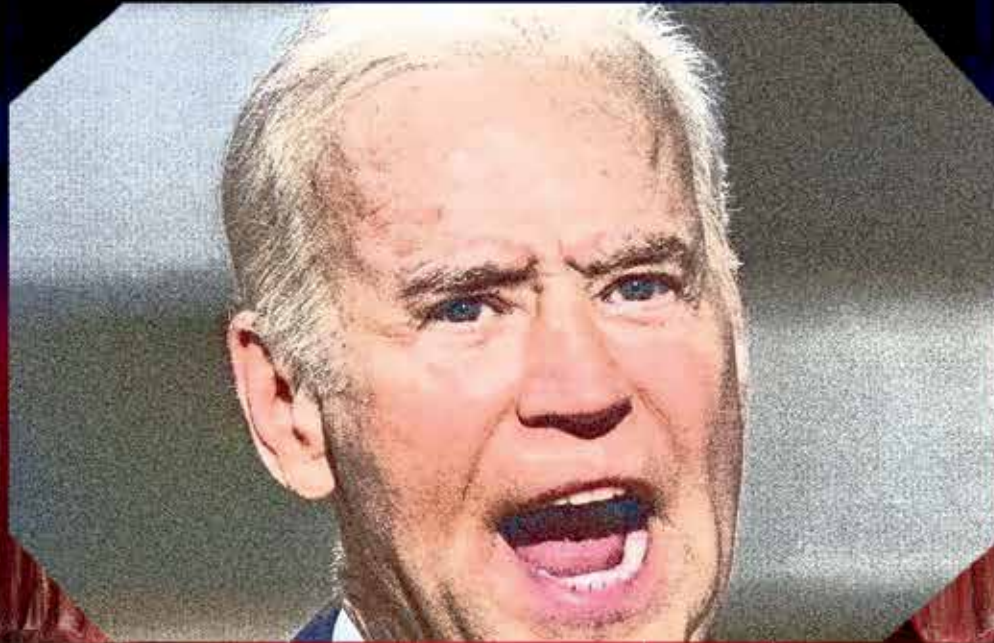




CAPITAL RESEARCH

MARCH/MARCH/APRIL 2023



The Twitter Files and The Ministry of Truth Media

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THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

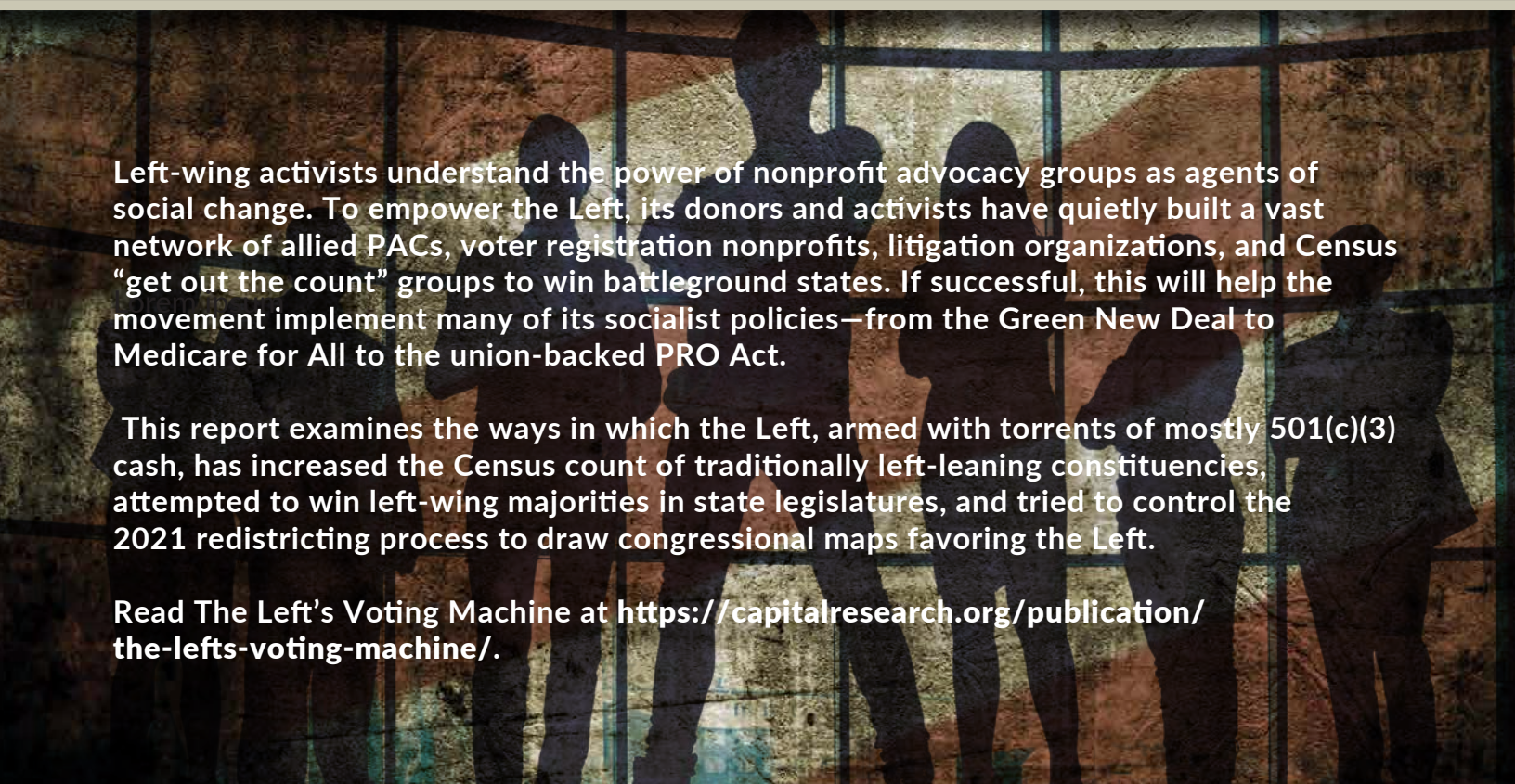


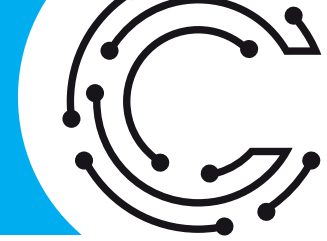
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AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

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

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

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





BLUEING KANSAS

By Hayden Ludwig

You don't have to look far to find the left's multi-million-dollar activist machine in action. Now they are turning their sights on Kansas, a red state they hope to flip blue—and there is no shortage of get out the vote money for the job.

At the scheme's center is the Kansas Health Foundation, a "social justice" advocacy group masquerading as a local issues charity. In reality, it is one of the left's channels for voter registration money flowing into the Sunflower State.

In 2017, a year after the state went 57.2 percent for President Donald Trump, the foundation launched its Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE) Initiative with funding for get out the vote groups "to increase civic engagement among populations who...do not currently participate in the democratic process."

Critically, the foundation incorporated a voter registration and turnout model borrowed from another leftist organization: the Funders Committee for Civic Participation, a front for NEO Philanthropy and a coalition of nearly 100 liberal foundations and grantmakers, including the Kansas Health Foundation.

As we've documented, the Funders Committee brags that its Integrated Voter Engagement model is one of "the most effective ways to increase voter turnout" and helped turn Colorado from a red to a purple state in the early 2000s.

It works by shuffling money from committee members—such as the Kansas Health Foundation—to "democracy groups" advancing "structural reforms" which "hold electeds accountable [*sic*]" and obtain "long-term power" for the left's *preferred* "communities." An older rendition of the theory was even starker: "register voters," "get out the vote," "defend + expand voting rights," and ultimately "achieve policy impact."

A Kansas Health Foundation report praises the model because it "is not limited to election cycles, but rather is a continuous, ongoing effort that **increases the number of voters and ultimately leads to policy changes** [emphasis added]. Organizations that utilize [the model] successfully



Credit: Lindsey Martin Webb. License: Shutterstock.

Kansas State Capitol Building

integrate voter engagement with their ongoing work on nonpartisan issues and organizing and advocacy efforts."

In Kansas, that means targeting "health equity issue areas"—a lefty term loosely defined as access to "quality schools and housing," "good jobs and healthy food," and the "safety of our neighborhoods"—but in reality refers to targeting likely Democratic voters, many of whom are not on the voter rolls.

The left believes that mass voter registration campaigns increase election turnout and that high turnout leads to Democratic victories. The trick is getting millions of disengaged eligible voters on the voter rolls in key states, a feat requiring an army of activists and an ocean of money. The left has both. The top 24 leftist voter registration nonprofits

Hayden Ludwig is a senior research analyst at CRC.

Editor's Note: CRC congratulates Hayden Ludwig on his new position as director of research at Restoration of America.



The left believes that mass voter registration campaigns increase election turnout and that high turnout leads to Democratic victories.

spent an estimated \$434 million in 2020 alone, much of which came from foundations of “progressive” mega donors sharing the last name “foundation.”

Between July and August 2021, the Kansas Health Foundation pumped \$2.9 million into its voter engagement campaign. Recipients were required to report on which “populations” with “health disparities” they planned to engage and how they would incorporate “advocacy and/or grassroots organizing to affect [*sic*] change on health equity.”

The foundation’s list of requirements for grants smacks of partisanship: This includes, “Describe the geographic scope of the organization’s IVE efforts, including data components such as numbers of eligible voters, registered voters, voting age population, and pertinent area Census demographics.” As well as, “Describe the populations that will be engaged by the applicant organization, the level of current civic engagement, and the voting disparities experienced by these populations.”

So who received these funds?

At the top of the list is the Kansas Appleseed Center, which uses nutrition and public health as cover to push voter turnout campaigns and election “reforms.” The group demands expanded use of absentee ballots and drop boxes to collect them, and it rails against allegations of election fraud. Notably, it also lists Integrated Voter Engagement on its homepage.

The Kansas Rural Center similarly nestles Integrated Voter Engagement among its agricultural priorities, an area in which the group has been active since 2018. In September 2021, the center announced its four-year statewide Integrated Voter Engagement initiative to “mobilize Kansans to encourage greater civic participation,” ostensibly on farm issues.

Notably, the center is founded on a belief that America’s farms are built “upon the enslavement and forced migration of people,” a “lasting legacy of systemic racism,” “globalization,” “colonialism,” and “destructive . . . capitalism.”

Another foundation grant recipient is the Climate and Energy Project, a global warming activist group that promotes transitioning Kansas’s electric grid to solar power. The project is closely allied with numerous anti-oil and anti-natural gas groups, including the far-left Natural Resources Defense Council, Earthjustice (a Sierra Club spin-off), Al Gore’s Climate Reality Project, and the Arabella “pop-up” group Rewiring America, which wants to wage total war on America’s energy sector.

Also among the Kansas Health Foundation’s recipients is the Metro Organization for Racial and Economic Equity, a Kansas City group that boasts about registering and getting out the vote among “hundreds of voters in lower income census tracks” and “engag[ing] voters on health, public education and voter suppression issues.” The Metro Organization also supports higher minimum wage laws, opposes right-to-work legislation, and aims to turn Kansas into a sanctuary state for illegal aliens.

Further up the money stream, we’ve traced grants to the Kansas Health Foundation from the Tides Foundation, Greater Manhattan Community Foundation, and two Kansas-based community foundations. All these organizations pass grants from donors to other nonprofits, washing away the donors’ names in the process—a practice some have called “charitable money laundering.”

But that’s just the tip of the iceberg. The left excels at operating in the shadows, employing sophisticated talking points and mobilization strategies to deceive voters into believing these causes are grassroots. The truth is that it’s the same tired, cynical politics Americans are sick to death of. ■

This article first appeared in the American Conservative on February 21, 2023.

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



TEACHERS UNIONS AND THE LOWERING OF STANDARDS

By Kali Fontanilla

Summary: *Teachers unions are pushing to lower the academic and behavioral standards of America's public school students, especially for minority children. Yet there is no need for these lax policies, as there are plenty of historical and contemporary examples of minority children rising to high expectations when they are demanded. Teachers unions have also pushed for limiting the use of school resource officers in the name of social justice, regardless of how these policies affect the safety of public schools. Far from helping minority students, these attitudes are just another example of the bigotry of low expectations.*

Teaching in Compton

My first job as a teacher was in Compton, California, at Kennedy Elementary. I will never forget pulling up for that first day to the giant school building that looked like a fortress. One way in, one way out. The school was close to “the projects,” and we often had lockdowns whenever the police were arresting someone nearby who was considered a high flight risk. During one particular lockdown, we had to stay in our classrooms with our students for two hours after the end of the school day.

I was taking over as director of an after-school program. During the day, I would tutor small groups and run an academic intervention after-school program for 70 students. I was definitely in over my head as a 23-year-old freshly graduated teacher. I was expected to help the students catch up in their reading and math with the assistance of two aides, but I was lucky if they both showed up on the same day. On one unlucky day, I had to run the whole program with 70 students alone. I marched them all to the cafeteria, set up stations, and tried my best not to lose my mind.

The school was overwhelmingly black and Hispanic, with almost all the children coming from low-income families. How should they be taught? How high should the standards be for them? Should students from disadvantaged backgrounds, like my former students at Kennedy Elementary, be held to the same high academic and behavioral standards



Robert F. Kennedy Elementary School, Compton, CA.

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as kids from more privileged socioeconomic groups? Ask these questions today, and you will get widely different answers. Parents say one thing, and teachers say another. Other ethnic groups have differing opinions. As we shall see, the teachers unions are firmly on the side of lowering the standards for behavior and academics, especially for poor black and brown kids.

Teachers unions have led the push to lower the standards in our public schools nationwide. To be fair, many people do this with good intentions, arguing that black and brown children need lowered standards because of historical oppression or systemic racism. Proponents who want the standards dropped will say that this is how to level the playing field and bring equity to an unjust nation.

But what will happen if they get their wish? Standardized tests like the SAT will no longer be a requirement to get into college. Suspending a willfully defiant child, even for cussing out the teacher, will be seen as racist if the student is black. Homework will no longer be required. If it is, it can't count against a student's grade. Students can have poor attendance and complete little work but still will be allowed to pass because the teacher considers their various oppressions. These aren't just speculations. Much of this is a reality today in public schools nationwide.

Kali Fontanilla is a senior fellow at the Capital Research Center and founder of the Exodus Institute a K-12 online school designed for homeschooling.



Credit: Faith Miller. License: <https://bit.ly/40eFpQ>.

The NEA policy statement stops short of explicitly calling for the removal of law enforcement from schools but instead discourages funding of school resource officers and limiting the placement of more officers in schools.

Is this really what's best for our nation's children?

Let's examine the proposed policies of the teachers unions, with their push for lowered behavioral and academic expectations and standards, their results, and the counterarguments.

Behavior Standards: The Push to Limit Suspensions and SROs

First, consider the teachers unions stance on behavioral standards. Perhaps no document encapsulates the general tone of lowering the bar on behavior for school children more than Obama Administration's 2014 letter to our nation's schools called the Joint Dear Colleague on the Nondiscriminatory Administration of School Discipline.

In July 2022, the National Education Association (NEA), America's most prominent teacher's union, issued a statement that among other things promoted "restorative justice" and the "elimination of inequities in student discipline and the policing of students on campus." In short, the letter directed schools to punish behavior less, especially among minority students. It accused our nation's teachers and school administrators of racism and that black and brown students had higher suspensions and other disciplinary actions against them not due to any higher incidence of

behavioral issues by them but rather because of the racist discrimination of the adults. The NEA's statement supporting the Dear Colleague letter echoes these sentiments and "emphasizes the NEA's commitment to restorative justice, trauma-informed instruction, and cultural competence among educators so they can understand their own implicit biases." At the NEA's representative assembly, 93 percent of its delegates vote to support the policy statement.

So the teachers unions are pushing for less punishment and lowering behavioral standards, especially for minority students. Tardiness, misbehavior in class, direct defiance, and even the more severe infractions, such as drug possession and fighting, are all left relatively unpunished. Suspensions are discouraged. Students are given counseling instead of consequences. And they quickly learn they can get away with almost anything. The result is chaos.

During the Trump administration, Obama's Dear Colleague letter was rescinded by Education Secretary Betsey DeVos. So-called progressives quickly condemning the move in a letter from the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights signed by the two most prominent teachers unions in America, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, claiming that "rescinding the guidance would send the opposite message: that the Department does not care that schools are discriminating against children of color by disproportionately kicking them out of school." So according to the nation's two most prominent teachers unions, if you suspend black or brown kids for misbehavior, you do not care about them.

With suspensions being discouraged and the resulting chaos that is the predictable outcome when consequences are removed, you'd think this guardrail against misbehavior would be replaced by school resource officers (SROs) or in layman's terms, what we'd call on-campus police officers. Surely if we remove consequences for things like fighting, the teacher's unions would be wise enough to have at least more police officers on campus to avoid a Lord of the Flies disaster. You'd think that would be common sense. And you'd be wrong.

Not only are the teacher's unions pushing for fewer suspensions, but they also want to curtail and defund the SROs. The NEA put out a statement on SROs to this effect. The policy statement stops short of explicitly calling for the removal of law enforcement from schools but instead discourages funding of SROs and limiting the placement of more officers in schools: "The newly approved policy statement "calls on NEA leaders and members to work toward models that restrict law enforcement activity to appropriate



Polls showed that blacks and Hispanics support school discipline policies at higher rates than whites, teachers, and the general public.

public safety roles and end the policing of students,” the task force’s report says. “In addition, we must provide models and leadership to limit the growth of the SRO workforce and ensure that precious school funding dollars are spent not on police but on staff and programs that enhance the well-being of all students.”

To be fair, NEA’s position has seemed to shift depending on the current news cycle and what is popular in their political circles. For example, after the tragic Sandy Hook school shooting, they promoted federal policies to grow SRO presence on school campuses. However, their position has shifted seemingly to the opposite conclusion, citing “institutional racism” as the reason for the about-face. “A lot of this stems from our decision to take on institutional racism,” said NEA President Becky Pringle.

What has been the reaction to this lax approach to school discipline? According to a survey by Teach Plus, “about half (49 percent) of Illinois’ teachers believe that eliminating zero-tolerance policies has had a negative impact on student behavior and school culture.” Teachers see the chaos. In another poll by Education Next, “just 29 percent of teachers said they support federal policies that prevent schools from expelling or suspending black and Hispanic students at higher rates than other students.” Interestingly, the same polls showed that blacks and Hispanics support school discipline policies at higher rates than whites, teachers, and the general public. So the minorities these policies are meant to benefit disagree with them. Ironic but not surprising to anyone familiar with minority communities.

We might excuse these policies for going against common sense and practices long affirmed by educational history if they produced better results. Sadly, they do not. After the Obama Dear Colleague letter went into practice, the number of “serious violent incidents” rose significantly, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. Rebecca Friedrichs, commenting at the 2020 Republican National Committee, put it succinctly when she said, “their lenient discipline policies morphed our schools into war zones.”

Academic Standards: The Fight Against Standardized Tests

A similar disposition of low academic standards has become popular among left-wing progressive circles today and is promoted by teachers unions. Standardized tests are just one example, but a key indicator in the general tone of lowered expectations for students. Their union state chapters organized against standardized tests in 27 states, hosting showings of a documentary critical of testing called *Standardized*, holding rallies, and conducting petition drives.

In a *New York Times* article entitled *Teacher’s Unions Fight Standardized Testing, and Find Diverse Allies*, Secky Fascione, director of organizing for the NEA, said “reining in testing was the union’s top” priority. Why?

Tracking motives behind policy decisions can be a messy task. But the basic principles of bias are usually the same, and the teachers unions are not exempt from human nature. Their goals are often to serve their members rather than children.

Standardized tests have been a hot-button issue for years, with various groups opposed and supportive of more and higher standards for school testing. Interestingly, this issue makes for strange bedfellows with groups who would not normally align working together against standardized testing, albeit for different reasons. Conservative groups generally oppose the Common Core Standards and the overemphasis on testing that comes with it on the grounds that it constitutes a federal overreach. Parents don’t want their children to spend all their time in school in what many argue isn’t real education but rather teachers “teaching to the test.”

But teachers unions oppose standardized testing for their own reasons: to avoid accountability of their members, the teachers. “The unions are not acting out of concern for children but are trying to undercut efforts to institute tougher evaluations.” “It’s an effort to undermine accountability,” says Jonah Edelman, the chief executive of Stand for Children.

Whatever the reasons for opposing standardized tests, the results are the same: lowering the standards for our nation’s children.

The Bigotry of Low Expectations

It may be argued that standardized tests are only one aspect of education, and thus our thesis that teachers unions and other left-wing progressive institutions are pushing for lower standards isn't wholly accurate. Detractors may also, quite accurately, point out that the movement against standardized tests isn't limited to educational progressives and teachers unions, as we have seen. Both are valid points and would be strong arguments if we were to ignore the larger picture of lowered expectations among the entire teaching profession and our public schools at large. Standardized tests aren't the only area of low expectations.

We've already looked at lowering behavioral expectations, which is part of this mosaic of lowered standards, but to further paint the picture, consider standards for writing and communication in our public schools. Proper English used to be held up as a goal of our educational system. A radical idea, I know. Now? Teachers are increasingly encouraged to consider Ebonics or other slang on an equal footing academically and as another valid expression of student culture. An expression it may be, but it's not proper English, and we aren't doing our children any favors by such pandering. It's called the bigotry of low expectations, and frankly, as a minority myself, it's insulting. Our black and brown kids can learn to speak and write using proper English.

Even in my teacher preparation program, these ridiculous ideas were taught to us as "cutting edge" and backed by the "latest studies." To be quite honest, I don't care how many studies you show me; it will never override the common sense and knowledge of generations of educational history



Credit: [energpic.com](https://bit.ly/3K2xxXs). License: <https://bit.ly/3K2xxXs>.

Human nature being what it is, as soon as students figured out that assignments would not count against their grade, many stopped doing any work, and a large percentage simply stopped showing up for online school altogether. It was a disaster.

that shows students from any background can learn proper English. Slang, like Ebonics, does not need to be taught or countenanced in an academic setting.

Another example of these low expectations I've seen in my teaching experience happened during the COVID lockdowns. In our district in California, most students went entirely online for a year. From March until the end of the school year in 2020, we were told not to give students any graded assignments unless the assignments raised their grades. None of the assignments we gave from March until June 2020 could count against a student's grade. For example, if students had a letter C grade when schools shut down in March, they could turn in nothing else the rest of the school year, more than two months of school, and not lose their C grade. If they chose to, they could complete the distance learning assignments and raise their grade higher, but never below that original C. Human nature being what it is, as soon as students figured this out, many stopped doing any work, and a large percentage simply stopped showing up for online school altogether. It was a disaster.

The reasoning for this was that it would not be fair and equitable for students who did not have access to home internet to expect them to do any work. It didn't matter that the school district offered free Wi-Fi hotspots and other options like physical books and assignments printed for them.

The logical end to the teachers unions' obsession with "equity" is a race to the bottom for all to accommodate the few. It was a perfect example of how crisis reveals the natural character of people. When push came to shove, the teachers unions and district administration defaulted to low standards and no accountability. Equity was seen as more important than education. The time lost can never be regained. Those students will only be sophomores, 8th graders, etc. once.

Sowell Quotes Black Education Success Stories

The opposite view from that of the teachers unions is that these students need structure, discipline, and order. Especially minority students, who are unfortunately more likely to come from homes without a father figure to serve as a disciplinarian, need these firm boundaries and lofty expectations.

But again, the theory isn't as critical as the results regarding our children's welfare. It better work. So what does history tell us about which approach works best? We've seen the

negative results of the misguided attempt by teachers unions to lower the behavioral and academic standards of our children. Let's look at examples of success in education using high standards.

Thomas Sowell details several examples of excellence in black education in his book *Black Rednecks and White Liberals*. For instance, Dunbar High School in Washington, DC:

In 1899, there were four academic, public high schools in Washington, D.C.—one black and three white. In standardized tests given that year, students in the black high school averaged higher test scores than students in two of the three white high schools. Today, more than a century later, it would be considered Utopian even to set that as a goal, much less expect it to actually happen. Yet what happened back in 1899 was no isolated fluke. That same school repeatedly equaled or exceeded national norms on standardized tests in the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s.

So black children can pass standardized tests at high rates, even surpass white students, if the standards are high and the methods are effective. Sowell goes on to show that behavioral standards, unsurprisingly, were also increased at the Dunbar school, with “less absenteeism and less tardiness than the white high schools”—a tell-tale sign of general student conduct. Dunbar's success was primarily due to teachers and administrators who did not give their students a “sense of victimhood or of doors closed.” Instead, strict, high-achieving role models in education, like Dunbar principal Mary Jane Patterson, who was known for her “strong, forceful personality” and was an “indefatigable worker,” led students to a high calling, and they met the mark. Nor did Dunbar focus extensively on black cultural issues, which today's educational progressives claim is a necessary ingredient for minority students to even dream of succeeding in school. Nor did she focus on the very real injustices of the early 1900s, which far surpass the hardships any American racial groups face today. It seems high standards, devoid of pandering, were enough.

Many other historical and contemporary examples can be given. Sowell's chapter “Black Education—Achievements, Myths and Tragedies” is full of them. Often the stories are very similar: The school has a majority of black or Hispanic students from disadvantaged economic backgrounds. The test scores and literacy rates are low, behavioral issues high, and then a new principal or teacher comes in and raises the bar. The children rise to the occasion, and academic scores rise while behavioral issues drop. It's not very complicated.



Credit: Reason TV. License: <https://bit.ly/42Cyp1>.

Thomas Sowell concludes his thoughts. “What are the ‘secrets’ of such successful schools? The biggest secret is that there are no secrets unless work is a secret. Work seems to be the only four-letter word that cannot be used in public today.”

Sowell reminds us of the film *Stand and Deliver*, based on the true story of math teacher Jaime Escalante, who was so successful in his no-nonsense/high-expectations approach to Calculus that “about one-fourth of all Mexican American students—in the entire country—[who] passed Advanced Placement Calculus” came from his high school program. A less-known example is “the principal of Bennett-Kew Elementary School in Inglewood, California, with a student body that was 52 percent Hispanic and 45 percent black. He raised these children's reading levels from the 3rd percentile to the 50th percentile in just four years.”

We could go on and on. Yet there is no specific, exact formula for achieving excellence in educating minority children, any more than having high academic and behavioral standards. Indeed, raising behavioral standards is a predictor of higher academic scores, the two factors being inseparable because of the truism that a child cannot learn in a disorderly and chaotic environment. Cascade Elementary school in Atlanta achieved reading and math scores at rates many would say are miraculous for a student body consisting of 99 percent black students, with 80 percent coming from low-income families. Yet their students scored “74th percentile on reading tests and at the 83rd percentile on math tests.” How did they do this? Getting rid of suspensions in the name of social justice? Far from it. To show how strictly this school was run, the principal, Alfonso L. Jesse, “explains to parents at the beginning of the year that if their children misbehave in school, they will be personally escorted to the parents' place of work. Not surprisingly, Cascade has almost no discipline problems.”

CC ————— *Raising behavioral standards is a predictor of higher academic scores.*

My own experience tells the same story. Back when I was teaching at Kennedy Elementary in Compton, CA, around 60 percent of the students were Hispanic, 39 percent were black, and 1 percent were other. Now the school has 86 percent Hispanic students and 10 percent black. These are precisely the students the Left always touts as “underserved” or “marginalized.” Currently, 96 percent of the students at Kennedy Elementary come from low-income families. Their academic performance suffered when I was a teacher at the school 15 years ago, and they are still struggling today. Only 30 percent of the students are proficient in math, and proficiency in reading is not much better than 35 percent. If there was ever an argument for lowering the standards for minority or marginalized students to succeed, Kennedy Elementary could be the poster child.

Yet I saw a dramatic turnaround in my students in the short time I was there. When I arrived, I had to deal with cursing problems from elementary students so young it would shock many to hear them speak. I instituted strict discipline standards and created a system of rewards and punishments they could understand. To the surprise of no one blinded by leftist ideology, they rose to the occasion.

I’ll share an anecdote of how well they had bought into my system, told to me by my principal while I was at Kennedy Elementary. She was speaking with one of my students, a 4th grader, who interrupted the principal to let her know that she had to go because she couldn’t be late for Mrs. Fontanilla’s class. This wasn’t just out of duty or fear; she was excited to rush to my class. The kids craved the order. They cried when I left. This is what the teachers unions are denying our children.

Sowell concludes his thoughts better than I can. “What are the ‘secrets’ of such successful schools? The biggest secret is that there are no secrets unless work is a secret. Work seems to be the only four-letter word that cannot be used in public today.”

Closing Thoughts

What is behind the push to lower academic standards for our nation’s youth, especially urban minorities? And what about behavioral standards? Clearly, the new and more lenient approach to behavior in schools is not working. So why has it not been abandoned?



Credit: Victoria Choi. License: <https://bit.ly/42uEckr>

There is no specific, exact formula for achieving excellence in educating minority children, any more than having high academic and behavioral standards.

One could ask similar questions about the wave of retail store thefts in our nation’s largest cities, which so frequently litter our social media feeds with videos of smash-and-grab robberies. Why has this wave of crime not led to a reversal of the soft-on-crime reforms? Indeed, you could argue that one position, lack of discipline in schools, leads to the other, the decriminalization of theft and the resulting crime wave. Is it just a dogmatic clinging to woke ideology, no matter the cost? Or is it a deliberate attempt to destroy the lives of urban minorities? The motives may vary depending on the actor in this cast of characters, ranging from the true-believing social justice activist teacher in the classroom to the cynical blue state politician setting school policies. But again, the results, whatever the motive, remain the same for our children.

It’s beyond the scope of this article to give a complete account of motives, but suffice it to say that powerful groups benefit when the people are illiterate, miseducated, and generally dependent on the government rather than independent. Outside forces must control a population that lacks self-control. They will even ask for it. We do not need to establish the existence of some nefarious conspiracy to show that there is a dire confluence of agendas and circumstances that result in the lowering of behavioral and academic standards of the next generation. Agenda or not, the results are the same. And our children pay the price. ■

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

DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION



THE TWITTER FILES AND THE MINISTRY OF TRUTH MEDIA

By Ken Braun

Summary: In 1984, George Orwell's classic, *the Ministry of Truth* is the media, and the regime's motto is: "War is Peace; Freedom is Slavery; Ignorance is Strength." It's a deliberately ironic warning: "We tell you what the truth is; don't look for it on your own!" After 2016, the blue blood brands of corporate media also coalesced into a truth-averse regime. But unlike the Orwell original, the real thing's foul deeds have been voluntary and unintentional. Appropriately, in early 2017 it was an unintentionally ironic slogan that announced the birth of our Ministry of Truth Media: "Democracy Dies in Darkness."

Winston Smith, protagonist of George Orwell's *1984*, worked in the news division of the Ministry of Truth. His job was to endlessly rewrite old newspapers, turning history into whatever the regime wanted.

"Winston's greatest pleasure in life was in his work," wrote Orwell.

An often unappreciated lesson of the novel was that the educated workers at the Ministry of Truth found it both challenging and rewarding to inflict the regime's foul deeds.

If today's press had become the "Ministry of Truth Media," would those participating recognize the offense or celebrate it?

Consider two recent concerns.

At the end of January 2023, the *Columbia Journalism Review* posted "The Press Versus the President," a damning analysis of the corporate media's Russiagate coverage. The meticulous author of the autopsy—Jeff Gerth—was a retired and heavily decorated *New York Times* investigative journalist, with a Pulitzer to prove it.

Gerth marshaled the evidence proving national security reporters at *Washington Post* and *New York Times* had shared a Pulitzer Prize for hoodwinking America (and themselves) with a hoax: the baseless claim that the president was a Russian stooge.



Credit: mallissue. License: <https://bit.ly/3TD1cL2>.

Winston Smith (as portrayed by John Hurt in the 1984 release of the movie), protagonist of George Orwell's 1984, worked in the news division of the Ministry of Truth. His job was to endlessly rewrite old newspapers, turning history into whatever the regime wanted.

The report even quoted Bob Woodward of Watergate coverage fame, sadly revealing he had tried and failed to warn *WaPo* colleagues away from the hoax.

Plausibly accused of conning the customers, there seemed just two honorable options: (1) deny and fight the charges; or (2) surrender, apologize, and explain how to do better.

As of this writing, neither publication has posted a single story addressing Gerth's story.

Eight weeks before the *CJR* report appeared, billionaire Elon Musk, fresh off purchasing control of Twitter, did what the *WaPo* and *NYTimes* would not. To counter criticisms regarding suppression of free expression on the platform that predated his ownership, he announced (on Twitter,

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of course) that he was going to let loose the “Twitter Files on free speech suppression” because the “public deserves to know what really happened.”

From the beginning of December 2022 through at least the end of January 2023, when the Gerth analysis was posted, multiple damning revelations spewed out in Twitter Files reports. They implicated the FBI, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Defense, members of Congress, employees working for the president, and more in a sewer of suspicious deeds.

The Twitter Files

As one of dozens of examples, consider the story of “ULTRA MAGA.”

The username should still be known to none, save the handful who follow him on Twitter (literally: that’s just *five people as of this writing*.) The Twitter Files revealed the FBI had transformed this man with fundamentally zero influence into a threat to democracy.

It happened at the inane hour of 3:10 am EST, on the morning of Election Day, November 8, 2022.

“Americans, Vote today,” he wrote. “Democrats you vote Wednesday 9th.”

That’s it, as they say on Twitter; that’s the Tweet.

ULTRA MAGA was telling an obvious and non-threatening old joke. The FBI and Twitter didn’t have a sense of humor.

“Hello Twitter contacts,” wrote the Bureau, in an email that quoted ULTRA MAGA’s joke. “FBI San Francisco is notifying you of the below account activities which may potentially constitute violations of Twitter’s Terms of Service for any action or inaction deemed appropriate within Twitter policy.”

According to the Twitter Files, Twitter was bombarded with similar emails from the Bureau, all part of a supposed effort to prevent election interference that began with the 2020 presidential election campaign.

“Requests poured in from FBI offices all over the country, day after day, hour after hour,” wrote independent left-leaning journalist Matt Taibbi in a Twitter Files report. Taibbi also found that the Bureau “overwhelmed Twitter with requests, sending lists of hundreds of problem accounts.”

Taibbi asserted that Twitter had become an “FBI Subsidiary.” Analyzing their discussions, he concluded the FBI and Twitter relationship had a “master-canine quality.”



Credit: Thomas Hawk. License: <https://bit.ly/4zB8do>.

Elon Musk, fresh off purchasing control of Twitter, did what the WaPo and NYTimes would not. He announced (on Twitter, of course) that he was going to let loose the “Twitter Files on free speech suppression” because the “public deserves to know what really happened.”

Suppression of satire was one result. Taibbi reported the FBI referrals got the ULTRA MAGA account and others like him suspended. “I can’t believe the FBI is policing jokes on Twitter,” said another Twitter user flagged by the FBI, to Taibbi. “That’s crazy.”

Also maddening was the reaction of the *NYTimes* and *WaPo* to the Bureau’s participation in this assault on free expression. Today’s reporters at the blue blood papers are the heirs to those who exposed the Pentagon Papers and Watergate. If past performance were indicative of future results, they might have dug in to get their own Twitter Files scoops and expose more bad government tricks.

Instead, the two newspapers tried to make the Twitter Files go away. It was a foreshadowing of the *Columbia Journalism Review* report yet to come. Combined, the two papers published just four reports through early February 2023, all from December, before many of the worst revelations came out, and none were original reporting on the subject itself.

These were “coverage of the coverage” and even criticism of the coverage. Two of the lame *Washington Post* headlines were “Elon Musk’s ‘Twitter Files’ ignite divisions, but haven’t changed minds,” and “Analysis | Elon Musk’s ‘Twitter files’ are an exercise in hypocrisy.”

Many other print and broadcast news sources aped this reaction. Collectively, they behaved as if gathered as a single firm—the Ministry of Truth Media—cooking and suppressing the news rather than covering it.



It turned out the Washington Post was correct when it wrote of the “information operation designed to affect an American election.”

Watchdogs Became Lapdogs

Fifty years earlier, the hard news divisions of American media firms were relentlessly exposing the government lies from the Vietnam War, publishing the Pentagon Papers, blowing open Watergate, and revealing decades of misconduct by the FBI and CIA.

Abe “A.M.” Rosenthal, a top editor at the *New York Times* during that era, is widely remembered for a colorful metaphor: “If you cover the circus, then don’t fool around with the elephants.”

The lesson was that the fourth estate shouldn’t be lovers, nor should they be friends, with the subjects they cover. They prided themselves on being the watchdogs over the national security state and the FBI.

The watchdogs have become stenographers.

“Dear Hunter, thank you for inviting me to DC and giving an opportunity to meet your father and spent some time together,” wrote Vadym Pozharskyi, a Ukrainian energy firm executive (and obviously not a native speaker of English), to Joe Biden’s son Hunter on April 17, 2015. “It’s realty an honor and pleasure.”

In October 2019, Joe Biden claimed he had “never spoken to my son about his overseas business dealings” and in the next breath said “I know Trump deserves to be investigated . . .” 17 months after the election was over.

One year after that, on October 14, 2020, a pre-election scoop from the *New York Post* revealed the Pozharskyi email. The note was genuine, as even the *New York Times* was willing to admit . . . 17 months after the election.

With the war in Ukraine pitting us opposite nuclear-armed Russians and accusations flying over who blew up a Russian natural gas pipeline, it’s important today to know whether our current president was lying about his son’s odd business ties to an Eastern European energy firm. It was no less important in mid-October 2020, as the clock ticked down to the election.

Instead, mere hours after the *New York Post*’s laptop report appeared, a trio of *Washington Post* reporters teamed up with “intelligence experts” to make it go away.

“Several intelligence experts also were skeptical of the report—and the stated origins of the hard drive purported to belong to Biden’s son—saying that it had the characteristics of a carefully planned information operation designed to affect an American election,” wrote the incurious *WaPo* reporters.

The quoted sources hinted that “Russian” might be the correct word to ram in front of “intelligence operation.”

The *New York Times* regurgitated similar misinformation from similar (perhaps even the same?) sources. “The intelligence agencies warned the White House late last year that Russian intelligence officers were using President Trump’s personal lawyer Rudolph W. Giuliani as a conduit for disinformation aimed at undermining Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s presidential run, according to four current and former American officials,” wrote three *New York Times* reporters covering the laptop story.

Politico stood out for refusing to let their coverage get corrupted by a mere handful of sources spewing nonsense. Instead, it went for the malarky motherlode, credulously quoting a letter from “more than 50 former senior intelligence officials.” The spooks wrote authoritatively that the laptop leak had “all the classic earmarks of a Russian information operation.”

The Twitter Files showed that Twitter responded by suppressing sharing of the *New York Post* story and—in the last weeks of a presidential election—locked the newspaper out of its account for two weeks.

It turned out the *Washington Post* was correct when it wrote of the “information operation designed to affect an American election.” What the *WaPo* didn’t reveal was its own direct participation as lapdogs rather than watchdogs.

Turning Point

The late journalist Christopher Hitchens distrusted his own profession, and once said he “became a journalist partly so that I wouldn’t ever have to rely on the press for my information.” He made a related point in a 2001 book, using the iconic *New York Times* motto as his target. He grumbled:

“All the News That’s Fit to Print,” it says. It’s been saying it for decades, day in and day out. I imagine most readers of the canonical sheet have long ceased to notice this bannered and flaunted symbol of its mental furniture. I myself check every day to make sure that the bright, smug, pompous, idiotic claim is still there. Then I check to make sure that it still irritates me. If I can still exclaim, under my breath, why do they insult me and what do they take me for and what the hell is it supposed to mean unless it’s as obviously complacent and conceited and censorious as it seems to be, then at least I know I still have a pulse.

“All the News That’s Fit to Print” was first used in February 1897. But a more recent masthead addition presaged the birth of the Ministry of Truth Media.

In February 2017, the *Washington Post* began using “Democracy Dies in Darkness” as its motto. According to the *Washington Post* report on the *Washington Post* motto, a group of newspaper employees had “brainstormed more than 500 would-be slogans” over the course of the prior year.

The report stated that “Dauntless Defenders of Truth” was among the rejected options. (Someone must have been wearing Superman pajamas the day that one was thought up.)

“Democracy dies in darkness” got in the mix because it was remembered by Jeff Bezos, the billionaire owner of the newspaper, and somehow it eked its way through the heavily crowded field of options to become the winner. (Sometimes, you just make your own luck!)

The media mischief exposed in the Twitter Files and the *Columbia Journalism Review* analysis also began in early 2017. The events leading to Twitter’s march into content moderation in 2017 in reaction to reports that agents of the Russian government had injected propaganda onto the platform during the 2016 election. And in early January 2017 the mass media bit hard on the conspiracy theory—ultimately shown to be a hoax manufactured with Democratic National Committee and Hillary Clinton campaign money—that the new president might be a Russian asset. He was supposedly Putin’s “puppet,” as Hillary Clinton never tired of saying.

A lot of important news became unfit to print, starting in 2017, and unfit rumors flooded in to fill the space underneath the masthead reading “Democracy Dies in Darkness.”

The single party authoritarian state in Orwell’s novel doesn’t exist in our reality. As release of the Twitter Files demonstrated, we are fortunate to have an independent media

sector that is growing in influence. And some of the conventional corporate media still operate outside the Ministry of Truth Media collective brain—the *Wall Street Journal*’s editorial page and the aforementioned *New York Post* are two examples.

Born without dictatorial protection, our Ministry of Truth Media has been freed of the troublesome burden of coercion. This makes it more robust, albeit not as all-powerful, as Orwell’s fictional example. Its eager-to-please journalists don’t need explicit instructions to collectively parrot the same authority figures.

Winston hated the regime but loved his job. He knew without doubt he was comforting power rather than confronting it, spinning fiction into fact, and suppressing news rather than reporting it. His inability to ignore these contradictions—what the regime labeled “thoughtcrime”—created mental trauma for him and drama for the story.

The iconic slogan of the Party was meant to deter would-be dissidents by reminding them that even the most obvious facts were just as obviously false if the Party said so:

“War is Peace; Freedom is Slavery; Ignorance is Strength.”

That motto was engraved on the outside wall of the headquarters of the Ministry of Truth.

Today’s corporate media also cheerfully either suppress or cook up the news in favor of certain authority figures. But they usually do so without Winston’s consciousness of the deeds and in offices with no dissidents left to deter.



Credit: eg YorkTV. License: <https://bit.ly/42uLmoa>.

Matt Taibbi asserted that Twitter had become an “FBI Subsidiary.” Analyzing their discussions, he concluded the FBI and Twitter relationship had a “master-canine quality.”

They don't need obvious warnings against thoughtcrimes they don't know how to commit, so their mottos are rich with unintended irony.

"All the news that's fit to print." "Democracy dies in darkness."

The Enemies List

One of the first examples of the Ministry of Truth Media's slavish support for authority was revealed in Matt Taibbi's Twitter Files report on the Hamilton 68 hoax.

Hamilton 68 was a tracking list created by the German Marshall Fund's Alliance for Securing Democracy (ASD). In August 2017 the project was announced with a claim that it had "linked 600 Twitter accounts to Russian influence online." The Alliance for Securing Democracy claimed some accounts on the Hamilton 68 list were "directly controlled by Russia" and others were "users who on their own initiative reliably repeat and amplify Russian themes."

But the Twitter Files shows the only offense of many on the list was to express otherwise conventional political opinions at odds with the agenda of the Alliance for Securing Democracy's advisory board.

One ASD board member was John Podesta, chair of the Hillary Clinton 2016 Presidential campaign, one-time top advisor to Presidents Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, and co-founder of the left-leaning Center for American Progress. "He's not afraid to use power, and ruthlessly if necessary," Paul Begala, another Clinton consigliere, once said of Podesta.

The national security state is richly represented on the ASD board by Mike Chertoff, U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security for President George W. Bush; Rick Ledgett, a deputy director of the National Security Agency in the Obama Administration; Mike McFaul, a National Security Council official for Obama; former FBI agent and Congressman Mike Rogers (R-MI), who chaired the House Intelligence Committee and later became host of a CNN show; and David Kramer, a State Department official from the George W. Bush administration.

Erstwhile Republican turned professional anti-Trumper Bill Kristol is also on the board, along with Nicole Wong, a former cybersecurity advisor to the Obama.

The Alliance for Securing Democracy claimed the purpose of the Hamilton 68 Twitter tracking list was to "help ordinary people, journalists, and other analysts identify Russian messaging themes and detect active disinformation or attack campaigns as soon as they begin."

CC

The Ministry of Truth Media had been given an enemies list to attack. Like Winston, they enjoyed the work.

According to Twitter Files reports, Yoel Roth, Twitter's trust and safety chief, told his coworkers the Hamilton 68 list was loaded with "real people" who had been "unilaterally labeled Russian stooges without evidence or recourse."

In other notes on the subject, Roth wrote the accounts were "neither strongly Russian, nor strongly bots; they're just generally right-leaning users," and that there was "no evidence to support the statement that the dashboard is a finger on the pulse of Russian information ops."

In addition to the accounts of little-known, yet genuine Americans, the list included more famous figures such as right-leaning author David Horowitz; Joe Lauria, the left-leaning editor-in-chief of *Consortium News*; and a British comedian.

"I think we need to just call this out on the bullshit it is," wrote Roth, soon after he realized what was happening. "I'm increasingly of the opinion that this dashboard is actively damaging and promotes polarization and distrust through its shoddy methodology," he said later.

But nothing was done, according to Taibbi, due to what he judged were "concerns about taking on the politically connected Alliance for Securing Democracy." "It was a scam," wrote Taibbi. "Instead of tracking how 'Russia' influenced American attitudes, Hamilton 68 simply collected a handful of mostly real, mostly American accounts, and described their organic conversations as Russian scheming."

It was a scam with huge consequences.

"If one goes by volume alone, this oft-cited neoliberal think-tank that spawned hundreds of fraudulent headlines and TV news segments may go down as the single greatest case of media fabulism in American history," wrote Taibbi. "Virtually every major news organization in America is implicated, including NBC, CBS, ABC, PBS, CNN, MSNBC, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. *Mother Jones* alone did at least 14 stories pegged to the group's 'research.' Even fact-checking sites like Politifact and Snopes cited Hamilton 68 as a source."

The Ministry of Truth Media had been given an enemies list to attack. Like Winston, they enjoyed the work.

Pioneering Political Fact Checking

Taibbi's report also showed U.S. Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA), and U.S. Senators Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), Richard Blumenthal (D-CT) and Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) all bit down hard on the Hamilton 68 hoax when publicly alleging Twitter was being used to amplify Russian disinformation.

As shown in both the Twitter Files and the *Columbia Journalism Review* from Jeff Gerth, the treatment of Schiff by most of the corporate political press since 2017 has been little short of professional malpractice. Schiff's name has become a concise descriptor for proving the existence of the Ministry of Truth Media.

The ranking Democrat on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from 2017 through 2018 and then the chair from 2019 through 2022, Schiff used the perch to become one of the prime hucksters promoting the Russia collusion hoax. The Ministry of Truth Media gobbled up everything he fed them and then continues to ask for more.

Schiff used his introductory comments before a March 2017 committee hearing to read into the record conspiracies from the since-discredited Steele dossier. In so doing he became a major reason the collusion hoax came to life. In an MSNBC appearance two days later, according to Gerth, Schiff offered "no substantiation" for his claim that there was "more than circumstantial evidence" for the cooked-up conspiracy theory.

After that hoax had unraveled, Schiff tried to silence one of his few media critics. According to the Twitter Files, staffers working for Schiff sent an email to Twitter in November 2020, asking the social media firm to suspend the account of RealClearInvestigations reporter Paul Sperry.

Schiff was the chair of the House Intelligence Committee by this point. In addition to providing some of the earliest reports exposing the flaws in the Russia collusion conspiracy theory, Sperry had broken a story exposing the name of a witness Schiff was using in the first impeachment proceeding against President Donald Trump.

CC —————
Outside of committing major felonies, it's hard to imagine a federal lawmaker doing more to earn severe political and media reprimands.



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/42ACX0b>.

In sum, Adam Schiff spent six years flagrantly abusing his position on the House Intelligence Committee and his taxpayer-financed staff to silence his critics.

Twitter staffers refused Schiff's November 2020 request. But the journalist's account was hit with a "permanent" suspension in April 2022. (The suspension was lifted following Elon Musk's purchase of Twitter).

In April 2020 Schiff staffers tried, again without initial success, to get Twitter to suspend a parody account that was making fun of Joe Biden, then the Democratic presidential nominee.

In a Twitter Files report, Matt Taibbi wrote that Schiff's staff "wrote to Twitter quite often, asking that tweets be taken down."

In sum, Schiff spent six years flagrantly abusing his position on the House Intelligence Committee and his taxpayer-financed staff to silence his critics. Outside of committing major felonies, it's hard to imagine a federal lawmaker doing more to earn severe political and media reprimands.

The well-deserved political consequences ensued in January when Republicans took control of the U.S. House and new speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) booted Schiff off the intelligence committee.

The Ministry of Truth Media rallied as well . . . *to protect Schiff.*

The First Amendment may begin with "Congress shall make no law." But the *Washington Post* decided one congressman could be a law unto himself, even to the point of using his office to silence one of their own. Schiff's attempt to suppress the Twitter presence of Paul Sperry was exposed in an early January 2023 Twitter Files report. Through the end of February, the *Washington Post* did not file a critical report

on the matter. In a wide field with many awful options, this moment stands out as exceptionally shameful in the short life of the Ministry of Truth Media.

And in place of honest coverage, the newspaper provided multiple reports critical of McCarthy for removing Schiff from the committee and analyzing Schiff's announcement that he would run for the U.S. Senate. A little bit of democracy was murdered by darkness, and the fingerprints of the *Washington Post* were on the light switch.

"McCarthy's specious attacks on Adam Schiff and Eric Swalwell," was the headline of a January 18, 2023, report. It made no mention of Schiff's effort to smother the work of a journalist or his promotion of the Steele dossier and Russia collusion hoax.

The analysis was written by Glenn Kessler, whose *Washington Post* title is "The Fact Checker." Kessler's online bio claims he has held the post since 2011 and that this makes him "one of the pioneers of political fact-checking."

Winston Smith was also a fact-checking pioneer.

Orwell wrote that after one disturbing morning, Winston experienced a "more bearable" afternoon because it "consisted in falsifying a series of production reports of two years ago, in such a way as to cast discredit on a prominent member of the Inner Party, who was now under a cloud."

Orwell wrote that this was the work "Winston was good at."

Apologies Without End

The *New York Times* also engaged in suppressing news of Schiff's abuses.

The first sentence of a January 24, 2023, *NYTimes* report on Schiff's ouster from the committee definitively stated as fact that the decision was Speaker McCarthy's "first major act of partisan retribution since taking the majority."

This charade continued for the next five paragraphs. In the sixth the newspaper grudgingly allowed that "Republicans on the committee had demanded that Mr. Schiff step aside for having said that he had seen 'more than circumstantial evidence' of collusion between Mr. Trump and the Russians in 2017" and had "accused Mr. Schiff of having compromised the integrity of the panel by knowingly promoting false information."

This was followed by two quotes from Schiff that reinforced the Ministry of Truth Media newspaper's "partisan retribution" theme.



Credit: FORA.m. License: <https://bit.ly/42mrs0J>.

"Today," Jeff Gerth wrote, "the US media has the lowest credibility—26 percent—among forty-six nations, according to a 2022 study by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism."

For his Russia collusion coverage autopsy in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Jeff Gerth tried to ask Schiff about the total lack of substantiation for the "collusion" allegation. "Schiff declined to comment through his press aide," wrote Gerth. The aide sent Gerth an email curtly dismissing the request: "this isn't something we're going to move forward on."

This made perfect sense from Schiff's perspective. Why help Gerth expose what the blue blood media was helping everyone forget about?

Horrible as they were, the media misdeeds Gerth analyzed in his report were not isolated incidents. The additional controversies covered in the Twitter Files made that much clear, but even those revelations represented a small sample of the major media malfunctions that have rained down since 2017.

If any "newsroom leader" had responded to Gerth by admitting mistakes in the Russia collusion hoax, it's difficult to place a stopping point on where the apologies should have ended.

It has become easy to lose track of the Ministry of Truth Media's shredded credibility regarding most of the major narratives it promoted and protected during the COVID pandemic.

The plausibility of a lab leak as the origin for the virus was evident from the outset of the pandemic, given the proximity of initial outbreak to the Wuhan Institute of Virology.

But Dr. Anthony Fauci repeatedly steered the credulous stenographer media away from this possibility and anyone asking important questions about it.

In one particularly infamous (and early) example of many, a February 2020 *Washington Post* report accused U.S. Sen Tom Cotton (R-AR) of spreading a “conspiracy theory” about the lab leak hypothesis that had supposedly been “debunked.” This was so over-the-line wrong and unsupported by facts that the newspaper had to retract both statements when the FBI and Department of Energy both un-debunked the likelihood of a Wuhan lab leak.

Fauci was still preaching as late as September 2021 that COVID vaccines for all—even healthy young people—would bring us “herd immunity” and kill off the pandemic. Anecdotal knowledge in early 2021 had already revealed that while getting the jab might take the edge off symptoms, it didn’t necessarily prevent infection.

Nonetheless, an August 2021 *Washington Post* report dutifully worried over vaccine mandates on college campuses, never hinting at nor exploring why college kids with a near-zero risk of COVID hospitalization should think shot mandates were advisable. The same factually selective journalism occurred in CNN reports about 100 universities requiring vaccines, and stories about Indiana University, the University of Virginia, Rutgers University, and students using fake vaccination cards.

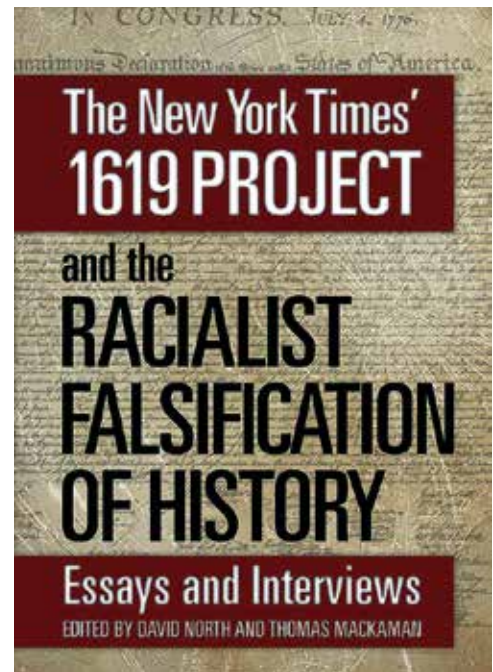
The official misinformation from the Ministry of Truth Media and the injustice of the vaccine mandates was totally exposed by March 2022, when infections among the vaccinated exceeded those of the unvaccinated.

Related misinformation regurgitated by the mass media included overstating the efficacy of mask mandates and suppressing facts about natural immunity for those who had already recovered from an infection.

These pandemic errors conspicuously point in the same direction: toward enhanced power for the bureaucracies that were acting as sources of information for the corporate media journalists.

The End of Credibility

Another pre-pandemic example of mass media misinformation since 2017 was the *New York Times’s* 1619 Project. The 18-essay, multimedia presentation was released in August 2019. Its central premise was that slavery and racial discrimination were the animating principles that created the modern United States.



Credit: Amazon. License: <https://amazon.to/3FtrqVQ>

The 1619 Project was awarded the 2020 Pulitzer Prize for commentary. Along with the 2017 prize shared with the Washington Post for helping promote the Russia collusion hoax, this was the second Pulitzer in four years given to the New York Times for providing demonstrable and egregious misinformation to its readers.

Its errors and mischaracterizations were such that James M. McPherson and Gordon S. Wood were two of five prominent historians who signed a joint letter asking the newspaper to “issue prominent corrections of all the errors and distortions presented in *The 1619 Project*,” remove “these mistakes from any materials destined for use in schools,” and “reveal fully the process through which the historical materials were and continue to be assembled, checked and authenticated.”

A second and separate letter, signed by 12 Civil War historians and political scientists, raised similar issues and asked the newspaper to “withhold any steps to publish and distribute *The 1619 Project* until these concerns can be addressed in a thorough and open fashion.”

The *New York Times* responded with two letters, collectively telling the 17 credentialed academics to go pound sand. To the 12 Civil War historians, a *New York Times* editor replied that he had sent their worries to the newspaper “research desk,” which had “concluded that no corrections are warranted.”



A July 2022 Gallup survey revealed just 16 percent of us trusted newspapers “a great deal” or “quite a lot,” a record low and down from a high of 51 percent in 1979.

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The influence of the Ministry of Truth Media is declining because of these many misdeeds. “Before the 2016 election, most Americans trusted the traditional media and the trend was positive, according to the Edelman Trust Barometer,” wrote Jeff Gerth, early in his analysis for the Columbia Journalism Review. “Today,” Gerth wrote in the next paragraph, “the US media has the lowest credibility—26 percent—among forty-six nations, according to a 2022 study by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.”

Other polls strongly reinforced these findings. A July 2022 Gallup survey revealed just 16 percent of us trusted newspapers “a great deal” or “quite a lot,” a record low and down from a high of 51 percent in 1979. Similarly, trust in television news had crashed to 11 percent, also a record low, down from 46 percent in 1993. Both had experienced double-digit percentage point declines just since 2017.

And on the flipside, 53 percent in 2022 reported trusting television news very little or not at all, with 46 percent saying the same for newspapers.

A February 2023 survey jointly produced by Gallup and the Knight Foundation found just “26% of Americans have a favorable opinion of the news media, the lowest level Gallup and Knight have recorded in the past five years, while 53% hold an unfavorable view.”

In a January 2023 poll released by Gallup, a combined 42 percent rated the “honesty and ethics” of journalists to be “low” or “very low,” versus 23 percent believing reporters had high ethical and honesty standards. A combined 77 percent rated the ethics and honesty of journalists no better than average, leaving the news media rank just 1 percentage point more honest and ethical than lawyers. (Nurses, revealed as the most beloved of our professionals, were rated with average or worse ethics by only 21 percent of survey respondents, with a whopping 79 percent rating nurses with high honesty and ethics.)

Winston Enjoyed the Work

The following question was asked at the outset of this analysis: *If today’s press had become the “Ministry of Truth Media,” would those participating recognize the offense or celebrate it?*

A June 2022 Pew Research Center survey revealed 75 percent of today’s journalists were “very proud of their work,” 70 percent often felt “excited about their work,” and 77 percent said they would “go into the news industry all over again.” Asked if they were “reporting the news accurately,” 65 percent of journalists said they did a “very” or “somewhat” good job of this.

Consistent with the rest of the polling, only 35 percent of the news consumers agreed the reporters were giving accurate reports, while 43 percent believed the media did a “very” or “somewhat” *bad* job of reporting accurately.

In one striking demonstration of the corporate media’s healthy self-regard, Jeff Gerth asked the comment on its coverage of the Russia collusion hoax.

“In a statement to *CJR*, the *Times* continued to stand by its reporting, noting not only the prizes it had won but substantiation of the paper’s reporting by various investigations,” wrote Gerth, of the response he received. The newspaper claimed in the response that it had “thoroughly pursued credible claims, fact-checked, edited, and ultimately produced ground-breaking journalism that has proven true time and again.”

That weak-sauce answer was typical of what Gerth heard from most others. “I reached out to more than sixty journalists; only about half responded,” wrote Gerth in his conclusion. “Of those who did, more than a dozen agreed to be interviewed on the record. However, not a single major news organization made available a newsroom leader to talk about their coverage.”

The deliberately contrived assertion that the president was a Kremlin agent destabilized the functioning of the American government for years—arguably it continues to do so. If such damage had been inflicted by an enemy nation, it would be justification for a proportionally destructive attack on the regime responsible. But this assault on American

democracy was cooked up within our borders by partisan political actors, who asked for and received extensive assistance from the highest levels of our corporate media.

This scandal should rank just behind Watergate, and co-equal with anything else, as one of the worst in living memory. As a media event it is without rival, because rather than reporting the corruption, the corporate media was a collaborator in it.

That much was made clear in Jeff Gerth's analysis.

The Twitter Files revealed even more mis-coverage, cover-ups, and suppression of news, escalating in severity from 2017 forward. Then came the serially botched and suppressed stories during the biggest public health crisis of the last century, similar acts of omission and commission in response to the Hunter Biden laptop, and much else that made 2020 a season of corrupt news like none before it.

The perverse result is a corporate press that feels wonderful about themselves, and a public that distrusts them like never before.

In one sense it has been unfair to compare today's legacy media to Winston Smith.

Winston may have also reported loving his job, but he knew full well he wasn't reporting the news accurately. Some of his coworkers, like much of today's Ministry of Truth Media, didn't have this level of self-awareness.

"Parsons was Winston's fellow-employee at the Ministry of Truth," Orwell wrote of one of them. "He was a fattish but active man of paralysing stupidity, a mass of imbecile enthusiasms—one of those completely unquestioning, devoted drudges on whom, more even than on the Thought Police, the stability of the Party depended."

As the Twitter Files demonstrates, the destruction of corporate media credibility has coincided with the rise of independent journalists who have nothing to trade on but their credibility curiosity. They don't eat if they don't tell the truth. The more of them we have, the less we'll pay attention to what Parsons produces for the Ministry of Truth. ■

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CREATION OF THE LABOR-PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE

By Michael Watson

Summary: *The ties that bind organized labor to the left-of-center infrastructure, the Democratic Party, and the modern expansionist administrative state date predate the Wagner Act of 1935, which inaugurated the modern regime of private-sector labor-management relations. While early labor movements operated outside the major party system, by the Progressive Era and the administration of Woodrow Wilson even Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, a reluctant political player, had begun to align consistently with the Democrats. After the Great Depression and Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, which provided substantial benefits to union organizing, the last vestiges of Gompers' reluctance to employ government power and align with a political party dissipated, with Big Labor inventing the modern political action committee to back FDR's landslide reelection in 1936.*

After the Civil War concluded in 1865, industrialization came to define the American economy. Millions moved from the farms to the cities seeking employment in factories. Millions more came from overseas to toil for a share of the “American Dream.”

Employing these “huddled masses, yearning to breathe free” were all sorts of industrial concerns. The largest and most influential, such as John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company, became known as “trusts,” combining and colluding to make their owners fantastically wealthy during what became known as the Gilded Age. Smaller industrial firms such as coal mines and garment factories were embroiled in constant competition, while at the mercy of trusts that supplied their raw materials or hauled their products.

For the workers of the time, hours were long, pay and job tenure were unstable and dependent on a wildly swinging business cycle, discrimination based on race and sex was common, child labor was accepted, work-site safety was aspirational at best, and living conditions were far from the suburban idyll their post-World War II grandchildren would enjoy. From these difficulties and inspired by the developing European socialist movement emerged the first recognizable national labor unions, the most prominent of the late 19th century being the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor (AFL).



Credit: Wallpaper Flare. License: <https://bit.ly/3z5Uz4z>.

After the Civil War concluded in 1865, industrialization came to define the American economy. Millions moved from the farms to the cities seeking employment in factories. Millions more came from overseas to toil for a share of the “American Dream.”

These organizations sought to unite workers under different models. The Knights, which rose to prominence from the late 1870s through the 1880s, were open to nearly all workers—even Black workers, despite the rising tide of post-Civil War segregation—regardless of trade. The AFL, a predecessor of the modern AFL-CIO, instead organized skilled workers on a trade by trade basis, with workers joining independent affiliated trade unions. After the Knights were battered by allegations of involvement in labor violence in the late 1880s, the order declined in prominence. It would be the AFL, led for all but one year between 1886 and 1924 by British-born cigarmaker Samuel Gompers, that took the leading role as the national spokesman for American labor, and its model of “craft unionism” or “business unionism” formed the model on which American labor-management relations would be built.

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

As the 20th century began, the AFL tended to sit out political disputes unless they directly touched upon the ability of unions to organize and bargain collectively, at the time typically through the issuance of injunctions against strikes or boycotts for restraint of trade. As the Progressive Movement advanced in the 1900s and 1910s, Gompers's politics of "elect our friends, defeat our enemies" increasingly aligned the AFL with the Democratic Party, especially after the election of President Woodrow Wilson and the adoption of the 1914 Clayton Antitrust Act, which explicitly exempted labor union activities from antitrust rules. On Gompers's left, a violent militant socialist labor movement spiritually based in the mining country of the Mountain West and led by William "Big Bill" Haywood's Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) sought to unite the American working classes in "one big union" dedicated to Marxist class struggle. Yet the effects of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia would see the IWW broken, with the tacit support of Gompers.

The Roaring '20s were a boom time for American business and workers, but not for organized labor. The most notable event in labor unionism that decade was the death of Samuel Gompers and his succession by William Green at the AFL. AFL membership stagnated even as the workforce grew substantially. The succeeding Great Depression, triggered after the stock market crash of October 1929, would see Big Labor's great rise. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal swept away the last vestiges of Gompers's voluntarism, with national legislation compelling union recognition and bargaining, setting minimum wages and codifying work hours, and establishing



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national old-age insurance binding the union movement to the Democratic Party and its capital-P Progressive wing.

While the union movement joined with the Democratic Party, it divided against itself. The relative ideological moderation and determined focus on the welfare of existing members of the old craft unions, descended from the original members of the AFL, grated on newer, more radical, and more organization-focused "industrial" unions that sought to organize entire firms' workforces and entire industries on working-class rather than trade lines. In the mid-1930s, seeking to take advantage of Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Act to increase union membership and labor's political strength, these industrial unions split from the AFL to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a schism that would continue through World War II into the 1950s.

While labor-management-government agreements during the war years led to a period of relative labor tranquility, once Japan surrendered strife reemerged. The 1945–1946 period saw the largest wave of strikes in modern American history, with the CIO industrial unions pressing for the creation of a postwar socialist program of central planning that would build on that of the war years. But the CIO's program bit off more than the American electorate was willing to chew. Inflation and consumer product shortages in part caused by the strike wave led the Republican Party to its first congressional majorities since the Depression, and those majorities

would inaugurate the next period of American labor history with legislation to rebalance the power of labor, capital, and consumer.

Why Unions Came to Be: The Condition of American Workers in the Late 19th Century

Labor organization before the Civil War was typically local, short term, and haphazard. Mass industrialization that took off following the end of the conflict drew millions out of farm work and into cities to work in factories and on railroads and to build industrial America.

Those workers found difficult conditions waiting for them. Pay and opportunities to work were inconsistent, surging and falling with the business cycle, with recessionary periods frequent. The 1873–1879 “Long Depression” was the longest recession in post–Civil War history identified by the National Bureau of Economic Research. Daily work hours when work was available were often long, with 12-hour workdays not unthinkable. Economic research suggests 10-hour days were standard by 1880. Industrial accidents causing injury or death were common, and insurance for injured or killed workers was often not available. Child labor and racial discrimination were common. While economic research has cast doubt on the harshest claims of de facto indenture to the “company store,” living and provisioning arrangements run by employers never sat well with a public or workers seeking small-r republican independence.

Given these difficulties, it is not surprising that working men sought to band together to improve their pay, shorten their hours of work, and ameliorate harsh conditions of labor. In 1869, a secret society of workers known as the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor and modeled on the Freemasons was created. By the early 1880s, in part to satisfy the objections of Roman Catholic clergy who distrusted secret societies, the Knights of Labor lifted their veil of secrecy and became the most prominent labor movement of the age. Led after 1879 by former machinist Terence Powderly, the Knights of Labor had an estimated 700,000 members at its height in 1886.

The most notable cause of early organized labor, including the Knights of Labor, was adoption of an eight-hour standard workday. National campaigns for an eight-hour standard or eight-hour legislation began in the 1860s and continued until the adoption of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938.

Labor struggles during the 19th century were often violent, with ruthlessness from strikers, employers, and the state alike. In May 1886, at least one striker against the McCormick

Reaper Works was killed by police. A rally in response to the action and in support of the eight-hour day in Chicago’s Haymarket Square infamously turned violent when a bomb was thrown at police leading to indiscriminate gunfire; the event killed at least seven policemen and four others. The bomb thrower was never identified, but eight men associated with anarchist movements were convicted of murder in relation to the incident on dubious evidence, one of whom was associated with the Knights of Labor. The public relations damage the Haymarket riot did to the Knights proved unsurvivable, and the order declined in influence thereafter.

“Pure and Simple Unionism”: The American Federation of Labor

After the decline of the Knights of Labor in the wake of the Haymarket riot, the leadership of American trade unionism moved to the American Federation of Labor, led for almost 40 years by Samuel Gompers. Born in England to Dutch-Jewish parents, Gompers began work as a boy, ultimately taking a job in a cigarmaker’s shop. In 1863, the family emigrated to the United States, arriving in New York City, where Gompers continued in the cigar-making trade.

Biographers of Gompers dispute how much the budding trade unionist was influenced by Karl Marx and the socialist First International organized in the mid-1860s. Gompers denied having joined the First International, but John H.M. Laslett, a scholar of socialist influences in the early labor movement, noted that Gompers wrote that he read the German socialists including Marx and Friedrich Engels extensively and initially took a broad, proto-industrial unionist view of organizing the working classes for Marxist class struggle. But while he was influenced by the European socialists, Gompers had little time for theoretical debate or analysis. He focused on establishing trade unions as “purely industrial or economical class organizations with less hours and more wages for their motto” and committing to raising funds to effectively organize strikes and pay members a death benefit.

The American Federation of Labor was organized at a convention of trades unions convened in December 1886. Gompers, then an official in the Cigar Makers International Union, was elected the federation’s president. At the AFL’s founding, he was the union federation’s only full-time officer. Gompers’ authority was quite limited: The AFL’s affiliated unions retained autonomy over their internal operations and organizing, leading one labor historian to write, “His [Gompers’s] position was in modern terms more like that of the Secretary-General of the United Nations than that of the President of the United States.”



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The American Federation of Labor was organized at a convention of trades unions convened in December 1886. Samuel Gompers, then an official in the Cigar Makers International Union, was elected the federation's president.

In AFL's early years, socialist movements retained substantial influence, with the Socialist Labor Party–influenced Central Labor Federation in New York City being especially notable. For his part Gompers was involved personally in radical politics, supporting Greenback-Labor presidential candidates in 1876 and 1880 and land-tax advocate Henry George for New York City mayor in 1886. All lost. But by 1893, when Thomas Morgan presented an 11-point socialist program at the AFL convention that included a call for “the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution,” Gompers found himself on the opposite side of the radicals. In 1894, socialist agitation within the union cost Gompers his office for a single one-year term.

Gompers's leadership and influence over AFL member union was constrained by the federation's structure. While Gompers insisted that AFL member unions admit Black workers, his

ability to enforce his desire was limited. The railroad unions were largely excluded from the AFL on this basis, and the International Association of Machinists was only admitted after it agreed to allow Blacks to join the national membership. However, Gompers was unable to fully integrate the AFL, with some AFL unions (including the Machinists) maintaining segregation in their local unions. By the turn of the 20th century the AFL was chartering segregated city-level labor federations.

Politically, Gompers sought to keep the AFL neutral in partisan terms for much of his leadership of the federation. Yet by the early 20th century his issue-and-politician-specific approach to political intervention, which had been institutionalized in the National Civic Federation aided by U.S. Senator Mark Hanna (R-OH), had given way to alignment with the Democratic Party of President Woodrow Wilson. This alignment was especially clear after the Clayton Antitrust Act formally exempted labor organizations from antitrust laws, which (in theory) limited the use of injunctions to end strikes.

Defining the Workforce: Industrial vs. Craft Unionism

Aiding Gompers's shift from Marxist-influenced radicalism to the capital-P Progressive mainstream of the early 20th century was a debate within organized labor that continues to the present day. Should the workers be organized on lines of job description or “craft”—for instance, as welders, fitters, machinists, and so on—or by industry, with all workers in that industry or working for a given industrial firm bargaining and taking industrial action together?

Craft unions typically arose among skilled workers seeking to protect and enhance the position their specialized training provided. These workers gained bargaining power from their trade knowledge, limiting the ability of employers to replace unionists and strengthening the ability of workers to move from similar job to similar job. Craft unions were often organized on lines of so-called “business unionism,”



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The breadth of industrial unions led their activists and leadership toward broader theories of class struggle, derived from if not necessarily explicitly aligned with those of Karl Marx.

which accepted the existence of private property and the capitalist system rather than committing to class warfare, seeking instead to redistribute the gains from capitalism from employers to tradesmen in the form of higher pay, shorter hours, and better conditions. Business unionism practiced by craft or hybrid-craft unions became the basis of the Gompers-era AFL.

Organized labor's alternative to craft unionism was industrial unionism, under which entire firm's or local industry's workforces would organize in a single unit to conduct bargaining and industrial actions such as strikes or boycotts. In its widest form, an industrial union could organize the entire working class against the employing class in "one big union."

The breadth of industrial unions led their activists and leadership toward broader theories of class struggle, derived from if not necessarily explicitly aligned with those of Karl Marx. This developed into a different characterization of union aims from the workplace focus of business unionism. "Uplift unionism" was the more moderate set of aims, seeking in the words of an early 20th century scholar "to elevate the moral, intellectual, and social life of the worker, to improve the conditions under which he works, to raise his material standards of living, give him a sense of personal worth and dignity, secure for him the leisure for culture, and insure him and his family against the loss of a decent livelihood by reason of unemployment, accident, disease, or old age." As American labor history proceeded, industrial uplift unionism would come to be more explicitly political and activist than craft-business unionism, leaving its mark less in workplace organizing than on Big Labor's self-conception as a constituent of a broader liberal-left-progressive movement.

Gompers's Radical Rivals

Beyond uplift lay "revolutionary unionism," which sought to mobilize the working class to overthrow the capitalist system to replace it either with socialism or with anarchy. The period from 1890 through 1920 may have seen the strongest position for radical-left politics and activism in the history of the United States, with the Socialist Party and labor organizations associated with Eugene Debs and the later Industrial

Workers of the World led by William "Big Bill" Haywood leaving a major mark on American trade unionism, especially the folk memory Big Labor would have of its own history.

Eugene V. Debs began his working life as a railroad worker rising to locomotive fireman in Indiana, but he lost his job in 1874 as the Long Recession of 1873–1879 hit the region. Debs later took a job as a grocery clerk and then was elected an officer in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. After a rapid rise through the union ranks, Debs began a career in politics, winning election as a Democrat to city office in Terre Haute and to the Indiana state legislature.

After he returned to labor organizing, unsuccessful strikes against the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad in 1888 and against the Pullman Company in 1894 would come to define Debs's increasingly radical politics. The use of legal injunctions against strikers led Debs to the conclusion that only an industrial union aligned with socialist class struggle could advance workers' interests. Debs would join the Socialist Party of the United States, standing as its candidate for president multiple times.

In 1905, Debs and other socialist activists thought they had created "one big union" that would organize the working class for struggle to overthrow capitalism. With assistance from the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), a radical labor organization that had helped form previous national unions on the industrial-union model, they formed the Industrial Workers of the World. The WFM had a history of industrial violence—its activists were implicated, though acquitted, in the assassination of a former governor of Idaho—and WFM alumnus William "Big Bill" Haywood would carry that ethic into the IWW, even as Debs departed IWW and organized Haywood's ouster from the Socialist Party executive.

Haywood and the IWW would, like the Knights of Labor before them, enjoy a meteoric rise and cataclysmic fall. When World War I broke out in 1914, the immediate effects on the U.S. economy led to favorable organizing conditions, including in work the AFL did not think organizable. The IWW's membership surged into the estimated six figures; radicalism was on the rise.

But when the United States entered the war in April 1917, the “Wobblies” membership of radical rabble-rousers proved its own undoing. Despite Haywood, who was himself opposed to the war on international class-solidarity grounds, seeking to avoid confrontation with a Woodrow Wilson administration extraordinarily hostile to civil liberties, IWW members struck copper mines in the western states leading to confrontations with local authorities. The disputes (and, one must presume, Haywood’s well-known if quietly expressed antiwar sentiments) led to raids on the IWW’s offices and the charging of Haywood and other IWW officials under the constitutionally suspect Espionage Act of 1917. Haywood and his fellows fought the charges and lost. Facing 20 years in federal prison, Haywood defected to the Soviet Union, where he would die in 1928.

Debs too faced Wilson administration persecution during the First World War. Charged and convicted under the Espionage Act, Debs ran his last presidential campaign in 1920 from federal prison. He received over 900,000 popular votes, about 3 percent of total votes cast. In 1921, the new Republican President, Warren Harding, commuted Debs’s sentence to time served and received him at the White House. In ill health, Debs effectively retired from politics and died in 1926.

Never Let a Crisis Go to Waste: The New Deal Baseline of American Labor Relations

The 1920s passed with little of note for organized labor beyond the passing away of its previous leaders, both radical and business-unionist. Gompers was succeeded in 1924 at the AFL by former Ohio state legislator and mineworkers union official William Green, a supporter of cooperative relations with management under conditions of union recognition and collective bargaining.

When the economy went south after the Wall Street crash in 1929, organized labor’s power surged as the American workingman’s situation reached its own crisis point. Organized labor had already seen some increase in its power before the crash, with the first major federal labor-relations legislation, the original Railway Labor Act of 1926, which created a structure for arbitrating disputes between railroads and their employee unions.

But after the crash, federal backing for union organizing came quick and fast. In 1931, Congress enacted the Davis-Bacon Act, requiring union-rate “prevailing wages” in certain federally funded construction projects. In 1932, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, sponsored by Progressive Republicans



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Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal swept away the last vestiges of Gompers’s voluntarism, with national legislation compelling union recognition and bargaining, setting minimum wages and codifying work hours, and establishing national old-age insurance binding the union movement to the Democratic Party and its capital-P Progressive wing.

Sen. George Norris (R-NE) and Rep. Fiorello LaGuardia (R-NY) and signed by Republican Herbert Hoover, prohibited contract provisions barring union affiliation (known as the “yellow-dog contract” to unionists) and further limited the use of anti-strike injunctions.

In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt took office with large congressional majorities committed to reshaping the American economy in response to the Great Depression. With Roosevelt came early organized labor’s Holy Grail: legislation to *compel* employers to recognize labor unions. The first attempt came as part of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the Roosevelt administration’s omnibus economic central-planning package. Labor unions saw NIRA’s collective bargaining rules as too weak, and when the Supreme Court struck down NIRA as unconstitutional, pushed a tougher measure backed by Sen. Robert Wagner (D-NY).

Wagner’s legislation, known as the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), was signed by President Roosevelt in 1935. It compelled employers to bargain with labor unions that could demonstrate, either by a government-supervised election or the agreement of the employer, majority support of the relevant workers and granted unions extensive powers to seek redress against employer actions contrary to union interest (called “unfair labor practices”).

The passage of NLRA calcified the ongoing changes in how organized labor approached politics and government, with the labor movement more firmly joined to Roosevelt's New Deal Democrats. In advance of the 1936 election, labor officials—but not the AFL's Green—formed Labor's Non-Partisan League to support Roosevelt's re-election and to endorse other New Deal supporters with a new, permanent political infrastructure.

At the same time, the AFL was riven in two by dissension over industrial and business unionism. The industrial unions, led by John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers, demanded increased involvement in industrial-style organizing within the AFL, forming a "Committee for Industrial Organization." The AFL responded by throwing Lewis's faction out of the federation. In 1938, the faction became the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The CIO unions, perhaps most notably the United Auto Workers, which led an occupation (the "sit-down strike") of General Motors plants in Michigan, saw substantial gains in membership. With the NLRA's power to compel recognition and friendly New Deal-influenced politicians unwilling to enforce employer powers, industrial unionism flourished.

The Roosevelt administration continued to support organized labor's goals after the NLRA's passage, effectively nationalizing a number of union aims through legislation. The Social Security Act of 1935 created a government-funded old-age pension and government-administered unemployment insurance. In the second Roosevelt term, since the administration could be sure the Supreme Court would uphold the law's legality after the "switch in time that saved nine," the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 codified the first federal minimum wages and set the standard working week at 40 hours (five eight-hour days), securing one of organized labor's original goals.

The 1938 midterm elections saw the "conservative coalition" of Southern Democrats and Republicans form an informal faction in Congress that could block aggressive New Deal expansions. But the outbreak of World War II interrupted labor's progress. Both the AFL and CIO agreed to a no-strike pledge after the attack on Pearl Harbor brought the U.S. into the war in exchange for influence in the central planning systems the Roosevelt administration created to manage war production, notably the National War Labor Board. Lewis, who had resigned from the CIO leadership in 1940 after he broke with the union faction to endorse unsuccessful moderate Republican Wendell Willkie against Roosevelt's third campaign, left the CIO entirely in 1942. His United Mine Workers broke the no-strike pledge later in the war, leading

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Communist Party USA members, who held numerous important roles in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), were instrumental to CIO-PAC's formation.

to the Smith-Connally Act which allowed the federal government to temporarily nationalize plants important to war production to prevent strikes and banned direct union political contributions in federal elections.

In response to Smith-Connally's limits and in advance of the 1944 elections, the CIO (now without John Lewis of the UMW, who had broken with the faction over Lewis's personal loathing of Roosevelt) organized a new political innovation: the political action committee. In 1943, Sidney Hillman, the New York garment workers' union leader, was tasked by the CIO leadership to head the new committee that would support Roosevelt's fourth election campaign and his New Deal allies, known as CIO-PAC.

Communist Party USA members, who held numerous important roles in the CIO, were instrumental to CIO-PAC's formation. John Abt, a former Roosevelt administration official working for Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union who admitted his Communist Party affiliation after his death, claimed that Communist Party official Eugene Dennis came to Abt and other CIO officials with a proposal for a committee to support Roosevelt's re-election.

With CIO PAC's support, Roosevelt was re-elected. After Roosevelt's death, Vice President Harry S. Truman, a non-descript former Senator who had replaced the very left-wing Henry Wallace on the Democratic ticket, succeeded to the office. In August 1945, Japan surrendered, ending the Second World War and the AFL and CIO no-strike pledges just as the millions of men called to arms were being demobilized and returning to civilian life.

Amid a surge in inflation as wartime central planning and rationing were lifted, organized labor called the largest strike wave in American history, with an estimated 10 percent of the American workforce walking off the job. Notable strikes took place in the auto industry, where UAW leader Walter Reuther led General Motors workers out for 113 days seeking not only wage and benefits increases but also control over GM's retail pricing, which he was unable to secure.



Credit: Harris & Ewing. License: <https://bit.ly/3bzXy4>.

Conclusion

The story of organized labor's development and rise to prominence from the end of the Civil War through the elections of 1946 is complicated. That the difficult, poorly paid, and often dangerous work of early industrial America would impel workers to join together to improve their conditions is unsurprising in retrospect, and its legacy lives on in the union campaigner's adage that "a bad boss is the best union organizer." But it is notable that broad, working-class motivation—as is common in European trade unionism—never had the workers' exclusive loyalty, thanks to the strength of American individualism as expressed in union practice through craft and business unionisms.

But while craft unionists like Samuel Gompers sought to use worker power through voluntarist collective bargaining to obtain their ends, a combination of circumstances and the temptations of power to secure labor's aims drove the movement into the political process. Despite the efforts of radicals like Eugene Debs to form socialist or "labor" parties, it would prove to be the arms of Progressive Movement-influenced Democrats, like Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, into which labor fell.

But even as political power gave organized labor victories on questions of compulsory bargaining, unemployment, old-age insurance, and the eight-hour day, its quest for more would bring it into conflict with the rising power of the postwar American consumer. And its victories, which were affirmed in national legislation rather than collective bargaining, made labor unionism's economic offerings less necessary to the American worker. And as the 80th United States Congress prepared to convene, the labor movement would face scrutiny it had mostly avoided since the New Dealers took over—scrutiny that would prove overdue. ■

Read previous articles from the Organization Trends series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/organization-trends/](https://www.CapitalResearch.org/category/organization-trends/).

After Roosevelt's death, Vice President Harry S. Truman, a nondescript former Senator who had replaced the very left-wing Henry Wallace on the Democratic ticket, succeeded to the office.

The strike wave exacerbated the postwar inflation and threatened the political position of Truman and his Democratic Party. When railroad unions threatened a strike in early 1946, Truman openly threatened to draft strikers into the military.

As a political matter, it availed the Democratic Party not. The 1946 midterm elections saw a surge in Republican support and gave the GOP control of levers of federal power for the first time since the 1932 FDR landslide. That Congress, far from the "do-nothing" Congress of Truman's re-election campaign materials and presidentially focused historical memory, would prove highly consequential to the postwar future of American labor relations and the development of organized labor's alliance with full-spectrum Great Society liberalism and later contemporary left-wing woke-progressivism.



CHINA AND THE PENN BIDEN CENTER

By Fred Lucas

Summary: *The Penn Biden Center, a think tank named for Joe Biden under the purview of the University of Pennsylvania, was thrust into the national spotlight in recent months—which is likely where it belonged. The nonprofit is only the latest chapter dating back to the president’s time in the Senate in which family members have established avenues for deep-pocketed foreign donors that want to “invest in Joe.” It appears likely to function as a junior varsity version of the Clinton Foundation. But could some of this unravel as a special counsel and a congressional committee investigate?*



Credit: Penn Biden Center. License: <https://bit.ly/3K2uYoE>

Joe Biden said, “The Penn Biden Center and I will be engaging with Penn’s wonderful students while partnering with its eminent faculty and global centers to convene world leaders, develop and advance smart policy, and impact the national debate about how America can continue to lead in the 21st Century.”

The discovery of classified documents thrust the Penn Biden Center for Diplomacy and Global Engagement into the national spotlight in a way that it really should have been before.

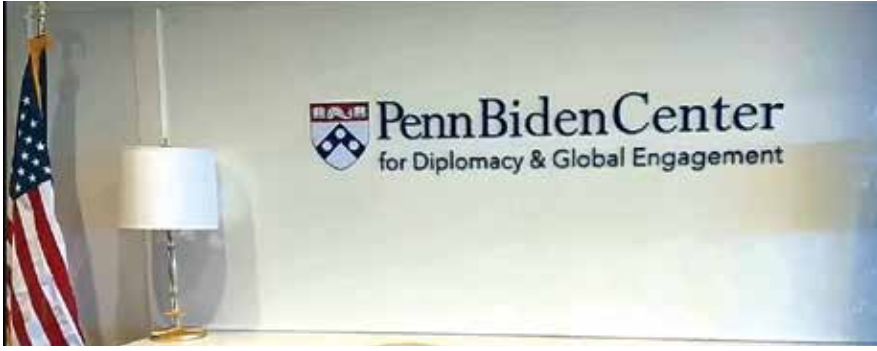
One of the early planners of the so-called think tank named for President Joe Biden that is affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania compared it to the Clinton Foundation, a known cauldron of cronyism and foreign cash. While it’s at best only a junior varsity version of the Clinton Foundation in terms of volume of money and influence, the nonprofit seems to be an extension of the Biden family’s long history of what many consider influence peddling. And it’s also a comfortable spot for Biden confidants.

If influence peddling isn’t provable, it is clear without a congressional investigation that Biden family members—namely his son Hunter and brothers Jim and Frank—have cashed in from those hoping to “invest in Joe.” Just as some of those Biden family deals involved China, some of the Penn Biden Center funding appears to coincide with a boost in China donations to the university.

The Penn Biden Center

Established after Joe Biden’s eight years as vice president under Barack Obama, the Penn Biden Center is located about a mile from the White House at 101 Constitution Ave, NW, with a view of Capitol Hill. It opened on February 8, 2018. The University of Pennsylvania, a private Ivy League school, paid Biden more than \$900,000 from 2017 to 2019 for fairly undefined duties.

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Credit: Tim tate 5.1. License: <https://bit.ly/40mbXeq>

One of the early planners of the so-called think tank named for President Joe Biden that is affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania compared it to the Clinton Foundation, a known cauldron of cronyism and foreign cash.

Biden also hired some of his longtime loyalist from his career in the Senate and the vice presidency at the center, many of whom now have prominent administration roles. Further, Biden made new friends along the way at the Penn Biden Center, who gained plumb executive branch jobs after Biden became president.

Biden's lawyers found at least 10 classified documents stored in an unsecure closet at the Penn Biden Center on November 2, 2022, days before the November 8 midterm elections. The administration, the National Archives and Records Administration, and the FBI that made a public spectacle of finding classified information at the home of former President Donald Trump were completely silent about Biden's stash of classified documents.

In January, CBS News first reported that the Justice Department was reviewing records at the center. Biden's counsel Richard Sauber confirmed the president's personal attorneys "were packing files housed in a locked closet to prepare to vacate office space at the Penn Biden Center in Washington, D.C." After more classified documents were found in Biden's private home in Delaware, Attorney General Merrick Garland appointed special counsel Robert Hur to investigate the matter.

The documents in the Penn Biden Center office included U.S. intelligence memos and briefing materials on Iran, with which the Obama administration brokered a multilateral nuclear deal; Ukraine, where Biden's son Hunter was a board member for controversial energy company Burisma; and on the United Kingdom, CNN first reported.

Biden's lawyers disclosed in February that the FBI had already searched the Penn Biden Center that November. Emails disclosed in February showed that officials from the National Archives were collecting records from the Penn

Biden Center on Election Day 2022. The Presidential Records Act of 1978 requires presidential and vice presidential records—classified and unclassified—to be turned over to the National Archives.

How far Special Counsel Robert Hur will take this investigation is unknown. It appears that it will likely start and stop with documents, even though the Penn Biden Center has many potential tentacles to probe, which deal with some of the worst aspects of what we know about Biden's legacy—including Joe Biden's son Hunter and Hunter's globetrotting profiteering and links to China.

Hunter's Role

From 2014 to June 2019, the University of Pennsylvania received \$54.6 million in donations from China, including \$23.1 million in anonymous gifts starting in 2016, when Biden was preparing to leave office. The money came in at the same time that Hunter Biden and James Biden, the vice president's brother, were doing business with a Chinese firm. Hunter Biden co-founded BHR Partners weeks before riding on Air Force Two with his father to Beijing. While there, Hunter introduced his father to incoming BHR CEO Jonathan Li, and Joe Biden even wrote college recommendation letters for Li's children. Online business records indicate that Hunter Biden still co-owns a 10 percent stake in BHR, according to the *New York Post*.

BHR's self-description makes no secret of ties to China's government-owned companies. BHR Partners says it manages \$2.1 billion, and its website says:

We work with China's industrial leaders, state-owned enterprises, multinational corporations, as well as with start-up visionaries in their international mergers and acquisitions, domestic restructurings and pre-IPO financings.

And

[It] combines the resources and platforms of China's largest financial institutions (including Bank of China, China Development Bank Capital, Harvest Fund, Postal Savings Bank of China, China Life and the National Council of Social Security Fund) and the networks and know-how of our U.S.-based investment fund and advisory firm shareholders.



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/3Zz2zDLm>.

If influence peddling isn't provable, it is clear without a congressional investigation that Biden family members—namely his son Hunter and brothers Jim and Frank—have cashed in from those hoping to invest in Joe.”

Emails show that before his father exited the vice presidency Hunter Biden helped to hatch what would become the Penn Biden Center.

Creative Artists Agency, a Los Angeles–based talent and sports agency, signed Joe and Jill Biden in 2017 to represent them for future gigs. The agency was never involved in the center formally, nor was Hunter Biden. But both laid the groundwork.

Craig Gering, an agent with the Creative Artists Agency, and Hunter Biden exchanged emails in April 2016 planning the center, the Wall Street Journal reported. Gering said the Penn Biden Center would “focus on foreign policy,” Gering also said it’s a good opportunity for Biden to establish his post-vice presidency in Washington.

Gering’s April 2016 email read:

1. The Biden Institute of Foreign Relations at the University of Pennsylvania
 - Focus on foreign policy.
 - In addition to the institute at U of Penn, the school has an existing office in DC that will be expanded to house a DC office for VP Biden (and Mike, Hunter and Steve?). Operates like The Clinton Global Initiative without the money raise.

Hunter Biden replied,

Yes, in theory that’s the way I would like to see it shake out—BUT please keep this very confidential between us because nothing has been set in stone and there’s still a lot of sensitivity around all of this both internally and externally. He hasn’t made any decisions and this could all be changed overnight.

After the January 2023 news broke of the vice presidential documents, the House Oversight and Accountability Committee Chairman James Comer (R-KY) wrote current University of Pennsylvania President Mary Elizabeth Magill requesting information.

“Robert Hunter Biden, the president’s son, may have had access to the classified documents found at the president’s Delaware home since he listed it as his home address as recently as 2018 and planned to share office space with an individual affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party,” the Oversight committee letter to the UPenn president adds. “This level of access and opportunity raises questions about who had access to the classified documents found at the Penn Biden Center.”

China Money

After the University of Pennsylvania first publicized the Penn Biden Center in February 2017, donations originating from China more than tripled, according to the oversight committee.



Credit: Li Jilin. License: <https://bit.ly/40p5Kx>.

(Joe Biden with Xi Jinping) Between Biden’s time as vice president and president, Chinese individuals and entities donated \$61 million to the University of Pennsylvania from 2017 to 2020, the Washington Free Beacon reported. About \$22 million of the \$61 million is from anonymous donors.



No. It doesn't take a Sherlock Holmes to figure out that they're giving the money to the University of Pennsylvania to run their China programs.” –Paul Kamenar

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The donations were perhaps made as speculation that Biden would be mounting a presidential reelection campaign, but also came as Biden family members and associates engaged in lucrative business projects in China.

After Biden became president, the University of Pennsylvania took \$14 million from anonymous donors unnamed contributors in China and Hong Kong and another \$2.4 million from unnamed contributors in Saudi Arabia.

“The committee is concerned about who had access to these documents given the Biden family's financial connections to foreign actors and companies,” says the oversight letter. “The committee requests documents and information related to foreign influence at UPenn and the Penn Biden Center. The committee has learned UPenn received tens of millions of dollars from anonymous Chinese sources, with a marked uptick in donations when then-former Vice President Biden was announced as leading the Penn Biden Center initiative.”

The House Oversight and Accountability Committee asked the university for a list of all Chinese donors to the university and to disclose the names of the anonymous Chinese donors to UPenn and the Penn Biden Center.

University of Pennsylvania spokesman Ron Ozio told the *Wall Street Journal* that the Penn Biden Center is directly funded by the university budget and said the center “never solicited or received any gifts from any Chinese or other foreign entity.”

A university spokesperson also told Fox News the China donations were not for the Penn Biden Center but to the university, adding the center itself only received \$1,100 in solicited donations. The spokesperson added:

One hundred percent of the budget for the Penn Biden Center comes from university funds. Any

foreign gifts received by the university are all properly reported to the U.S. Department of Education as required by Section 117 of the Higher Education Act. Penn is fully compliant with federal law regarding the reporting of foreign gifts and contracts.

The National Legal and Policy Center, a watchdog group, filed a complaint in 2020 with the Justice Department against the Penn Biden Center for not disclosing the anonymous China donations and against Hunter Biden and the Penn Biden Center for what the group said was failing to properly register as foreign lobbyist.

“The University of Pennsylvania has been playing coy with us and the media by denying that the Biden Center receives any China money. Their standard line that they've been spewing for the last couple years is, ‘We do not solicit money to the Biden Center from China. Period,’” National Legal and Policy Center counsel Paul Kamenar told the Daily Signal.

“That very well may be true, that you don't solicit money directly to the Biden Center, but China has not given the University of Pennsylvania all these millions of dollars for their music department,” Kamenar continued. “No. It doesn't take a Sherlock Holmes to figure out that they're giving the money to the University of Pennsylvania to run their China programs, and they have several of them. And the Biden Center is part of that program that they have that's called Penn Global.”

Think Tank Activity

The Penn Biden Center says it is:

founded on the principle that a democratic, open, secure, tolerant, and interconnected world benefits all Americans. Based in our nation's capital, the Penn Biden Center engages more of our fellow citizens in shaping this world, while ensuring the gains of global engagement are widely shared.

“The postwar order that America built together with our allies is under attack,” the Penn Biden Center asserts on its website.

The siege comes from multiple directions—from authoritarians who strangle liberty in the name of security to terrorists who radicalize across borders and nationalist leaders who fuel fear and division at home. The United States cannot win this fight alone. We must lead through our unrivaled network of alliances and partnerships, and through our unparalleled influence in international institutions—institutions that must be more efficient, effective, fair, and reflective of emerging new powers and partners.

Then-University of Pennsylvania President Amy Guttmann praised the former vice president upon announcing his professorship at the university and the establishment of the Penn Biden Center.

Guttmann, who was a prolific fundraiser for the university that became Philadelphia’s largest employer on her watch, was paid \$3.6 million in 2017, the highest earning Ivy League university president. Guttmann said in February 2017:

Joe Biden is one of the greatest statesmen of our times. . . . In his distinguished career of service to our nation, he has demonstrated a unique capacity to bring people together across divides and to craft constructive responses to some of the toughest and most important policy challenges of our day,” Guttmann continued. “His unsurpassed understanding of diplomacy and far-ranging grasp of world issues make him an ideal fit to further Penn’s global engagement.

Biden has deep ties with the University of Pennsylvania. Biden’s late son Beau Biden and granddaughter Naomi earned undergraduate degrees there. Biden’s daughter Ashley earned her master’s degree at UPenn, and the president’s granddaughter Natalie is an undergraduate at the university. In 2016, the Obama-Biden administration launched the “cancer moonshot” programs at the university.

“At Penn, I look forward to building on the work that has been a central pillar of my career in public office: promoting and protecting the post-WWII international order that keeps the United States safe and strong,” Biden said. “The Penn Biden Center and I will be engaging with Penn’s wonderful students while partnering with its eminent faculty and global centers to convene world leaders, develop and



Credit: Stuart Watson. License: <https://bit.ly/42zL5kl>.

Amy Guttmann, who was a prolific fundraiser for the university that became Philadelphia’s largest employer on her watch, was paid \$3.6 million in 2017, the highest earning Ivy League university president.

advance smart policy, and impact the national debate about how America can continue to lead in the 21st Century.”

University of Pennsylvania students could apply for internships at the Penn Biden Center in Washington.

The Penn Biden Center teamed with the George W. Bush Institute and Freedom House to issue a 17-page report in 2018 on the state of American democracy.

The 2018 joint survey found 60 percent of respondents believe democracy is “absolutely important,” rating it at a 10 on a scale of 1–10. A large majority—84 percent—rated democracy between 6 and 10 on the survey. The survey also found 55 percent saw American democracy as “weak,” and 68 percent thought it was “getting weaker.” A narrow majority of 50 percent to 43 percent agreed with the statement that America is in “real danger of becoming a nondemocratic, authoritarian country.” The survey was taken from 10 focus groups in Arizona, Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina,



The 2018 joint survey found 60 percent of respondents believe democracy is “absolutely important,” rating it at a 10 on a scale of 1–10.

and Pennsylvania between March 12 and April 18, 2018, and from a nationwide telephone survey of 1,400 adults conducted between April 28 and May 8, 2018.

Biden used the office space in Washington from 2018 through spring 2019 and sometimes brought his German Shepherd to the office with him, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. After Biden was elected president in 2020, the Penn Biden Center announced it would operate “completely independent of the Biden administration.”

Paying Professor Biden

The university announced he would be the Benjamin Franklin Presidential Practice Professor and would hold joint appointments in the Annenberg School for Communication and the School of Arts and Sciences, with a secondary affiliation in the Wharton School.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported the university paid Biden \$371,159 in 2017 and \$540,484 in 2018 and early 2019 for a professorship that “involved no regular classes and around a dozen public appearances on campus, mostly in big, ticketed events.” The average salary for a UPenn professor, generally handling a full load of classes, was \$217,411 in the 2017–18 academic year, according to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

The engagements included three question-and-answer interview-style events with UPenn President Gutmann, a series of panel discussions on topics such as immigration and cancer, a talk about his book *Promise Me, Dad*, a lecture to a Wharton Business School class, and public conversations with former Mexican President Felipe Calderon and with former United Kingdom Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, according to a tally by the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, the campus newspaper.

But it’s not just Biden’s light workload that has prompted questions, but that of other Penn Biden Center personnel as well.

At the opening of the Washington office for the Penn Biden Center in February 2018, Biden talked about how Gutmann suggested he join the university as a professor. But he said her pitch “became even more intriguing” after the 2016 presidential election when she expanded the offer to include funding for staff, which the future president said would mean he could “bring along with me some serious, serious people.”



Credit: Smallbones. License: <https://bit.ly/3JG67pf>.

Biden has deep ties with the University of Pennsylvania. Biden’s late son Beau Biden and granddaughter Naomi earned undergraduate degrees there. Biden’s daughter Ashley earned her master’s degree at UPenn, and the president’s granddaughter Natalie is an undergraduate at the university.

The America First Legal Foundation is seeking more information about what those “serious, serious people” were doing with salaries and resources provided by the university. The watchdog group filed a complaint with the Internal Revenue Service alleging the Penn Biden Center paid the president and others for no-show jobs, or to do nothing.

AFL, run by former Trump White House official Stephen Miller, submitted an IRS Form 13900 outlining the complaints.

“As fiscal sponsor, the University of Pennsylvania (‘Penn’) was obligated to conduct appropriate oversight of the Penn Biden Center’s activities,” the complaint says. “This obligation included ... preventing prohibited private benefits (e.g. ‘no show’ jobs), prohibited campaign intervention activities, unlawful political lobbying, and illegal influence peddling.”

“The evidence is that then-former Vice President Biden was paid nearly a million dollars for appearing on campus six times. Other Obama administration officials, including the current Secretary of State, were also paid by the Penn Biden

Center without providing equivalent services for Penn's students," the IRS complaint says.

The complaint continues, "Penn's President, Amy Gutmann, allegedly created the Penn Biden Center to benefit Vice President Biden, and, according to emails on Hunter Biden's laptop, apparently to benefit his family members as well. In exchange, she was nominated to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Germany. ... Finally, the evidence is that the creation of the Penn Biden Center immediately led to a massive influx of donations from foreign sources to Penn, including but not limited to tens of millions of dollars from alleged instrumentalities of the Chinese Communist Party. The quid pro quo for these donations has not been disclosed."

Administration in Waiting

If the IRS follows up on the complaint and investigates the center as well for no-show jobs, it could potentially have far-reaching impact throughout the Biden administration.

The House Oversight Committee contends the Penn Biden Center "appears to have acted as a foreign-sponsored source of income for much of a Biden administration in-waiting." The 10 associates that worked for the center that went on to gain senior level administration roles earned between \$79,000 and \$208,000 at the center.

The committee requested visitor logs and donor information from the university and the Penn Biden Center.

Antony Blinken was the managing director of the Penn Biden Center before Biden tapped him to be secretary of state. White House adviser Steve Ricchetti, also briefly served as managing director of the center.

Michael Carpenter is a former managing director of the Penn Biden Center. After taking office, Biden named Carpenter, a former Obama administration Defense Department official, as ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

As president of the University of Pennsylvania, Gutmann recruited and hired Biden to work at the university, where he made 12 engagements while collecting \$900,000. After Biden was elected president, he appointed Gutmann to be ambassador to Germany.

David Cohen was the chairman of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. After taking office, Biden named him as ambassador to Canada.

Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Colin Kahl also previously worked at the Penn Biden Center. Juan Sebastian Gonzalez was a senior fellow at the Penn Biden Center from April 2018 to September 2020. After taking office, Biden hired him as special assistant to the president and the national security director for the Western Hemisphere at the White House.

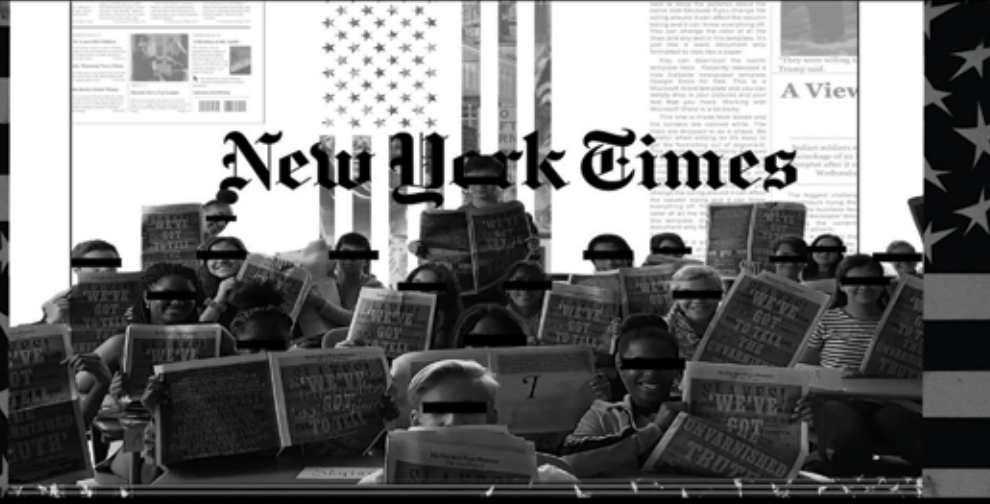
Flying Under the Radar

The Penn Biden Center, despite obvious connections to power, has managed to fly below the radar. While it was the classified documents that drew attention to an organization many Americans didn't even know existed before, a real review of this nonprofit is long overdue—whether it comes from Congress, the special counsel, or both. ■

Read previous articles from the Green Watch series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/green-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.

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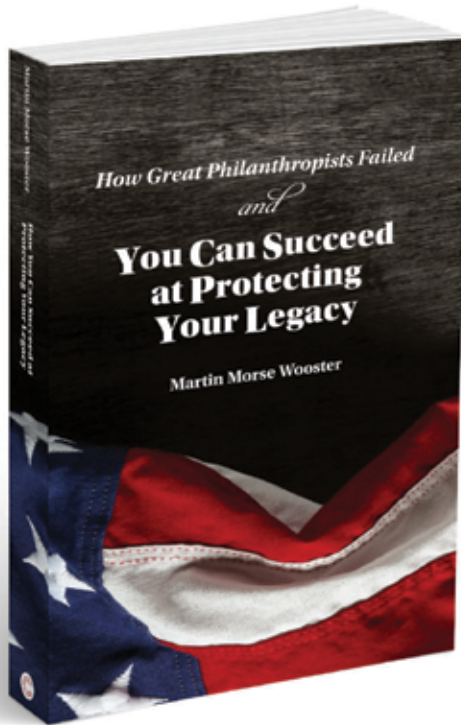
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