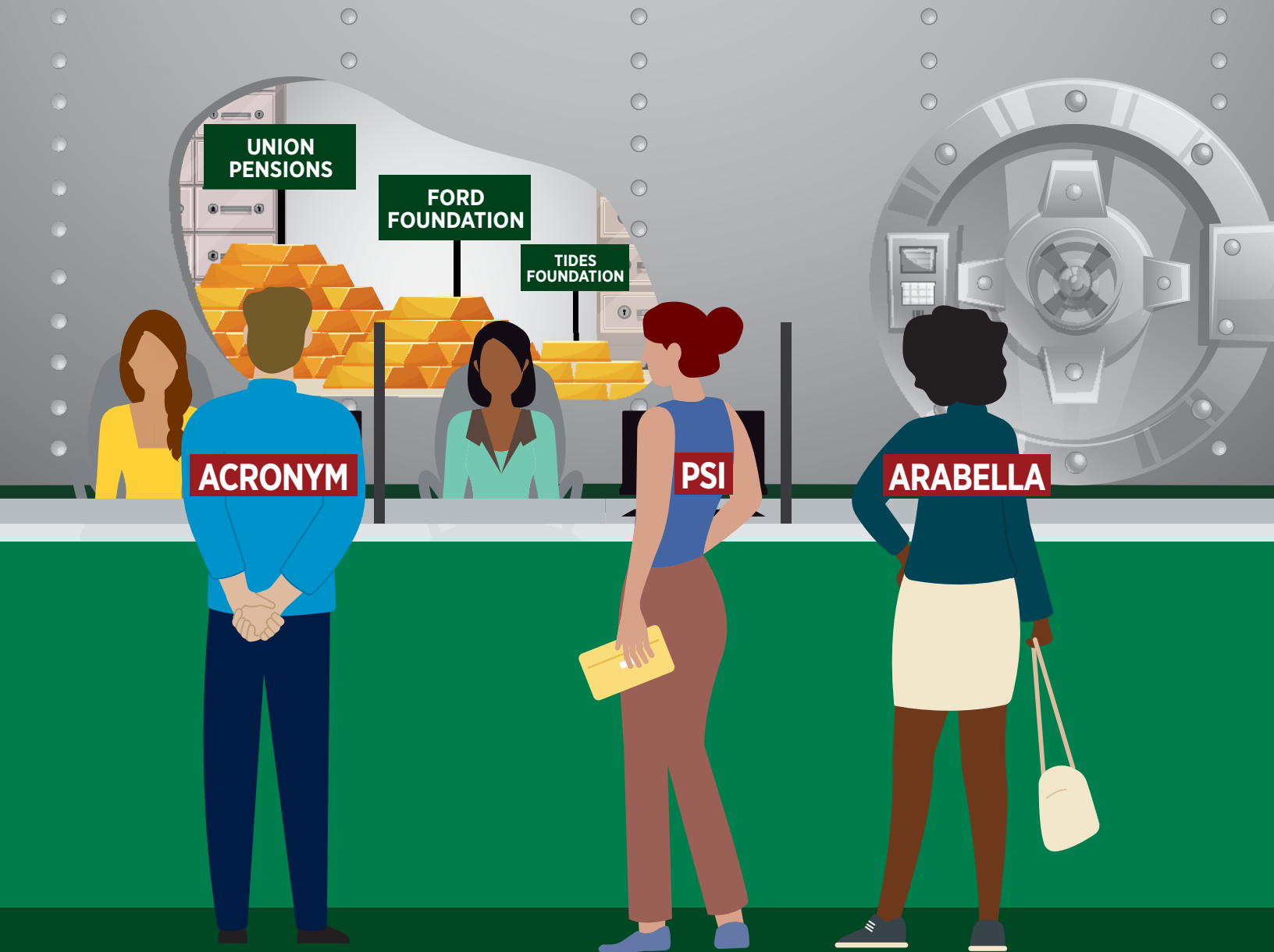




AMALGAMATED BANK



ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

3 Supporters of Wind Farms over Nuclear Power Are Eagle Killers, Not Conservationists

5 Building Sorostan: George Soros's Plan to Remake the U.S. Justice System

21 National Lawyers Guild

33 Foundations Destroying American Public Education

BLACK LIVES MATTER AFTERMATH



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In perhaps one of the greatest messaging coups of all time, the Black Lives Movement Global Network Foundation (BLMGNF)—an international effort funded by some of the most powerful and wealthy leftists admittedly steeped in the Marxist playbook—took the true statement that black lives matter and used it to create chaos and destroy the livelihoods of the very people it was professing to help.

In a new video series, sponsored by Capital Research Center and filmed and produced by No Filters Media, we look at Minneapolis one year after the protests following the death of George Floyd.

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AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

CONTENTS

3

COMMENTARY

Supporters of Wind Farms
over Nuclear Power
Are Eagle Killers,
Not Conservationists

By Ken Braun

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

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5

SPECIAL REPORT

Building Sorostan:
George Soros's Plan to
Remake the U.S. Justice System

By Parker Thayer



13

LABOR WATCH

Woke Capitalism:
Amalgamated Bank, Big Labor,
and the War on Free Speech

By Hayden Ludwig and Robert Stilson

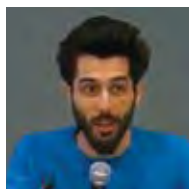


21

ORGANIZATION TRENDS

National Lawyers Guild

InfluenceWatch



33

FOUNDATION WATCH

Foundations Destroying
American Public Education

By Luke Rosiak



BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

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

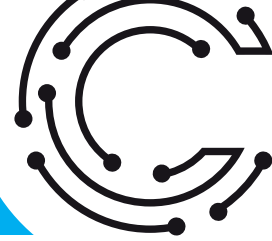
Hayden R. Ludwig

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.



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



SUPPORTERS OF WIND FARMS OVER NUCLEAR POWER ARE EAGLE KILLERS, NOT CONSERVATIONISTS

By Ken Braun

Hundreds of hypocritical nonprofits implicitly endorse eagle elimination because they oppose nuclear energy and promote wind turbines.

On April 6, energy firm NextEra pleaded guilty to three federal charges of killing eagles with wind turbines. The plea included an \$8 million fine, an agreement to pay almost \$30,000 for future eagle kills, and a commitment to spend \$27 million to prevent future kills.



Credit: Shutterstock. License: <https://shutterstock.com/licenses/3535dWMC>.

The penalties should have been worse. Prosecutors alleged NextEra's raptor-slayers had executed 150 eagles in eight states.

NextEra didn't act alone. Hundreds of hypocritical nonprofits implicitly endorse eagle elimination because they oppose nuclear energy and promote massive build-out of wind turbines. Their combined annual budgets exceed \$1 billion.

The notorious list includes the Natural Resources Defense Council, the League of Conservation Voters, the Sierra Club, and the Environmental Defense Fund. Financial support comes from big names such as the Ford Foundation.

A March 2021 Department of Energy report stated that a "typical" nuclear plant "needs a little more than 1 square mile to operate," while "wind farms require 360 times more land area to produce the same amount of electricity and solar photovoltaic plants require 75 times more space."

Supporters of wind energy are not conservationists. There's nothing "clean" about energy that devours hundreds of times the land needed by another carbon-free option and then needlessly wipes out eagles as a cost of doing business.

Renewables Can't Meet Energy Needs

President Joe Biden hasn't learned this yet. In his March 1 State of the Union address he pledged to "double America's clean energy production in solar, wind, and so much more."

But despite hundreds of millions of dollars in taxpayer subsidies already given out, solar, and wind together still accounted for less than 5 percent of total American energy consumption in 2020. Biden's speech didn't mention increasing production of nuclear or the other fuels that account for 95 percent of the energy we need.

In 2020 the combined output of every wind turbine and solar panel on Earth was 6,037 terawatt hours (TWh). In comparison, the American nuclear program *alone* produced 2,051 TWh, even as it represented just 8.4 percent of total U.S. energy consumption.

Ken Braun is a senior investigative researcher at CRC and authors profiles for InfluenceWatch.org and Capital Research magazine.

Conservationists Should Support Nuclear Energy

If the president, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and the rest were conservationists, they'd ditch the wasteful wind subsidies and instead demand a doubling (or more) of carbon-free nuclear energy. The Department of Energy reports uranium is "a common metal found in rocks all over the world" and "economically recoverable" in the United States and more than a dozen other nations.

France obtained 36.1 percent of total energy consumption from nuclear in 2020. Of the five richest and largest industrial economies, the French are the least carbon intensive per capita. In 2020, French carbon emissions measured 3.8 total carbon dioxide (tCO₂) per person, compared to 4.6 for the United Kingdom, 7.0 for Germany, 8.2 for Japan, and 13.0 for the United States.

If 36 percent of American energy consumption in 2020 had been nuclear, that could have theoretically displaced all of the coal and nearly half of oil consumption. (Although this would have required many more vehicles to run on electricity).

Fake conservationists are marching us in the other direction. Last April the Natural Resources Defense Council and Environmental Defense Fund cheered the closure of the Indian Point nuclear station in upstate New York. In an absurd defense of the weather-restricted power industry, the Sierra Club released a graphic showing house cats kill more birds than wind turbines.

Well, yes, house cats prey upon America's inexhaustible supply of quickly reproducing sparrows, robins, and other small birds. For the Sierra Club to equate this with wind turbines



In an absurd defense of the weather-restricted power industry, the Sierra Club released a graphic showing house cats kill more birds than wind turbines.

wiping out big and slow-to-reproduce predators is as silly as saying a Formula One racer is comparable to what is found at a roadside used car lot.

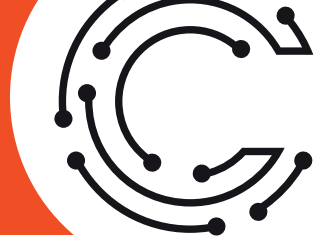
Protecting Wild Animals and the Wide Open

Quoted by NPR after the federal plea deal, the leader of the eagle-killing wind firm copped a Sierra Club attitude: "NextEra President Rebecca Kujawa said collisions of birds with wind turbines are unavoidable accidents that should not be criminalized."

Every single one of those collisions is avoidable, because wind turbines themselves are avoidable. We'd be knocking almost all of them down if the sanctimonious anti-nuclear nonprofits acted like conservationists who enjoy witnessing wild animals and wide-open spaces. ■

This article originally appeared in The Federalist on April 18, 2022.

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



BUILDING SOROSTAN: GEORGE SOROS'S PLAN TO REMAKE THE U.S. JUSTICE SYSTEM

By Parker Thayer

Summary: For over five years George Soros has been laying siege to the U.S. justice system. Through his network of personal political action committees he has spent over \$29 million backing left-wing “reform” candidates in district attorney elections. As a result over 37 million Americans (11 percent of the U.S. population) live in jurisdictions overseen by radical left-wing district attorneys—jurisdictions where all legal norms have been thrown away and crime is out of control. Welcome to Sorostan and its 37 million involuntary test subjects in Soros’s experiment in social engineering and criminal justice reform.

For over five years George Soros has been laying siege to the U.S. justice system. In the past year, the Capital Research Center has exposed how Soros used a vast network of political action committees (PACs) to spend over \$29 million to elect two dozen radical left-wing district attorneys (DAs).

Partly as a result of Soros’s investment, over 37 million Americans (11 percent of the U.S. population) live in jurisdictions overseen by radical left-wing DAs. Under the aegis of prosecutorial discretion, these DAs are implementing radical criminal justice reforms by fiat, without consideration by a legislative body or even another executive officer. With just \$29 million Soros has effectively created two systems of law in the country: one America based on law and order and another America where all legal norms have been thrown away in a bout of reformist fervor. The results have been predictable.

Welcome to the cities of “Sorostan.” Heaven help their residents.

The Investment

Capital Research Center has compiled evidence from campaign finance disclosures and local news reports scattered across the country detailing George Soros’s involvement in local prosecutor elections. Widely covered by news outlets including the *Washington Examiner*, Breitbart, the National Desk, and even Newt Gingrich’s podcast, our research



Credit: Shutterstock. License: <https://shur.be/3y2o0uc>.

In the past year, the Capital Research Center has exposed how Soros used a vast network of political action committees to spend over \$29 million to elect two dozen radical left-wing district attorneys.

showed that Soros and his network of personal political action committees had flooded typically low-dollar district attorney elections with over \$29 million backing left-wing “reform” candidates.

In total, Soros cash served as the backbone of two dozen successful campaigns, ushering in radical candidates whose policies have nurtured a crime wave so massive that even the left-leaning *New York Times* has acknowledged it.

The Soros DAs

But the process of electing pet DAs has not been an easy one. Many Soros-backed candidates have been rebuffed by more moderate and qualified opponents. While the voters

Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher at CRC.

have rebuffed many Soros-backed candidates, they have elected at least two dozen.

In most states, the chief prosecutor in a state jurisdiction is called a district attorney, but some states use other titles. For example, in Virginia, the position is called commonwealth attorney. In St. Louis, the term is circuit attorney. In general, we will refer to all of them as district attorneys.

Below is a list of every DA by state and jurisdiction that CRC has discovered receiving Soros funding.

- **Diana Becton:** Contra Costa County, California.
- **George Gascon:** Los Angeles County, California. Previously served as the DA of San Francisco.
- **Monique Worrell:** Ninth Judicial Circuit (Orange and Osceola County), Florida.
- **Darius Pattillo:** Henry County, Georgia.
- **Kim Foxx:** Cook County (Chicago), Illinois. Reelected in 2020.
- **James Stewart:** Caddo Parish, Louisiana.
- **Scott Colom:** Circuit Court District Sixteen, Mississippi.
- **Jody Owens:** Hinds County (Jackson), Mississippi.
- **Kim Gardner:** St. Louis, Missouri.
- **Raul Torrez:** Bernalillo County (Albuquerque), New Mexico.
- **Alvin Bragg:** Manhattan, New York.
- **David Clegg:** Ulster County, New York.
- **Jack Stollsteimer:** Delaware County, Pennsylvania.
- **Larry Krasner:** Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- **Joe Gonzalez:** Bexar County (San Antonio), Texas.
- **John Creuzot:** Dallas County, Texas.
- **Brian Middleton:** Fort Bend County, Texas.
- **Kim Ogg:** Harris County (Houston), Texas.
- **José Garza:** Travis County (Austin), Texas.
- **Parisa Dehghani-Tafti:** Arlington County and City of Falls Church, Virginia.
- **Steve Descano:** Fairfax County, Virginia.
- **Buta Biberaj:** Loudoun County, Virginia.
- **Ramin Fatehi:** Norfolk County, Virginia.



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

Hundreds of miles away a “dark money” group with \$10 million from Mark Zuckerberg and zero connection to Washington County decided that the county really needed a high-dollar competitive election with a radical left-wing contender. The people just didn’t know it yet.

Zuckerberg’s Dollars Go to Oregon

In Oregon, for example, Max Wall, a failed DA candidate, met with Soros PAC consigliere Whitney Tymas shortly before declaring his candidacy—though he insisted to reporters that he had decided to run *before* the meeting. Wall also reportedly told his friends he was “waiting to hear from the ‘money people’” before kicking his campaign into full gear. His campaign ultimately benefitted from large sums of money Soros’s PAC. However, there was a wrinkle to this story: CRC later discovered that the money from Soros’s PAC in Oregon was not from Soros.

The story began in 2018 just outside Portland, Oregon, when longtime Washington County District Attorney Bob Hermann announced his retirement. To those in the know, his obvious successor was Kevin Barton, a moderate independent and Hermann’s longtime lieutenant.

Well-liked and with no Republican challengers, Barton was running unopposed. The people of Washington County were on course to a sleepy election and a calm transition of power.

However, hundreds of miles away a “dark money” group with \$10 million from Mark Zuckerberg and zero connection to Washington County decided that this was unacceptable. To them, Washington County *really* needed a high-dollar competitive election with a radical left-wing contender. The people just didn’t know it yet.

Almost overnight, the race became the most expensive district attorney election in state history.

In the leadup to the election, Whitney Tymas, a DC-based political strategist who operates a nationwide network of political action committees (PACs) funded by George Soros, parachuted into Washington County to procure a suitably left-wing candidate to run against Barton.

Eventually, a candidate was found. After meeting with Tymas, left-wing defense attorney Max Wall unexpectedly entered the race on the last possible day, accompanied by rumors that he had suddenly found a donor with very deep pockets. Wall’s announcement was promptly followed by \$680,000 in support from the Law and Justice PAC.

Covering Their Money Tracks. George Soros’s well-documented history of spending on district attorney races led to speculation that Soros was providing the money. Representatives of the Wall campaign denied the allegation, and reports surfaced that “a person claiming to represent the New York public relations firm that scheduled Wall’s TV ads said the money was not coming from Soros, but would not reveal the true identity [of the donor].” The denial did little to quell rumors. Allegations of accepting “dirty money” continued to plague his campaign, but neither Wall nor the Safety and Justice PAC came forward to disclose the real donor.

After the election, it was revealed that the Law and Justice PAC was funded almost entirely by a \$2 million grant from the Accountable Justice Action Fund (AJAF), a 501(c)(4) “dark money” nonprofit. AJAF itself is a segregated fund for criminal justice reform created by yet another nonprofit named Open Philanthropy, the philanthropic brainchild of Facebook co-founder Dustin Moskovitz.

Open Philanthropy Action Fund, Open Philanthropy’s 501(c)(4) affiliate, reported donating \$6.3 million to AJAF in 2017, so reporters naturally concluded that Moskovitz, not Soros, was Wall’s mystery donor. Strangely, representatives of Moskovitz *also* denied being the anonymous supporter: “Dustin Moskovitz and the Open Philanthropy Project did not provide any funding for the Oregon election work; *we are a minority of the overall funding to AJAF*” [emphasis added].



Thanks to Mark Zuckerberg, the Barton-Wall race was the most expensive district attorney race in Oregon history.

Reporters and pundits were stumped, and up until recently the identity of Wall’s secret supporter has remained a mystery. If it was not Soros or Moscovitz, who was it?

Capital Research Center has since discovered that the roughly \$17 million dollars that AJAF reported receiving in 2018 came from just two large donors. The Open Philanthropy Action Fund contributed \$6.3 million, and Chan Zuckerberg Advocacy, the 501(c)(4) wing of Zuckerberg’s philanthropic empire, contributed the remaining \$10 million. With Moskovitz and Soros ruled out, Max Wall’s mystery donor must be Mark Zuckerberg.

The Blowouts. With his \$2 million contribution to Law and Justice PAC, passed first through a daisy chain of “dark money” groups to hide the source, Mark Zuckerberg turned the Washington County district attorney race into a tremendous blowout. Unfortunately for Zuckerberg, it was not a blowout in Max Wall’s favor. Zuckerberg’s multi-million-dollar investment in the Law and Justice PAC turned out to be a tremendous waste.

Max Wall received just 30 percent of the vote, losing badly to the more moderate Kevin Barton. Thanks to Zuckerberg, it was the most expensive district attorney race in Oregon history, but apparently all the money in the world couldn’t have helped Wall overcome his lack of experience and the popular opposition to his radical policies.

The Law and Justice PAC was also active in Nevada during 2018. The PAC spent over \$400,000 supporting the campaign of Rob Langford for Clark County District Attorney against Democratic incumbent Steve Wolfson, and the results were identical. Langford, the more progressive candidate, lost handily to Wolfson in the primary.

Just as in Washington County, Zuckerberg’s involvement in the Clark County race was not discovered until now.

In the end, Wall’s and Langford’s refusals to identify their mystery donors torpedoed their chances of earning the votes of reform-minded Democrats, who were suspicious of their outside “dark money” ties.

Dual Legal Systems

With just \$29 million Soros has effectively created two systems of law in the country: one America based on hundreds of years of legal tradition and experience and another America where all norms have been thrown away in a bout of reformist fervor. The Kyle Rittenhouse trial, the Jussie Smollet hoax, the attack on the Waukesha Christmas parade, the organized mob lootings in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and now the indictment of the Baltimore district attorney have each attracted national attention and spotlighted an issue that many in law enforcement and politics have been warning of for years: the threat of activist DAs.

The Soros DAs have established a pattern in their jurisdictions: skyrocketing violent crime, countless murders, little to no accountability, limited prosecutorial experience, a proclivity for scandal, and a tendency to unfairly prosecute political adversaries. The divide between these two Americas has become so severe that commentators on both the left and the right have remarked that places like Philadelphia and Los Angeles resemble “a third-world country.”

The following is a selection of some of the results Soros DAs have facilitated. A more exhaustive list would be more horrific.

California. In Los Angeles, homicide rates soared, organized shoplifting sprees ravaged the city, trains were stopped and ransacked by mobs of looters. A campaign promise of



In San Francisco, recall organizers collected enough signatures to force progressive DA Chesa Boudin (not shown) into a recall election. This success helped inspire a second effort in Los Angeles to recall DA George Gascon, and the recall effort appears to be gaining momentum.



In addition to the Jussie Smollet hoax in 2019, Chicago experienced the largest spike in homicides in more than 30 years while the DA's office dropped charges against 30 percent of felony defendants during 2020.

the DA to never prosecute juveniles as adults recently led to a 26-year-old transgender woman convicted of sexually assaulting a 10-year-old girl in a women's restroom being sentenced to two years in a *juvenile detention facility*. Gascon's office reportedly refused to prosecute the offender as an adult because the offender was *two weeks* from turning 18 at the time of the assault.

Elsewhere in California, the four Contra Costa cities made the list of the 100 most dangerous cities in California in 2018.

Florida. In Orange and Osceola Counties, Florida, violent crime increased dramatically, with murders increasing by 26 percent during 2020.

Illinois. In addition to the Jussie Smollet hoax in 2019, Chicago experienced the largest spike in homicides in more than 30 years while the DA's office dropped charges against 30 percent of felony defendants during 2020.

Mississippi. In the 16th Circuit, violent crime, specifically gun violence, remains a serious and growing problem. The Hinds County DA's office, which has jurisdiction over the state capital, brought highly questionable murder charges against two police officers, which were dismissed with prejudice for lack of evidence that officers “caused any injury” to the alleged victim. Jackson has since become one of the deadliest cities in the nation, and in 2021 the city saw over 150 homicides (98 murders per 100,000 residents), an all-time high.

Missouri. St. Louis became the murder capital of the nation and in early 2021 became one of the deadliest cities in the world.

New Mexico. As of mid-November 2021, Albuquerque had experienced 102 homicides in 2021, the highest number ever recorded, compared to the 67 reported by the same time last year.

New York. Under the Soros-funded DA of Ulster County, gun crimes and shootings have surged dramatically, and high profile cases have been badly mishandled, including a murder case in which the suspect was released because DA's office failed to file an indictment on time.

Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia, crime rates have soared, and in 2021, Philadelphia became the murder capital of the United States with the highest per capita homicide rate of the country's 10 largest cities. Under DA Krasner's watch Philadelphia has become one of the most dangerous cities in the nation, closer to a third-world country than a former metropolis.

DA Larry Krasner also created a "conviction integrity unit" which has overturned a whopping 21 convictions. This sounds good, but critics like William McSwain, former U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, have alleged that many of these acquittals were achieved by throwing out incriminating evidence without cause and that Krasner is motivated by a "hatred for law enforcement" rather than a desire to exonerate the truly innocent.

In neighboring Delaware County, homicides increased 127 percent in 2020.

Texas. In San Antonio, violent crime reportedly increased by 15 percent, while convictions dropped by 17 percent. Austin has experienced skyrocketing crime rates and a record number of homicides.

Virginia. In Arlington County, felony aggravated assaults rose 40 percent from 2020 to 2021, and in Fairfax County, homicides more than doubled.

Sorostan Demographics

Data from the 2020 Census show that localities where Soros-funded prosecutors currently hold office are home to roughly 37.6 million Americans, or *11 percent* of the entire population. The unfortunate occupants of Sorostan are also disproportionately members of minority groups, with 15 percent of the African American population and 16 percent of the Hispanic population living in Sorostan.

This means that Soros and his allies have disproportionately used minority communities as test subjects for their untested criminal justice reforms.

The results of these experiments have been catastrophic, particularly for the minority communities they were allegedly intended to help, but Soros and his allies don't seem to understand or care. In 2021, Soros doubled down on his funding of Philadelphia District Attorney Larry Krasner and added two more DAs to his list. Furthermore, allies of the reform prosecutor movement have laughably insisted that stories of the crime wave are "copoganda."

Expanding Sorostan

Now, another would-be Soros DA is gearing up.

In 2018, Pamela Price ran for district attorney in Alameda County, California, and was defeated by the incumbent, Nancy O'Malley. During her campaign Price received support from the Soros-funded California Justice and Public Safety PAC, to which Soros has contributed \$6.1 million since 2018. California campaign finance disclosures show that the PAC spent a total of \$699,647 in support of Price. Meanwhile, Price's PAC raised just \$326,798 during the entire 2018 cycle, meaning Soros spent over double the funds Price was able to raise organically, making Soros the



Credit: BAU 13. License: <https://bit.ly/3ON0ZL>

In April 2018, Pamela Price told the Mercury News that she "never wanted to be a prosecutor" and wasn't interested in running. The very next month Price's campaign was in full swing. What changed?



Credit: Berkeley Center for New Media. License: <https://bit.ly/3uRezv>

Radical feminist and Communist Party activist Angela Davis has endorsed Pamela Price, as has left-wing actor Danny Glover (not shown), who has repeatedly defended dictators like Nicholas Maduro and Hugo Chavez.

largest spender on the election by far, even though he does not live in Alameda County.

Pamela Price has since announced that she is running for DA again in 2022 and given the strong possibility that Soros funding will again make an appearance, it's worth revisiting the Price campaign as a case study in how Soros-cash massively influences targeted DA races.

Price herself is an interesting character. Radical feminist and Communist Party activist Angela Davis has endorsed her, as has left-wing actor Danny Glover, who has repeatedly defended dictators like Nicholas Maduro and Hugo Chavez.

Price is not the sort of person one would expect to be interested in work as a prosecutor. In fact, as a career civil rights and defense attorney with no prior experience in prosecution, Price was an unlikely and unexpected candidate for DA from the very beginning. In April 2018, Price even told the *Mercury News* that she "never wanted to be a prosecutor" and wasn't interested in running. The very next month, though, Price's campaign was in full swing. What changed?

Coincidentally, Soros's California Justice and Public Safety PAC made its first expenditures on behalf of Price in May 2018. Soros's sudden cash infusion may have influenced Price's sudden change of heart. It wouldn't be the first time that the promise of funding from Soros's "safety and justice" PACs apparently coaxed reluctant candidates into running.

Unlike 2018, when Price was *only just* defeated, Price will not be facing an incumbent candidate this time around. The spot is up for the taking, and Price seems to stand a good chance of winning. If she does, Price would likely bring with her the same dangerous "reforms" endorsed by other Soros-funded DAs.

According to the Bay Area chapter of the left-wing Sunrise Movement, Price has told BLM protestors, "We have to defund police, defund prosecutors, and divest from prisons." She has also promised to "stop charging and/or incarcerating youths under the age of 18 as adults" and to create a "conviction integrity unit" that would use some of the DA's limited resources to examining and overturning its own prior convictions. In other places where these same policies have been tried, the results have been disastrous.

The Experiments Will Continue Until Equity Improves

In his book *The Man Behind the Curtain*, Matt Palumbo recalls a harrowing quote from Soros himself that bodes ill for the future of America's urban centers.

Speaking of the Polish people and the fallout of the "shock therapy" economic reforms Soros himself had helped to create in 1990s Poland, Soros acknowledged that the reforms would be "very tough on the population, but people were willing to take a lot of pain in order to see real change." How Soros divined the will of the entirety of Poland remains a mystery, but apparently, he is performing the same mind-reading act today.

The reality today, as it was in Poland, is that Soros does not and cannot understand what ordinary people want or need. Instead, he justifies using entire cities as pawns in his utopian "open society" experiments by crowning himself the people's benevolent protector. Soros and his allies are willing to repeatedly gamble away the lives and well-being of Americans, including many of our poorest and most vulnerable citizens, in a vain attempt to carry them into some sort of incarceration-free utopia.

How George Soros divined the will of the entirety of Poland remains a mystery, but apparently, he is performing the same mind-reading act today.

The Counterrevolution

In some jurisdictions, a resistance has formed. In San Francisco, recall organizers collected enough signatures to force progressive DA Chesa Boudin into a recall election. This success helped inspire a second effort in Los Angeles to recall DA George Gascón, and the recall effort appears to be gaining momentum.

In Virginia, the DAs of Arlington, Fairfax, and Loudon Counties are facing recall efforts spearheaded by the Virginian nonprofit Virginians for Safe Communities. And the scandal in Loudon County helped propel a Republican governor and lieutenant into office in 2021.

In a sign of growing opposition, Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AK) has taken up the gauntlet, arguing:

It should be clear from this litany of failures that the only good Soros prosecutor is a defeated Soros prosecutor. These radicals have no business holding any public office anywhere in our nation. Every single one of them should be recalled, removed, and replaced. It's very simple: if you don't want to prosecute crime, you shouldn't be a prosecutor. ■

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

A project of Capital Research Center



CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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

A composite image featuring a profile of George Soros on the left, looking towards the right. Overlaid on the lower half of the image is a glowing, blue and orange globe with a network of white lines connecting various points, suggesting a global network or data flow. The background is dark and textured, possibly representing a map or a complex network.

Read the special report at
capitalresearch.org/publication

MAPPING SOROS'S “PHILANTHROPY” AT HOME AND ABROAD



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



WOKE CAPITALISM: AMALGAMATED BANK, BIG LABOR, AND THE WAR ON FREE SPEECH

By Hayden Ludwig and Robert Stilson

Summary: Few entities embody the symbiotic relationship between American organized labor and the Left better than Amalgamated Bank. With a client list that includes some of the biggest political players in the country, Amalgamated has branched out to involve itself in everything from nonprofit grantmaking to corporate environmental, social, and corporate governance activism.

Bank with Amalgamated and you bank with the Left. Amalgamated Bank is the country's largest union-aligned (formerly union-owned) bank and a keystone for professional activists. The institution dates back decades, and since 2010 has largely operated under the banner of Workers United, a division of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), one of the most politically active unions in America. This position has afforded the bank access to \$7.6 billion in assets and \$57 billion in managed funds—much of it from union pension funds. Though Amalgamated is now a publicly traded company, Workers United still owns approximately 40 percent of the bank's equity.

The financial reports of left-leaning political action committees (PACs) and nonprofits are replete with fees paid to Amalgamated, which has impressively sewn up much of the institutional Left—while providing activists and unions with a permanent money pot.

Amalgamated is explicitly mission-driven and “socially responsible,” using activist investing to push policy. “We don’t just have a mission,” the bank boasts, “we are on a mission: to support those who support others, to invest in progressive and impactful causes and to advocate true financial opportunity for all.”



Credit: pyle_r. License: <https://bit.ly/3t4XYjI>

In September 2021, Amalgamated announced a \$98 million acquisition of the similarly named Amalgamated Bank of Chicago, which was formed in 1922 by the same clothing workers union that formed the New York-based Amalgamated Bank.

That means pushing for liberal-left policies on the whole spectrum of contemporary sociopolitical issues: illegal immigration, gun control, nuclear weapons, LGBTQ issues, climate change, abortion, systemic racism, and more. The bank's stances on hot-button political topics are a natural product of its explicit ideological agenda. It characterizes its personnel as “political animals” and provides banking services to “hundreds of progressive political organizations, campaigns and candidates.”

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



Donor-advised funds grew the charitable sector by as much as \$13 billion between 2012 and 2019.

It has grown rapidly, too. In 2018, Amalgamated acquired New Resource Bank, a San Francisco—based lender that profited from using the 2011 Occupy Wall Street protests to draw in liberal customers from bigger competitors by touting its “green” commitments. In September 2021, Amalgamated announced a \$98 million acquisition of the similarly named Amalgamated Bank of Chicago, which was formed in 1922 by the same clothing workers union that formed the New York—based Amalgamated Bank. The acquisition will add another \$950 million to the bank’s assets.

And in 2017, the Bank of the Left entered the nonprofit world by spinning off Amalgamated Charitable Foundation to channel vast contributions from left-leaning donors to their favorite political causes—including a campaign to snuff out donations to mainstream conservative organizations by labeling them “hate groups.”

How Did We Get Here?

So how did the Left end up with a powerful bank dominated by Big Labor? Here’s the short answer.

Amalgamated takes its name from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which formed the bank in New York City in 1923—a more common phenomenon back then than it is today. A series of mergers led the clothing workers to rebrand as UNITE. In 2004, UNITE merged with *another* union—HERE—to form the peculiarly named UNITE HERE, which soon withdrew from the AFL-CIO for political reasons to join a competing federation called Change to Win headed by the SEIU and the Teamsters.

But all was not well in the marriage. In the late 2000s, UNITE HERE lost control of the bank to the SEIU under its associated Workers United division as UNITE HERE itself broke up. UNITE HERE subsequently rejoined the AFL-CIO, while Amalgamated nearly collapsed during the 2008 financial crisis after writing off \$150 million in subprime mortgages. It was only saved after Wilbur Ross—later President Donald Trump’s Secretary of Commerce—and investor Ron Burkle pumped \$100 million into the bank in exchange for a 40 percent stake.

Amalgamated went public with an initial public offering in 2018. In 2021, it reorganized under the holding company Amalgamated Financial Corp., becoming the first publicly traded bank to structure itself as a public benefit corporation and allowing it to prioritize objectives other than generating value for its shareholders. Public benefit companies are permitted to pursue social objectives even at the cost of financial returns.

Today, Amalgamated is the largest manager of union pension funds in the United States. Its client list includes not only unions like the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the SEIU, and the United Federation of Teachers, but also politically active nonprofits like the League of Conservation Voters, America Votes, Color of Change, and Demos. It has served the Democratic National Committee, the Democratic Governors Association, and numerous Democratic PACs and campaigns.

Philanthropic Politics

Amalgamated Charitable Foundation has ballooned its revenues by 8,890 percent since its creation, from revenues of \$253,000 in 2017 to nearly \$23 million in 2019. The 501(c)(3) is focused on providing donor-advised funds (DAFs) to left-leaning donors, and has rapidly become top funding conduit for groups on the Left.

DAFs are a kind of charitable investment account. Individuals and organizations fund accounts with the DAF provider and immediately reap the tax advantages of donating to a tax-deductible 501(c)(3) nonprofit. Those funds are then managed by the provider until the original donor is ready to specify a final recipient—say, the Transgender Law Center—which receives a grant from Amalgamated Charitable, in exchange for a fee.

DAFs are designed to encourage smaller-dollar donors to participate in philanthropy, and they have numerous advantages over other philanthropic vehicles. They grew the charitable sector by as much as \$13 billion between 2012 and 2019, according to the National Philanthropic Trust, a leading DAF provider. But they also serve as a major river of cash to politically active nonprofits, and give donors a large benefit: since grants can only be traced as far back as

Table 1
Amalgamated Charitable: Top Grants, 2018–2019

ACRONYM	\$250,000
Blueprint NC	\$120,000
Center for Popular Democracy	\$145,000
Hopewell Fund	\$270,000
Movement Strategy Center	\$90,000
National Domestic Workers Alliance	\$100,000
NEO Philanthropy	\$105,000
New Leaders Council	\$360,000
New Venture Fund	\$145,000
New Virginia Majority Education Fund	\$250,000
Organize Florida Education Fund	\$120,000
PICO and state affiliates	\$210,000
Population Services International	\$558,831
Proteus Fund	\$198,594
Repairers of the Breach	\$250,000
Sustainable Markets Foundation	\$100,000
Everglades Foundation	\$100,000
GroundTruth Project	\$350,000
Tides Foundation & Center	\$370,000
United We Dream	\$65,000
West Harlem Environmental Action	\$135,000

Source: Amalgamated Charitable Foundation, IRS Form 990, 2018–2019, Schedule I.

the DAF provider, not the DAF provider’s grantor, DAFs anonymize the original donors.

Between 2018 and 2019 Amalgamated Charitable paid out \$11.8 million in grants this way to dozens of recipients, virtually all of which are politically active. Table 1 lists top recipients.

Who are the donors behind these grants? Because the funds were passed through Amalgamated Charitable (according to its Form 990 filings), they ultimately can’t be connected to specific grants. Table 2 lists top donors to Amalgamated.

At least \$3.6 million from *other* DAF providers—those associated with Charles Schwab and Fidelity Investments—has been pumped into Amalgamated Charitable, adding yet another layer of obscurity to the money flow. The Ford,

Table 2
Amalgamated Charitable: Top Donors, 2018–2019

Ford Foundation	\$5,045,000
Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund*	\$3,338,250
William & Flora Hewlett Foundation	\$3,250,000
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	\$3,092,784
Surdna Foundation	\$1,050,000
Wellspring Philanthropic Fund	\$750,000
Women Donors Network	\$714,500
W.K. Kellogg Foundation	\$510,000
Solidago Foundation	\$300,000
Proteus Fund	\$283,702
Schwab Charitable Fund*	\$271,232
Novo Foundation	\$250,000
Tides Foundation	\$210,000
Nathan Cummings Foundation	\$200,000
Climateworks Foundation	\$140,000

*Donor-advised fund (DAF) provider.

Source: Foundation Search, www.FoundationSearch.org.

Surdna, Wellspring, and Hewlett Foundations—all major left-wing institutional donors—have also passed millions of dollars along to Amalgamated Charitable.

That might raise some eyebrows given that donations to the DAF provider can help satisfy these foundations’ IRS requirement to pay out at least 5 percent of their total assets each year. Funds parked in DAFs don’t have to be moved out right away, meaning that foundations can simply warehouse cash in *another* nonprofit not subject to payout requirements for years with no penalty—a reality criticized by observers on the Left.

A handful of grants from these donors specify the kinds of politically activated projects they were intended to support, such as “Way to Rise—LatinX Power Project,” “Cities and States—Civic Participation,” and “Collaborative on State-Based Power-Building.”

Most Americans would probably agree that it’s difficult or impossible to separate “civic participation,” code for voting in elections, from politics. But these foundations use pass-throughs like Amalgamated Charitable to pursue what they *really* want—political outcomes—in the name of “philanthropy.”



Credit: Derutno. License: <https://bit.ly/3kqj2b6>

alist groups like the Nation of Islam, the New Black Panther Party, and Ku Klux Klan.

But the point was never about carefully distinguishing between mainstream conservative groups and extremists, but rather cutting off the former from using large DAF providers to raise money—like Amalgamated Charitable and countless left-wing advocacy groups do.

Hate Is Not Charitable aims to pressure Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund, Schwab Charitable Fund, and Vanguard Charitable—some of the top DAF providers in the country—to bar donors from specifying grants to any group the SPLC and Amalgamated deem extreme, regardless of the truth of their accusations.

While it ultimately fell short of its final goal, the campaign got a shot in the arm in February 2021 when it launched the “Democracy Reinvestment Fund” with the goal of redirecting funds withheld by corporations from the campaigns of any member of Congress who voted against certifying state results in the 2020 election or “supported the insurrectionists who breached the Capitol on January 6”—naturally, all Republicans.

Amalgamated’s goal is to mop up the funds which normally would’ve supported those politicians’ campaigns and use them to push an agenda of climate change action, “racial justice,” “democracy reform,” voter registration and turnout, and sweeping campaign finance changes.

The Left’s ESG Bank

Amalgamated Bank is also heavily involved in environmental, social, and corporate governance (ESG) activism. The idea behind ESG is to insert non-financial (and often political) standards into corporate operations, influencing business decisions for ideological purposes. Proponents usually identify their goal as creating a more “inclusive” form of capitalism that advocates for “social justice,” climate change policies, and other political causes.

Amalgamated’s parent holding company Amalgamated Financial Corp. prides itself on being “the first publicly traded, ESG-focused bank.” This means Amalgamated actively employs often-political ESG considerations in its operations. Indeed, the bank is explicit with its promise: “When you deposit your money at Amalgamated, it supports sustainable organizations, progressive causes, and social justice.”

Critics often decry corporate involvement in divisive ESG issues as “woke capitalism,” and Amalgamated’s forays into this field span the breadth of the American sociopolitical

In mid-2019, the pass-through, Amalgamated Charitable, launched an aggressive campaign to curb donations to conservative, libertarian, and right-leaning nonprofits by labeling them “hate groups.”

“Hate Is Not Charitable”

But Amalgamated Charitable isn’t content with merely providing a channel to fund left-wing causes.

In mid-2019, the pass-through launched an aggressive campaign to curb donations to conservative, libertarian, and right-leaning nonprofits by labeling them “hate groups.” The Hate Is Not Charitable campaign was a classic smear campaign: By using questionable data from the discredited and ideologically motivated Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), the campaign could paint mainstream organizations such as the Alliance Defending Freedom, Family Research Council, and Proclaiming Justice to the Nations (which was subsequently removed from the SPLC’s “hate” list) as spreading “hatred” alongside more fringe groups.

Suddenly any organization supporting the traditional definition of marriage could be labeled “anti-LGBT,” while groups advocating for lower net immigration to the United States could be called “anti-immigrant” or “anti-Muslim.”

Undoubtedly, the SPLC’s (in)famous “hate map” tracks genuine hate groups, including many racist and ethnic nation-



Suddenly any organization supporting the traditional definition of marriage could be labeled “anti-LGBT.”



Credit: White House Chronicle. License: <https://bit.ly/3vQV6K4>

*“We do a nice national business banking the Democratic Party,” Amalgamated’s former president and CEO Keith Mestrich explained to *Crain’s*, which noted that Democratic campaigns and organizations paid Amalgamated more than \$2 million in fees during the 2018 midterm election cycle.*

landscape. Its statements on “Issues We Care About” read more like those of a Democratic candidate for office than a traditional financial institution. That is no coincidence. “We do a nice national business banking the Democratic Party,” Amalgamated’s former president and CEO Keith Mestrich explained to *Crain’s*, which noted that Democratic campaigns and organizations paid Amalgamated more than \$2 million in fees during the 2018 midterm election cycle.

The bank’s environmental activism, for example, is packaged as a broader initiative on “Climate Justice,” wherein it argues that “[t]he climate crisis must be urgently addressed with bold solutions centering on first and worst and by transitioning to a just, clean economy.” It refuses to lend to “fossil fuel” companies—the businesses that provide the vast majority of American primary energy consumption—while simultaneously funding \$893 million worth of “Climate Protection” loans and investments just in 2020.

For retail investors who are so inclined, Amalgamated promotes a “100% Fossil Fuel Free Portfolio” containing only “rigorously screened” mutual funds and exchange-traded



Amalgamated was the “[f]irst bank to add LGBTQ+ to the definition of board diversity for shareholder voting standards.”

funds that have received a “perfect badge score for fossil fuel divestment” and for other ESG practices.

Social factors encompass many different issues.

Amalgamated refuses to do business with organizations “that impede workers’ rights” or that “do not support the just, fair, and equitable treatment of the BIPOC community,” in addition to private prison operators, payday lenders, and manufacturers or distributors of firearms and ammunition. It also works extensively with Planned Parenthood and its affiliates, even serving as a founding member of the federation’s corporate advisory board.

The governance prong of ESG typically refers to factors related to a company’s structure and operation. Amalgamated is organized as a public benefit corporation, and its corporate organization certificate specifically includes language prioritizing social and environmental factors alongside financial returns for shareholders. It lists “racial justice and equity” among the “core tenets of our corporate vision and values” and was the “[f]irst bank to add LGBTQ+ to the definition of board diversity for shareholder voting standards.”

Shareholder Activism

ESG activism can also extend beyond an organization’s own practices and investment decisions. Shareholders in publicly traded companies can attempt to leverage their position to pressure those companies into adopting left-of-center ESG policies, often on issues that are clearly political in nature. Amalgamated Bank and its union clients have been extensively involved in this sort of shareholder activism.

In 2018, for example, the bank wrote a letter to major firearms manufacturer Sturm, Ruger & Company—a public company in which the bank claimed to control “significant” stock—threatening to withhold its support for a particular board member unless Ruger committed to various actions recommended by the gun control advocacy group Everytown for Gun Safety.

The particular Ruger board member also happened to be a former president of the National Rifle Association, and Amalgamated even went so far as to suggest that having an officer from a major gun rights advocacy group sitting as a director for one of America’s largest gun manufacturers somehow represented “a potentially significant conflict of interest” for Ruger.

Shareholder resolutions—formal proposals submitted to corporate management, to be voted on by other



Proxy Preview is the “Bible for socially progressive foundations, religious groups, pension funds, and tax-exempt organizations.” The 2017 issue featured commentary from Amalgamated Bank’s first Vice President and Chief Sustainability Officer Ivan Frishberg, a career environmental activist.

shareholders at the company’s annual meeting—are another vehicle through which ESG activists can attempt to harness public companies to further their sociopolitical priorities. These resolutions can put pressure on management (even if they fail), and sometimes a company will seek to preempt a contentious vote by negotiating with the shareholder activist beforehand.

Left-of-center ESG shareholder resolutions are comprehensively chronicled every year by As You Sow, perhaps the country’s most prominent shareholder activist nonprofit. The *Chicago Tribune* has called its annual Proxy Preview the “Bible for socially progressive foundations, religious groups, pension funds, and tax-exempt organizations.” It details hundreds of ESG shareholder resolutions filed every year by a slew of activist groups.

Amalgamated Bank has frequently appeared in past Proxy Previews. It was acknowledged as one of the proponents that “made [the Proxy Preview] possible” each year from 2016 through 2019, and the 2017 issue featured commentary from the bank’s First Vice President and Chief Sustainability Officer Ivan Frishberg, a career environmental activist. Over the years, Amalgamated has filed resolutions with major corporations like Amazon, Lowe’s, PayPal,

Netflix, and Smith & Wesson, on everything from board diversity to greenhouse gas emissions to political spending and lobbying.

Labor unions affiliated with the bank are also highly active in this area. Although it is now a public company, Amalgamated’s largest shareholder with approximately 40 percent ownership stake is still Workers United, a labor union affiliated with the SEIU. The SEIU is in turn a member of the Change to Win labor federation.

The 2021 Proxy Preview identifies 16 different shareholder resolutions that were submitted either by the SEIU or Change to Win. One campaign conducted jointly by both involved filing resolutions with eight major banks seeking a “racial equity audit that identifies, prioritizes, and remedies the adverse impacts of the bank’s policies and practices on non-white stakeholders and communities of color.” The resolutions asked each bank to assess its behavior “through a racial equity lens” and to identify the ways in which each contributed to systemic racism.

Amalgamated’s other union clients also filed numerous resolutions in 2021, according to the Proxy Preview. The AFL-CIO filed eight proposals on employee and board diversity. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters filed seven on political spending and lobbying. An article written by a corporate governance analyst from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, calling for companies “to disclose lobbying funded by dark money contributions,” was also featured in the Proxy Preview.

Labor’s Bank of the Left

Amalgamated Bank’s origins and operations are a prime example of the lock-step relationship between much of organized labor and the broader American liberal-left. It stands out not only for the traditional financial services it provides to liberal political interests, but also for how it has embraced philanthropy in order to further those interests, and how it has become the country’s only publicly traded ESG-focused bank. Indeed, Labor’s Bank of the Left is seen “to have little competition ... in the world of progressive politics.” ■

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



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DANGEROUS
DOCUMENTARIES

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



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

WATCH AT:

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

ORGANIZATION TRENDS



NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

InfluenceWatch

Summary: *The National Lawyers Guild is a radical-left association of attorneys, law students, legal workers, and jailhouse lawyers. Since its founding in 1937, the guild has consistently been identified with radical-left groups and political orientations throughout its history. In its early years it was significantly influenced by communist members. During the 1960s and 1970s, it supported the Civil Rights Movement, and some of its members were affiliated with extremist groups like the Weather Underground. Today, the National Lawyers Guild is best known for the legal support and training that it provides to left-wing demonstrators, including the Black Lives Matter movement and Antifa.*

The National Lawyers Guild is a radical-left association of attorneys, law students, legal workers, and jailhouse lawyers. Founded in February 1937, the guild has consistently been identified with radical-left groups and political orientations throughout its history.

In its early years the National Lawyers Guild was significantly influenced by communist members, which quickly led to the resignation of most of its non-communist liberal members. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) extensively investigated the group, sometimes using illegal methods, and in 1950 the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee released a report calling it “the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions.”

During the 1960s and 1970s the National Lawyers Guild supported the Civil Rights Movement, and soon after became dominated by a younger membership that was broadly associated with the New Left. It began focusing much of its work on protest support. A few of the organization’s members were affiliated with extremist groups like the Weather Underground. Though there were internal disputes, most members continued to adhere to some form of far-left political orientation.

Today, the National Lawyers Guild is best known for the legal support and training that it provides to left-wing demonstrators. It was active in providing assistance during the protests and riots that occurred in multiple American cities



Credit: Tiffany Von Arnim. License: <https://bit.ly/3y02XO>.

(Legal observers of the National Lawyers Guild) The Guild was active in providing assistance during the protests and riots that occurred in multiple American cities in 2020, largely related to the Black Lives Matter movement.

in 2020, largely related to the Black Lives Matter movement. It is also notable for supporting the sometimes violent Antifa movement.

The National Lawyers Guild is affiliated with a 501(c)(3) nonprofit called the National Lawyers Guild Foundation, which provides grants to its national office and to several local chapters. As of 2020, it claimed over 9,000 members.

Origins and Early Years: 1937–1947

What became the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) had its origins at a meeting of approximately 25 lawyers on December 1, 1936. It was conceived as an alternative to the then-conservative American Bar Association, and was intended to serve as a professional association of left-wing

InfluenceWatch, a project of the Capital Research Center, is an online resource that provides fact-based, accurate descriptions of the various influencers of public policy issues.

attorneys who supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policies and the priorities of organized labor. Maurice Sugar, a Detroit-based lawyer who would later become general counsel to the United Auto Workers labor union, had been campaigning for such an association for several years and was instrumental in bringing the idea to fruition.

The NLG's initial members represented a multi-ideological coalition of the American left. Notable early leaders included American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) counsel Morris Ernst and future Supreme Court justices Abe Fortas and Robert H. Jackson. President Roosevelt knew a number of the guild's founding members personally, and sent a letter of congratulations to its founding convention. Indeed, Ernst had reportedly intended for the NLG to function essentially "as the legal arm of the New Deal," and many of its founding members were active in the labor movement.

Communist Influence and the Liberal Exodus. From the beginning, the NLG attracted many communist members whose politics were far more radical than those of the New Deal liberals. Historian Ellen Schrecker has written that the NLG during this era was "allied with, but not actually run by, the Communist party." Still, a number of prominent early leaders within the Guild were indeed communists, including labor attorneys Lee Pressman, Maurice Sugar, and Nathan Witt.

In September 1939, general secretary of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) Earl Browder testified before a Congressional committee that while there were "no relations" between the CPUSA and the NLG at that time, the communists viewed the guild as one of many "transmission belts" for "having Communists work among the masses in the various organizations."

Conflicts between the Roosevelt-aligned liberals and the communist radicals rapidly fractured the NLG. In early 1939, Ernst proposed an amendment to the guild's constitution that would have formalized the group's opposition "to dictatorship of any kind, whether Left or Right, whether Fascist, Nazi, or Communistic." The resolution was not adopted, and NLG leadership "tried instead to paper over the conflict," according to Schrecker. Tensions only grew after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact — a non-aggression treaty containing secret protocols dividing Eastern Europe between the Soviets and Nazis — was concluded between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany later that year.

Ernst and other liberals attempted to remove communists and their allies from the NLG's national board, but were unsuccessful. Most of the guild's prominent liberal mem-

bers, including Ernst, had resigned from the organization by mid-1940. Membership dropped from over 4,000 to approximately 1,000 by the time the NLG held its convention that year, and when the newly-elected president and executive secretary traveled to the group's Washington, DC, office "they literally had to step over a mailbag full of resignations to enter."

One prominent liberal who resigned, then-Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle Jr., explained his reasoning:

The National Lawyers Guild was formed in the hope that expression might be given to the liberal sentiment in the American bar.

It is now obvious that the present management of the guild is not prepared to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party line. Under these circumstances, and in company, I think, with the most progressive lawyers, I have no further interest in it.

World War II. While the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was in force from August 1939 to June 1941, the CPUSA followed instructions from Moscow to portray the war between Nazi Germany and the western democratic Allies as an imperialist war in which the United States should remain neutral. Communist publications began equating the supposed evils of Great Britain with those of Nazi Germany, even going so far as to call Great Britain "the greatest danger to Europe and all mankind."

According to information published in a report by the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities, NLG leaders including Samuel M. Blinken, Leo Linder, Edward Lamb, Pearl M. Hart, Abraham Isserman, Maurice Sugar, and Martin Popper all attended the Emergency Peace Mobilization held in Chicago in September 1940, which led to the formation of the American Peace Mobilization (APM).

The APM vigorously opposed American aid to Great Britain, such as the Lend-Lease Act. In a statement from March 1941, the APM reportedly declared that "an English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, anti-democratic peace as will a Nazi victory." A later report by the House Committee on Un-American Activities called the APM "one of the most notorious and blatantly Communist fronts ever organized in this country."

Nazi Germany invaded and occupied Poland in September 1939, setting off World War II in Europe; a Soviet invasion of eastern Poland followed weeks later. By mid-1941, Germany had invaded Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece.

The Soviet Union had invaded Finland (which prompted a belatedly announced resolution of opposition from the NLG prior to the mass resignation of its liberal members), Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

After Germany unilaterally terminated the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, however, the war “ceased being imperialistic” in the eyes of American communists. The NLG likewise adopted an interventionist foreign policy. In October 1941 — notably, before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent German declaration of war on the United States — the guild approved an unambiguously pro-war resolution:

The National Lawyers Guild accordingly gives its unlimited support to all measures necessary to the defeat of Hitlerism and to the present Roosevelt policy of ‘all out aid’ to and full collaboration with Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and other nations resisting Fascist aggression and to all further steps necessary for the military defeat of Hitlerism.

The NLG was thereafter supportive of the Allied war effort, though it also continued to advocate for left-wing domestic social policies. In 1942, the guild’s national executive board adopted a statement urging the western Allies to quickly open a second front in Europe in order to relieve the pressure that German armed forces were putting on the Soviet Union. In 1944, it produced a report on strategies for prosecuting Nazi war criminals, including anticipating and rebutting arguments that certain defendants would likely make, and in 1946 several NLG lawyers were involved in the Nuremberg Trials.

The Postwar Years and Taft-Hartley

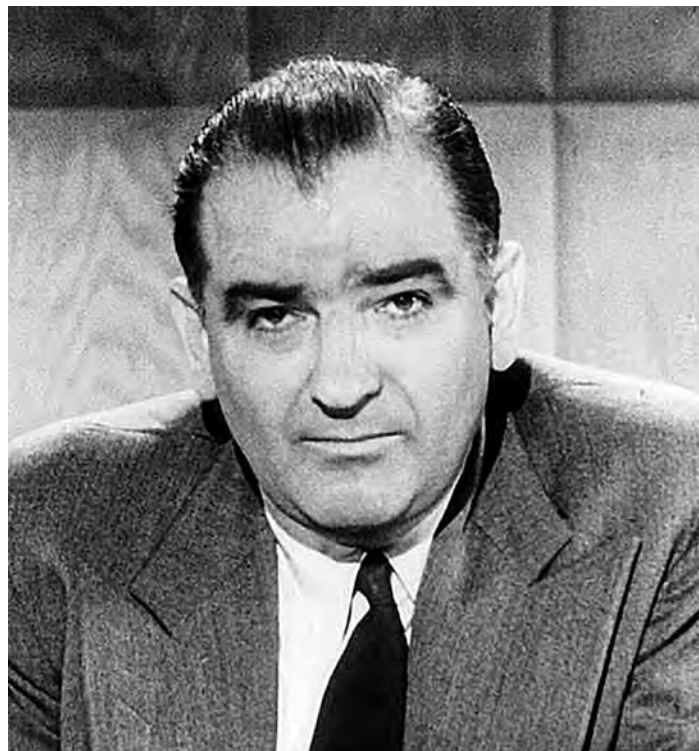
Membership growth during the war had been steady, and by early 1947 the guild had approximately 2,500 member lawyers and 500 affiliated law students. At its 1946 national convention, the NLG’s social legislation committee produced a platform entitled “Program of Basic Protection for the American People,” which set forth a series of proposals on full employment, rent control, housing, and social security.

The NLG argued against many of the foreign policy positions taken by the United States during the early years of the Cold War. It opposed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Marshall Plan to provide redevelopment aid to postwar Western Europe, and the Truman Doctrine of containing the expansion of international communism. The guild advocated for close cooperative relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The NLG vigorously opposed the Taft-Hartley Act enacted in 1947, with the chair of the NLG’s labor law committee testifying against it. In the guild’s view, Taft-Hartley “instantly erased” many of the advantages organized labor had enjoyed over the previous 15 years. One provision of the act required union officers to sign affidavits that they were not communists; according to an official history of the guild, “[a]s a direct result of Taft-Hartley, the labor movement soon ‘purged’ itself of radical leadership.” NLG attorneys at major unions like the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the United Automobile Workers, and the National Maritime Union lost their jobs.

The Second Red Scare: 1947–1960

The years following the Second World War were characterized by markedly heightened anti-communist sentiments and fear in the United States, as the Soviet Union took control of its “satellite” states in Eastern Europe, Mao Zedong’s Communist forces took control of mainland China, and Communist North Korea invaded anti-communist South Korea. This is often simply called “McCarthyism,” after the



The markedly heightened anti-communist sentiments and fear in the United States of Communist control in parts of the world after World War II was simply called “McCarthyism,” after the most visible Congressional proponent of anti-communist investigations, Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI).

Credit: Rupert Colley. License: <https://bit.ly/3M4ZaVu>.

most visible Congressional proponent of anti-communist investigations, Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI). The period is sometimes referred to as the “Second Red Scare,” with the “First Red Scare” having occurred in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the First World War.

In 1947 President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order 9835, which established a program for investigating the loyalty of federal employees. This included examination of any affiliation with groups designated by the Attorney General as “totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive.” The National Lawyers Guild saw Executive Order 9835 as “outrageous” and designed “to control the thoughts and limit the freedom of association of all employees in government, including attorneys.”

Representation of Communists

The willingness of guild members to represent communists in several high-profile investigations and prosecutions during the late 1940s and early 1950s, combined with strong anti-communist sentiments in Congress and among the public, drew considerable attention to the National Lawyers Guild. Perhaps the most famous case was that of Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were represented by NLG members.

In late 1947, 10 Hollywood film writers refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and were cited for contempt. Historians Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes wrote that most of these “Hollywood Ten” were indeed secret communists, but they refused to invoke their Fifth Amendment rights against self-incrimination and simply declined to answer the committee’s questions. The Hollywood Ten were represented by NLG attorneys Ben Margolis, Charles Katz, Robert Kenny, Martin Popper, and Bartley Crum; all 10 were ultimately imprisoned.

From 1948 to 1949, eleven CPUSA leaders were indicted and tried under the Smith Act, which criminalized advocating the violent overthrow of the United States government. All were convicted and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to five years. Five NLG attorneys who represented the defendants—George W. Crockett, Harry Sacher, Abraham Isserman, Richard Gladstein, and Louis McCabe—were cited for contempt after the trial, and also imprisoned for a time.

FBI and Congressional Investigations. The FBI began surveilling the NLG as early as 1940 and would continue to do so until 1975.

According to historian Ellen Schrecker, the FBI illegally entered the guild’s Washington, DC, office at least 14 times

between 1947 and 1951. In a 1989 lawsuit settlement, the FBI admitted that “it appears more likely than not” that a number of unauthorized break-ins occurred, that agents copied organizational records while inside, and that they wiretapped the NLG’s headquarters office phone without a warrant. The FBI ultimately turned over approximately 400,000 pages of information it had collected on the NLG as part of that litigation.

Judith Coplon, an employee at the U.S. Department of Justice, was arrested in 1949 and charged with espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. Though the evidence against her was strong and she was found guilty, her convictions were overturned on appeal due to the illegal investigative methods employed by the FBI.

The NLG analyzed material that was released through the Coplon trial, and eventually concluded that “the FBI may commit more federal crimes than it ever detects.” A guild report on the FBI’s activities and methods had almost no impact, however, due to the almost simultaneous announcement of a HUAC investigation of the NLG as an alleged communist front organization.

This was not the first time HUAC had looked at the NLG. In September 1939, the committee had asked CPUSA general secretary Earl Browder about the guild and the nature of its relationship to the Communist Party. A 1944 committee report appendix, detailing information on alleged communist front organizations, described the NLG as a “highly deceptive Communist-operated front organization, primarily intended to serve the interests of the Communist Party of the United States, through its activities among the legal profession.”

In September 1950, the committee released its “Report on the National Lawyers Guild: Legal Bulwark of the Communist Party.” It charged the NLG with being “an arm of the international Communist conspiracy,” and recommended that the Department of Justice list it as a subversive organization. The committee expressed its view that the NLG’s “attacks on the [FBI] are part of an overall Communist strategy aimed at weakening our Nation’s defenses against the international Communist conspiracy.” It also suggested that the American Bar Association consider whether NLG membership “is compatible with admissibility to the American bar.”

Though attempts were made to do so, the NLG was ultimately never listed as subversive. In a speech at the national convention of the American Bar Association in August 1953, Eisenhower administration Attorney General Herbert Brownell stated he intended to list the group. Five years of protracted litigation followed, and in 1958 the Justice Department ultimately decided not to list the NLG as sub-

versive. It made the same determination again in 1974.

Membership in the NLG dropped precipitously during the 1950s. Numerous guild members resigned “within days” of the publication of HUAC’s report. An official history of the guild puts total membership in 1955 at 500, while historian Guenter Lewy gave a figure of about 600 for 1956. According to the NLG, the organization’s efforts during the 1950s were largely directed at defending “itself against HUAC, the Justice Department, Senator McCarthy and other forces of Cold War.”

“Have You No Sense of Decency, Sir?”

The Guild was indirectly involved in a famous verbal exchange that is sometimes given as heralding the decline of “McCarthyism.” While publicly questioning United States Army special counsel Joseph N. Welch at a hearing in June 1954, Senator McCarthy announced that a member of “the legal arm of the Communist Party” — a reference to the NLG — was employed as an attorney at Welch’s law firm. The lawyer, Frederick Fisher, had briefly been a member of the NLG during law school, and this prior association had led Welch to remove him from the firm’s work representing the Army at the McCarthy hearings.

Welch replied that “until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness,” defended Fisher, and implored McCarthy to “not assassinate this lad further.” He then asked McCarthy: “Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?” Public opinion was reported to be decidedly in Fisher’s favor, and it was rapidly turning against McCarthy, who was censured by the Senate later that year and never recovered politically.

The Civil Rights Movement and the New Left: 1960–1973

The National Lawyers Guild was the first racially integrated national bar association in the United States, and actively opposed military segregation during World War



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In the 1960s, most new members of National Lawyers Guild were young, and many were associated with the New Left movement and the radical groups Students for a Democratic Society and Weather Underground.

II. A number of notable civil rights attorneys, including future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, were guild members. John Conyers and George Crockett, both of whom would later represent Michigan in the U.S. House of Representatives, were also active in the NLG’s civil rights work in the early 1960s. In 1962 the NLG created the Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers (later renamed the Committee for Legal Assistance to the South), in order to provide legal support to the Civil Rights Movement in the southern United States. All guild members were asked to provide unpaid assistance to southern attorneys if it were requested of them. At a special convention held in February 1964, the NLG voted to make civil rights work in the South its primary mission.

NLG members were active in the 1964 Freedom Summer project, which sought to promote voter registration among Mississippi’s largely disenfranchised black population. Seventy volunteers, including four NLG board members, signed up to provide assistance to the project through handling civil rights cases. Ultimately, the Committee for Legal Assistance to the South handled 45 cases and represented 315 defendants over the course of the Freedom Summer project. NLG members were also instrumental in founding the Center for Constitutional Rights in 1966.

The New Left and Protest Support. Due in no small part to its civil rights work in the South, NLG membership began to grow beginning in 1966. Most new members

were young, and many were associated with the New Left movement and the radical group Students for a Democratic Society. Historian Harvey Klehr wrote that “by 1967, [the NLG] had become the legal arm of the New Left and was intimately involved in radical activities.” At the Guild’s 1968 convention, it adopted a resolution declaring itself to be “the legal arm of the movement.”

This period of growth coincided with, and was related to, a sharp escalation in American involvement in the Vietnam War. At its 1965 convention the NLG passed a resolution opposing the war and offering legal assistance to any who objected to participating in it. By 1967, the guild “was concentrating much of its effort on selective service and military law.” It eventually opened offices in the Philippines, Japan, and Okinawa for the purpose of providing free legal counsel to military servicemembers who opposed the war. Attorney Michael Ratner remembered how the NLG was unique in the way “it not only defended people opposed to the war, it condemned the war and stood in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.”

Domestic protests also became a focal point for guild activities, and its offices ultimately provided advice and representation to thousands of arrested protesters during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The NLG’s New York City chapter defended many of the student demonstrators at the Columbia University protests of 1968. The defendants in the Chicago Seven trial of 1969, which stemmed from protests and riots that had taken place during the Democratic National Convention the year before, were represented by NLG attorneys William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass.

A team of NLG attorneys traveled to New York in order to represent inmates who were being prosecuted for their roles in the Attica prison riot of 1971, which had resulted in the deaths of 43 people. Many guild attorneys were also involved with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense-Offense Committee, established to support the American Indian protesters who occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota for more than two months in 1973.

The NLG’s Mass Defense program, which today constitutes a significant portion of its work, has its origins during this period. According to the NLG, beginning in 1966 the Black Panther Party engaged in armed patrols, later known as “copwatch,” to monitor the behavior of the Oakland Police Department in California. Reacting to the 1968 Columbia University protests, the guild drew upon this practice to develop its Legal Observer program, training volunteers to monitor law enforcement actions at protests and to support arrested demonstrators.

According to Klehr, prominent NLG attorney William Kunstler wrote in 1975 that “the thing I’m most interested in is keeping people on the street who will forever alter the character of this society: the revolutionaries.”

The Weather Underground and Other Extremists. At the NLG’s 1967 convention in New York, Bernardine Dohrn was elected as student organizer, and at its February 1970 national convention she led a panel discussion on women and the NLG. Dohrn had been elected as the “inter-organizational secretary” of Students for a Democratic Society in 1968, but by the time she spoke at the NLG’s convention in early 1970 she was serving as one of the leaders of a violent extremist offshoot of the group called the Weather Underground (also known as the Weathermen).

Dohrn was placed on the FBI’s list of 10 “Most Wanted” fugitives in October 1970, but was removed three years later after federal proceedings against her were dismissed. By 1975, the Weather Underground claimed to have conducted at least 25 bombings. Though the group ultimately pivoted to a strategy of non-lethal bombings, according to journalist Bryan Burrough in his 2015 book *Days of Rage*, the first two and a half months of 1970 was “the period, bluntly put, when Weatherman set out to kill people.” Although no murders have been tied to the Weather Underground bombings, a police officer was severely wounded in a February 1970 detonation.

While most NLG members were not involved in violent groups or activities, Dohrn was not the only one who was. Weather Underground member Russell Neufeld was an editor of the NLG’s *Midnight Special* prison newspaper. Judith Alice Clark, who served 37 years in prison before being granted parole in 2019 for her role in the deadly 1981 Brink’s armored car robbery perpetrated by members of the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground offshoot May 19th Communist Organization, also worked with the NLG.

Some NLG members functioned as a critical source of funds for the Weather Underground. According to Burrough, a group of radical attorneys in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles were “by far the most important single source of money” for the Weathermen. Almost all of these lawyers belonged to the NLG. One of them told Burrough that “you gotta understand, honey, we were lawyers, but we were revolutionaries in our hearts...we would’ve done anything for these people...This was the revolution, baby, and they were the fighters.”



The “Banquet Dinner Riot” featured scenes of guild members guarding the banquet hall doors to prevent their hungry comrades from sneaking in to grab plates of food.

Though Burrough wrote that approximately a dozen attorneys were mentioned as key Weather Underground supporters, only a few acknowledged it. Dennis Cunningham was one, admitting that “I gave them money, sure, and I raised even more.” Michael Kennedy, a member of the NLG’s San Francisco and New York City chapters, was “by far the most important attorney in Weatherman’s support network,” according to Burrough. Kennedy was close friends with Bernardine Dohrn, and also with NLG attorney Leonard Boudin, who was the father of Weather Underground member Kathy Boudin and grandfather of San Francisco District Attorney Chesa Boudin.

Guild attorney Charles Garry represented Black Panther Party co-founders Bobby Seale and Huey Newton during the late 1960s, including defending Newton against murder charges related to the killing of a police officer. Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter, but that conviction was later overturned on appeal, and two subsequent trials ended with hung juries.

In 1977, Garry became counsel to cult leader Jim Jones and his Peoples Temple. Garry visited the cult’s Jonestown camp in Guyana, initially remarking that “I have seen paradise, where there is no sexism, racism, ageism, elitism, no one hungry.” He was present at Jonestown in 1978 during the mass murder-suicide of more than 900 Peoples Temple adherents, narrowly escaping death himself.

The Old Left Versus the New. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the NLG as an organization shifted away from its older longtime members and toward the new young activists. This change was rapid and profound. In 1968, a majority of attendees at the Guild’s national convention were members of the NLG’s founding generation. By early 1971, these older members had become a minority. This trend was accelerated by the admission of law students as full Guild members in 1970, and of legal workers and jailhouse lawyers the following year. During the period from 1968 to 1971, most of the NLG’s members were between the ages of 25 and 40, while its leadership was between 55 and 70.

This caused considerable generational strife. Victor Rabinowitz, NLG president from 1967-1968, remembered

that “to many of us, these 25- to 30-year-olds seemed undignified, contentious, noisy, undisciplined. The generational differences were startling and deep.” Still, Rabinowitz argued that “those of us who are Marxists” should welcome the new young members, because “in their emphasis on the freedom of the individual, perhaps the young are looking to the ultimate goal of Communism rather than to the intermediate state of Socialism.”

At the guild’s 1970 convention, approximately 50 younger members who could not afford the price of the formal dinner being served prior to the evening’s events were forced to wait outside the dining room while the other convention attendees ate. This prompted protests and calls for “future Guild conventions to be conducted in a place and style in conformity with the new membership.” What became known as the “Banquet Dinner Riot” featured scenes of guild members guarding the banquet hall doors to prevent their hungry comrades from sneaking in to grab plates of food, and attorney William Kunstler burning his dinner ticket as a gesture of solidarity.

There were political conflicts between the two generations as well. The younger members were broadly associated with the New Left, and according to Doris Brin Walker (who became president of the NLG in 1970), they brought with them “Maoist influence, rancor toward the Soviet Union and anger toward the Old Left, which had failed to construct anything approaching a peaceful world or an ideal society.” Disputes among the guild’s various far-left ideological factions became intense during this time. Nevertheless, there was enough unity on the NLG’s overarching purpose for it to declare in 1971 that “there is no disagreement among us that we are a body of radicals and revolutionaries.”

Many of those from the Old Left generation became less active in the NLG during this time, and by the 1970s the organization’s leadership largely consisted of law students or young lawyers who had only been practicing for a short period of time. A 1987 history of the guild explains that as a consequence of this there was a scarcity of “mature leadership” in the organization for several years, during which it lost “the accumulated skills and experience of all but a handful of founding members.”

Consolidation and Internationalism: 1973–Present

The year 1973 proved to be pivotal for the National Lawyers Guild and for the consolidation of its radical political ideology. That year's convention has been described as "the cataclysmic merger of old and new left politics" on the basis of four core principles: anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-capitalism, and anti-imperialism. The 1973 convention also affirmed the guild's view that "the main component of the socialist revolution in the United States will be an organized revolutionary working class."

According to former NLG president Victor Rabinowitz, many older guild members slowly re-involved themselves with the organization during the 1970s, and by the early 1980s the generational divisions among members had diminished substantially. Writing in 1987, Rabinowitz said that "the difference in outlook and program has vanished" within the NLG.

To historian Guenter Lewy, writing in 1990, the NLG exemplified the "amalgamation of Old and New Left." He regarded it as "probably the only organization that has survived changes of both membership and leadership from the Depression of the 1930s to the present day and has prospered as a result of those changes." In Lewy's view, Marxist-Leninist principles were largely what served to unite the guild's Old and New Left factions.

From 1980 to 1987, membership in the NLG grew by about 2,500 to a total of just under 9,000. As of mid-1987, approximately 58 percent of these were lawyers, 28 percent were law students, and 14 percent were jailhouse lawyers and legal workers. Much of the growth during this period was due to NLG chapters established at law schools.

Indeed, the guild had established a law school of its own. In 1974, it partnered with the Asian Law Collective, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and La Raza National Students Association to found Peoples College of Law, an unaccredited law school originally named "The Guild Law School." It was soon recognized in the *New York Times* as being the "only radical law school in the country," and to this day requires that admitted students "demonstrate a commitment to progressive social change." The school maintains a close relationship with the guild's Los Angeles chapter.

Professor John J. Tierney quotes guild member Chip Berlet as providing the following characterization of the NLG in 1999:

The cacophony at some [NLG] meetings makes Star Wars seem like a minimalist film. I have chaired committee meetings with debates featuring cadres from Leninist, Trotskyist, Stalinist, and Maoist groups, along with Marxists, anarchists, libertarians, and progressive independents—interacting with a preponderance of reluctant Democrats—all intertwined with multiple alternate identities as lawyers, legal workers, labor organizers, tribal sovereignty activists, civil liberties and civil rights advocates, environmentalists, feminists, gay men and lesbians, and people of color.

Pro-Soviet Internationalism. The 1970s saw the NLG place increased emphasis on international issues and foreign affairs. What had begun as opposition to American involvement in the Vietnam War had transitioned to outright support for the Vietnamese communists by 1973. At the Guild's 1975 convention — the year Saigon fell to communist forces — NLG president Doron Weinberg expressed the organization's solidarity with the communist victory. A Guild delegation traveled to Vietnam in 1978, remarking that the country's policies would "serve as a model for the progressive peoples of the world who have yet to overthrow their oppressors."

In 1974 the NLG sent a delegation to Cuba, and in 1977 it sent one to the People's Republic of China. Other delegations traveled to Iran, Guatemala, Southern Africa, Chile, and to the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) partially financed the guild's trip to the Middle East in 1977. Later that year the NLG passed a resolution calling for a sovereign Palestinian state and recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The NLG had not previously taken an official position on the conflict in the Middle East, and NLG members had supported the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Historian Harvey Klehr wrote in 1988 that "the Guild's position has become more extreme over the years," with a 1985 resolution reportedly declaring that Israel bore sole responsibility for having "thwarted" the peace process.

The NLG's shifting stance toward Israel broadly tracked that of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had likewise supported the establishment of Israel in 1948, but relations between the two countries were deteriorating by the 1950s "as Israel moved towards a more openly pro-Western position in the Cold War." In 1967 the Soviet Union severed diplomatic ties with Israel over the Six-Day War, which it described as having been launched with "encouragement by



In both 2003 and 2007 the National Lawyers Guild called for the impeachment of President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney over the War in Iraq.

covert and overt actions by certain imperialist circles.” Soviet support for the PLO increased, and by 1974 Moscow was referring to it “as the sole organization expressing the will of the Palestinian Arab people and reviving their national aspirations.”

Though a Maoist caucus that was opposed to the CPUSA and to the Soviet Union was organized in 1977, it never attracted more than about 15 percent of guild members. NLG leadership was essentially pro-Soviet during this period. Then-president William Goodman explained that “we will not be able to organize into the Guild, and in fact we will lose much of our membership, if we promote slogans of opposing the Soviet Union and opposing the Communist Party.” The NLG also re-affiliated with the Soviet-aligned International Association of Democratic Lawyers in the early 1970s, which it had previously left in 1951.

Historian Guenter Lewy wrote in 1990 that looking back, the NLG’s “concern with the observance of human rights has always stopped at the borders of the Socialist bloc.” In fact, the NLG’s vice president stated in 1978 that the guild was “not Amnesty International. Its aim is not to ferret out human rights violations wherever they exist. As an anti-imperialist organization, its aim is to aid national liberation struggles.” The NLG declined to send observers to the Soviet Union’s trial of dissident Natan Sharansky in 1978 due to a reluctance among membership to criticize that country’s judicial proceedings.

Opposition to U.S. Foreign Policy and Israel. The Guild “has supported the Cuban Revolution since its triumph on January 1, 1959” and affirms its belief in “the benefits that socialism has brought to all the people of Cuba.” It has called for the full normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba, and for the return of the American naval installation at Guantanamo Bay to the Cuban government.

The law firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky & Lieberman, P.C. was founded by NLG attorneys Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard Boudin in 1944, and has represented the interests of the Cuban government in United States-related legal matters since 1960, serving as “Cuba’s only U.S. counsel” since that time.

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the NLG adopted a resolution condemning “such acts of barbarism” and calling for those responsible to be brought to justice. However, it also stated that the policies and practices of the United States government and American corporations were responsible for contributing “to the conditions that create” anti-American sentiments in the Middle East. The guild demanded that the United States and the United Kingdom immediately stop “illegal” military actions in Afghanistan. In both 2003 and 2007 it called for the impeachment of President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney over the War in Iraq.

The guild advocates for the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement against Israel and describes the country as “a colonizing project rooted in racist ideology and launched with the violent displacement and ethnic cleansing of its Palestinian indigenous population that continues until this day.” It demands that Israel end “its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands.”

In May 2021, the NLG’s International Committee released a statement marking 73 years since “the Zionist settler colonial movement with the support of imperialist powers established the state of Israel.” It demanded that Israel release all Palestinian prisoners and affirmed “the legal right of Palestinians to resist the colonizing power that seeks to annihilate them,” including through armed struggle. It criticized attempts by the United States to facilitate the normalization of diplomatic relations between Israel and various Arab states as a “project designed to advance Israeli impunity.”

Activities and Positions

The NLG generally espouses a radical-left ideology. Its objective is “to function as an effective force in the service of the people by valuing human rights and ecosystems over property interests.” The guild describes itself as anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist, and as “dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system.” In a 2015 fundraising appeal, the NLG said to prospective donors: “This holiday season, don’t fund capitalism, fund the groups working to dismantle it.”

Associated Groups. The NLG has student chapters at over 100 American law schools, and operates a Radical Law Student Project with the goal of “changing the practices, pedagogy, and expectations of law school in order to transform the culture of legal education.” The NLG Scholars network consists of dozens of law professors and practicing attorneys who are also Guild members.

The National Police Accountability Project is a separate nonprofit, though on its website it is also identified as a project of the NLG. It promotes policies and legislation that it views as enhancing police accountability.

The National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild is another independent nonprofit, though it likewise remains closely associated with the NLG. It specializes in immigrant incarceration and deportation proceedings, including advocacy on behalf of illegal immigrants.

Radical Policy Positions. The NLG describes itself as a political organization, and is broadly antagonistic toward all levels of government in the United States. It has passed resolutions declaring that the federal government “is based on and dedicated to preserving white supremacy, hetero-patriarchy and imperialism,” and claiming that the NLG has “the right and the responsibility to help build a culture of noncooperation and resistance in opposition to the State.”

The NLG supports dismantling and abolishing all institutions “where people are held against their will”—including prisons, jails, and immigration detention facilities—and advocates for the “release of prisoners serving life without parole and other inhumane sentences.” In 2020, the guild passed a resolution calling for “the defunding, dismantling and abolition of all forms of policing,” stating that police accountability was impossible because police are only accountable “to the white supremacist, capitalist, settler colonial state.”

Other policy positions adopted or embraced by the NLG include “non-collaboration with grand juries,” support for extensive abortion rights, divestment from fossil fuels, ending the “illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Islands” by the United States, and the payment of reparations for slavery by federal, state, and local government entities.



Officers from the National Lawyers Guild’s San Francisco chapter have also written in support of Antifa, saying in an article entitled “We are all antifa” that portraying it as violent “is a dangerous effort eerily reminiscent of the left-baiting that accompanied the Nazi rise to power.”

The NLG was highly critical of the Trump administration, which it described as a “fascist” presidency. It organized “critical legal support infrastructure” for protesters against President Trump’s 2017 inauguration, including facilitating jail visits and legal representation for those who were arrested. The NLG later called for prosecutors to drop all charges against more than 200 individuals who were arrested under felony riot laws at the protests.

In an article from December 2017, the NLG’s director of research and education Traci Yoder argued that opposition to the Trump administration needed to be focused not simply on specific political issues, but rather function as part of a broader opposition to “the free market, anti-regulatory stance informed by neoliberal economic policies” that his administration had adopted. According to the article, “the role of the Left must be to challenge these policies as well as the neoliberal commonsense that dominates our lives, and which prioritizes the maximizing of individual rights and wealth over collective well-being.”

Mass Defense and Legal Observer Programs. The Mass Defense Program, through which it provides legal training and support for participants in left-wing movements and protests, is a major part of what the Guild does. This includes training volunteer legal observers to attend demonstrations, monitor and document the activities of law enforcement, and provide support for protesters who are arrested, including connecting them to legal defense and bail funds. The NLG will only provide legal observers for causes “that directly align” with its values.

Credit: Deep Dib TV. License: <https://bit.ly/3KPlp9x>.

In 2020, during the wave of protests and riots largely related to the Black Lives Matter movement, the NLG claimed to have helped organize legal representation and attorney referrals for approximately 20,000 arrested protesters. In doing so, it worked closely with the far-left Movement for Black Lives and Law for Black Lives, as well as with the Center for Constitutional Rights. The NLG was highly critical of police response to the widespread unrest, calling it “unwarranted and excessively violent.”

After former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin was convicted of murder in the killing of George Floyd, the NLG released a statement asserting that “policing is an inherently violent, racist institution that cannot be reformed.” In June 2021, the guild sent a letter to the Biden administration demanding that it drop all federal charges against more than 350 demonstrators who had been arrested over the course of the Black Lives Matter protests, writing that the “prosecutions were intended to stifle dissent and protect white supremacy.” Approximately 90 organizations signed the letter.

Support for Antifa. the NLG is notable for supporting the far-left radical and sometimes violent Antifa (short for anti-fascist) movement. In his 2021 book *Unmasked: Inside Antifa’s Radical Plan to Destroy Democracy*, journalist Andy Ngo describes the Guild as “in effect...the legal arm of Antifa.” According to Ngo, the NLG’s Portland chapter has

used its Mass Defense resources to pay the bail of individuals arrested at Antifa-associated riots. *The Wall Street Journal* has reported on how NLG organizers have discussed protest tactics with self-described Antifa members.

A 2017 article written by the NLG’s director of research and education entitled “Legal Support for Anti-Fascist Action” promised that the guild “will continue to support anti-fascists and anti-racists in the street and in the courts, and will not be swayed by the argument that hateful, dangerous speech should be tolerated at any cost.” In addition to the NLG, the article identified the Southern Poverty Law Center and Political Research Associates as nonprofits that “have important roles to play in research, analysis, and legal support for anti-fascist movements.”

Officers from the NLG’s San Francisco chapter have also written in support of Antifa, saying in an article entitled “We are all antifa” that portraying it as violent “is a dangerous effort eerily reminiscent of the left-baiting that accompanied the Nazi rise to power.” They promised that “the National Lawyers Guild won’t stand by as fascists and white supremacists seek to take power in the streets and halls of government. We stand in solidarity with all who fight hatred. We will continue to show up, to defend activists who challenge fascism, and we call on all people of conscience to do the same.”

In June 2020, the NLG issued a statement opposing then-President Donald Trump’s call to designate Antifa as a domestic terrorist organization. The guild’s Mass Defense director stated that doing so was “merely an attempt to criminalize ordinary people who are exercising their right to protest.”

Leadership

The NLG is governed by a National Executive Committee that meets four times a year, and by a smaller Executive Council that makes decisions in between those meetings.

Suzanne Adely is listed as president-elect of the NLG as of January 2022. She is co-director of the Food Chain Workers Alliance, a labor-union-aligned coalition advocating for increased labor regulations and



Credit: National Lawyers Guild. License: <https://iit.ly/3KW7Pow9>.

Suzanne Adely is listed as president-elect of the National Lawyers Guild as of January 2022. She is a co-founder of the Arab Workers Resource Center, and a member of the U.S. Palestinian Community Network, Labor for Palestine, Al-Awda: The Palestine Right to Return Coalition, and Block the Boat NY/NJ.

unionization in the food industry. From 2011 to 2014 she was the United Automobile Workers Global Organizing Institute's India project coordinator. Adely is a co-founder of the Arab Workers Resource Center, and a member of the U.S. Palestinian Community Network, Labor for Palestine, Al-Awda: The Palestine Right to Return Coalition, and Block the Boat NY/NJ. She is also a member of the bureau of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Elena L. Cohen was listed as president of the NLG as of January 2022, and also formerly held the position of president of the guild's New York City chapter. She is a partner at the law firm of Cohen Green PLLC, and is an adjunct associate professor in the City University of New York system.

Structure and Financials

The NLG operates as a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization. It lists more than 50 local chapters on its website, some of which also have their own nonprofit tax-exempt statuses. Chapters vary significantly in their size and level of activity. The largest and most active chapters are located in New York City, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Michigan, and Massachusetts. The guild also has more than 100 student chapters at American law schools.

In its 2020 annual report, the NLG reported 9,419 members, including 2,234 jailhouse lawyers. Membership had remained under about 2,500 from 2005 to 2015, but began to increase significantly in 2016.

In 2018, the NLG reported \$636,925 in revenue and \$771,050 in expenses. It collected \$144,305 in membership dues, \$129,465 in convention income, and \$343,792 in contributions, gifts and grants. Most of its expenses were for salaries, wages, and other employee benefits, which combined for \$433,309 in 2018. Membership dues are requested on a suggested sliding scale basis that ranges from \$25 to \$800 depending largely upon the member's income. Membership for jailhouse lawyers is free.

The National Lawyers Guild Foundation (NLG Foundation) is a separate 501(c)(3) nonprofit affiliated with the NLG. In 2019 it reported total revenue of \$726,899 and net assets of \$4,468,568, while in 2018 it reported total revenue of \$2,513,776 and net assets of \$4,485,887.

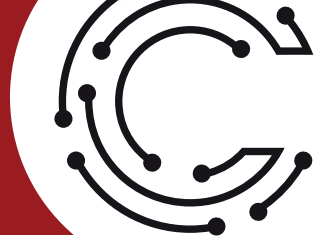
The NLG Foundation is an important source of revenue for the NLG national office. It provided over \$1.05 million in grants to the national NLG from 2017 through 2019. During that same period, the NLG Foundation also made smaller grants to local NLG chapters in New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The NLG Foundation also serves as a fiscal sponsor for chapters that do not have their own IRS tax-exempt status.

Major organizational funders of the NLG Foundation include Greater Horizons, which provided \$2,935,163 from 2017-2018; the Tides Foundation, which provided \$1,030,500 from 2018-2019; the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund, which provided \$129,775 from 2017-2019; the Schwab Charitable Fund, which provided \$133,700 from 2017-2020; and Warsh Mott Legacy, which provided \$110,000 from 2016-2018. The CS Fund has provided matching grants to the NLG's Mass Defense program.

The NLG is also closely associated with two other separate 501(c)(3) nonprofits. The National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild was originally formed as a committee of the NLG in 1971, and became a separate organization in 1981. It reported \$1,127,832 in total revenue in 2019. The National Police Accountability Project also has its own tax-exempt status, though as of 2022 it describes itself as a project of the NLG on its website. It reported \$217,944 in total revenue in 2019. ■

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FOUNDATIONS DESTROYING AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION

By Luke Rosiak

Summary: *The world of K–12 education policy has long been dominated by philanthropic foundations. Much of the education “reform” sweeping across America has been financed and pushed by elite, well-heeled foundations. They have used the billions from their endowments to create various associations and activist groups to promote these changes. The Ford, Kellogg, and MacArthur Foundations commanded assets of nearly \$27 billion and, between them, doled out more than one billion dollars in 2015. In fact, it is philanthropic foundations who have injected critical race theory into society. The Ford Foundation spent \$665 million on “racial equity” between 2011 and 2020.*

Pierce Delahunt is a trust-fund baby with an inheritance in the millions, generated from a chain of successful outlet malls. By thirty-two, Delahunt took “nongendered pronouns” like “their,” was a self-styled anarchist and communist, and was directing the inheritance to nonprofit groups that advanced those causes. Their parents were socially liberal and Delahunt often heard things like “be kind to all, and mindful of those less fortunate.” But after learning “social justice throughout high school,” Delahunt realized that was not equity. They expressed distaste for concepts like “NeoLiberalism (an intentionally repackaged Capitalism), ‘Classical Liberalism’ (similarly repackaged Conservatism), Liberalism itself (as opposed to Leftism) ... and other liberation-washed practices of oppression.”¹

With time and money at their disposal, Delahunt “put a lot of energy into critiquing this country. I enjoy problematizing in general.” Though outlet malls provide name-brand goods at deeply discounted prices, allowing lower-income earners to enjoy the same luxuries as the rich, Delahunt was ashamed of the source of their wealth, saying, “When I think about outlet malls, I think about intersectional oppression.” They decided to donate their inheritance to anticapitalist groups that “tackle the externalities of discount shopping.”²

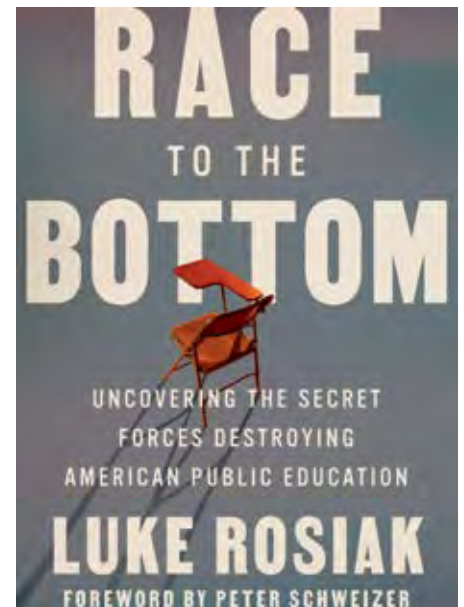
Delahunt now has a master’s degree in education and gives speeches to children, such as one geared toward middle and high schoolers called “Vegan Praxis in a Political

Context of White Supremacy.” As a professional biography says: “Their research was a study of activist-education programs throughout the country. They grew up in occupied Lenape territories of New York and New Jersey, and ... teach social emotional learning, activism, social justice, and Leftist economics.”³

Key to Delahunt’s activities was a group called Resource

Generation, a group funded by the Ford Foundation and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation to coax guilt-ridden young scions of millionaires into steering their families’ funds to activist groups that oppose capitalism. Delahunt is one of a thousand or so dues-paying members of Resource Generation, a network that stands to influence a combined \$22 billion in inheritance. The group held “workshops on family dynamics” to train young inheritors how to siphon off their parents’ money on the premise that capitalism is based on “stolen land, stolen labor, and stolen lives.”⁴

Luke Rosiak is an investigative reporter with the Daily Wire who broke stories that put Loudoun County Public Schools on the national stage. He previously worked as a journalist at the Daily Caller and the Washington Post and is the author of Obstruction of Justice (2019).



Race to the Bottom: Uncovering the Secret Forces Destroying American Public Education by Luke Rosiak (HarperCollins, 2022). Available on Amazon and at other book retailers.

Credit: Pierce Delahunt. License: <https://bit.ly/3wvjq0L>.



Resource Generation, a group funded by the Ford and W. K. Kellogg Foundations, trains young inheritors that capitalism is based on “stolen land, stolen labor, and stolen lives.”

This is typical of how philanthropic foundations like Ford and Kellogg work. Elite, well-heeled foundation executives use the billions from their endowments—amassed through capitalism—to create various associations and activist groups. Those nonprofits radicalize youth by associating racism with America, and America with capitalism. The foundation money serves as seed money that is eventually leveraged by another source. The foundations have created their own mouthpieces, and gotten others to pay for it.

There are hundreds of such activist groups, local and national, pushing complaints about “systemic racism,” equity, and the evils of capitalism to public schools and children. It is a veritable industry, breathtaking in its volume and complexity.

But like the Hydra of Greek mythology—the immortal, multi-headed snake monster that, if someone cut off a head, would grow two more in its place—these activist groups are all parts of one machine. Pick any one of them, and its funding is likely to tie back to the foundations, primarily Ford; Gates; W. K. Kellogg; Annie E. Casey; MacArthur; and Surdna. There is also the New Venture Fund, a group that pools money from all of these foundations and then distributes it.

The Ford Foundation spent \$665 million on “racial equity” between 2011 and 2020. But foundations do not simply subsidize existing, independent nonprofits. They decide what they want to allocate their focus and money to, then a crowd of activist groups lines up with grant proposals promising to do just that, even if it means diverting from what those groups would have otherwise done. In October 2020, Ford announced \$180 million in new funding for racial equity, with a focus on litigation—perhaps suing over racism and fighting for the likes of racial quotas in the courts. In making this decision, Darren Walker, the gay black former securities trader who leads the foundation, was like a coach calling the play, sending his players out into position, and setting the course of American activism.⁵

Equity grantee groups are professional outfits, but many operate in largely esoteric areas such as school board policy making and curriculum development, where the “other team” is simply regular parents, who rarely have the time or know-how to resist, or even notice these efforts. The obscurity of their work makes them harder to challenge.

In 2016, Hillary Clinton spent more than half a billion dollars on her presidential campaign. By comparison, the Ford, Kellogg, and MacArthur foundations alone commanded assets of nearly \$27 billion and, between them, doled out more than one billion dollars in 2015.⁶ Imagine having the resources of two presidential political campaigns without having to worry about expensive advertising, because the arena they were influencing was, to the average citizen, so small and arcane.

Then imagine that in this presidential campaign, there was no opposing candidate—essentially no organized faction presenting a competing choice.

Then imagine that the views being pushed by this campaign were far more extreme than a mainstream candidate like Clinton—ideas that, if Americans had been paying attention, most would oppose, regardless of political party.

Now imagine that the people behind this campaign were among the wealthiest, most powerful people in America,



Pierce Delahunt is a trust-fund baby with an inheritance in the millions, generated from a chain of successful outlet malls. He is also a self-styled anarchist and communist.

Credit: Pierce Delahunt. License: <https://bit.ly/3unlq0L>.

working in close coordination, and that their arena was the nation's K–12 schools. This is how this game is actually being played.

In this framework, the foundations seek to transform America in ways few Americans would want, and to do it, they seek to transform your children, by influencing the largest and most intimate thing government does: operating America's public schools. For some reason, this is viewed as an obscure policy arena by most people, who spend more time paying attention to things like presidential politics. But it shouldn't be. And the philanthropic foundations should not be thought of as merely the rich families who paid for some art museums or public television programming. These rogue foundations are perhaps the most radical, powerful, and least understood force in American politics. And their aspirations go far beyond the outcome of an election.

Foundations Are Behind All Equity Initiatives

Much of what you have read about in the preceding chapters happened in no small part because of these foundations.

The 1619 Project, Nikole Hannah-Jones's 2019 *New York Times* series turned grade school curriculum, might never have seen the light of day if not for the MacArthur Foundation. In 2014, MacArthur awarded a \$1 million, three-year grant to ProPublica, a liberal nonprofit news outlet for which Hannah-Jones wrote about race issues. She joined the Times the following year. In 2017, MacArthur awarded Hannah-Jones, whom it described as an "investigative journalist chronicling the persistence of racial segregation in American society, particularly in education," a "\$625,000, no-strings-attached grant for individuals who have shown exceptional creativity in their work and the promise to do more." In "How the 1619 Project Came Together," the Times explained that Hannah-Jones consulted with "Kellie Jones, a Columbia University art historian and 2016 MacArthur Fellow." Matthew Desmond, who contributed an article about the "brutality of American capitalism" to the series, was a 2015 MacArthur fellow. The Pulitzer Center, the nonprofit that pushed curricula based on the series into school districts across the country, is also funded by the MacArthur Foundation.⁷

In 2021, MacArthur secured a position for Hannah-Jones as a professor at Howard University, where she would teach her racial ideas and continue the 1619 Project, by donating \$5 million to the school.⁸



Credit: Alice Vergara/Abnaji. License: <https://bit.ly/3KPN7Tz>.

The 1619 Project, Nikole Hannah-Jones' 2019 New York Times series turned grade school curriculum, might never have seen the light of day if not for the MacArthur Foundation.

The Zinn Education Project, which has inroads in the majority of school districts and relentlessly criticizes capitalism and America, is a project of the activist groups Rethinking Schools and Teaching for Change, the latter of which is funded by the Kellogg Foundation and the New Venture Fund.⁹

David E. Kirkland, the architect of New York State's radical culturally responsive-sustaining education strategy—who said asking black children to learn basic skills would "serve to indoctrinate minorities into the dominant culture"—received \$500,000 from the Kellogg Foundation to push racial equity in public schools, and \$1 million from the Gates Foundation to promote "racial identity formation" in schools. Both grants were awarded a couple of weeks apart in late 2020.¹⁰

A group called FairTest, which has successfully pushed to limit standardized tests, is funded not only by the NEA union but also by the Ford, MacArthur, and Soros foundations. FairTest's former vice chair, Judith Browne Dianis, is prone to lashing out against "white supremacy and capitalism." Dianis is also the executive director of the Advancement Project, a black advocacy group that is funded by Ford, Kellogg, and the New Venture Fund.¹¹

President Obama's My Brother's Keeper initiative, which threatened schools over "disproportionate" suspensions of



Two large federally funded studies showed that “restorative justice,” the practice of schools having violent assailants “talk things out” with their victims instead of suspending them, did not work out as hoped.

black boys whether or not the suspensions were justified, is a still-active partnership between Obama and a “who’s who” of foundations that pledged \$200 million over five years. The Kellogg Foundation spent \$15 million to persuade local school systems to relax disciplinary policies.¹² After two large federally funded studies showed that “restorative justice,” the practice of schools having violent assailants “talk things out” with their victims instead of suspending them, did not work out as hoped, George Soros’s foundation offered Baltimore schools \$1.2 million to do it anyway. More than 3,500 teachers were trained to use restorative justice.¹³ In cases of “student/staff physical conflict,” a “trained, neutral conference facilitator” would give the student assailants “the opportunity to share their perspectives on the situation.”¹⁴

It is philanthropic foundations who have injected critical race theory into society. Casey Foundation executives incubated a group called Equity in the Center that says it works with “coconspirators” to develop strategies to help critical race theory colonize organizations. Its “Woke @ Work” blog preaches that whites are “born into and conditioned by a toxic culture” and need “healing from white supremacy.” Society must “reckon with how white supremacy has dehumanized us.”¹⁵

A presentation authored in August 2020 capitalized on the coronavirus pandemic, advising that “[c]risis creates opportunity to take radical actions.” It said that to get away from “white dominant norms,” employers should “[m]ove away from perfectionism to being okay with ‘good enough.’” Organizations should “[r]elease ideas around ‘objectivity’—create space for people to share how emotions, identities and lived experience connect to their viewpoints” and “[b]reak down silos and move away from individualism [sic] to collectivism.” Employees may be “shocked,” “angry,” and “sad” by the dramatic change in their organization, but after “critical psychological realignments,” they will come to accept it.¹⁶

Education

The world of K–12 education policy has long been dominated by philanthropic foundations. It was the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation that pushed for Common Core, the national education standards that, perhaps inadvertently,

allowed activist groups like Learning for Justice to invade American schools. Common Core was conceived of largely by Gene Wilhoit and David Coleman. Wilhoit was executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers, a convening of government officials whose largest funder is Gates, with the Carnegie, MacArthur, and Ford foundations also chipping in. Coleman, a former textbook executive, cofounded Student Achievement Partners, a prominent education group that is funded by Gates, Carnegie, and the NEA union, with Gates its largest funder by far.¹⁷

Common Core became a reality thanks to an influence campaign by Gates topping \$170 million and aimed at getting states to agree to essentially give up control of their own standards. For example, more than \$15 million was spent lobbying state lawmakers in Kentucky. One group in North Carolina, the Hunt Institute, received \$5 million to manufacture grassroots activism, often known as “astroturfing,” by providing “sample letters to the editor” and “op-ed pieces that could be tailored to individuals.” Forty-six states ultimately signed on.¹⁸

Groups that have used the imprimatur of teachers to turn core classes like English into forums for racial activism, such as the National Council of Teachers of English—whose 2021 convention was titled “Equity, Justice, and Antiracist Teaching”—are funded by the Gates and MacArthur foundations. Even groups that serve to get education officials and elected representatives on the same page, such as the American Association of School Administrations; the National Association of School Boards; the National Association of Secondary School Principals; and the National Association of State Boards of Education, are funded by Gates’s foundation and on a smaller scale by others like the Carnegie, Ford, Kellogg, and Soros foundations.¹⁹

If regular people want to follow the ins and outs of education, they are likely to get their information from news outlets set up to cover K–12 that also are funded by foundations, and do so with a slant that views racial and statistical equalizing as a primary mission of schools. These include the Hechinger Report, which is funded by Carnegie, Kellogg, and Gates and has syndication agreements with the *Washington Post*, NPR, and CNN. “We cover inequality and innovation in education,” its mission says. A typical

“opinion” headline: “Youth of Color and Young Women Use Social Media the Most, so Why Are Most Digital Technology Developers White Men?”²⁰

Another such publisher is The 74, a “non-profit, non-partisan news site covering education in America” funded by the Gates and Carnegie foundations that has published more than one thousand articles about “equity.” Then there is Education Post, funded by foundations including Gates’s and Michael Bloomberg’s. One mid-2020 column said, “I’m tired of White people taking their violent culture, standards and metrics into Black spaces and telling Black children that they don’t measure up. ... [I]f you really want to make a difference in Black lives—and not have to protest this shit again—go reform white kids. Because that’s where the problem is.”²¹

Foundations also set the narrative by funding reams of social science “research” that make claims about race and education, and whose findings can quickly make their way into the national discourse. The Spencer Foundation pays academics to create racial research on education. In 2018, it paid one roughly \$50,000 for a paper titled “Leading While Black (and Female): Exploring Microaggressions in the Lived Experiences of Black, Female School Leaders.” It also awards journalists \$82,500 fellowships to publicize such studies.²²

Youth Activism

The foundations’ goals are political, and schools give them easy access to society’s most impressionable. But foundations relentlessly seek to shape children’s politics both inside and outside of the classroom.

The Ford, MacArthur, New Venture Fund, and Soros’s Open Society Foundations are among the top funders of the Alliance for Youth Organizing (AYO), which bills itself as “America’s premier youth organizing network.” Its website proclaims, “We entice millions of young voters into our sweet democracy.” Between 2018 and 2020, Ford gave AYO over \$6.5 million. AYO and several other activist groups put voter registration stations in high school proms. If you have not heard of AYO, that may be because it operates through dozens of local affiliated fronts for it, such as Chicago Votes and Minnesota Youth Collective. Its New York affiliate aims to lower the voting age to seventeen.²³

Some AYO affiliates look to use children to make conservative areas into progressive ones, like Forward Montana, which is aimed at “passing policies that are representative of the needs and vision of their generation.”²⁴

Others have names designed to appear nonpartisan, such as the Ohio Student Association, which AYO acknowledges is actually an “intergenerational movement for racial, social, economic and educational justice. OSA’s leaders are between 18 and 35, some are not students.” Foundations frequently help establish such forums, which purport to speak on behalf of broad constituencies, but instead funnel people with legitimate, nonpartisan interests into groups that are actually controlled by liberal ideologues. Though equity policies often harm Asians, such as changing the rules for admission to magnet schools when too many Asians score highly on tests, an innocuous-sounding group in Nevada called the Asian Community Development Council is actually an AYO affiliate.²⁵

The Ford Foundation also funds the Sunrise Movement, a climate activist group whose members carry signs with slogans like “The Youth Are Coming for You.” Activists are whisked to a retreat where they are trained in shaping “public narrative.” When a trainee asked whether they should be in favor of nuclear power, the reply was that “Sunrise’s role is not to be super caught up in the details. ... We’re 18-, 19-, 20-, 21-year-olds who don’t really know policy.” On the other hand, when one trainee, playing the role of a news interviewer, asked whether Sunrise wanted to “drag this country into socialism,” her counterpart was more certain, replying, “Yes, that actually sounds great!”²⁶

These activist groups understand the potency of using young children as props. In one noteworthy scene, adults in Sunrise Movement T-shirts brought young children and teens to the office of Democratic senator Dianne Feinstein to demand



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that she support the Green New Deal in early 2019. “There’s no way to pay for it,” Feinstein told them.²⁷

“Yes, there is,” a child directed.

A teenager added, “Our earth is dying, literally. And it is going to be a pricey and ambitious plan.”

“That resolution will not pass the Senate, and you can take that back to whoever sent you here,” Feinstein replied.

Moments later, an adult in a yellow Sunrise Movement shirt interrupted. “You’re looking at the faces of the people who are going to be living with these consequences ... and we’re asking you to be brave,” she lectured the senator, who in 1978 discovered the slain body of Harvey Milk and who once had the windows of her house shot out by revolutionaries.²⁸

As Feinstein and an aide told them they had to go, a girl with pig-tails, who looked to be about ten years old, put both hands out and children began repeating the talking points imprinted upon them by adults. “Of course, saving our world is a pricey and ambitious project . . .”

Ford also funds groups like Law for Black Lives, which “provides legal and policy support to youth-led campaigns to redirect funds from criminal justice systems to education and social services in black communities.” It is involved in paying bail to release black criminal suspects from jail, including those accused of violent crimes, and arranges for them to receive “cigarettes” and “burner phones” when they get out. It also describes itself as “the Black femme led legal arm of the Black Liberation movement.” And, along with five other activist groups, it created an educational curriculum where students are asked to agree or disagree with statements like “we must end incarceration in the U.S.” and “I see bail reform as a steppingstone to abolition.”²⁹

Foundations Are Two Steps Ahead of the Democratic Establishment

The Ford Foundation harbors a sort of shadow government. Kamala Harris’s sister and closest political confidante, Maya Harris, was a Ford Foundation vice president, after previously working for PolicyLink, a key equity activist group and Ford grantee. Joe Biden’s senior campaign advisor, Cristóbal Alex, was its program director during the Obama years. Ford’s chief of staff, Taara Rangarajan, was President Obama’s national security advisor for about three years.



Credit: Wayback Machine. License: <https://bit.ly/3KV3PRE>

The Ford Foundation harbors a sort of shadow government. Kamala Harris’s sister and closest political confidante, Maya Harris (shown in middle), was a Ford Foundation vice president, after previously working for PolicyLink, a key equity activist group and Ford grantee.

Even Obama’s mother worked for the Ford Foundation at one point.³⁰

Ford has also shown a knack for steering the Democratic Party to the left. It does this by funding groups that operate at local levels that are more radical than national mainstream politics would accommodate. Once the time is right, they are elevated to national roles.

For example, between 2013 and 2020, Ford gave a Florida-based group called Dream Defenders \$1.1 million to “build a young people’s movement to end mass incarceration” and other “youth-led civic engagement organizing.” As the group explained in 2018, “we believe that our liberation necessitates the destruction of the political and economic systems of Capitalism. ... We want an immediate end to the police state and murder of Black people. ... We want free, fully-funded public education for all that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society. We want community control of land, bread, housing, education, justice, peace and technology.” Dream Defenders is involved in county-level races for state attorneys, backing candidates for prosecutors who align with their mission of “a world without prisons, policing, surveillance and punishment.” It is run by Philip Agnew, whose fringe racial beliefs, the Anti-Defamation League said, posed harm to “the State of Israel and the American Jewish Community.” In March 2020, Bernie Sanders’s presidential campaign tapped Agnew as a senior advisor on matters of race and inequity.³¹

On the day when Joe Biden assumed the presidency, the North Star Fund—which the Ford Foundation funded to the tune of nearly \$1 million from 2016 to 2019, with the Rockefeller, Surdna, and Soros foundations chipping in as well—bemoaned, “The administration may have changed but white supremacy and capitalism are still here.”³²

Local Matters

K–12 schools are run by thirteen thousand independent school districts, but foundations have also perfected the art of implementing national political agendas through local government.

Financially, this is a brilliant plan. For the same amount political actors might spend influencing one congressional election, they could elect an entire slate of school board candidates or county council members in a large jurisdiction. Unlike a back-bench congressman, these school board or council members would enjoy complete control. It is not just money, but the lack of attention that makes these efforts especially potent. In fact, it is easy to elect far-left candidates in center-left jurisdictions, because if the far-left candidate can squeak through in a primary where just 5 percent of voters participate, a majority Democrat county is likely to blindly support him in the general election, with no real idea who he or she is.³³

This goes doubly for the suburbs. Suburbs are crucial to those seeking to transform American politics because they are among the only “purple” areas left. Generally speaking, U.S. cities are blue, and rural areas are red. Therefore, as go the suburbs, so goes America. Suburban residents often pay little attention to municipal elections, and newspapers have been forced to cut back severely on local coverage. But some populous suburban counties have upward of one million people—more than the population of six states.³⁴ Savvy political operatives realized that this offered them a remarkable opportunity.

A large portion of what might appear to be grassroots local activism, particularly concerning education issues, can be traced directly to the foundations.

One of the counties with more than one million residents is Wake County, North Carolina. There, a group called the Youth Organizing Institute pays children \$100 to attend a “Freedom School” that trains them to become activists on topics like “environmental racism,” the “school to prison pipeline,” “Indigenous land reclamation,” and “reproductive justice.”³⁵

There is no paperwork about this group because it is an arm of another nonprofit, called the Southern Vision Alliance, whose other tentacles include the Community Alliance for Public Education; Comité de Acción Popular ... ; and Durham Beyond Policing, whose goal is to get “police out of our neighborhoods!” Southern Vision Alliance is funded by the Ford Foundation and the New Venture Fund.³⁶ ■

This article is Chapter 11, “Foundations,” in Race to the Bottom: Uncovering the Secret Forces Destroying American Public Education by Luke Rosiak, which was released in March 2022. Reprinted with permission. The visuals in this reprinting were not part of the book.

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

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- 12 <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/images/MBK-2016-Progress-Report.pdf>, pp. 12–13.
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