



BIDEN ADMINISTRATION GIVES UNIVERSITIES AND CHILDREN'S HOSPITALS \$100 MILLION TO PROP UP TRANSGENDERISM

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CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL



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BY PARKER THAYER

Read the report at
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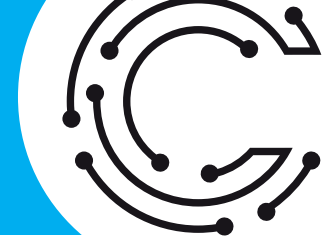
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HOW REPUBLICANS CAN HELP NY MAYOR ERIC ADAMS (SINCE HE WON'T HELP HIMSELF)

By Sarah Lee

New York Mayor Eric Adams seemed a pitiable figure Wednesday when publicly discussing the overwhelming number of migrants, many illegal, his city has seen added to its already-teeming shore since April of last year, with some estimates as high as 10,000 new migrants every month.

And it's tempting to pity him, until he gets to the part—as he did at that Wednesday Upper West Side Town Hall meeting—of excoriating Texas Governor Greg Abbot as a “madman” for finally allowing so-called sanctuary cities like New York to experience what border towns have experienced for years; and only meekly chiding the Biden Administration—the undeniable source of the problem—for failing to heed calls for help.

In short, Adams can't even accurately identify the problem—which, as I've written before, lies squarely in the Biden Administration's chaotic border non-policy that not only all but invites illegals to risk a trip through the Southern border, but funds their movement and shelter via nonprofits once they're here.

In fact, an April 2023 Government Accountability Office (GAO) report found that “[i]n fiscal years 2019, 2021, and 2022, [the Department of Homeland Security grant program] provided more than \$282 million to reimburse non-



Credit: NYC Mayor's Office. License: <https://bit.ly/6cbjny>.

New York City Mayor Eric Adams at a rally calling for expedited federal work authorization for asylum seekers.

profits and governmental organizations for their services” related to border and illegal immigration.

Perhaps, since the Biden administration is both causing the problem and turning a deaf ear to cries that things have gone too far, Adams can turn to Republicans for help as he unravels the mystery of how he got here.

Sarah Lee is director of communications and external affairs at CRC.



The only way you can stop [illegal immigration] is to send a loud and clear message...that you're not getting in,"
Chmielenski says.

Chris Chmielenski, director of content and activism at NumbersUSA, says hope for Adams lies in a bill passed by Republicans in the U.S. House of Representatives in May called The Secure Border Act of 2023.

“The only way you can stop [illegal immigration] is to send a loud and clear message...that you're not getting in,” Chmielenski says.

Since that's obviously not a priority for the Biden administration, the House-passed legislation could be a loud and clear message from another branch. A piece on the NumbersUSA website explains what the legislation does:

Among other things, the bill would close loopholes that are driving the current crisis, like asylum abuse, nonsensical unaccompanied alien children (UAC) policy, categorical parole programs, and the Flores court settlement. In addition, the legislation would mandate E-Verify, thus shutting off the jobs magnet enticing illegal aliens to enter the United States. Combining E-Verify with closing of the loopholes would dramatically reduce the pull factors that have left our Federal bureaucracy and local communities overwhelmed.

Unfortunately, because Senate Democrats have signaled support for Biden's border non-policies, the act is likely DOA in the Senate.

But, says Chmielenski, that doesn't mean it has to be DOA for good. Using the looming government shut-down over a must-pass spending bill and attaching a rider with the legislative language of The Secure Border Act of 2023 could achieve Republican goals of helping stem the tide of illegal

immigration—and help Adams finally see a light at the end of the tunnel of his city's existential crisis.

As the NumbersUSA piece notes:

[T]he American people are not nearly as concerned with the government shutting down as they are with the border being wide open. Immigration polling makes that clear. They also are well aware of the theatrics and rhetoric of shutdown fights from the past. The approval ratings for Congress make that clear. Instead of worrying about being blamed for a shutdown, Speaker McCarthy should worry about being blamed by voters for not doing anything about the border. Angry voters will not be persuaded that passing H.R.2 was sufficient when their communities are overrun. Congress has the power of the purse for a reason, and it's time they used it.

Chmielenski says the number of purple-state Senate Dems soon up for re-election is more than 20, and he thinks these legislators are vulnerable and might be persuaded to pass the spending bill—even with immigration language—to assuage voters and avoid a shut-down.

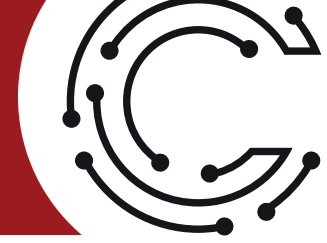
In the meantime, he does reserve some sympathy for Adams and other sanctuary city leaders who are beginning to understand how overwhelming an open border is to cities attempting to accommodate migrants. But he also recognizes they'll have to move past something they generally cling fast to: politics.

“[Adams] is looking for effective policy choices, but he's playing politics for now,” Chmielenski says.

Ironic that what might save him is DC Republicans playing a little politics of their own. ■

This article originally appeared in Townhall on September 8, 2023.

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



LARRY KRAMER AND ANTI-CAPITALISM AT HEWLETT

By Robert Stilson

Summary: Larry Kramer, president of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, has announced that he will be stepping down at the end of the year to become president and vice chancellor of the London School of Economics. Kramer believes that the free market has failed and will continue to fail to produce the economic, social, and political outcomes that he considers to be most desirable. Under Kramer, the Hewlett Foundation sought to fund the intellectual development of an alternative system. The irony of this grantmaking campaign against free-market capitalism, which is bankrolled by wealth generated by capitalism, is not lost on its observers. Would an institution like the Hewlett Foundation even be able to exist under the statist and vigorously anti-corporate economic system clearly envisioned by many of the Hewlett Foundation grantees?

Larry Kramer, president of the \$13 billion William and Flora Hewlett Foundation since 2012, has announced that he will be stepping down at the end of the year to become president and vice chancellor of the London School of Economics. Hewlett's heft as a grantmaker and Kramer's personal prominence makes this big news in the philanthropic world. As Kramer's tenure at Hewlett comes to an end, it is worth examining one of the more controversial programs initiated under his watch: the foundation's.

Reimagining Capitalism

In short, Kramer believes that the free market has failed and will continue to fail to produce the economic, social, and political outcomes that he considers to be most desirable. He outlined his criticisms in a December 2022 article entitled "We Need to Talk About Capitalism," though he went into greater depth in an earlier memo to the Hewlett Foundation's board of directors. To Kramer, the dominance of "neoliberalism" as championed by Milton Friedman and his many intellectual followers has produced such levels of income and wealth inequality—which in turn has led to a variety of negative societal externalities—that it must be replaced with a new economic philosophy. "The upshot," he wrote, "is that the 20th-century free market paradigm has reached the end of its useful shelf life."



Credit: Gilder Lehrman Institute. License: <https://bit.ly/3PErTxD>.

Larry Kramer himself was paid \$927,156 by the foundation in 2021, yet has written of how wealth inequality has become "one of the major causes, if not the major cause, of rising political and social tensions."

The role of the Hewlett Foundation, as envisioned by Kramer, is to fund the intellectual development of such an alternative system. A comprehensive 2020 grantmaking strategy for the foundation's Economy and Society program spells out the details, but it succinctly defines the overarching goal as being "to develop a new 'common sense' about how the economy works, the goals it should promote, and how it should be structured to serve those goals." Income and wealth inequality are perhaps Hewlett's biggest concerns with the current economy, though climate change and racism also feature prominently. The explicit presumption underlying the program—through which Hewlett paid out \$34 million in 2022—is that free-market capitalism "has outlived whatever usefulness it might once have had" and today "causes more problems than it solves." The Hewlett Foundation simply believes that capitalism offers "no credible solutions for society's biggest challenges."

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



Do the foundation's grantees want to tweak American capitalism or tear it apart root and branch?

These are perplexing and rather astonishing statements in an era of literally unprecedented global prosperity, and they caught the attention of the *Wall Street Journal*. The paper's editorial board quite rightly pointed out that the truth was precisely the opposite. Noting that this burgeoning campaign against the free market was being bankrolled by private philanthropy, the *Journal* also cautioned today's successful capitalists against allowing their charitable legacies to be co-opted by "knowledge-class progressives" to finance "the destruction of the system that made business success and wealth creation possible."

Indeed, a great irony that was not lost on the *Journal* was that the Hewlett Foundation owes its very existence to the nurturing business environment fostered by capitalism. The foundation was established from the personal wealth of Hewlett-Packard co-founder William Hewlett and his wife Flora, and billions of dollars from its endowment are currently invested in public and private equity, including in the stock of some of the world's most powerful corporations. Hewlett's website proudly displays graphics demonstrating how its investments have consistently outperformed the applicable benchmark, allowing its assets to grow enormously over the past decade even while distributing hundreds of millions of dollars in grants annually.

This may explain why the Hewlett Foundation paid four of its on-staff investment officers more than \$2 million each in

2021, including a whopping \$5.1 million to its chief investment officer Ana Marshall. That is all well and good—this presumably reflects the market rate for elite investment professionals—except that Hewlett attacks the market for fostering "grotesque wealth inequality." Kramer himself was paid \$927,156 by the foundation that year, yet has written of how wealth inequality has become "one of the major causes, if not *the* major cause, of rising political and social tensions."

An honest question: Does Kramer see himself as personally contributing to the tension that he believes compels a top-down transformation of the United States' entire economic system by collecting a top 1 percent salary from a philanthropic foundation that is only capable of paying out such levels of compensation because of the economy-wide prosperity generated by the very system he wishes to replace? If not, why?

Perhaps he would respond by pointing to the \$500+ million in grants made by the Hewlett Foundation in 2021—a vast sum that was presumably directed at supporting what the foundation's leadership believed would do the most good. That is, of course, the purpose of philanthropy. Accordingly, to understand what Kramer and the Hewlett Foundation envision as the ideal economic framework to supplant free-market capitalism, it makes sense to examine the positions and policy proposals of those grantees that Hewlett has funded through its Economy and Society program. What are the actual ideas being developed and promoted with Hewlett's support? Do the foundation's grantees want to tweak American capitalism or tear it apart root and branch?

The *Wall Street Journal* focused on Hewlett's higher education grantees, which is sensible given the amount of money involved. In early 2022, the foundation announced tens of millions of dollars in grants to prestigious universities so that they may begin the work of "reimagining capitalism" into a "better approach to political economy" based on "a new set of economic values." Massive grants ranging from \$7.5 million to \$10 million were made to fund new academic centers at Columbia University, Howard University, Johns Hopkins University, Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of California, Berkeley.

These centers have only just begun to get underway—the one at Berkeley was announced a few months ago—and the grants are for five-year terms, so it may be some time before any coherent picture of what they are developing becomes

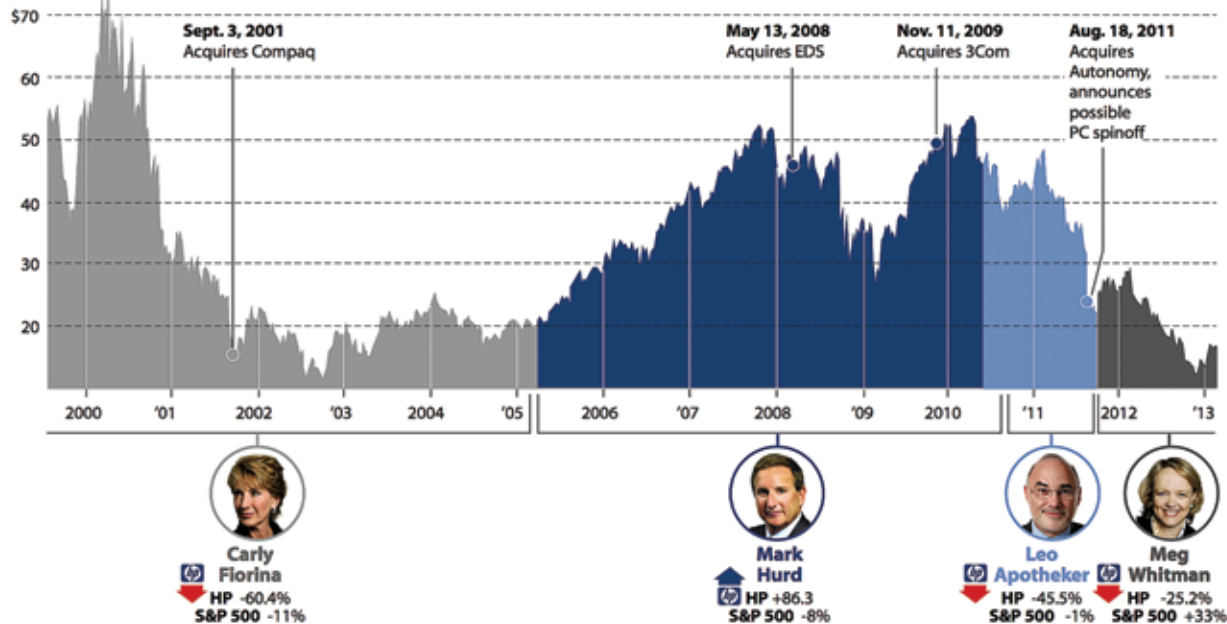


Credit: govindmcdowell. License: <https://bit.ly/3ZxcCDB>.

To Larry Kramer, the dominance of "neoliberalism" as championed by Milton Friedman has produced such levels of income and wealth inequality—which in turn has led to a variety of negative societal externalities—that it must be replaced with a new economic philosophy.



How HP has fared under recent CEOs



Credit: Peter L. Salmon. License: <https://bit.ly/3EKksei>.

The Hewlett Foundation paid four of its on-staff investment officers more than \$2 million each in 2021. This presumably reflects the market rate for elite investment professionals—except that Hewlett attacks the market for fostering “grotesque wealth inequality.”

clear. It is also true that the ivory tower can be notoriously long on theory and short on practicality. Fortunately for those who seek concrete clues as to the specific direction Hewlett would prefer American economic policy to turn, the foundation also funds many activist nonprofits that make their proposals crystal clear.

Reinforcing Socialism

What follows are some examples of groups that have recently received funding through the Hewlett Foundation’s Economy and Society program, indicating that the foundation finds their socioeconomic ideology and/or policy stances compelling. Some grantees have received funding under other Hewlett programs, too. The figures provided reflect the total amounts the foundation reported giving to them over the applicable period.

Action Center on Race and the Economy Institute (\$1,675,000 Since 2020). The 501(c)(3) affiliate of a similarly named left-wing activist group, it seeks to provide “anti-corporate analysis with an explicitly racial lens.” One of its campaigns to “Cancel Wall Street” demands that the U.S. Federal Reserve offer zero-cost loans to state and local governments, with the goal of completely eliminating the private municipal bond market. A large share of municipal

bonds are held by ordinary American households directly or through funds. The word “inflation” is not mentioned anywhere in the campaign’s 22-page report despite it appearing to be a likely consequence—there is only a vague reference to the need for (high) borrowing limits—and an automatic tax-the-rich clause in the lending agreement is briefly suggested as a backstop against cities failing to make payments.

Center for Popular Democracy (\$5,858,527 Since 2019). A strong supporter of the Green New Deal, the center’s core values include guaranteed income for everyone and guaranteed jobs for “everyone who wants to work.” It also advocates for government-provided social housing that is permanently excluded from the private market, government-provided health care, and a wide variety of other left-wing policy proposals—including to totally “dismantle” the criminal justice system.

Community Change (\$1,336,000 Since 2021). Community Change defines its ideal alternative to free-market capitalism as “one in which ordinary people can see themselves and exercise democratic ownership” and in which governmental power is used to “dramatically” redistribute wealth and hamstring corporations. The group supports government-guaranteed income paid to everyone (including illegal immigrants) “regardless of their formal work status,”

and it believes this should be provided “alongside other material benefits like housing, child care, and health care.”

Demos (\$1,175,000 Since 2019). Another prominent supporter of the Green New Deal, Demos promotes a new system of “economic democracy” that would “dismantle corporate concentration, racial capitalism, and white supremacy by shifting power to Black and brown communities.” It wants the public sector to directly provide a wide array of goods and services including banking and credit, energy utilities, health care and childcare, and higher education—all while guaranteeing a job to anyone who wants one. To Demos, economic democracy means that “people and public agencies ... collectively make decisions about the economy,” and it supports a federal homes guarantee that prioritizes social housing alongside national rent control. Demos attacks major American tech companies such as Amazon, Apple, Google, Meta, and Microsoft for presenting “novel threats” that are “deeply dangerous” and believes at least some of them should be forcibly broken up. As of 2021, the Hewlett Foundation had over \$100 million directly invested in the stock of those five corporations.

Economic Security Project (\$3,940,000 Since 2019). A former Hopewell Fund project that later spun off to become an independent 501(c)(3), the Economic Security Project promotes a government-guaranteed income program in the form of direct cash entitlement payments “with no strings attached and no work requirements.” Of the money from Hewlett, \$1.5 million was earmarked for the project’s “Anti-Austerity War Room,” where it would fund efforts “shape the narrative in Washington and counter calls for spending cuts and debt reduction.”

Open Markets Institute (\$750,000 Since 2019). A non-profit that spun off from New America in 2017, its work is largely directed at criticizing the power and influence of large corporations. In 2021, the group’s senior legal analyst wrote an article for the journal *Democracy*, wherein he argued that corporations should be required to obtain a charter from the federal government. The charter could be used to restrict the size and structure of companies, limit the industries in which they are permitted to operate, or mandate a specific racial/ethnic composition for their boards of directors.

New Economics Foundation (\$450,000 Since 2021). This United Kingdom-based group wants government to tax and redistribute enough of the country’s wealth that it can provide guaranteed income, social housing, energy, and a variety of other “universal basic services,” all while having people work fewer hours. The group produced and

housed the Happy Planet Index until 2019, which purports to measure “how well nations are doing at achieving long, happy, sustainable lives.” During the time it was housed at the foundation, the index ranked Mexico (2nd), Nicaragua (7th), Venezuela (29th), Haiti (57th), Iraq (67th), China (72nd), Iran (84th), Yemen (94th), and Zimbabwe (99th) above the United States (108th).

PolicyLink (\$11,125,549 Since 2018). Over \$1.8 million of this went to a project called Liberation Ventures, which is a funding network working to advance proposals to pay reparations to Black Americans. Another \$1.525 million was earmarked for the Liberation in a Generation project, which accuses the United States of operating a racist “oppression economy” in which “white elites and their institutions use racism to steal from, exploit, and exclude people of color from wealth and power.”

It argues instead for what it calls a “liberation economy,” in which the federal government guarantees income for everyone and employment for those who want to work, replaces all private health insurance with a public system, directly subsidizes rent, abolishes tuition at public universities, cancels all student loan debt, and makes direct cash payments into trust funds for children based (inversely) on their family income.

Along the way, it wants to abolish U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and all immigration detention facilities, end cash bail, allow currently imprisoned felons to vote, and levy an assortment of new and presumably high taxes on individuals and corporations.

PowerSwitch Action (\$600,000 Since 2021). This far-left anti-corporate activist group considers the entire American economy to be an extractive system “of misogyny and white supremacy.” It favors a system of central planning in which “the rules for how goods are produced, services delivered, and wealth produced are governed democratically” and where land is “commonly-owned,” with housing being provided as a government-guaranteed right.

RadicalxChange (\$150,000 Since 2019). The economic and political theories of this group include the concept of “plural property”—touted as being superior to both capitalism and communism—under which “assets belong to no one and everyone,” but are instead taxed at the current possessor’s self-assessed value and must be sold if someone else bids more than that value.

Roosevelt Institute (\$7,899,000 Since 2020). A prominent left-of-center think tank, the Roosevelt Institute’s mission statement closely resembles the economic perspectives



The economic and political theories of RadicalxChange include the concept of “plural property” under which “assets belong to no one and everyone.”

articulated by Larry Kramer and the Hewlett Foundation. It has published a series of reports promoting a new American industrial policy in which government “should directly shape markets to better serve Americans” and directly provide “essential goods and services—from higher education to health care.” A framework for a government policy of “marketcrafting” as a replacement for the “failure” of neoliberalism, co-authored by Facebook (now Meta) co-founder Chris Hughes, broadly summarizes the idea as an “approach that seeks to achieve optimal outcomes through the proactive and purposeful use of the power of the state”—where government actively manipulates the market (through laws/regulations and direct economic participation) to further specific public policy goals.

The Role of Philanthropy

Further examples could be added, but these are sufficient to demonstrate a clear theme in Hewlett’s grantmaking. Despite Larry Kramer’s insistence that “we must reject the notion that our only choice is between neoliberalism and socialism,” the foundation he leads has been funding a slate of grantees that favor some *awfully* socialist-sounding ideas for how best to “reimagine” capitalism. Almost quintessentially so.

Hewlett might well object to that characterization—it describes itself as a “neutral player” that doesn’t necessarily support the specifics of what its grantees advocate for and it has also funded a few right-leaning groups that hold a similarly dim view of the free market—but money speaks for itself in both philanthropy and politics. It is simply impossible for Hewlett to fund “ideas” and an “intellectual framework” for replacing neoliberalism while also claiming

to remain neutral on the specific policy proposals developed and promoted by its grantees toward those ends. The two are functionally inseparable.

Would all of Hewlett’s Economy and Society program grantees agree with Kramer that “no one” is opposed to leaving American industry and trade primarily in private hands? How many of Hewlett’s grantees would object to the foundation’s endowment being parked in some of the most thoroughly capitalist investments imaginable—assuming they were not the direct beneficiaries of those investments? For that matter, under the statist and vigorously anti-corporate economic system clearly envisioned by many of its grantees, would it even be possible for an institution like the Hewlett Foundation to exist?

The free market creates wealth, wealth endows philanthropy, and philanthropy is supposed to do good in the world. It certainly has tremendous resources at its disposal with which to do so.

A final question: If a thousand different Americans were asked how a hypothetical donor could spend \$100 million (the amount multiple sources say Hewlett has committed to its project) to do the most good, how many would respond that the money would be best used to fund new intellectual theories and policy proposals for an economic paradigm to replace free-market capitalism at nonprofits and universities that already have millions-to-billions of dollars at their disposal? Is that even the right question to ask in the world of Big Philanthropy? Should it be? ■

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

BLACK LIVES MATTER AFTERMATH



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

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BIDEN ADMINISTRATION GIVES UNIVERSITIES AND CHILDREN'S HOSPITALS \$100 MILLION TO PROP UP TRANSGENDERISM

By Parker Thayer and Katie Cagle

Summary: *As the number of children identifying themselves as transgender quickly rises, the Biden Administration has assured Americans that it is both safe and normal for kids to undergo medical “transition” procedures. Behind the scenes, though, the Biden Administration doesn’t seem so sure that the science is as settled as it claims. While telling the world that the sudden spike in transgender youths and adults is safe and natural, the Biden administration has poured at least \$1.2 billion into researching the devastating mental and physical health consequences that mysteriously plague people who have undergone “gender affirming care.”*

As the number of children identifying themselves as transgender quickly rises, the Biden Administration has assured Americans that it is both safe and normal for kids to undergo medical “transition” procedures. Assistant Secretary for Health Admiral Rachel Levine, for example, has taken to social media to say that “gender-affirming care is medically necessary, safe, and effective for trans and non-binary youth” and has called chemical and surgical transitioning a “life-saving” and “critical tool” for pediatricians.

Behind the scenes, though, the Biden administration doesn’t seem so sure that the science is as settled as it claims. While telling the world that the sudden spike in transgender youths and adults is safe and natural, the Biden administration has poured an obscene amount of money into researching the devastating mental and physical health consequences that mysteriously plague people who have undergone “gender affirming care.”

The Method

According to a keyword search of USASpending.gov, a database of federal expenditures, the Biden administration has set aside or spent nearly \$1.2 billion since 2021 for grants, contracts, direct payments, and loans to programs that use the word “transgender” in their description.



Credit: Sen. Rand Paul. License: <https://bit.ly/48oPDNO>.

Assistant Secretary for Health nominee Dr. Rachel Levine testifies at her Senate confirmation hearing.

However, most of the payments since 2021 were *not* allocated for specifically transgender-related work and included “transgender” only as part of a diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) statement in the description. The \$1.2 billion total is a testament to the rapidly ascendant power of government DEI departments under the Biden administration (the *combined* total from 2008 to 2020 was just \$184 million), but the \$1.2 billion total isn’t particularly useful for determining how much the Biden administration has spent on transgenderism. To get useful data, each individual grant and contract description had to be reviewed, and only those grants and contracts initiated in 2021 or later were considered.

Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher at the Capital Research Center. Katie Cagle is a digital media associate at the Capital Research Center.

What We Found

To isolate generic DEI statements from trans-specific spending, Capital Research Center combed through over 600 individual federal grants and contracts featuring keywords and phrases like “transgender” or “gender affirming” and identified *over \$104 million* in payments to initiatives mostly or exclusively promoting, subsidizing, or studying transgenderism.

Despite the Biden administration’s assurances that “gender affirming care” is safe enough to be performed on children, most of this money was spent by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) commissioning medical research on a variety of horrific mental and physical health conditions that plague transgender people both before and after transitioning. Some of these studies even examined catastrophic side effects from the hormonal and surgical transition procedures that the administration insists are supported by overwhelming medical consensus.

In addition, many grants of a less sinister but equally wasteful nature put the federal government’s proclivity for downright absurd spending practices on full display.

Funding the Very-Much-Not-Settled Science

The Biden administration has already directed millions of dollars toward researching the health problems that plague transgender adults.

A combined \$650,000, for example, was given to the Medical College of Wisconsin and the Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center for studies examining how to manage the elevated rates of breast cancer in “transfeminine” people taking estrogen for long periods of time, while \$1.1 million was awarded to UC San Diego (by the Department of Defense) to study their risk of prostate cancer. A further \$1.3 million was given to the University of Minnesota just to develop a *process* to recruit transgender patients for *future* hypothetical cancer studies, since it’s currently difficult to obtain a group sample size large enough to be useful.

Cancer isn’t the only risk being studied.

The Boston Medical Center received \$498,000 to study cardiovascular health problems in transgender people and how hormone treatments affect long-term heart health. Indiana University at Bloomington received \$1.1 million to study why transwomen have an increased risk of asthma. Michigan State University received another \$1.1 million to develop a framework for “modeling resilience as a multidimensional protective factor for transgender health disparities.”

Alongside these grants are many more to study and treat the unusually high rates of alcoholism, domestic violence, substance abuse, and mental health issues suffered by transgender adults.

The Trans HIV Epidemic

Millions were also spent on programs to study, treat, and reduce the staggering rates of HIV/AIDS infection in transgender people. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 42 percent of transgender women surveyed in seven major U.S. cities in 2021 were HIV positive. That same year, the CDC estimated that 1.2 million total Americans (0.3 percent of the general population) were HIV positive. This means transgender people experience HIV at rates over 100 times higher than the rest of America.

Leaving no stone unturned (and no dollar unspent) the government has funded expensive studies at a long roster of universities to examine this issue from virtually every angle.

Emory University for example, received \$172,316 to study why pumping biological males with estrogen as part of “gender affirming hormone therapy” makes the rectal mucus of transwomen more susceptible to HIV infection. On the other side of that coin, the University of Alabama at Birmingham received \$222,750 to study why pumping biological *women* with *testosterone* makes the vaginal and cervical tissue of transmen much more susceptible to severe tearing and HIV infection.

Another \$3.5 million was awarded to John Hopkins University to create a nationwide study of transwomen to get a more accurate estimate of their “disproportionately” high rate of HIV infection. The Research Foundation for



Transgender people experience HIV at rates over 100 times higher than the rest of America.

Mental Hygiene, meanwhile, received \$1.1 million to test the efficacy of an “evidence-based, trauma-informed HIV prevention” program for transwomen of color that claimed to reduce HIV infection rates by mitigating the effects of “intersectional stigma.”

Perhaps one of the largest grants, though, was a \$5.4 million grant to UCLA to develop an app to promote sexual health and HIV testing *specifically* among young transwomen.

“But what about an app to help promote HIV testing to transmen?” you might ask. Fear not, Columbia University received \$660,723 from the Biden administration for MyPeeps Mobile, which was designed just for young transgender men.

Eliminating HIV is an admirable goal, and the transgender community is undoubtedly a good place to start in that work, but the administration’s policy of vigorously promoting gender-affirming care seems to be directly at odds with a goal they are spending millions of taxpayer dollars to reach.

Experimental Medicine Targeting Children

A bombshell study by the American Medical Association published this week revealed that an estimated 3,600 minors have undergone gender affirming surgeries in the United States since 2016. It directly refuted the claims of transgender activists that such procedures are never performed on children. The Biden administration, for its part, has *long* acknowledged that these procedures are being performed on children, if only through its grantmaking. At least \$19 million of the trans-specific grants that our research discovered paid for the promotion and research of transgenderism among children and young adults.

In August 2022, months before President Joe Biden publicly endorsed hormone replacement therapy as safe for minors, the DHSS pledged \$1.1 million to Childrens Hospital Medical Center in Cincinnati to study “thrombosis risk in transgender adolescents and young adults starting gender-affirming hormone therapy.” The hospital said the risk of thrombosis, or severe blood clots, is elevated when a young person is taking “gender affirming” hormone treatment, particularly if they are being administered estrogen.

A similar \$500,000 study at Yale also studied the “cardiometabolic effects of gender-affirming hormone therapy in transgender adolescents” and hypothesized that “altered hormonal milieu is the major driver of increased cardiometabolic risk in transgender youth.” Apparently serious and



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In August 2022, months before President Joe Biden publicly endorsed hormone replacement therapy as safe for minors, the DHSS pledged \$1.1 million to study “thrombosis risk in transgender adolescents and young adults starting gender-affirming hormone therapy.”

potentially fatal heart problems aren’t worthy of serious consideration when a young person’s gender identity is at stake.

There was also a great deal of research into the mental health problems that transitioned children face.

A \$136,000 DHHS grant to Princeton examined the “psychological consequences of medical transition in transgender youth.” Princeton acknowledged that “transgender youth experience higher levels of mental illness” and conceded that there is currently not enough evidence to support the idea that gender-affirming care is psychologically beneficial for children. As the grant says:

Legislators throughout the US have recently introduced bills that would ban transgender youth from accessing puberty suppression and hormone therapy, asserting that these interventions are not psychologically beneficial. Five studies to date have longitudinally examined the relationship between one or both of these interventions and mental health in transgender youth. However, these studies have had relatively small samples, none have been able to isolate the effects of endocrine interventions, none have included a cisgender comparison group, and none have examined the mechanisms by which endocrine interventions might improve mental health [capitalization adjusted].



According to Princeton, no satisfactory evidence suggests gender-affirming care confers a psychological benefit to kids and young people.

In other words, according to Princeton University, no satisfactory evidence suggests gender-affirming care confers a psychological benefit to kids and young people. Despite this, Princeton University Health Services continue to offer gender-affirming hormones and surgeries to students.

The administration also generously funded a \$2.3 million study at Nationwide Children's Hospital to examine the long-term negative mental health consequences of supposedly reversible pubertal hormone blockers, admitting that "the overall impacts of [gonadotropin releasing hormone antagonists] treatment have not been systematically studied." The study was first approved for funding by the DHHS in July 2021, but in October 2022, President Biden called legislation proposing to ban the use of puberty blockers on transgender minors "outrageous" and "immoral," while his administration sued Tennessee to prevent the state from enacting such a law.

Another \$250,000 was given to St. John's Community Health to create "a queer young adult driven" effort to provide HIV and substance abuse treatments to transgender young people in Los Angeles, for whom addiction is a disproportionately high risk. No money seems to have been spent to understand *why* this might be the case.

"Grooming"

As mentioned above, the number of children in America identifying as transgender has risen dramatically in the past several years. Many attribute this to the impressionability of children and the effect of a "social contagion," comparable to peer pressure on steroids. In response to this dramatic increase, many figures in right-leaning political circles have dubbed transgender activism targeting children "grooming," a term which has become highly controversial.

Several large grants issued by the Biden administration fund what many might label "grooming" activities that market transgenderism to children.

The Seattle Children's Hospital, for example, received \$143,057 to develop a telehealth clinic for "gender diverse youth" and another \$216,453 for programs to help promote healthy sexual relationships among "transgender and gender expansive youth." That's over \$350,000 for programs specifically for transgender children and youth.

Another particularly troubling \$161,192 grant to the University of Wisconsin funded a study to determine how social media influencers can encourage kids to explore their gender identity without their parents' knowledge. Most concerns about "grooming" behavior stem from the prevalence of transgender activism on social media sites marketed toward children.

Another \$203,050 was paid to the University of Nebraska to create an experimental "online mentoring program" in which transgender children could be paired up with a transgender "adult mentor" to discuss, among other things, "self-harm, alcohol and drug-use, [and] sexual risk-taking." Pairing children up with adults who are not their parents or teachers to discuss high-risk sexual behaviors and drug



Credit: Victoria Pickering. License: <https://bit.ly/3skEjBF>.

As mentioned above, the number of children in America identifying as transgender has risen dramatically in the past several years. Many attribute this to the impressionability of children and the effect of a "social contagion," comparable to peer pressure on steroids.

use seems ill-advised, but apparently, it's the sort of thing worthy of a six-figure investment of tax-dollars.

One of the largest, a \$3.3 million grant to the Boston Children's Hospital that has already been widely reported, commissioned an "interactive educational digital platform" designed for transgender children to explore. The hospital, meanwhile, has attempted to deny that it is promoting transgenderism to its patients.

Another grant, awarded to a mysteriously redacted recipient in New Jersey, spent \$138,000 on a study of "social preferences among transgender, gender nonconforming, and gender typical children." Only the DHHS and the undisclosed recipient know what that means.

A Sprinkling of Government Waste

Besides the truly sinister targeting of children and horrifying medical experiments, much of the transgender-specific spending our research identified is just hilariously wasteful.

The Center for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Art & Culture received a total of \$65,000 for its "Queer arts festival." The art on display was interesting, to say the least.

The YR Gaitonde Medical Educational and Research Foundation in India received nearly \$50,000 from the Department of State "to sensitize employees in Hyderabad and Chennai toward transgender persons in their workforce." The woke HR training wasn't just reserved for overseas, either; the Change Companies also received a \$1.5 million contract from the DOJ for a "transgender programming curriculum."

The Federation of Sexual and Gender Minorities, Nepal received \$2,315 to provide English classes for "professional transgender women makeup entrepreneurs."

The Memphis Brooks Museum of Art received \$20,000 for an exhibition featuring portraits of transgender people by contemporary photographer Mark Seliger."

Florida University International received over \$135,000 for "a qualitative inquiry into sex/gender narratives in undergraduate biology and their impacts on transgender, non-binary, and gender non-conforming students." Why Biology 101 might have an impact on transgender, non-binary, and gender non-conforming students is not hard to imagine; basic biology refutes the entire ideology outright. What *is* hard to imagine is the reason said impact would require a \$135,000 study from the National Science Foundation. It appears the federal government deemed the sensibilities of transgender undergrads worthy of a small fortune worth of spending.

The Friends Research Institute received \$178,781 to develop "an identity measure for transgender and gender diverse persons," in an apparent attempt to try to develop a measurement system for gender identity, which most left-wing activists insist is a spectrum of immeasurable possibilities.

Another \$10,000 was given to Oregon Arts Watch by the National Endowment for the Arts to "support the creation and publication of a series of written and photo essays featuring gender nonconforming and transgender people." So far, the Oregon Arts Watch website shows that the grant has paid for a total of six articles (with photographs) so far, all written by the same author. At the current pace of two-thirds of an article per month, the \$10,000 grant will have paid for eight articles by the conclusion of its one-year term, coming out to \$1,250 per article.

The Fundacion Grupo de Accion y Apoyo a Personas Trans received \$125,000 to support "the rights and safety of transgender people" in Colombia, the Universidad de los Andes received \$25,000 to raise awareness of transgenderism in the Colombian opera scene, and an unidentified "foreign awardee" received \$10,000 to promote the "insertion of trans people in Colombia." At an average cost of \$3 per meal in 2023, the money the Biden administration has spent promoting transgenderism in Colombia could have paid for over 53,000 school lunches.

Vanderbilt University, another esteemed place of higher learning, received \$419,000 for a project to leverage "big data for transgender and gender minority health equity research." How exactly "big data" were leveraged toward this end is not totally clear, but it was evidently a very expensive endeavor.

HSU Development was given an \$833,361 contract to build *one single* gender-neutral bathroom on the first floor of a government building. In fact, the Biden administration has spent \$3.7 million on gender-neutral bathrooms *alone* since 2021.

Who Can you Trust?

Despite the assurances that the Biden administration, universities, children's hospitals, and activists have given the public, the science is not settled on transgenderism. If it was, millions of taxpayer dollars wouldn't be flowing toward the scientific research of the ascendant ideology, and its many health consequences.

The institutions that promote "gender-affirming care" across the U.S. are the exclusive beneficiaries of a small govern-



Credit: Ted Eytan. License: <https://bit.ly/4557Mx4>.

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ment-funded industry that has been erected around treating and studying the catastrophic mental and physical health consequences that result from it. The universities that deluge impressionable students with gender theory, the hospitals that provide the surgeries and pills, and the activist groups and community centers that promote transgenderism to the world are all raking in enormous grants to fix the problems *that they helped cause*.

There is simply no way to trust “the science” or “the experts” on this issue. It would be akin to trusting a tobacco company on the negative side effects of cigarettes.

This is particularly true since the leading scientists and experts in this field have remained silent when the very administration funding them voices support for conclusions about the safety of transgenderism that are at odds with the *basic premises* of their ongoing government-funded research. Meanwhile, the world of professional LGBTQ activism, particularly organizations like the Human Rights Campaign and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health, exerts a ludicrous amount of effort to make sure that information related to the health issues plaguing post-transition individuals is suppressed and labeled misinformation. ■

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IN DEFENSE OF TAFT-HARTLEY

By Michael Watson

Summary: *In 1947, organized labor reaped the whirlwind from the massive disruptions it inflicted on the American economy in 1945–46. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-OH) shepherded passage of the Labor Management Relations Act, which curtailed many of the powers given to Big Labor by the National Labor Relations Act. The Labor Management Relations Act, better known as the “Taft-Hartley Act” after its sponsors Sen. Taft and U.S. Rep. Fred Hartley (R-NJ), advanced three principles that have come to define the conservative approach to labor relations in the decades since: voluntarism in union membership and activities, government scrutiny of labor union operations, and protection of the public from the fallout from labor disputes. Advancing those principles has aided the American economy and the conservative political movement, to the point that some believe they can be laid aside. A close examination, however, demonstrates clearly that continuing on the Taft-Hartley-inspired course is the prudent course and that expanding union power in the name of conservatism would be a political and economic blunder.*

Seventy-six years ago, the most effective federal conservative legislator of the 20th century achieved his greatest victory. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-OH) is better known in presidential folk-history memory as the noninterventionist primary opponent to President Dwight Eisenhower in 1952. In 1947, Taft led the Republican legislative majorities that swept to power in the 1946 midterm landslide to pass the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 over President Harry Truman’s veto. The act significantly curtailed union power in response to union abuses in the immediate post-World War II period.

Since then, the principles underlying what is widely known as the Taft-Hartley Act (named after “Mr. Republican” and his House co-sponsor, Rep. Fred Hartley [R-NJ]) have animated a consensus for conservative labor-relations policy. Operating within the framework established by New Deal liberals during the Depression, Taft-Hartley conservatives pushed to restore voluntarism to union membership and union activities, to subject union activities to government scrutiny warranted by the special powers that the federal



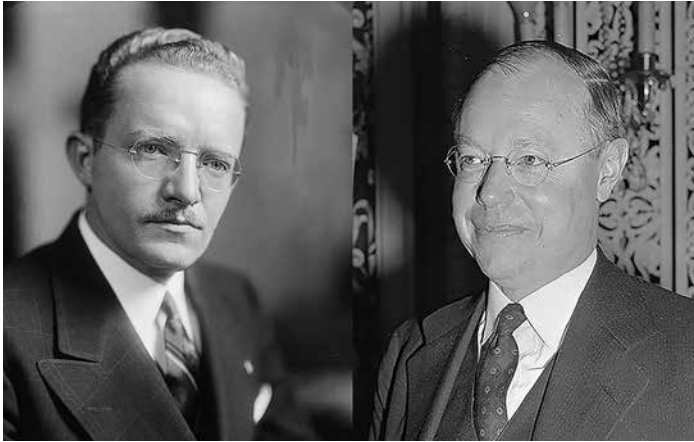
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While strikes and lockouts from the 1940s through the 1970s often took over 1 million Americans out of work, the 21st century has not yet seen a year with half a million idled and the attendant fallouts in the broader economy.

government had given organized labor, and to protect consumers and the broader economy from the fallout from labor disputes.

Seven and a half decades later, rising factions of intellectual conservatives propose to throw out these consensus principles. Whether inspired by left-wing foundation money or by spelunking in 19th-century Catholicism, these “new right” thinkers propose empowering coercion by organized labor, enabling unions to harvest dues from more unwilling “members” and to subject more unwilling workers to their social and economic agendas in the workplace. This would also leave consumers and the public at the mercy

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The principles underlying what is widely known as the Taft-Hartley Act (named after Sen. Robert A. Taft [R-OH] on right and his House co-sponsor, Rep. Fred Hartley [R-NJ] on left) have animated a consensus for conservative labor-relations policy.

of activist groups that form a foundational pillar of the left-wing infrastructure.

That such a faction could rise is a testament to the Taft-Hartley consensus: It achieved its goals so thoroughly that conservatives themselves forgot why they need it. Especially after the *Janus v. AFSCME* decision made the entire government sector functionally right-to-work, fewer conservatives than ever are compelled to pay union fees to hold their jobs. Since the George W. Bush administration expanded union disclosures, organized labor's spending on political agendas and official perks have faced the public scrutiny they deserve. With rare exceptions that illustrate the need for further Taft-Hartley consensus policies, the public can go through life blissfully unaware of and unaffected by the private disputes of other people's employers and employees.

But with the Biden administration committed to advancing social justice unionism as part of a broad left-wing front, the Taft-Hartley right-of-center policy consensus may be more necessary today than it has been in decades. Abandoning it for nothing would be foolish.

Why Taft-Hartley Came to Be

Before assessing the success and continued benefits of the Taft-Hartley approach, it is worth exploring the history of how the Taft-Hartley Act and the right-of-center policy consensus it fostered came to be.

Some reasons date to long before the New Deal and the progressive-left political-economic regime it created. Consider the long-standing political orientation of organized labor itself. While Republicans such as Sen. Mark Hanna (R-OH), a close ally of President William McKinley, made some efforts to court craft unions around the turn of the 20th century, unions found more receptive ears among populist-progressive Democrats, who commanded blocs of class-conscious urban immigrant and second-generation voters than Republicans aligned with and funded by the rising industrialist class and backed by entrepreneurial-minded homesteaders.

The courtship between Big Labor and Big Government advanced through the passage of legislation during the Woodrow Wilson administration that exempted organized labor from antitrust laws. The passage of the Wagner Act in 1935—which compelled businesses to bargain with majority unions on the basis of one majority union solely empowered to establish a contract for all workers—consummated the marriage. Much of the subsequent New Deal legislation simply nationalized long-standing union aims as government policy, including old-age pensions, a standard eight-hour workday, and a national minimum wage. The third of the Three Bigs, Big Business, largely conceded to Big Labor and Big Government in this era.

But the imbalance of power the Wagner Act created between Big Labor and other economic actors would not be made apparent until after the Second World War. With the major industrial organization campaigns—most prominently the United Auto Workers' campaigns to unionize the Big Three Detroit automakers—essentially completed and the wartime pacts to prevent disruptions to war production from labor disputes lapsed, whether the Wagner Act had brought "labor peace" was put to the test in 1945 and 1946.

It hadn't. Instead, with war's end came the end of labor peace: the largest strike wave in American history. Almost 10 percent of the workforce (4.6 million workers then, equivalent to 16 million people today) went on strike. The economic and social damage got so bad that even New Dealers had enough. President Truman, responding to a strike by railway men, denounced the act in a national radio address in no uncertain terms: "I come before the American people tonight at a time of great crisis. The crisis of Pearl Harbor was the result of action by a foreign enemy. The crisis tonight is caused by a group of men within our own country who place their private interests above the welfare of the nation."

President Truman continued, describing the damage the strike was doing to the country:



The courtship between Big Labor and Big Government advanced through the passage of legislation during the Woodrow Wilson administration that exempted organized labor from antitrust laws.

The effects of the rail tie-up were felt immediately by industry. Lack of fuel, raw materials and shipping is bringing about the shutdown of hundreds of factories. Lack of transportation facilities will bring chaos to food distribution.

Farmers cannot move food to markets. All of you will see your food supplies dwindle, your health and safety endangered, your streets darkened, your transportation facilities broken down.

The housing program is being given a severe setback by the interruption of shipment of materials.

Utilities must begin conservation of fuel immediately.

Returning veterans will not be able to get home.

Millions of workers will be thrown out of their jobs.

And then, the self-proclaimed “friend of labor” issued an ultimatum:

If sufficient workers to operate the trains have not returned by 4 p.m. tomorrow, as head of your government I have no alternative but to operate the trains by using every means within my power. I shall call upon the Army to assist the Office of Defense Transportation in operating the trains and I shall ask our armed forces to furnish protection to every man who heeds the call of his country in this hour of need.

The striking unions capitulated to Truman the following day, even as Truman was addressing Congress on the strike. The railroad strike was merely the most disruptive of the disputes that exacerbated economic strife from demobilization. The economic and social consequences led to a Republican sweep in the 1946 midterm elections.

Job one for the new Republican majorities was passing legislation to ensure the 1945–46 economic and social disruption would never happen again and to achieve the objective of “labor peace” the Wagner Act had set for itself and failed to bring. They would receive cross-party backing from southern Democrats more skeptical of organized labor than their Yankee co-partisans.



Credit: C.M. Lewis. License: <https://bit.ly/44SEKAB>.

Despite organized labor’s protests that the Taft-Hartley Bill was a “slave-labor law,” it made fundamentally modest changes to the Wagner Act regime.

Laying Out the Taft-Hartley Consensus

Before analyzing the Taft-Hartley Act and the right-of-center policy consensus it promoted, it is important to specify what the act—and the policy consensus—did *not* do. Despite organized labor’s protests that the bill was a “slave-labor law,” it made fundamentally *modest* changes to the Wagner Act regime. These changes were so modest that the National Right to Work Committee’s official history would later argue that the legislation that made states’ powers to pass right-to-work laws explicit “did little to rectify the fundamental wrongs of federal labor law [that is, the Wagner Act].”

Taft-Hartley accepted as *fait accompli* the Wagner Act’s framework of compulsory, monopoly-union bargaining. It also accepted as *fait accompli* numerous restrictions on employers’ conduct related to employee organization, including restrictions on employers’ general speech, property, and contract rights. The legislation subjected the liberal regime of the Wagner Act to conservative constraint and supervision—no more, no less.

Those constraints would form the Taft-Hartley conservative consensus principles. The most prominent of them is voluntarism in union membership and activities: a right-to-work



Credit: Herald Examiner. License: <https://bit.ly/46b32Xy>

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law that forbids conditioning employment on the payment of union dues or fees enacts this principle. Other policies and legal doctrines have advanced voluntarism as well.

Also notable is subjecting union operations to government scrutiny and regulation. While this power seems statist on its face, it is a response to the extraordinary powers relative to free private associations that the Wagner Act granted organized labor and that the Taft-Hartley Act accepted as *faits accomplis*. Since the government has granted unions extensive powers to command both members and nonmembers alike, the government subjects union finances to extensive disclosure. Since the government has granted unions extensive protections from other general rules that apply to private associations, the government exercises power to regulate lawful union aims and to regulate unions' internal procedures. The extensive corruption in the labor movement that grew alongside unions' power and was exposed in the 1950s led to further lawmaking to regulate union affairs, most notably the federal Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (LMRDA).

The third prong of the Taft-Hartley conservative consensus derives from the political-economic source of the law itself: protecting the public from labor-dispute fallout brought about by union activities. In this way the consensus seeks the ostensible goal of pro-union legislation: "Labor peace," an end to the Pinkertons-versus-Wobblies riots and violence of the late 19th and early 20th century and the creation of

an orderly framework for labor-dispute resolution. Taft-Hartley (and the LMRDA) promoted protecting the public by placing limits on *the aims* for which labor unions could strike, specifically banning the "secondary boycott." And it made the obligations of management to bargain in good faith with labor unions also apply to unions.

Taken together, these consensus aims have advanced substantially since 1947. Union voluntarism has advanced with 26 states (and the territory of Guam) enacting right-to-work laws. *Janus v. AFSCME* decision made all government employment functionally right-to-work. Other Supreme Court decisions—perhaps most notably *Communications Workers of America v. Beck*, which held that a union contract could not compel a non-union-member to pay the portion of dues used for purposes other than representation—constraining unions' ability to compel payments as a condition of employment. Further, much to the chagrin of democratic socialists and purportedly conservative statist alike, millions of American workers have opted out of unionism by voluntarily choosing not to join or form unions, sending union density plummeting since its 1950s peak. (Union density is the proportion of workers who are either union members or working subject to union contracts.)

LMRDA, enacted to respond to the revelations of Jimmy Hoffa's corruption by the U.S. Senate's Rackets Committee, may not have rooted Mob corruption out of Big Labor by itself, but Taft-Hartley consensus Republican administrations employing aggressive law enforcement in the late 1980s and early 1990s substantially reduced Mob influence in labor unionism. The George W. Bush administration toughened the law's disclosure requirements, and those requirements helped send a prominent former SEIU leader to prison in the late 2000s.

And strikes have become far less disruptive than they once were. While strikes and lockouts from the 1940s through the 1970s often took over 1 million Americans out of work, the 21st century has not yet seen a year with half a million idled and the attendant fallouts in the broader economy. The parade of horrors that President Truman condemned in 1946 are well in the rear-view mirror, in part thanks to legislation that Truman vetoed—a veto made, according to at least one recollection, as an act of unprincipled political opportunism.

The Taft-Hartley consensus has largely succeeded—succeeded so well in fact, that abandoning it from ignorance of the consequences of doing so seems possible. But the cynical reasoning to hold fast is simple: Organized labor is and has been the adversary of conservatism for a century and counting. The iron logic "reward friends, punish



The Taft-Hartley approach still provides the best policy responses to the labor-relations challenges of the 21st century.

enemies” compels conservatives to continue the Taft-Hartley approach. This cynical reasoning is entirely correct. As I have argued at length, the ideology of social justice unionism that drives contemporary labor union activism demands that all factions of conservatives seek to constrain Big Labor.

But cynical factional bean-counting is unsatisfying reasoning. Surely one ought to pursue ideal practical policies? Good news then: The Taft-Hartley approach still provides the best policy responses to the labor-relations challenges of the 21st century. Or at least their superior to the European socialist imports of the “new right” factions or the coercive (if distinctly American) policies of the Biden administration and its allies in the marble and concrete palace headquarters of national labor unions.

Advancing Voluntarism

For conservatives, there is no good reason to abandon the consensus principle of voluntarism, especially workers’ freedom to refrain from union activity. Nor should they cease advancing right-to-work legislation, legislation to curtail the power of organized labor to “represent” workers who do not wish to accept its representation, or legislation to curtail the power of organized labor to coerce workers to fund its full-spectrum left-wing political agenda.

Every conservative dragooned by circumstance into a unionized workplace is compelled to make a Hobson’s choice: Either concede any voice in the workplace by resigning from the union, or pay dues that will support such wonderful institutions as the Women’s March, ballot measure committees pushing for gun control and Planned Parenthood-backed sex-ed curriculums, and the electoral-advocacy arm of the Arabella Advisors network of liberal dark money, the Sixteen Thirty Fund. In 24 states, even making the concession and giving up voice requires payment of union fees. The least conservative policymakers owe their supporters is to not make this situation any worse.

The Biden administration and Big Labor are pushing to conjure a National Labor Relations Board doctrine known as Joy Silk from the legal dead. It would preference “card check” organizing and make it easier to dragoon the unwilling by denying workers a private means to express their views on

unionizing. In an age of cancel culture, that privacy is more important than it perhaps ever has been. For that reason, conservative policymakers *must* work to defeat the revival of Joy Silk.

They should also defend traditional notions of joint employment, targeted by Big Labor to ease organizing of franchised small businesses as if they were the New Deal-era Big Business with the consent of the national branding companies ripe for targeting by Big Labor’s corporate campaigns. If principle isn’t enough to motivate that defense, maybe self-interest will. Do conservative policymakers really want Big Labor to reap a dues windfall of up to \$1.35 billion that could (and will) be aimed at them?

Policymakers should also protect the right of workers to operate as independent contractors—what Big Labor’s leftist and rightist allies alike deride as “the gig economy.” From the very beginnings of the Republican Party and conservative movement, these factions have pushed a vision of work that is entrepreneurial and explicitly *not* based on class struggle. (History podcaster Avi Woolf, who focuses on the Gilded Age in which modern labor and capital matured, has a Twitter thread detailing this thesis.) Meanwhile, organized labor and the Democratic Party which it supports push a collectivist, class-struggle model. Rather than independent entrepreneurs working for themselves according to their own needs, it would prefer union-organized, political-dues-paying “workers” for a Big Corporation, even if the model does not accurately describe the work arrangements the workers would prefer.

Conservatives, on the other hand, must resist this class-conflict model. As I wrote for *National Review* online earlier this year:

While big business might be cutting deals with the woke mob, the petite bourgeoisie of small entrepreneurs remains staunchly full-spectrum conservative. According to OpenSecrets, 98.22 percent of the contributions from the National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), a trade group for small and medium-sized businesses, and the reportable contributions from individual staff members went to Republican candidates and party committees in 2022.

When the policy “ball” can be advanced forward, it would behoove conservative policymakers to move it as far as political reality allows. A national right-to-work law is the customary desideratum. The less aggressive Employee Rights Act backed by Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC) that would limit unions’ ability to use member dues secured from the conser-

vative worker's dilemma for political and advocacy functions would also be a salutary advancement.

The conservative Holy Grail should be a policy to allow non-union members to decline the “representation” that they do not wish. In contrast, the ostensibly conservative American Compass has inexplicably proposed giving the Service Employees International Union *its* Holy Grail and the power to compel—excuse me, *negotiate on behalf of*—millions more unwilling workers through “sectoral bargaining”—an import from French political economy currently being trialed by the SEIU’s political allies in Big Labor’s Golden State.

When discussing sectoral bargaining, I cannot help but revert to the first person, because the union that would presumably *negotiate on behalf of* writers and think-tank types is one of the worst. The NewsGuild-CWA and its affiliates have in recent years denounced the publication of an op-ed by Compass ally Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR), called by implication for the elimination of the State of Israel in a tweet, and targeted a journalist for accurate reporting on George Soros’s political donations. Its parent union, the Communications Workers of America, is no better, being the strongest source of institutional support for the presidential campaigns of socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT). I do not trust this institution to represent my social and economic interest. I do not wish to give it the power to purport to do so, and I surely do not wish to pay it for the “privilege” of handing over my autonomy against my will.

American workers should not be compelled to join and pay money (roughly \$700–\$1,400 per year per worker) to an economic organization that fails to serve their economic interests and that as a political organization fails to serve—and may outright harm—their political interests. Better to stick to advancing voluntarism.

Tightening Government Scrutiny of Labor Organizations

The case for tightening government scrutiny of labor organizations under the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act should be obvious to anyone not paid campaign contributions or other labor union favors to turn a blind eye to it. Throughout the history of the Wagner Act labor-relations regime (and even before), labor union officials have proved prone to using members’ dues, pension-fund contributions, and other funds as their personal kitty, when they have not been operating on behalf of organized crime or secretly taking bribes from employers.



Fiat Chrysler executives kept corrupt United Auto Workers officers “fat, dumb, and happy” with kickbacks routed through a union/management training center.

The Trump administration, like the George W. Bush administration, attempted to expand the disclosures provided for by the LMRDA to associated trusts, including multi-employer health and pension plans (ironically established pursuant to the Taft-Hartley Act). Recent major union corruption scandals have involved these side-line funds, most notably the scheme by which corrupt Fiat Chrysler executives kept corrupt United Auto Workers officers “fat, dumb, and happy” with kickbacks routed through a union/management training center.

But the mismanagement of member money goes beyond the merely criminal. Indeed, much financial mischief by labor union officials is *perfectly legal*, and even *encouraged by the government*. The environmental, social, and governance (ESG) model of using pension funds to advance liberal policies in the corporate boardroom with disregard for its effect on beneficiaries’ rate of return is widely adopted by union trusts. Indeed, CalPERS, the union-directed state-worker pension fund in California, helped pioneer ESG investing in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Prudent policy would further tighten the fiduciary duties of labor officials who govern these investment funds and the managerial-class activists they hire to manage them, preventing them from using union members’ retirement money to pursue political agendas.

Protecting the Public from Labor-Dispute Fallout

The past few years should be an object lesson in why the Taft-Hartley principles limiting unions’ power to disrupt commerce and society—remember the parade of horrors that President Truman detailed during the 1946 railroad strike—should be toughened, not weakened.

The Biden administration and its Democratic allies in Congress have advanced the Protecting the Right to Organize Act, a broad-based repeal of the Taft-Hartley model that among other things would lift limits on “sec-



Credit: Charles Edward Miller. License: <https://bit.ly/48f7NBB>.

Teachers unions denounced reopening schools as “rooted in sexism, racism, and misogyny” while their board members vacationed in the Caribbean.

ondary boycotts” by labor unions. Conservatives should be extremely familiar with the secondary boycott: It is plausibly described as “the Left’s ultimate weapon.” First, a definition:

A “secondary” boycott differs from a traditional boycott in which entity suffers the activists’ pain. A traditional “primary” boycott (or primary strike, primary picketing, or other primary action) targets the actor whose behavior the activist wishes to change. ... The business under boycott is the activists’ target—the pressure is directed at the actor whose behavior the activists wish to change.

Secondary boycotts have different direct targets. The activist targets a victim with the intent of changing the behavior of a third party with whom the victim engages, usually in a commercial transaction.

The goal of the secondary boycott is to coerce the principal target by getting the third party being boycotted to compel the primary target to do the activist’s bidding. Left-wing groups like Media Matters have employed secondary boycotts to advance left-wing social policy and silence conserva-

tives even before the rise of cancel culture. Big Labor would surely love to gain the power to coerce businesses that it has dragooned into collective bargaining into compelling suppliers to complying with DEI demands, LGBT Pride product placements, and abortion-access regimes that Big Labor prefers.

By now, anyone with eyes to see should be disabused of the notion that contemporary labor unions are “purely industrial or economical class organizations with less hours and more wages for their motto.”

Under the COVID-era lockdown regime, teachers unions extensively illustrated to the public the consequences of giving labor unions unlimited power to disrupt society. Teachers’ unions *explicitly*, without fear of governmental reprisal, demanded that the police be defunded, charter schools be banned, and illegal immigrants be given government benefits *as a condition of reopening schools* that were ostensibly closed due to COVID-19. Teachers unions denounced reopening schools as “rooted in sexism, racism, and misogyny” while their board members vacationed in the

Caribbean. When America's children needed a firm, Taft-Hartley response, the world wondered. The consequences of that failure are only beginning to be learned.

Teachers unions were not alone in their work to disrupt the social world in the name of union power. In New Jersey, the United Food and Commercial Workers praised lethargy in lifting mask mandates. The Association of Flight Attendants, a division of the Communications Workers of America, demanded that the public-transport and airplane mask mandate continue. The mandate was only ended by order of a federal judge in *April 2022*. If unions had gotten their way, the COVID-era mandates might have been codified into law through OSHA rules.

The cowardice of public officials, conservatives as well as liberals, in the face of union demands during the COVID era starkly contrast with the proper response to organized labor taking a (metaphorical) gun to the head of the economy and society. Truman detailed it in his speeches against the 1946 railroad strike, and responded by threatening to draft the railway men into the military. Ruining the public in the name of a union benefit cannot be permitted.

President Ronald Reagan carried out the proper response when the air traffic controllers union—which had endorsed his campaign in 1980—struck in violation of federal law in 1981. In keeping with the Taft-Hartley consensus, President Reagan forbade the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization from extorting the traveling public by shutting down commercial air travel: He fired those who struck. Ruining the public in the name of a union benefit *was not* permitted.

It is one thing for a labor organization to strike against its employer to jawbone the employer to make concessions. In the private sector, this is both customary and legally protected. But granting organized labor—either by negligence of duty as with teachers during COVID or by design as with the proposed restoration of the secondary boycott—more power to coerce the *public* ought to be anathema to con-

servative policymakers. Any labor-relations policy change they consider should be considered in light power unions' demonstrated willingness to abuse their coercive powers. After all, in the immortal and infamous words of United Teachers Los Angeles president Cecily Myart-Cruz: "Our kids didn't lose anything. It's OK that our babies may not have learned all their times tables."

Such perfidy must not be repaid with greater power.

Here We Must Stand

Over the 76 years since the passage of the law bearing the name of "Mr. Republican," organized labor has done absolutely nothing to disabuse conservatives of their skepticism of it. Indeed, labor unions have moved even *further* to the left in recent decades as private-sector unionists who rose through the ranks at the bargaining table have been replaced by government-worker unionists who rose through the ranks of left-wing political activism.

Given that, abandoning the Taft-Hartley consensus principles and the policies that they inspire to instead:

- Give power to compel unionist activities and funding,
- Lift disclosures on union finances and to expand the discretionary power of ESG-inspired union pension-fund managers, and
- Give labor unions the power to threaten widespread economic destruction in order to secure labor's hard-Left non-economic aims

would be a blunder worthy of the Romans at Cannae or Teutoburg Forest, the Confederates at Gettysburg, or the Russians at Tsushima. Here we must stand.

The alternative is political and economic destruction. ■

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



THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

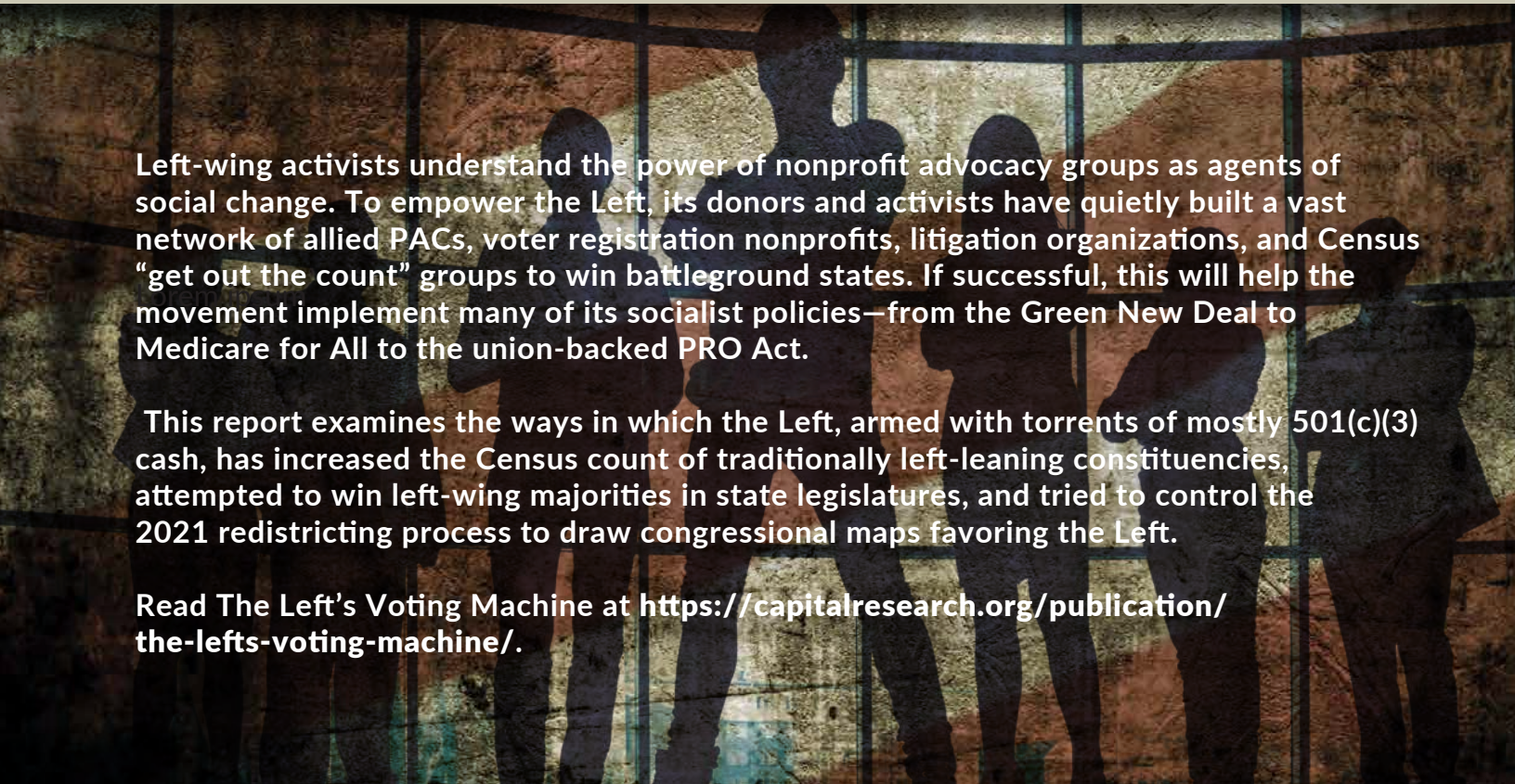


CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

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

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

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





Read the special report at
capitalresearch.org/publication

MAPPING SOROS'S
“PHILANTHROPY”
AT HOME AND ABROAD



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DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION



THE LEFT'S CENSORSHIP INDUSTRY

By Fred Lucas

Summary: Over the past almost two and a half centuries, faith in the common sense of Americans to make rational judgments—along with the protections of the First Amendment—preempted attempts to “protect” the public from shoddy information, whether it was called “misinformation,” “disinformation,” or “fake news.” But the Left is increasingly worried about losing control of the political narrative—and losing power. This is why progressive groups are increasingly encouraging government and Big Tech corporations to squelch certain “dangerous” information, even if they have no case the information is inaccurate. The Biden administration, in turn, seems bent on outsourcing censorship as emails between White House officials and Facebook executives have shown. Censorship is becoming a growth industry in the progressive nonprofit sector.

Misinformation and disinformation used to have distinct meanings. Increasingly both have—at least culturally and politically—morphed into a single definition of what the Left doesn't want to hear or read, regardless of accuracy.

There is absolute merit in flagging bad news reporting, such as *honest* fact-checking or pointing out intentionally deceptive websites and social media posts masquerading as news sites. But in some cases, left-leaning organizations such as the Center for Countering Digital Hate and the Poynter Institute for Media Studies have branded fact-based conservative news websites as peddlers of fake news for not ascribing to a preferred progressive narrative.

These groups certainly aren't alone.

Former President Donald Trump very successfully co-opted the phrase “fake news,” so the Left conflates the term disinformation (once associated with intelligence or espionage) and misinformation (something that isn't true but is spreading) into a catchall phrase to slime conservative media outlets and commentators.

Whatever your preferred term for fake news, it's important to note this is nothing new either in the United States or anywhere else. Sleazy supermarket tabloids predated the internet. Before that, yellow journalism and newspapers



In October, the New York Post published information from Hunter Biden's now-infamous laptop. News organizations and social media companies strangely seemed to be working in tandem to suppress the story. The Twitter Files showed us why.

owned and operated by political parties didn't exactly adhere to a strong standard of accuracy or code of ethics.

Still, over a span of almost two and a half centuries, faith in the common sense of Americans to make rational judgments—along with the protections of the First Amendment—prevented the notion that the public had to be protected from shoddy information taking hold. If someone is happier believing aliens assassinated President John F. Kennedy, that probably poses no risk to the country.

Then again, that's not what the Left is worried about. Control of the political narrative means power. After a

Fred Lucas, the author of The Myth of Voter Suppression, is the manager of the Investigative Reporting Project at the Daily Signal.



Tossing around the terms “misinformation” and “disinformation” are now simply a rationale to advocate for censorship.

monopoly on public discourse was broken, the political and media establishment feared losing control of the narrative—thus losing power.

This is why progressive groups are increasingly encouraging government or Big Tech corporations to squelch certain information deemed as “dangerous,” even if they have no case the information is inaccurate.

The Biden administration, in turn, seems bent on outsourcing censorship—as the House Judiciary Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government has shown with unearthed emails between White House officials and Facebook executives.

Tossing around the terms “misinformation” and “disinformation” are now simply a rationale to advocate for censorship. Not only that, but censorship is becoming an industry of sorts in the progressive nonprofit sector.

Organizations with backing from entities tied to George Soros as well as the Ford Foundation, Craig Newark Philanthropies, and other major funders on the left have popped up in recent years to promote a censorship agenda.

Other more longstanding center-left nonprofits such as the Rand Corporation and Common Cause have joined the act. Then there is the Global Disinformation Index that has pocketed U.S. tax dollars for its silence pursuits.

Brazen Advocacy for Censorship

It’s perhaps a bit much to say the left-wing groups are saying the quiet part out loud. But some are close to openly calling for the suppression of views they just don’t agree with.

Possibly the most brazen of these censorship groups is the Data & Society Research Institute. The organization’s website contends it isn’t necessarily against free speech. “When technologists defend free speech above all other values, they play directly into the hands of white nationalists,” the Data & Society website says.

It seems to argue that only “idealistic” speech should be protected under the First Amendment. “But a commitment to freedom of speech above all else presumes an idealistic version of the internet that no longer exists,” the website

continues. “And as long as we consider any content moderation to be censorship, minority voices will continue to be drowned out by their aggressive majority counterparts.”

The notion of what is “idealistic” is of course subjective. But the group offers a solution: Be more like other democratic countries that have less free speech than the United States. “Perhaps we might want to look at countries like Canada and the United Kingdom, which take a different approach to free speech than does the United States.” The post continues:

These countries recognize that unlimited free speech can lead to aggression and other tactics which end up silencing the speech of minorities—in other words, the tyranny of the majority. Creating online communities where all groups can speak may mean scaling back on some of the idealism of the early internet in favor of pragmatism. But recognizing this complexity is an absolutely necessary first step.

The organization was founded in 2014 with backing from Microsoft. Janet Haven, after working for the Soros-backed Open Society Foundations, became the chief of Data & Society.

Another Data & Society commentary argued, “Due to Black women’s intersectional oppressions of race, sex, class, and many other axes, ‘race neutral’ approaches to policy tend to harm Black women the most.”

Data & Society funders include the Soros-backed Open Society Foundations and the Ford Foundation—two of the biggest funders of left-leaning organizations. Arabella Advisors contributed to the organization as recently as 2020. The American Council of Learned Societies, Craig Newark Philanthropies, the Hewlett Foundation, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the Kellogg Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Someland Foundation, and the Internet Society Foundation have also contributed.

Information Futures Lab

Some of those same financial backers have given to the Information Futures Lab (IFL) based at Brown University, launched in June 2022.

The IFL's predecessor was First Draft, launched in 2015 in partnership with the Google News Initiative and Bellingcat, with financial backing from Open Society Foundations.

First Draft sought to combat allegations of election irregularities in the 2020 presidential election. When it shut down in 2022, it announced that Information Futures Lab would pick up its functions.

Ahead of the 2020 election, First Draft set up CrossCheck to bring together journalists and influencers to counter supposed disinformation and offer training about such "threats."

The Twitter Files, published in December 2022 revealed that First Draft representatives participated in a September 2020 "rehearsal" about a hypothetical scenario of leaked documents regarding Hunter Biden and then-Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden. This was before the hypothetical happened. The goal of the participants was to control the impact of the leak and shape the narrative on social media and in news coverage. The plan worked.

In October, the *New York Post* published information from Hunter Biden's now-infamous laptop. News organizations and social media companies strangely seemed to be working in tandem to suppress the story. The Twitter Files showed us why.

Information Futures Lab calls for news outlets and social media platforms to fight "misinformation." It also conducts



Credit: Associação Brasileira de Jornalismo Investigativo. License: <https://shorturl.at/ksAU14>.

IFL's two founders are Claire Wardle and Stephanie Friedhoff (not shown). Wardle headed up the First Draft until it shut down and handed over its functions to IFL.

research, makes recommendations, and develops guidelines for policing what it says are false narratives.

In the IFL report "About the Equity First Vaccination Initiative," funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the organization blames structural racism for COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy.

IFL's two founders are Claire Wardle and Stephanie Friedhoff. Wardle headed up the First Draft until it shut down and handed over its functions to IFL. She previously worked for Harvard University's Shornstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy and Columbia University's Tow Center for Digital Journalism. Journalist Matt Taibbi reported in May 2023 that Wardle was looped into email conversations with defense and intelligence officials about the development of the Hunter Biden story.

Friedhoff is a professor at the Brown University School of Public Health and was an advisor on COVID-19 policy to the Biden administration.

From Britain with Censorship

Two British-based organizations have attempted to censor U.S. media. One has even received U.S. taxpayer dollars to support its efforts.

The Center for Countering Digital Hate has targeted two U.S. news and commentary outlets: The Federalist and ZeroHedge. The organization sought to have Google ban the sites from their advertising platform, which would effectively demonetize the websites.

Some of the center's personnel are tied to the British Labour Party. The Center for Countering Digital Hate's founder is Imran Ahmed, a former advisor to Labour Members of Parliament Hilary Benn and Angela Eagle.

Ahmed and Eagle co-authored the book *The New Serfdom: The Triumph of Conservative Ideas and How to Defeat Them* to attack the legacy of free market economist Friedrich Hayek, a conservative icon famous for his book *The Road to Serfdom*.

Kristy McNeill, a former advisor to British Prime Minister Gordon Brown (Labour Party) is a board member of the center. Also, Morgan Sweeney's resigned from the board of the Center for Countering Digital Hate to be chief of staff for Labour Party Leader Keir Starmer.

The center has gone after folks in Britain that could legitimately be called crackpot conspiracy theorists. The group



Credit: AnonEditor234. License: <https://shorturl.at/rCU3>.

The Center for Countering Digital Hate's founder is Imran Ahmed, a former advisor to Labour Members of Parliament Hilary Benn and Angela Eagle.

succeeded in getting David Icke—who has claimed that shape-shifting reptiles control the world—removed from YouTube and Facebook.

More troubling are its efforts to go after U.S.-based media outlets, based largely on the comments section.

In June 2020, the Center for Countering Digital Hate successfully pushed Google's advertising platform to ban the financial blog ZeroHedge. The center claimed the comments section from readers contained racist comments about Black Lives Matter.

Ahmed framed this as protecting advertisers:

We found that lots of those companies are inadvertently funding through their advertising content that is outright racist in defense of white supremacy and contains conspiracy theories about George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement.

Also in 2020, the center similarly managed to get Google to issue a warning—although not an outright ban—against The Federalist, a conservative news and commentary website. The reason was also that the comment section contained offensive comments about the George Floyd protests.

It should be stated that a private nonprofit has the right to complain to an advertising platform about content. A company involved in advertising has the freedom of asso-

ciation under the First Amendment to decide who they do business with.

So, this is not to suggest the moves are legally actionable. However, selectively targeting media outlets for demonetization through Google undermines a basic culture of free speech and creates a chilling effect.

Another British-based organization is the Global Disinformation Index (GDI) has received U.S. State Department funding and issues ratings that generally target fact-based conservative-leaning media outlets as high risk. The group's stated goal is to drive away advertising dollars, declaring it is "Defunding Disinformation."

Two agencies aligned with the State Department, the National Endowment for Democracy and the Global Engagement Center, gave a combined \$330,000 to the Global Disinformation Index.

The State Department says the money it gave to GDI was not used to rank U.S. media outlets, but rather for "information integrity" in Africa and Asia. Still, money is usually fungible. Federal agencies should consider the overall activities of organizations receiving U.S. taxpayers' money.

The organization rates about 2,000 websites for their risk of "disinformation." Microsoft-owned Xandr is among the companies that pay GDI for access to lists. They in-turn blacklist "high risk" entries, according to an investigation by the *Washington Examiner*.

"To reduce disinformation, we need to remove the financial incentive to create it. Brands unwittingly provide an estimated quarter of a billion dollars annually to disinformation websites through online advertisements placed on them. GDI uses both human and artificial intelligence to assess disinformation risk across the open web," the GDI website says. "We then provide these risk ratings to brands and advertising technology partners, providing them with a trusted and neutral source of data with which to direct their advertising spend."

The GDI advisory panel includes employees from Soros's Open Society Foundation, Facebook, and the Pew Research Center.

In October 2022, the GDI report "Measuring Disinformation Risk on TV News Programming," concluded that Fox News was the most prone of the top three cable networks to disinformation, followed by MSNBC, while CNN was the lowest risk.

GDI and a sister organization the Global Disinformation Lab at the University of Texas teamed to produce the

CC

Selectively targeting media outlets for demonetization through Google undermines a basic culture of free speech and creates a chilling effect.

“Disinformation Risk Assessment: The Online News Market in the United States.” This looked at 69 American news websites. It identified the 10 “riskiest” websites, which were all either conservative or libertarian: Reason; the *New York Post* (which broke the Hunter Biden laptop story); the Daily Wire; RealClearPolitics; the Federalist, One America News Network, Newsmax, the American Conservative, and the Spectator.

Unsurprisingly, the report’s choice of the top 10 “lowest-risk” news outlets were reliably left-leaning outlets: National Public Radio; the far-left Huffington Post; Pro Publica, a nonprofit investigative news organization with mostly center-left donors; Insider; Associated Press; *USA Today*; the *New York Times*; the *Washington Post*, and BuzzFeed. Most of these “lowest risk” outlets spent years pushing the discredited Russia collusion story regarding President Donald Trump.

Institutionalized Nonprofits

The Global Disinformation Index isn’t the only private group with tax dollars that targets “disinformation.”

The Rand Corporation is one of the oldest and largest think tanks in the United States. In fiscal year 2022, it received \$62.1 million from the Office of the Secretary of Defense and other national security agencies, another \$41.8 million from the Army, \$47.4 million from the Air Force, \$54.3 million from the Department of Homeland Security, \$55.7 million from the Department of Health and Human Services, and \$4.7 million from state government agencies.

Rand established its Countering Truth Decay initiative with three goals:

1. “Identify and collect in one place a set of resources that can help users combat the challenge of disinformation, gain greater awareness of the media ecosystem, and become more-savvy information media consumers”;
2. “Inform funders and developers about the set of tools currently under development, those tools in need of funding, and areas where additional development would be beneficial”; and

3. “Provide a map of ongoing projects and developed tools that could serve as an input to efforts to build a field around the study of disinformation and its remedies.”

Like the GDI, Rand’s initiative says “credibility scoring tools attach a rating or grade to individual sources based on their accuracy, transparency, quality, and other measures of trustworthiness.”

Rand argues that “Truth Decay poses a threat to democracy, to policymaking, and to the very notion of civic discourse.” Rand has observed four trends in truth decay: (1) “increasing disagreement about facts and data,” (2) “blurring of the line between opinion and fact,” (3) “increasing relative volume of opinion compared to fact,” and (4) “declining trust in institutions that used to be looked to as authoritative sources of factual information.”

Perhaps because of its status as a legacy institution closely tied to government institutions, Rand doesn’t seem to realize, much less acknowledge, there are good reasons for the public’s declining trust in institutions that it used to rely on for factual information—whether the institutions are in the government, the media, or other sectors.

Another legacy nonprofit is Common Cause, a left-leaning government watchdog group that has also jumped on the disinformation gravy train. The group set up a “disinformation tip line.” The organization asks those who contact the tipline to describe the problem and explain: “What makes it harmful? What is false, misleading, or inaccurate? What other context is necessary?”

On this point, Common Cause deserves more credit than some of the other organizations content to assign a broad definition to disinformation. By contrast, Common Cause appears to at least demonstrate curiosity and seeking evidence to buttress the point.

Journalism Organizations

One might think any journalism organization that valued the free press and free speech would feel icky about how the word “disinformation” has been weaponized to justify censorship.

Regrettably, that assumption is incorrect.

News Literacy Project. The News Literacy Project is supported largely by left-of-center news organizations, with financial backing from left-leaning donors. Funders include the MacArthur Foundation and the Argosy Foundation.



The News Literacy Project uses phrases such as “climate misinformation” to characterize views that differ from most Democrats’ views, calling this “flat earth and climate change lies.”

The project seeks to get into the classrooms, training teachers to teach students about what news is reliable.

In teaching schools to fight misinformation, the organization says this will include: “The state of today’s digital landscape, including the challenges posed by generative artificial intelligence such as ChatGPT;” “Strategies for helping students determine the credibility of evidence and sources;” and “Best practices for teaching about misinformation and conspiratorial thinking.”

Fair enough.

However, the organization has demonstrated liberal biases on policy disagreements. But its “2022 Misinformation Year in Review” was loaded with political bias. It uses phrases such as “climate misinformation” to characterize views that differ from most Democrats’ views about climate change, calling this “flat earth and climate change lies.” Further the group calls critics of the COVID-19 vaccine, “vaccine denialists.”

Poynter Institute for Media Studies. The Poynter Institute for Media Studies operates the left-leaning PolitiFact website, known for “fact-checking” even jokes by Republican politicians and routinely bending over backwards to give the benefit of the doubt to far-out claims from Democratic politicians.



Credit: Transom.org. License: <https://shorturl.at/loqyAZ>.

Barrett Golding made clear he wanted to cause financial harm to certain news organizations, writing, “Aside from journalists, researchers and news consumers, we hope that the UnNews index will be useful for advertisers that want to stop funding misinformation.”

Poynter also established separate initiatives such as the International Fact Checking Network and MediaWise.

However, Poynter largely stepped in it in 2019, publishing an “UnNews” blacklist of news organizations that lumped mainstream fact-based center-right news outlets in with far-out fake websites. It listed 515 websites in total.

This sounds almost like the Southern Poverty Law Center’s practice of lumping some of even the most benign conservative groups in with the Ku Klux Klan as one big hodge podge of “hate groups.”

Well, as it turns out, Poynter worked with Barrett Golding, a one-time producer at the SPLC in the research and development of the list.

Golding made clear he wanted to cause financial harm to certain news organizations, writing, “Aside from journalists, researchers and news consumers, we hope that the UnNews index will be useful for advertisers that want to stop funding misinformation.”

The inclusion of the Daily Caller, the *Washington Examiner*, and other mainstream conservative outlets sparked controversy.

Poynter managing editor Barbara Allen removed the list from the website and posted an apology, with the caveat that “while we feel that many of the sites did have a track record of publishing unreliable information, our review found weaknesses in the methodology.” Allen concluded, “We regret that we failed to ensure that the data was rigorous before publication, and apologize for the confusion and agitation caused by its publication.”

In a separate tweet on May 3, 2019, Poynter hedged less in its apology:

We’ve Taken This List down after Finding Inconsistencies in the Methodology. We Regret That We Failed to Ensure That the Data Was Rigorous before Publication, and Apologize for the Confusion and Agitation Caused by Its Publication.

Poynter should be credited with admitting its massive error, but making the mistake in the first place demonstrates a massive blind spot. It also severely undermines the organization's supposed authority to act as a fact checker.

Disinformation Conference

In August 2022, multiple organizations on the Left gathered in the webinar “Combating Disinformation and Misinformation in 21st Century Social Movement.” Those gathered for the webinar discussed the impact of disinformation on various issues the Left holds dear, including the threat of white supremacy pushing the “great replacement theory,” abortion, and immigration. The conference identified disinformation as a leading problem in spreading racist, anti-trans, and anti-gay information.

Shanelle Matthews, the Movement for Black Lives' director of communications and founder of the Radical Communicators Network, organized the event. She argued that democracy is at risk, advancing the rather counterintuitive logic that policing speech is the only way to preserve democracy—a belief that has been widely accepted on the left since 2017.

Matthews observed, “One of the aims of the contemporary disinformation movement is the erosion of democratic ideals. And one of the aims of the progressive and leftist social movement is to realize democratic and socially democratic ideals, so we are at odds.”

Jacquelyn Mason, director of programs at Media Democracy Fund, explained: “Online racialized disinformation” is false information about race intended “to deceive or manipulate the public for the purpose of achieving profit, political gain, and/or sustaining white supremacy.”

Mason emphasized that there is a clear difference between misinformation and disinformation, even though the line is blurred because of the speed at which information moves online. Misinformation, she said, is “false content, but the person sharing doesn't realize the content is false or misleading.” Whereas, she said, disinformation is “content that is intentionally false and designed to cause harm within communities.”

“Combatting misinformation requires trust.” Mason pointed to the Disinformation Defense as a network of organizations

dedicated to fighting disinformation, particularly lies that affect communities of color. The league seeks to build trust to counter and inoculate against misinformation. To that end, it works to help develop trusted local sources, such as barbershops and churches, and training the people on how best to address issues such as voting and health care.

During the conference, Kris Hayashi, executive director of the Transgender Law Center, complained that states were spreading misinformation rather than individuals or organizations. Hayashi said the Right pushed two “disinformation narratives.” The first narrative led to bathroom bills. The second was about biological males who wanted to play women's sports. Hayashi claimed 33 states advanced 150 anti-trans bills in the previous year—which was seven times as many bills that were raised.

Reliable Information Versus Censorship

As if this even requires explanation, nothing here should be construed as advocating disinformation or misinformation—or the old-fashioned term “lies.”

The problem comes in mislabeling points that are either true or opinion based on true facts that happen to be unpopular with certain crowds.

There have always been lies and fake news outlets. For a time, principled newspapers had a tough time competing with sensationalist yellow journalism. But eventually the yellow papers faded away as consumers wanted reliable information.

Journalists should strive for the truth above all else. More than anyone, journalists and their organizations should understand that the truth cannot be reached by silencing or castigating dissenting voices out of the fear that dissenting voices will lead too many people astray.

Whether through journalism, science, or other endeavors, the best way to reach facts and the truth is through honest inquiry—and being unafraid to go where the inquiry might lead. ■

Read previous articles from the Deception and Misdirection series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/deception-and-misdirection/](https://www.CapitalResearch.org/category/deception-and-misdirection/).

A project of Capital Research Center



CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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



ANNUAL REVENUE OF LEFT-LEANING OPPONENTS OF CARBON-FREE NUCLEAR POWER EXCEEDS \$2.3 BILLION

By Ken Braun

Nuclear energy, according to the Sierra Club's official position, is "a uniquely dangerous energy technology for humanity" and "no solution to Climate Change."¹

The Sierra Club is far from alone. As many as 1,000 groups in the United States have an agenda that includes opposition to the nation's largest source of carbon-free energy. More than 200 have recently been identified in the Capital Research Center's InfluenceWatch database. The combined annual revenue of the groups identified, as measured by recent filings with the IRS (where available), exceeds \$2.3 billion.

This calculation is a deliberately conservative estimate of the financial firepower of the American anti-nuclear movement. It includes only nonprofit groups with a known anti-nuclear position, and within that subset, only some of the anti-nuclear nonprofits. The real dollar figure is likely far higher, for the reasons explained below.

The groups are listed below with its most recent reported revenue (where applicable) taken in by that group. See each group's InfluenceWatch profile for its most recent IRS Form 990.

Some groups are too small to have filed recent IRS reports, are not listed as nonprofits, or otherwise did not have reliable revenue to report.



Nuclear energy, according to the Sierra Club's official position, is "a uniquely dangerous energy technology for humanity" and "no solution to Climate Change."

Credit: gordonmcdoell. License: <https://shorturl.at/sEFX0>.

Methodology

The handling of the League of Conservation Voters (LCV) provides a good example of the methodology. The \$2.3 billion estimate of total anti-nuclear revenue includes only the \$114.6 million LCV revenue for 2021 that the LCV's 501(c)(4) political advocacy group reported to the IRS.

However, 501(c)(4) advocacy groups such as LCV frequently work in tandem with legally distinct, though mission-aligned 501(c)(3) educational nonprofits. In this case, the League of Conservation Voters Education Fund (LCVEF) reported \$54 million in revenue for 2021.

This creates a double-counting concern because funding is often transferred from one group to the other. To steer as far clear of this concern as possible, **all of the funding** to one of the two groups has been totally excluded from the \$2.3 billion calculation of anti-nuclear nonprofits. Where there is an education and an advocacy nonprofit, the \$2.3 billion estimate includes either the 501(c)(3) or the 501(c)(4), but never both of them.

¹ The unorthodox capitalization of "Climate Change," which implies a proper noun (perhaps even a sentient and malevolent being or group of same?), was copied as it was displayed by the Sierra Club on their "Nuclear Free Future" webpage on August 3, 2023.

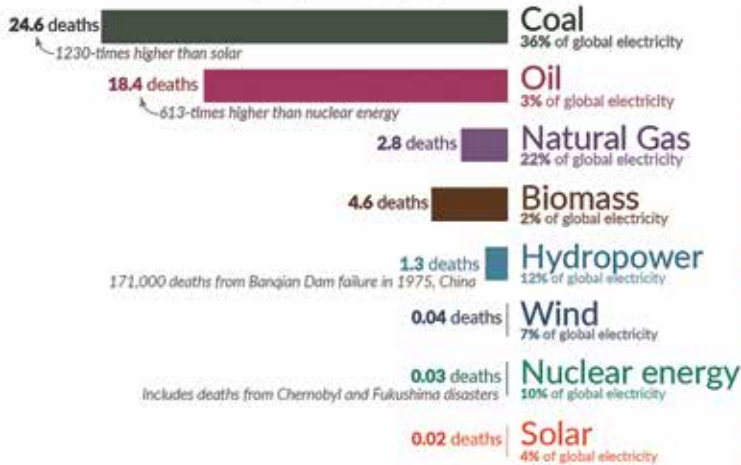
Ken Braun is CRC's senior investigative researcher and authors profiles for InfluenceWatch.org and the Capital Research magazine.

What are the safest and cleanest sources of energy?



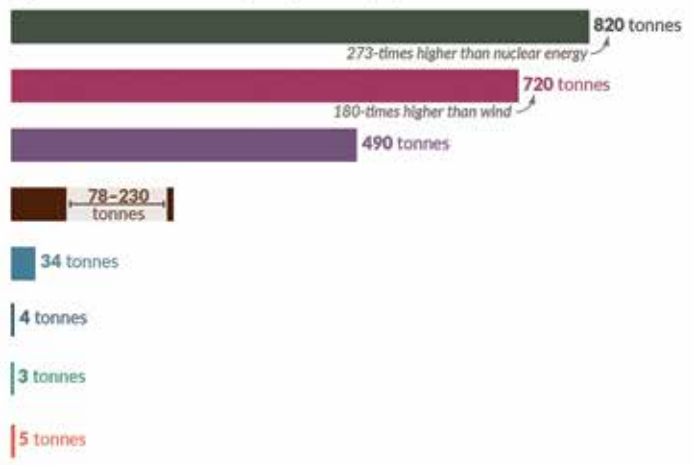
Death rate from accidents and air pollution

Measured as deaths per terawatt-hour of electricity production.
1 terawatt-hour is the annual electricity consumption of 150,000 people in the EU.



Greenhouse gas emissions

Measured in emissions of CO₂-equivalents per gigawatt-hour of electricity over the lifecycle of the power plant.
1 gigawatt-hour is the annual electricity consumption of 150 people in the EU.



Death rates from fossil fuels and biomass are based on state-of-the-art plants with pollution controls in Europe, and are based on older models of the impacts of air pollution on health. This means these death rates are likely to be very conservative. For further discussion, see our article: [OurWorldInData.org/safest-sources-of-energy](https://ourworldindata.org/safest-sources-of-energy). Electricity shares are given for 2021. Data sources: Markandya & Wilkinson (2007); UNSCEAR (2008; 2018); Sovacool et al. (2016); IPCC AR5 (2014); Pehl et al. (2017); Ember Energy (2021).

The burning of brown coal (at 32.72 fatalities per terawatt hour) reigned supreme as the most deadly energy option of all. Nuclear (0.03 deaths per terawatt hour and solar (0.02) were revealed to be the two safest means of keeping the lights on.

As such, the \$54 million from LCVEF was not counted.

Another double counting could occur from local affiliates. In this example, the 2021 League of Conservation Voters' IRS report shows more than \$35 million in grants, almost all of which went to the LCV's state and local affiliates.

Even though state-level affiliates may in many cases raise additional local revenue that could be counted, the safe assumption taken for the \$2.3 billion estimate was to exclude all revenue reported by all state-level affiliates of large national groups such as LCV.

As another example, all state and local affiliates of the anti-nuclear League of Women Voters have been excluded from the estimate.

Additionally, all political committee money given to anti-nuclear political committees and politicians has been excluded from the \$2.3 billion estimate. This also includes political committees that are affiliated with nonprofits such as LCV.

During the 2022 election cycle, according to the Federal Election Commission, the League of Conservation Voters

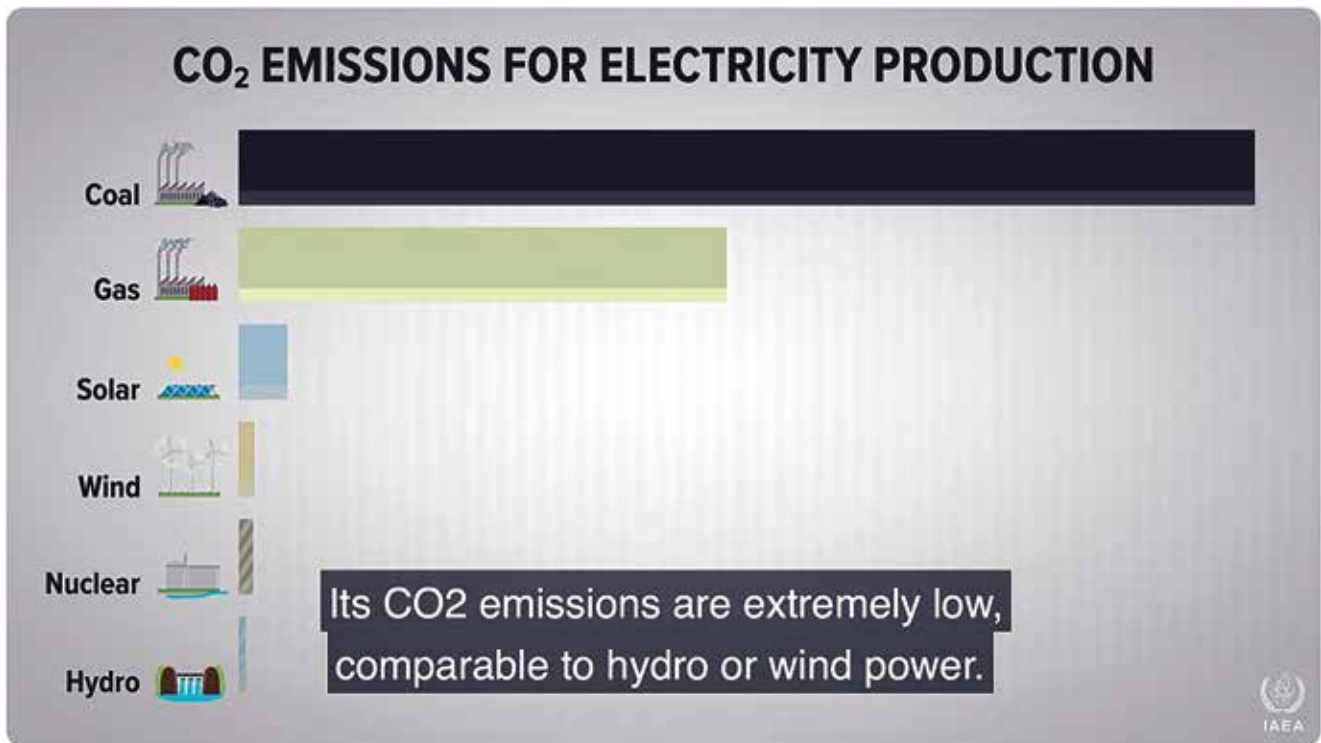
Victory Fund political action committee raised more than \$58 million and spent more than \$33 million of it in federal independent expenditures.

None of this was included in the \$2.3 billion estimate.

Researching and adding other political committees that have anti-nuclear positions would obviously increase the \$2.3 billion total estimate. Current Democratic presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has a history of opposing the use of nuclear energy. So does former Democratic presidential contender Bernie Sanders.

Finally, many of the largest anti-nuclear nonprofits counted toward the \$2.3 billion estimate have given grants to some of the smaller ones. The recent IRS report for the World Resources Institute (WRI) shows a total of nearly \$1 million given in grants to other anti-nuclear nonprofits, such as the Rocky Mountain Institute and the Environmental Defense Fund.

This was a minority of the WRI's recent grantmaking. However, out of a severe abundance of caution, all \$47.1 million in grants from WRI's recent IRS report have been



Credit: IAEA/video. License: <https://tinyurl.com/53kjqaw5r>

On a non-safety level, there is no remote comparison. Nuclear ranks as one of the most reliable power sources we have, while the sun reliably fails to shine for many hours every night, everywhere on Earth.

deducted from the \$2.3 billion total. One example of what was removed from the total estimate is a \$2.1 million grant to the University of Maryland, which is not one of the anti-nuclear groups in this analysis.

Identical deductions of total grantmaking were made for the five other largest anti-nuclear groups: the Environmental Defense Fund, Natural Resources Defense Council, Sierra Club, Rocky Mountain Institute, and World Wildlife Fund. Combined, total grants from the recent IRS reports of the six groups added up to \$225.3 million.

The raw total annual revenue of the anti-nuclear nonprofits was initially nearly \$2.6 billion. Deducting the grantmaking from the six biggest groups reduced the revenue estimate to just over \$2.3 billion.

Because of this overly safe deduction and the other aforementioned conservative assumptions (i.e., excluding all political committee revenue), the \$2.3 billion annual revenue estimate for supporters of the American anti-nuclear movement is only a modest estimate of what is likely a far higher number.

“Uniquely Dangerous”

As to the claim from the Sierra Club that nuclear energy is a “uniquely dangerous technology,” consider a 2020 analysis by Our World in Data that calculated the historic death toll from all forms of energy production. The tabulation included mining of raw materials, drilling, and all other factors unique to each energy system. Because this included premature deaths from air pollution, the burning of brown coal (at 32.72 fatalities per terawatt hour) reigned supreme as the most deadly energy option of all.

Nuclear (0.03 deaths/TWh) and solar (0.02) were revealed to be the two safest means of keeping the lights on.

On a non-safety level, there is no remote comparison. Nuclear ranks as one of the most reliable power sources we have, while the sun reliably fails to shine for many hours every night, everywhere on Earth. Nuclear is the largest source of zero-carbon energy produced in the United States—kicking out far more electricity each year than solar and wind combined.

This production occurs despite a multi-decade drought in the deployment of new American nuclear reactors and the subsidizing of weather-restricted, landscape-polluting wind turbines and solar panels. A lot of the blame for each of these shameful developments belongs to the following groups, their donors, and their membership.

Anti-Nuclear Nonprofits in InfluenceWatch

A–B

Action for a Progressive Future (\$1,117,382)
ActionAid USA (\$6,196,724)
Alliance for a Green Economy (\$502,592)
Alliance for Climate Education (\$8,049,901)
Alliance for the Wild Rockies (\$209,707)
Alliance of Nurses for Healthy Environments
Amazon Watch (\$6,232,655)
American Family Voices (\$436,264)
American Friends Service Committee
American Sustainable Business Council (\$332,951)
Animals Are Sentient Beings
Anthropocene Alliance (\$991,028)
Arise for Social Justice (\$514,248)
Association for Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education (\$1,869,289)
Aytzim: Ecological Judaism
Backbone Campaign (\$457,893)
Be the Change
Berkshire Environmental Action Team (\$354,384)
Beyond Extreme Energy
Beyond Nuclear (\$520,914)
Big Reuse (\$3,522,565)
Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation (\$8,489,062)
Blue Frontier Campaign (\$169,839)
Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League (\$819,201)
Bold Alliance
Bold Iowa
Breast Cancer Action (\$802,390)
Buckeye Environmental Network (\$218,119)

C

Campaign for America's Future (\$2,337)
Carbon Disclosure Project (\$35,828,788)
Care About Climate (\$105,799)
Cascadia Wildlands (\$1,425,478)
Catskill Mountainkeeper (\$1,555,001)
Center for a Sustainable Coast (\$224,157)
Center for Biological Diversity (\$36,653,414)

Center for Ecological Living and Learning (\$12,326)
Center for Environmentally Recycled Building Alternatives
Center for Food Safety (\$4,782,800)
Center for International Environmental Law (\$10,375,096)
Center for Popular Democracy (\$29,210,184)
Center for Story-based Strategy (\$1,981,299)
Center for Sustainable Economy (\$446,033)
Citizens for Responsible Oil and Gas (CFROG) (\$434,742)
Citizens' Environmental Coalition (\$189,932)
Clean Coast
Clean Energy Action (\$15,174)
Clean Water Action (\$5,749,311)
Climate Action Now – Western Massachusetts
Climate Defense Project (\$320,750)
Climate Generation/Will Steger Foundation (\$1,834,107)
Climate Hawks Vote Civic Action (\$130,317)
Climate Justice Alliance (\$9,557,146)
Climate Mobilization (\$120,745)
Climate Reality Project (\$26,022,257)
Climate Xchange (\$1,879,934)
ClimateMama
Code Pink (\$1,538,229)
Collaborative Center for Justice (\$158,586)
Communities for a Better Environment (\$4,750,010)
Community Alliance for Global Justice (\$147,026)
Community Ecology Institute (\$557,981)
Corporate Accountability International (\$9,885,924)
Corporate Ethics International (\$53,000)
Courage Campaign (\$1,177,591)
CREDO Victory Fund (CREDO Action)

D–F

Delaware Riverkeeper Network
Democracy Collaborative (\$2,304,413)
Demos (\$7,159,030)
Dogwood Alliance (\$2,653,922)
Don't Waste Arizona
Dream Corps (\$57,812,679)
Earth Day Network (\$3,828,196)
Earth Ethics, Inc.
Earth Island Institute (\$23,677,718)
Earthworks (\$7,566,112)
EcoEquity
Elders Action Network (\$335,629)
Elders Climate Action
Emerald Coastkeeper, Inc
Endangered Habitats League (\$1,057,051)
Endangered Species Coalition (\$1,091,649)
Enviro Show
Environment America (\$14,910,441)

Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) (\$284,762,302)
 Environmental Health Trust (\$567,748)
 Environmental Integrity Project (\$6,222,840)
 Environmental Law and Policy Center of the Midwest
 (\$16,217,821)
 Environmental Protection Information Center (\$376,839)
 Environmental Working Group (EWG) (\$16,093,379)
 Evergreen Islands
 Extinction Rebellion (XR)
 Family Farm Defenders
 Feminists in Action Los Angeles (FIA-LA)
 Food and Water Watch (\$21,548,788)
 For Love of Water (FLOW) (\$840,118)
 For The Generations
 FracTracker Alliance (\$1,114,121)
 Franciscan Action Network (\$371,237)
 Free Press Action Fund (\$788,443)
 Friends of the Bitterroot
 Friends of the Earth (\$17,950,451)
 Future Coalition

G–I

Gas Free Seneca
 Geos Institute (\$332,438)
 Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives (\$4,680,505)
 Good Jobs Nation
 Good Work Institute (\$1,831,903)
 Government Accountability Project (\$3,332,490)
 Grassroots Environmental Education (\$353,870)
 Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (\$5,014,834)
 Great Old Broads for Wilderness (\$949,107)
 Green America (\$8,579,763)
 Green Education and Legal Fund
 Green for All
 Green Party of the United States
 GreenLatinos (\$1,334,621)
 Greenpeace (\$31,713,249)
 GRID Alternatives (\$37,598,833)
 The Gulf Coast Center for Law & Policy (GCCLP)
 Hazon (\$5,896,176)
 Healthy Environment Alliance of Utah (HEAL Utah)
 (\$977,413) HealthyPlanet
 Heirs To Our Oceans (\$325,353)
 Higher Ground (\$4,135,308)
 Hip Hop Caucus (\$4,085,297)
 Hispanic Access Foundation (\$5,925,392)
 Hollywood NOW
 Howling For Wolves
 Hudson River Sloop Clearwater
 Hunger Action Los Angeles (\$1,255,327)

In the Public Interest
 Indigenous Environmental Network (\$5,330,726)
 The Indivisible Project (Indivisible) (\$14,268,782)
 Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (\$1,549,281)
 Institute for Governance and Sustainable Development
 (\$6,894,670)
 Institute for Local Self-Reliance (\$5,615,395)
 Institute for Policy Studies (\$7,298,646)
 Iroquois Studies Association

J–O

Jewish Climate Action Network
 Justice Action Mobilization Network
 Labor Network for Sustainability (\$1,106,621)
 Leadership Conference of Women Religious
 League of Conservation Voters (\$114,796,662)
 League of Women Voters (\$8,464,065)
 Liberty Tree Foundation for the Democratic Revolution
 Long Island Progressive Coalition (\$517,939)
 Los Alamos Study Group (\$115,156)
 Los Padres ForestWatch (\$878,987)
 Milwaukee Riverkeeper
 Mission Blue (\$1,830,629)
 Mothers Out Front (\$3,274,134)
 Mountain Association for Community Economic
 Development (\$8,576,709)
 Movement for a People’s Party
 Movement Strategy Center (\$57,326,783)
 National Advocacy Center of the Sisters of the
 Good Shepherd
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored
 People–NAACP (\$103,738,054)
 National Parks Conservation Association (\$48,480,006)
 Natural Resources Defense Council–NRDC (\$186,185,838)
 New Energy Economy
 New Hampshire Audubon (\$3,024,550)
 North American Climate
 Conservation and Environment
 North Carolina Waste Awareness and Reduction Network
 (NC-WARN) (\$2,687,799)
 The Northeast Organic Farming Association of New York
 (NOFA-NY) (\$2,600,227)
 Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (\$283,542)
 Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS)
 (\$623,640)
 Oceanic Preservation Society (\$1,617,995)
 Oil Change International (\$5,655,295)
 Olympic Climate Action
 Organic Consumers Association (\$2,480,677)
 Our Climate Education Fund (\$794,158)

P–S

Pacific Environment and Resources Center (\$5,258,651)
Partnership for Policy Integrity (\$497,015)
Partnership for Southern Equity (\$13,586,243)
Peace Action (\$1,020,919)
Pelican Media (\$19,191)
People Demanding Action
People's Action (\$2,030,704)
Physicians for Social Responsibility (\$2,230,088)
Planting Justice (\$5,197,320)
PowerSwitch Action (\$13,398,955)
Progressive Democrats of America
Project Coyote
Public Citizen (\$7,987,999)
Public Justice Foundation (\$9,549,497)
Publish What You Pay United States (PWYP-US)
Putnam Progressives
Rachel Carson Council (\$735,615)
Rachel's Network (\$1,486,003)
Rainforest Action Network (RAN) (\$11,682,993)
Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association (\$380,027)
RESTORE: The North Woods (\$181,019)
Right to the City Alliance (\$12,252,091)
Riverkeeper
Rocky Mountain Institute (\$116,983,377)
Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center (\$305,321)
Rogue Climate (\$1,199,394)
Sacramento Climate Coalition
Sanford-Oquaga Area Concerned Citizens
Scenic Hudson, Inc. (\$14,869,807)
Science for the People
Seneca Lake Guardian (\$147,524)
Sierra Club (\$152,093,074)
Snake River Alliance Education Fund (\$250,403)
Southern Alliance for Clean Energy (\$4,579,602)

Stand.earth (\$8,673,815)
Sunrise Movement (\$4,132,790)
Surfrider Foundation (\$13,558,022).

T–Z

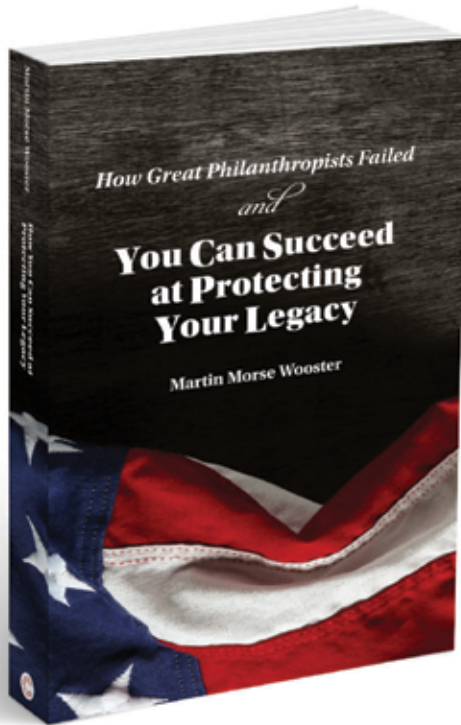
Tikkun & the Network of Spiritual Progressives (\$93,081)
Toxics Action Center (\$804,351)
Toxics Information Project
Transition US (\$212,854)
Turner Endangered Species Fund
Turtle Island Restoration Network (\$3,485,198)
U.S. Climate Action Network (\$4,246,141)
U.S. Public Interest Research Group (US-PIRG)
(\$1,577,136)
Unitarian Universalist Ministry for Earth (\$243,226)
Valley Watch
Veterans for Peace (\$517,035)
Vote-Climate
Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility
Waterkeeper Alliance (\$15,198,182)
Western States Legal Foundation (\$171,165)
Wild Nature Institute (\$174,682)
WildEarth Guardians (\$4,580,150)
Women's Action for New Directions (WAND) (\$206,296)
Women's Earth and Climate Action Network (WECAN)
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom US
Section (\$514,575)
World Resources Institute (WRI) (\$289,669,226)
World Wildlife Fund (\$381,636,162)

1–9

198 Methods
350.org (\$23,133,635) ■

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Is Your Legacy Safe?



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—W.J. Hume,
Jaquelin Hume Foundation

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—Linda Childears,
President and CEO, The Daniels Fund

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