democrat Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) over an incumbent Democratic congressman. The political committee reported revenue of almost \$6.3 million during the 2020 election cycle.
- **Justice and Witness Ministries of the United Church of Christ.** This group is the left-leaning public policy outreach of the United Church of Christ (UCC), the central office representing the local congregations of a Protestant Christian denomination. The UCC's 2019 financial statement reported total expenses of nearly \$28 million and net assets of \$401.8 million.
- **Union for Reform Judaism.** This group is the organization representing the Reform Judaism movement in the United States and its congregations. The group's 2020 financial statement reported total expenses of \$57.6 million and net assets of \$181.6 million.
- **Working Families Party (WFP).** The WFP is an influential left-leaning political party in New York City and surrounding areas (such as Connecticut). It is affiliated with the Working Families Organization, an advocacy nonprofit that reported revenue of \$10.6 million in 2019.
- **Daily Kos.** Daily Kos is a for-profit political news and opinion website catering to Democrats and left-leaning causes. It has represented itself as influential enough to raise millions of dollars to elect Democratic candidates.

Dozens of smaller political and nonprofit groups were also listed as supporters for at least one of the Medicare for All proposals sponsored by Sen. Sanders and Rep. Jayapal, including:

- Americans for Democratic Action
- American Medical Student Association
- American Sustainable Business Council
- Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, AFL-CIO (APALA)
- Center for Health and Democracy
- Coalition of Labor Union Women
- Demand Progress Action (PAC)
- Democracy for America
- Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)
- Equality Federation
- Health Care for All
- Healthcare-NOW
- Labor Campaign for Single Payer
- League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
- Michigan United
- MPower Change
- NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice
- One Fair Wage
- Other 98%
- Our Revolution
- Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP)
- Progressive Change Campaign Committee
- Progressive Democrats of America
- Social Security Works
- UltraViolet Action
- United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America
- Women's March

## Big Labor and Medicare for All

National Nurses United, another of the groups listed in the *Washington Post* accounts about the 2017 incursion into congressional offices, is a stridently left-wing labor union, which was one of the few to endorse Bernie Sanders for president in 2016. The union is also a strong proponent of Medicare for All. The union's 2021 annual report to the Department of Labor showed it had more than 156,000 members, collected dues of more than \$13.3 million, and spent almost \$1.9 million on "political activities and lobbying."

National Nurses United is just one of many large left-wing labor unions promoting Medicare for All.

The following unions were listed as supporters of Medicare for All in at least one of the news releases from the offices of Sen. Sanders or Rep. Jayapal:

- **National Education Association (NEA).** The 2.9 million-member NEA is the largest labor union in America. Its 2021 annual report to the U.S.



Department of Labor showed \$588 million in total revenue, \$377.4 million of it collected from the union dues of public workers.

The NEA has a thunderously loud political influence. At least \$66 million of its 2021 expenses were clearly reported as “political activities and lobbying.” But this doesn’t include another \$117.8 million given out as “contributions, gifts and grants.” These “gifts” were frequently very political. Some of the larger examples include more than \$2.4 million for the Committee on States and other projects of the Democracy Alliance, a network of wealthy lefty donors who collectively fund projects to assist the election of Democrats.

- **American Federation of Teachers (AFT).** The second largest teacher union (1.7 million members) and another of the largest public worker unions in the nation took in \$196.7 million in membership dues through the year ending June 2021. The AFT reported spending \$48.8 million on political activities and lobbying in 2021.

However, a July 2019 report from the left-leaning media website ThinkProgress listed AFT as an example of a union that supports single payer “on paper” than “actually married to” it. The AFT president told ThinkProgress the group was “supporting various plans,” including one that—contrary to single payer—would allow private insurance for some patients.

- **Service Employees International Union (SEIU).** The 1.8 million-member SEIU is both one of America’s biggest labor unions and one of the most reliably left-wing. It took in \$255 million in dues in 2020 and reported spending \$60 million on political activities and lobbying. In addition to supporting specific congressional legislation, the delegates to the SEIU national convention approved a resolution endorsing Medicare for All as far back as 2016.

But the SEIU was also listed by ThinkProgress as an “on paper” but not necessarily “married to it” supporter of single payer. An SEIU official said the labor group supported “an array of improvements to the health care system,” rather than just Medicare for All. SEIU affiliates, such as 1199SEIU (discussed below) have historically been very active in promoting the expansion of Medicaid—a key provision of the Affordable Care Act.

- **International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM).** The 545,000 member IAM reported \$138.6 million in dues for 2020 and spent \$3.1 million on political activities and lobbying.
- **International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE).** With just short of 153,000 members, IATSE reported collecting dues of \$20.8 million for the year ending April 2021 and spending almost \$1.2 million on political activities.
- **New York State Nurses Association.** With more than 38,000 members, the New York Nurses reported collecting \$48 million in dues and spending \$2.1 million on political action for the year ending March 2021.
- **American Postal Workers Union.** With almost 217,000 members, the Postal Workers reported collecting almost \$45.2 million in dues during 2020 and spending almost \$2.5 million on political activities.
- **National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW).** At the end of 2020 NUHW reported 15,000 members paying combined dues of \$12.2 million,



Credit: LaDauna Howard. License: <https://bit.ly/34Pg6o>.

According to the Post: “The demonstrations were to follow a meeting described as a National Town Hall Meeting on Health Care. ... Organizers included the Center for Popular Democracy, Housing Works, National Nurses United and Health Care for America Now, among others.” Nine days earlier, another incursion into congressional office buildings over the same issue resulted in 80 arrests.

and almost \$1.3 million spent on political activities and lobbying.

- **International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers.** The Professional and Technical Engineers reported 59,000 members and \$5 million in dues for the year ending March 2021.
- **United Mine Workers of America.** The Mine Workers have more than 56,000 members and reported \$8.5 million in dues for 2020.
- **Utility Workers Union of America.** The Utility Workers reported 43,000 members in 2020 and dues collections of \$12.6 million.
- **Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.** In addition to maintaining the usage of a curious but not unheard of spelling for the word “employees,” the more than 30,000 members of this Teamsters affiliate are the maintenance workers for railroad tracks and infrastructure. For the year ending March 2021 Maintenance of Way Employees reported collecting \$13.2 million in dues. (Its health care advocacy appears to be a radical left departure by the local union from the agenda of the Teamsters national headquarters, which has a website that appears to show little to no position regarding national health care policy).
- AFL-CIO affiliates in Vermont, Maine, South Carolina, and Minnesota were also listed as supporters of U.S. Rep. Jayapal’s Medicare for All Act of 2021.

## Labor Unions and the ACA

While large in number, these supporters of single-payer schemes such as Medicare for All remain (though not always) the most left-leaning of the nonprofits, unions, political committees, and Democrats.

In an even more crowded and better-funded corner, the conventional center-left has preferred instead to promote the status quo of supporting Obamacare while gradually ramping up government control by expanding Medicaid to more recipients. Rather than quickly handing over control of nearly every health care dollar to government with Medicare for All, the establishment Left would rather sneak up on the takeover.

President Joseph Biden’s photo could be in the encyclopedia entry for this group. During the 2020 presidential



Credit: AFL-CIO. License: <https://bit.ly/367K&E>.

*A main policy issue of concern listed on the LIUNA national headquarters website is “Protect and Strengthen Healthcare.” The health care issue page states that the “Affordable Care Act was a first step” and that “LIUNA members support further improvements to our healthcare system, including reducing the age for Medicare eligibility, and other expansions of Medicare.”*

campaign, he implied that he would veto a Medicare for All proposal, even if a Democratic Congress approved it and “by some miracle” it reached his desk. The Biden campaign followed up by saying his objective was to “build on the profound benefits of the Affordable Care Act.”

Biden’s position is in line with many of the largest labor unions, such as the Laborers’ International Union of North America (LIUNA). LIUNA reported more than 574,000 members in 2020, dues collections of \$92.9 million, and more than \$10.6 million spent on politics and lobbying.

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*1199SEIU has pumped up enormous political muscles by pressuring a succession of New York governors into ramping up Medicaid spending to potentially ruinous levels.*

Importantly, LIUNA's support is in large measure because the Affordable Care Act still allows exemptions for the gold-plated private health coverage used by unions such as LIUNA. As originally enacted, some of the ACA's funding would have come from an excise tax of 40 percent on the most expensive private health care policies. In 2018, for example, this "Cadillac Tax" would have applied to every dollar above \$27,500 paid for a family health policy. The cost of the average family policy in 2018 was less than \$20,00, so the Cadillac Tax applied to a comparatively small number of private health coverage plans.

But those plans are disproportionately used by giant labor unions. This creates the odd spectacle of these unions denouncing Republicans for trying to reform the ACA while simultaneously bragging about their own ability to do exactly that when it suits their needs. LIUNA likes the ACA because—unlike single payer—the union bosses can exempt their unions from it.

LIUNA's policy position is that the ACA isn't for its members, but rather for the "millions of Americans" for whom the "healthcare system is severely broken." LIUNA asserts that its health care is anything but broken, so national website boasts that LIUNA has even "won key improvements to the ACA; including the elimination of onerous taxes, such as the Cadillac Tax and other requirements that would have unfairly impacted union member health plans."

The healthcare policy position of the 541,000-member United Steelworkers (USW) is almost identical. The USW website states the ACA was "a key moment in expanding health care" but that the USW has "worked to perfect" by advocating changes such as repealing the Cadillac Tax. The USW reported collecting \$285 million in dues for 2020 and spending almost \$10.5 million on politics and lobbying.

As big offenders when it comes to creating costly health coverage (and stripping multi-billion-dollar chunks of annual revenue from the ACA by helping to repeal the Cadillac Tax) some big unions don't appear to make national health care policy much of a priority. One example, the webpage for the national headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (one of the country's largest independent unions) doesn't mention the Affordable Care Act or Medicaid expansion

on either the list of the union's "campaigns" or the page for "political and legislative action."

## Big Labor's Big ACA Advocates

But Medicaid expansion (an important ACA provision) is an existentially important issue for unions such as 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East. 1199SEIU's website describes its health care policy objective as to "strengthen the Affordable Care Act and advance legislation that expands access to quality care for all."

In practice 1199SEIU was almost purpose-built for the ACA's Medicaid expansion provisions. It has pumped up enormous political muscles by pressuring a succession of New York governors into ramping up Medicaid spending to potentially ruinous levels. A Kaiser Family Foundation analysis revealed New York state Medicaid spending to be \$72.9 billion for 2020. The comparison to other states is staggering. Florida and Texas each have larger populations than New York, yet even *added together* the total 2020 Medicaid budgets for both was \$77.9 billion.

According to its annual report for 2020, 1199SEIU had more than 365,000 members, collected \$189.1 million in dues, and spent at least \$13.6 million on politics and lobbying government. A Manhattan Institute profile declared it to be possibly the largest union local on Earth, and "The Union that Rules New York."

The following are some other prominent labor groups promoting the ACA and expanding Medicaid:

- **SEIU United Healthcare Workers West (Local 2005).** Though not as powerful as its eastern cousin, this health care worker union local shares the same objective. With a \$5 million grant in 2015, SEIU-UHW created the Fairness Project, a political advocacy nonprofit that promotes ballot initiatives to expand Medicaid in states where local politicians have resisted doing so. SEIU-UHW reported having more than 98,000 members in 2020, collecting \$107.8 million in dues and spending almost \$21.5 million on politics and lobbying.



The union local reported spending an additional \$6.5 million on “contributions, gifts and grants,” with a lot of that also going to political objectives such as the Fairness Project, which received \$2.5 million. (The Fairness Project reported raising almost \$3.7 million in 2019).

- **AFL-CIO.** The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations is the largest federation of independent labor unions in the nation. It claims 57 member unions (including most of those mentioned in this report) with a combined 12.5 million members. As such, the AFL-CIO’s position on health care policy broadly resembles that of the unions (such as AFL-CIO member LIUNA) that seek to insulate union-negotiated private health coverage from government control.

According to Think Progress, the AFL-CIO “did officially endorse Medicare for All in 2009.” But in 2019 Richard Trumka, the late president of the AFL-CIO, stated that union-negotiated health coverage plans “provide more benefits than Medicare” and that “You can’t ask the American worker, who sacrificed wages and everything, to simply say: ‘Okay, I’ll accept this plan here.’” Trumka said that the AFL-CIO would only support federal health care changes that provided “a role for those hard, hard-fought-for, high-quality plans that we’ve negotiated.” The most logical interpretation of this position is that it would preserve the small number of multiple “payers” in the current system and thus (regardless of name) would neither be *single* payer nor Medicare for *All*.

- **United Auto Workers (UAW).** Despite rumors allegedly spread by the National Nurses Union regarding UAW support for Medicare for All, searches for the terms “Medicare for All” and “single payer” on the UAW national union website at the end of 2021 returned zero results. Conversely, a search for “Affordable Care Act” returned several pages of results and many indications of UAW support for the law.

Through the 2020 presidential election the UAW opposed Republican proposals to reform the Affordable Care Act and accused Republicans of seeking to prevent Americans from receiving health coverage. However, like many large unions, the UAW also opposed some provisions in the Affordable Care Act, such as the Cadillac Tax that would have punished the excessively costly gold-plated coverage that some unions enjoy. The UAW

reported 397,000 members in 2020, dues collections of \$170.1 million, and nearly \$7.9 million spent on political activities and lobbying.

- **Working America.** A “community affiliate” of the AFL-CIO labor union confederation, the Working America website asserts that it “unites working people who don’t have a union on the job” and claims a membership of 3 million. The group claims credit for obtaining Medicaid subsidies for 500,000 people in Pennsylvania and asserts that similar work is being performed in other states. Working America reported spending \$18.6 million for the year ending June 30, 2019. The website also states that the Affordable Care Act “was an important first step” but that “some version of “Medicare for All” is the most cost-effective, fairest method of ensuring universal quality health coverage.”

## Promoters of the Status Quo

As noted earlier, the Affordable Care Act wasn’t much of a reform for our broken third-party payment health care system, so much as a status quo effort to stuff millions more people into it. This was accomplished in large measure by expanding the number of people receiving Medicaid.

Those that defend the ACA and Medicaid expansion are protecting and expanding on the already massive government and private health insurance bureaucracies controlling a large majority of healthcare dollars.

The following are groups that have promoted the ACA status quo:

- **American Association for Retired Persons (AARP).** AARP is a political advocacy nonprofit that claims to represent the best interests its senior citizen membership. AARP worked in a close alliance with the Obama administration to pass the ACA. A 2012 *Wall Street Journal* report revealed emails from AARP officials to the White House in 2009 stating that daily calls from AARP members were running 10-1 against the president’s health care plan. Despite this, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, AARP ran a broadcast media campaign supporting the ACA. AARP reported raising more than \$1.7 billion in 2019.
- **American Hospital Association (AHA).** The American Hospital Association was an early stakeholder in the development of what became the ACA and has supported it ever since. A 2019 statement from the AHA president was titled “The

ACA is working—let’s make it work even better,” and stated that “America’s hospitals and health systems support building on the ACA and strengthening the existing public-private coverage framework.” The AHA reported revenue of \$142.8 million in 2019.

- **American Medical Association (AMA).** The AMA was an early stakeholder in the development of what became the ACA and has supported it ever since. The AMA’s president reiterated the group’s support for the ACA at a townhall event in October 2020. The AMA reported total revenues of \$433.4 million for 2020.
- **American Psychological Association (APA).** APA portrays itself as “leading scientific and professional organization representing psychology in the United States” and claims 122,000 members working in the profession. The group is also an advocate for left-leaning ideological causes, such as forgiving student loans and restrictions on firearms ownership. The APA has been a strong supporter of the ACA and an opponent of Republican health care reform proposals. The APA reported \$132.8 million in revenue for 2020.
- **American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP).** The American Academy of Pediatrics portrays itself as a generally apolitical “organization of 67,000 pediatricians committed to the optimal physical, mental, and social health and well-being for all infants, children, adolescents, and young adults.” In practice, it is a left-leaning advocacy group on many issues. The AAP opposes the sale of firearms that are widely owned by Americans and endorses a radical alarmist position regarding climate change. The American Academy of Pediatrics has been a reliable supporter of the ACA and opponent of Republican attempts to reform it. In 2019 the AAP denounced a federal court decision striking down the ACA language demanding that many Americans purchase health care and credited the ACA with delivering “tremendous improvements to children’s access to health care.” For the year ending June 2020 the AAP reported revenue of \$118.3 million.
- **American Bridge 21st Century.** American Bridge is a federal super PAC that is a major supporter of Democratic candidates and opponent of Republicans. American Bridge has been a defender of the ACA and during the 2020 election ran an attack ad campaign targeting President Donald Trump for making changes to the law. American Bridge spent \$84.6 million during the 2020 election.
- **American Bridge 21st Century Foundation,** a 501(c)(4) political advocacy nonprofit that reported spending \$9.4 million during 2019.
- **Center for American Progress (CAP).** The Center for American Progress is a large, left-leaning think tank in Washington, DC, that provides policy research supporting a wide range of conventional Democratic-aligned positions. It is aligned with the Center for American Progress Action Fund (CAP Action), a political advocacy group that promotes implementation of CAP recommendations and criticizes politicians (usually Republicans) who oppose these objectives. CAP has been a reliable promoter of the ACA. In March 2020 it produced a favorable retrospective analysis titled “10 Ways the ACA Has Improved Health Care in the Past Decade.” The Center for American Progress spent \$49.4 million in 2019. The Center for American Progress raised \$16.6 million in 2019.
- **Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund.** The Everytown for Gun Safety Victory is a federal super PAC affiliated with the Everytown for Gun Safety Action Fund, a political advocacy nonprofit that opposes many types of legal firearms ownership, and their tax-exempt nonprofit partner, the Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund. During the 2020 election Everytown for Gun Safety jointly produced attack ads criticizing Republican congressional candidates for seeking changes to the ACA. The Everytown for Gun Safety Victory Fund spent \$32.3 million during the 2020 election. The Everytown for Gun Safety Action Fund advocacy nonprofit reported spending \$84.8 million in 2019, and the Everytown for Gun Safety Support Fund tax-exempt group reported spending \$34 million that same year.
- **Families USA.** The main web page for Families USA promotes it as “The Voice for Healthcare Consumers.” The group has a “Medicaid Expansion Team” and boasts that it has helped bring about Medicaid expansion in several states. The group’s definition of “protecting health care” is preventing virtually all Republican plans to alter the Affordable Care Act. As an example, the Trump administration created a policy in 2018 that increased the number of low cost health insurance options available to consumers, but the self-appointed “voice for healthcare consumers” denounced the policy. Families USA reported raising \$9 million in 2019.

- **Independence USA PAC.** Independence USA is a federal super PAC affiliated with multi-billionaire and former 2020 Democratic presidential candidate Michael Bloomberg. During the 2020 election, Independence USA supported the presidential candidacy of Joe Biden and opposed Donald Trump. Independence USA publicly supported the ACA and paid for attack ads criticizing Trump for making changes to it. Independence USA spent \$68 million during the 2020 election.
- **League of Conservation Voters Victory Fund.** The LCV Victory Fund is a federal super PAC affiliated with the left-leaning League of Conservation Voters, one of the nation's leading climate alarmist groups. During the 2020 election the LCV Victory Fund spent at least \$1.5 million attacking Republican Senate candidates because they advocated changes to the ACA. In total, the LCV Victory Fund spent \$61.2 million during the 2020 election.
- **League of Women Voters (LWV).** Although cultivating the image of an ideologically neutral source of election information and education, the league is in practice a stridently left-leaning political advocacy nonprofit. As examples, it supports the left-wing Green New Deal, opposes nuclear energy, and supports racial and sexually discriminatory hiring practices that use the misleading title "affirmative action." The LWV has been a strong supporter of the Affordable Care Act and an opponent of Republican-led efforts to reform the law. The LWV reported \$8 million in revenue for the year ending June 2020.
- **Planned Parenthood.** The Planned Parenthood Federation of America, a tax-exempt nonprofit, is primarily a left-leaning advocate for abortion, but also a promoter of the ACA. A web page for the Planned Parenthood Action Fund, Planned Parenthood's political advocacy nonprofit, states that the "Planned Parenthood Action Fund and our supporters are fighting to protect the Affordable Care Act and any other health care law that supports reproductive health." The tax-exempt Planned Parenthood Federation of America reported spending \$341.2 million for the year ending June 2020. The Planned Parenthood Action Fund reported spending \$40.7 million during 2019. And the super PAC Planned Parenthood Votes reported expenses of \$30.1 million during the 2020 election.



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

*Left-wing billionaire Tom Steyer has donated to a network of left-leaning tax-exempt groups, advocacy nonprofits, and political action committees that have supported the ACA.*

- **Priorities USA Action.** Priorities USA is a federal super PAC that is a major supporter of Democratic candidates and opponent of Republicans. Priorities USA has been a defender of the ACA, and during the 2020 election it ran an attack ad campaign targeting President Trump for making changes to the law. Priorities USA spent \$138.3 million during the 2020 election. Priorities USA is also aligned with a 501(c)(4) political advocacy nonprofit with the same name that raised \$39.9 million during 2019 and a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt nonprofit (the Priorities USA Foundation) that reported revenue of \$8.9 million during 2019.
- **Senate Majority PAC.** Senate Majority is a federal super PAC that is a major supporter of Democratic candidates and opponent of Republicans. During the 2018 election Senate Majority PAC ran attack ads criticizing a Republican Senator for filing a lawsuit against the ACA. Senate Majority PAC spent \$371.6 million during the 2020 election.
- **Tom Steyer/NextGen Network.** Left-wing billionaire Tom Steyer has donated to a network of left-leaning tax-exempt groups, advocacy nonprofits, and political action committees that have supported the ACA. NextGen Policy (the tax-exempt nonprofit formerly known as NextGen America) lists a policy staffer on its website whose job description includes leading "NextGen's efforts to defend the Affordable Care Act." This tax-exempt group reported spending



\$4 million in 2019. NextGen Climate Action Committee, the Steyer network's super PAC, reported spending more than \$56.7 million during the 2020 election. NextGen Climate Action, the Steyer network's political advocacy nonprofit, reported spending \$8.7 million in 2019.

- **Urban Institute.** The Urban Institute is an educational nonprofit research group that promotes left-leaning public policies. It has frequently produced reports and studies that promote the benefits of the Affordable Care Act and Medicaid expansion. For 2019 the research nonprofit reported revenue of \$126.7 million.
- **Women Vote!** Women Vote is a federal super PAC that is a major supporter of Democratic candidates and opponent of Republicans. Women Vote has been a defender of the ACA and during the 2020 election ran an attack ad campaign targeting Republican Senate candidates for making changes to the law. Women Vote spent \$46.9 million during the 2020 election.
- **Young Invincibles.** Young Invincibles is a left-leaning advocacy group aimed at young adults. Its primary issue areas include promoting Medicaid expansion and supporting enrollment by young adults in the ACA. Young Invincibles reported total revenue of \$6.9 million in 2019.

## The Arabella Network

It is difficult to track the funding for many ACA advocates.

Health Care for America Now (HCAN), another of the groups mentioned in the *Washington Post* regarding the 2017 protest at congressional offices, does not report finances because it doesn't control its own money. HCAN provides an example of how difficult it is to calculate just how much is being spent to promote government control over health care dollars, let alone who is spending it.

HCAN is a fiscally sponsored subsidiary of the Sixteen Thirty Fund, a foundation that funds left-leaning political causes. Sixteen Thirty is managed through Arabella Advisors, a left-leaning for-profit firm.

Arabella also manages three 501(c)(3) charitable education foundations: the New Venture Fund, the Hopewell Fund and the Windward Fund. Each of these funds have left-leaning education messaging that dovetails with the political work of Sixteen Thirty.

This Arabella network has created hundreds of left-leaning projects such as Health Care for America Now. And Arabella is huge money. IRS reports from the four Arabella foundations for 2020 show combined total revenues of \$1.67 billion and total expenses of \$1.26 billion.

The Safety Net Defense Fund is a good example of the coordination of educational and political missions in the Arabella universe. Safety Net Defense was jointly managed through New Venture (the "Safety Net Defense Fund Project") and Sixteen Thirty (the "Safety Net Defense Action Fund Project"). Fundraising memos produced by Arabella in June 2017 reveal that the purpose of Safety Net Defense was to prevent reforms to Medicaid and federal poverty programs.

Together, the two Safety Net Defense Fund memos were asking for \$10 million so the project could exploit "deep divisions among Republicans" in 17 targeted states. The combined budget was to be for a two-year mission (i.e., through the 2018 mid-term elections). Even as \$8 million of the total was intended for New Venture Fund, the supposedly nonpolitical educational charity, both memos used this language: "We will direct intense pressure on selected House Republicans."

According to the memos, the real manager was Arabella Advisors. The first sentence of the donor appeal from the New Venture Fund educational arm stated that "Safety Net Defense Fund" is "a project through Arabella Advisors." The



*Eric Kessler, founder of Arabella Advisors. This Arabella network has created hundreds of left-leaning projects such as Health Care for America Now. And Arabella is huge money. IRS reports from the four Arabella foundations for 2020 show combined total revenues of \$1.67 billion and total expenses of \$1.26 billion.*

Credit: Change Food. License: <https://bit.ly/3KXVrNc>.

language from the Sixteen Thirty Fund political advocacy arm memo is identical: “The Safety Net Defense Action Fund (SND AF), a project through Arabella Advisors.”

According to the 2017 and 2018 IRS filings from New Venture and Sixteen Thirty, the two nonprofits paid more than \$42.1 million in total consulting fees to Arabella Advisors, presumably to manage the Safety Net Defense Fund and other pop-up projects.

Because of the design of the Arabella network, the specific percentage of expenses used to operate each pop-up is difficult (and often impossible) for the outside public to discover. An April 2021 *New York Times* report summed up the subterfuges by saying that Arabella was operating a “dark money” network that “obscures the identities of donors” and was “a leading vehicle for it on the left.”

Arabella’s pop-ups are often misleadingly portrayed as independent grassroots advocacy groups, rather than as one of hundreds of messaging vehicles from the same lavishly funded lefty network.

Arabella enhances this façade by creating redundant pop-ups promoting similar or identical messages. There have been at least two dozen different Arabella subsidiaries (including Health Care for America Now) with a major mission objective of promoting increases in government control over health care dollars. This is in addition to the Arabella-connected pop-up advocacy projects created to promote left-leaning and Democratic causes not specifically related to health care.

Enhancing the confusion, some of the Arabella-managed pop-up projects are managing *other* left-leaning health care pop-up projects.

The main page of Health Care Voter denounces Republicans for “trying to abolish the Affordable Care Act and eliminate vital protections that we rely on.” A careful look at the bottom of the page reveals: “Paid for by Health Care Voter, a Project of the Sixteen Thirty Fund.” Similar anti-Republican messaging adorns the main page of the group Health Care Facts which on close inspection of the fine print turns out to be a “Project of Health Care Voter.”

## Following the Arabella Money

So, a dollar spent for a project such as Health Care Facts came from Health Care Voter. And Health Care Voter got that dollar from the Sixteen Thirty Fund. In many cases the dollar spent for a project such as this is really going to the *for-profit* Arabella Advisors.

Where did the dollar originate?

That is even more complicated.

The Arabella nonprofits each operate as pass-through entities, connecting wealthy individuals and foundations to left-leaning projects and causes through Arabella. It is often impossible for the public to track the identities of the primary donors giving to the Arabella network. As a political advocacy nonprofit, the Sixteen Thirty Fund is the least transparent of the four.

An additional layer of donor camouflage is sometimes created when funding flowing into the Arabella nonprofits is sent by the original owner of the money via yet another large pass-through foundation, such as the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund or the Silicon Valley Community Foundation.

So, the money flowing into Arabella is difficult to track, and how the money is spent on a specific pop-up project is also opaque. Muddling the picture of money flow still further, tens of millions of dollars are shuffled and cross-donated among the four Arabella nonprofits.

In some cases, the subordinate status of the pop-up projects isn’t clearly revealed or is hidden entirely.

For example, Lower Drug Prices Now is a pop-up that promotes price fixing for pharmaceuticals. It claims an alliance with many left-leaning groups and labor unions, including other Sixteen Thirty front groups such as Health Care Voter. Many pages on the Lower Drug Prices website feature this disclaimer: “Paid for By Lower Drug Prices Now” Of course, this creates a perception of it being an independent group.

But in truth it is paid for by Sixteen Thirty. To find this out a visitor to the website must find the “DONATE!” page and then read the fine print at the bottom: “Lower Drug Prices Now is a fiscally sponsored project of the Sixteen Thirty Fund ... donations to Lower Drug Prices Now are made to the Sixteen Thirty Fund and then immediately restricted for use by Lower Drug Prices Now.”

The connection is far less clear for Small Businesses for America’s Future. This is a project of the Sixteen Thirty Fund that promotes itself as the voice of small businesses. It lists “strengthen the Affordable Care Act” as a major policy goal. Yet the web page does not acknowledge the already large control government exercises over health care dollars—something painfully known to most small business owners—and instead blames rising health care prices on “market failure.”



*As a mysteriously funded subsidiary of the Arabella network, Small Business for America's Future portrays itself instead as a grassroots collection of business owners.*

Similarly, and contrary to the position of most mainstream small business trade associations, Small Business for America's Future calls on Congress to increase corporate taxation rates via a "roll back" of the tax cuts enacted during the Trump administration.

But neither the Small Business for America's Future webpage nor the Sixteen Thirty webpage show any obvious connection between the two groups. As a mysteriously funded subsidiary of the Arabella network, Small Business for America's Future portrays itself instead as a grassroots collection of business owners.

However, on the last page of IRS returns filed by Sixteen Thirty for 2018, "Small Business for America's Future" is listed as one of dozens of trade names that Sixteen Thirty was using in place of its primary name.

So, the connection was "clear," but only for voters who know to find the IRS returns for nonprofits and search to the bottom of the last page of the correct report.

## Arabella's Secretive 2018 Election Projects

These opaque arrangements and tactics are often entirely legal and for a very good reason. The First Amendment means little if not a full protection for every non-violent form of political speech. There are critical justifications for protecting anonymous speech and donor privacy. The *Federalist Papers*, the arguments used by Alexander Hamilton and others to support ratification of the U.S. Constitution, were originally signed with pseudonyms rather than the names of the real authors.

However, left-of-center politicians, political groups and educational charities have been the most strident opponents of these important free speech protections. Arabella has also opposed them, despite being a prolific user. Sixteen Thirty hired a lobbyist in 2019 to pressure Congress to pass a law mandating increased donor disclosure for educational and political nonprofits.

Talking one game while frequently playing another opens Arabella up to a charge of hypocrisy.

During the 2018 federal elections, Arabella deployed more than a dozen state-specific political projects to agitate against Republicans who didn't support left-leaning health care policies. In late July 2018 (still three months before the conclusion of the elections) *Politico* reported that groups "organized under the Sixteen Thirty Fund have spent \$4.6 million on television ads criticizing GOP members of Congress on health care and taxes." The analysis also revealed that, in addition to being "among the most prolific political advertisers" on television, the "network of secret-money nonprofit groups" had "also been one of the top political advertisers in the country on Facebook."

The news website tabulated each group's spending through the end of July 2018 by consulting information collected by the Federal Election Commission and Advertising Analytics. An analysis of these Sixteen Thirty projects by *Non Profit Quarterly* was headlined "Darker-than-Dark Money Targeting GOP House Candidates."

The Sixteen Thirty pop-up projects identified in the *Politico* report were: Arizonans United for Health Care, Colorado United for Families, Floridians for a Fair Shake, Health Care Voters of Nevada, Keep Iowa Healthy, Mainers Against Health Care Cuts, Michigan Families for Economic Prosperity, North Carolinians for a Fair Economy, Ohioans for Economic Opportunity, SoCal Healthcare Coalition, and Speak Out Central New York.

Two others were identified as trade names of Sixteen Thirty in the 2018 Sixteen Thirty Fund tax filing: New Jersey for a Better Future and For Our Families (a Virginia-focused project). In keeping with the tactics used for Small Business for America's Future, at least eight of the websites for these state pop-ups, and the Sixteen Thirty website, do not reveal the financial collusion between them.

An October 2018 report in the *New York Times* characterized the collection as an "array of affiliate groups around the country, many with vaguely sympathetic names." The objective was to present the appearance of being independent, local grassroots efforts. *Politico* interviewed an activist with Ohioans for Economic Opportunity who claimed each affiliate had "complete local control."



If so, the locals abruptly lost interest as soon as the November 2018 election ended. The website for Ohioans for Economic Opportunity does not appear to have been updated since the voting ended.

Likewise, if the “complete local control” assertion is to be believed, then the local activists in Colorado, Florida, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Virginia, and New York all seem to have independently yet coincidentally stopped using their websites at the same time. And as of this writing the websites for the other five affiliates in Arizona, Iowa, Nevada, Maine, and California each direct to dead links.

Protect Our Care and Save My Care were also listed as projects (i.e., “trade names” used) on the 2018 IRS report submitted by Sixteen Thirty. According to media accounts regarding the 2018 election, both pop-up groups were used to attack Republicans for failing to support left-leaning healthcare policies such as the Affordable Care Act.

A February 2018 report from the *Washington Examiner* announced the two groups were coordinating on a “six-figure TV and digital ad buy in seven states” that was “aimed at pressuring Republicans over their attempts to repeal Obamacare.” On May 7, 2018 (still six months before election day), an OpenSecrets analysis of television advertising showed that Save My Care had already spent \$2.2 million for nearly 7,000 TV spots in eight states.

In October 2018 the *New York Times* reported that all of the Sixteen Thirty political front groups put together (including

those focused on health care, plus other issues) had spent a total of \$30 million during 2017 and 2018 “with the goal of battering Republicans for their health care and economic policies during the midterm elections.”

The Capital Research Center’s InfluenceWatch project found that spending during the 2018 election cycle (2017 and 2018 combined) by the four nonprofits in the Arabella network exceeded \$1 billion.

## It’s Almost All of Them

Measuring an inventory of the advocacy groups supporting the Affordable Care Act is an exercise in deciding what not to include. A reasonably comprehensive list of major labor unions and advocacy groups on the center-left is often indistinguishable from a list of major ACA supporters. Most of the outliers are those who support Medicare for All or even more severe government control of health-care dollars.

To whatever extent there ever was noticeable support on the left-of-center for health care reform that put the individual (i.e., patient) in greater control of health care resources, it appears to have ceased to exist since passage of the ACA in 2009. ■

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## RUSSIAGATE HAD A PREQUAL HOAX

By Ken Braun

An alarming September 15, 1918, *New York Times* front page headline blared: “Documents Prove Lenine [sic] and Trotzky [sic] Hired by Germans.” The story revealed the discovery of “70 Official Papers” from Russia purporting to show that the then recently triumphant Russian communist revolutionaries were in truth bought and paid for agents of the dastardly German Kaiser. Germany was then still engaged in World War I against the United States. The documents (really just 68 of them) had just been returned from Russia by Edgar Sisson, an employee of the Committee on the Public Information, a wartime government information agency serving President Woodrow Wilson.



Credit: juckmac34. License: <https://bit.ly/3x23vgW>.

*Today, historians widely consider the so-called “Sisson documents” to have been an obvious forgery that duped Edgar Sisson, President Woodrow Wilson, and most of the U.S. media.*

Adding five sub-headlines to its story, the *Times* tripled down on Sisson’s supposed credibility. One read: “Berlin Financed Revolt.” Another: “Edgar Sisson, Special Agent of Bureau, Obtains and Verifies Evidence of Treachery.”

The Committee on Public Information produced a report endorsing the findings that was widely quoted in the media. The government agency claimed the “Bolshevik revolution was arranged for by the German great general staff and financed by the German Imperial Bank and other German financial institutions.” It declared that Lenin and Trotsky and the rest of the communist gangsters were really “German agents” running a “German government,

acting solely in the interests of Germany and betraying the Russian people...”

The alleged German taxpayer payoff to Lenin & Co. was \$25 million (\$470 million in 2022 dollars).

A credulous U.S. Senate held hearings to accept the plausibility that the Bolsheviks were German government puppets.

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*Ken Braun is CRC’s senior investigative researcher and authors profiles for [InfluenceWatch.org](https://www.influencewatch.org) and the *Capital Research* magazine.*



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The alarming allegations were used by the Wilson administration to justify a little-remembered military misadventure that had American and Russian troops shooting at each other in Siberia even after World War I guns had gone silent in Europe.

The veracity of the so-called “Sisson documents” (dare we call them the “Sisson dossier”?) was widely accepted by most of the media of the day.

The *New York Evening Post* was a conspicuous dissenter: “The general tone of the documents is a strain on credulity. The orders and instructions and demands and responses have the directness of a thieves’ kitchen; it is not the way in which government conspiracies are couched.” The *Post*’s skepticism was warranted. Today, historians widely consider the so-called “Sisson documents” to have been an obvious forgery and that Sisson, Wilson, and most of the U.S. media were duped.

But hoaxes (and shame) die slowly. In early 1931, Sisson released *One Hundred Days*, a memoir of his days in Russia that maintained the fraud and included a reproduction of his report supposedly demonstrating the “German-Bolshevik Conspiracy.” Yale University Press was his high-brow publisher. The *New York Times* stayed in the act as well, providing an April 1931 review of the book under the headline: “Sisson Book Says Germans Paid Reds.”

Almost exactly a century after the Sisson Hoax came the Trump-Russia Collusion Hoax. Once again, top-level American politicians credulously swallowed and investigated a clumsily concocted conspiracy theory (and one involving Russia, at that). And nearly all of the blue blood media, led again by the *New York Times*, choked down the nonsense until it was too late to shut it down.

Russia Hoax, like Sisson Hoax, featured a dossier full of sensational (to say nothing of salacious) allegations. Both featured shadowy bankers supposedly financing the dirty deal. Each led to years of harmful behavior by the American government.

The damage from Russia Hoax is still ongoing. At InfluenceWatch, we are compiling a user-friendly and regularly updated accounting of the developments titled “Trump Russia-Collusion Claims.” Please look it over and share it widely.

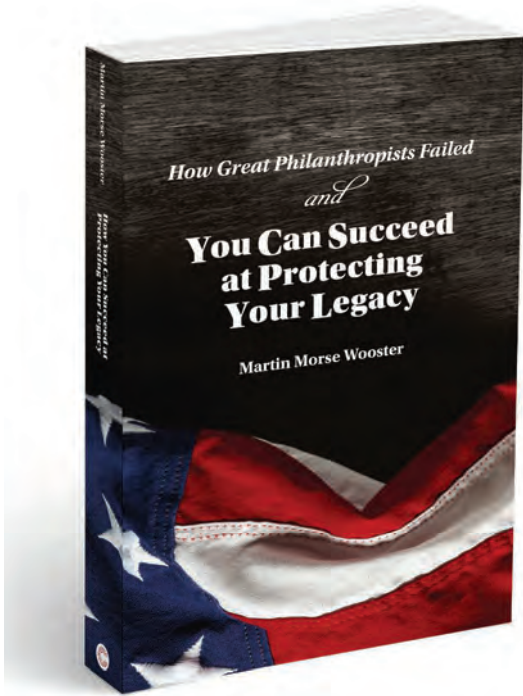
Why should you do this?

Dial up “Edgar Sisson” and “Steele dossier” into your google machine and you’ll get no results. The same is true for “Alfa Bank” and any other terms linking this pair of destructive historical hoaxes. It’s too easy to repeat history when the past is forgotten. ■



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