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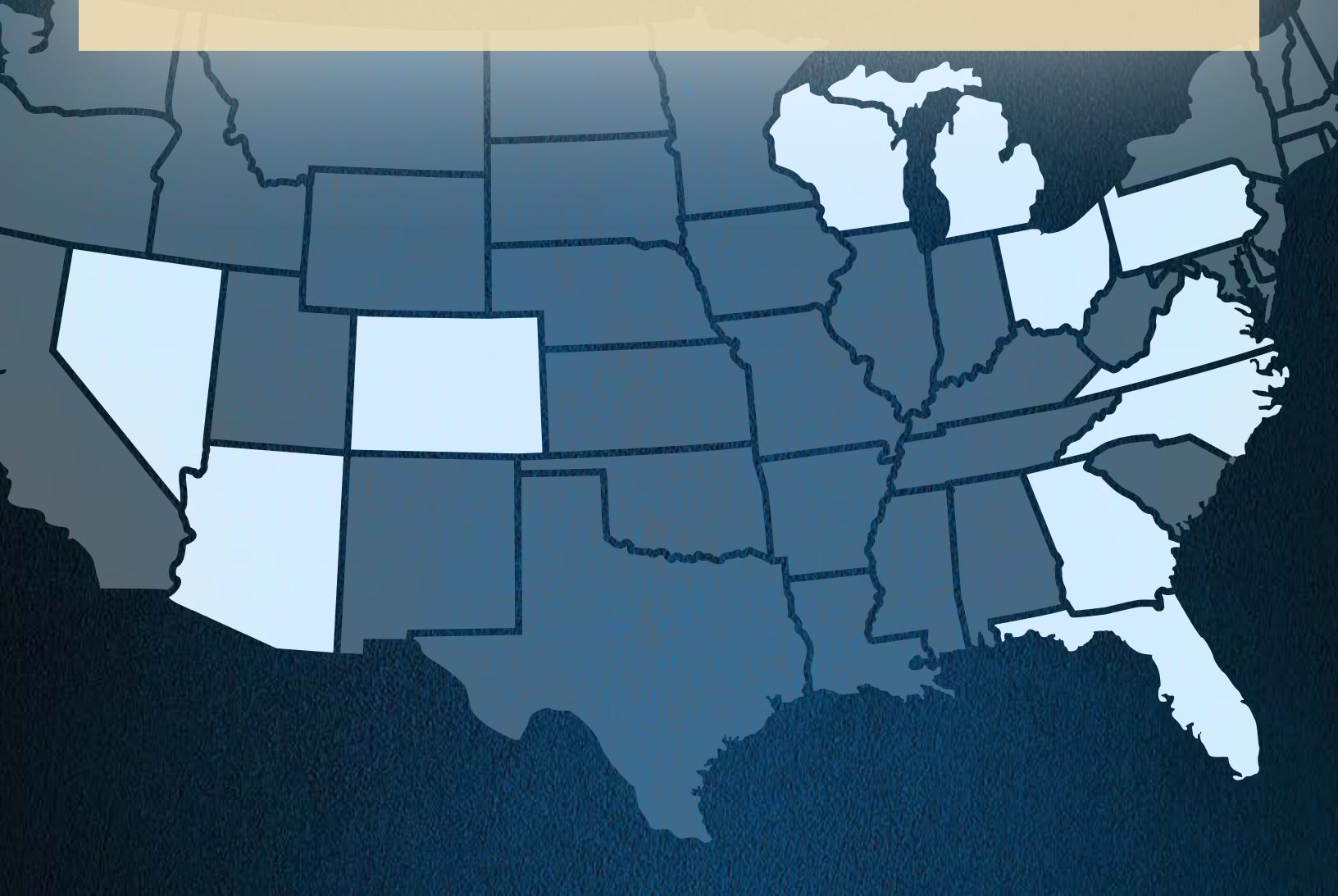
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BY PARKER THAYER

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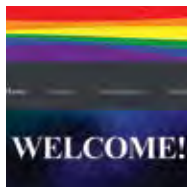
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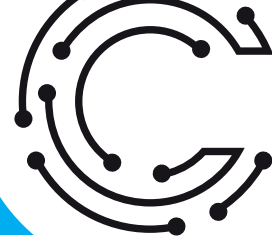
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UNIONS' ANTI-ISRAEL POSTURING EXPOSES THE ILLUSION OF A RIGHT-LABOR ALLIANCE

By Michael Watson

Aided by a tight labor market, Big Labor is having something of a moment. Even the young guns of the self-appointed “New Right” are getting in on the action.

But mainstream Republicans must be forewarned: Along with the well-known historical problems with unions, the modern labor movement actively embraces “social justice unionism.” Among its many other problems, this ideology entails decidedly questionable positions on the war between Israel and Hamas.

Right-leaning wonks, in encouraging a second look at unions, are renouncing the 80-year Republican and conservative commitment to voluntarism in union membership and activities. They are going back on their commitment to government scrutiny of union activities and to restricting the fallout of labor disputes on neutral businesses, consumers and other economic and social actors.

The New Right’s operating thesis is that since working people are more likely to vote for conservative candidates than they used to be, and since the largest corporations in the country have acceded to left-wing “woke” social policy, Republicans and conservatives should reach out to labor unions and union officials.

It’s not a facially stupid idea. Washington political and advocacy types are used to working with representative figures for divided and fractious constituencies. Here one might recall the quip attributed to the late Henry Kissinger: “Who do I call when I want to call Europe?” For professional politicians, union bosses fill that gap when it comes to working people.

But what if the union bosses who answer the “Who do I call?” question are out of step with all but the ideological activist base of their constituencies?

With Big Labor and conservatives, this is absolutely the case, thanks to an ideology that union activists call “social justice unionism.” These activists want unions to be about far more



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For an idea of how pervasive social justice unionism is, consider how some of the very unions the New Right has praised have responded to the war between Israel and Hamas.

than wages, hours and working conditions. They want to push full-spectrum leftism on environmental, social and foreign policy. For an idea of how pervasive social justice unionism is, consider how some of the very unions the New Right has praised have responded to the war between Israel and Hamas.

Some on the right offered supportive voices or even joined picket lines on behalf of the United Auto Workers (UAW) during its recent strike against the Detroit Three automakers, despite OpenSecrets data showing that the union’s employees and affiliates directed 99.27 percent of their party-identifiable federal contributions to Democrats in the 2022 election cycle.

Shortly after the end of the strike, the UAW demonstrated why it gave so much to liberals: Its leadership is aligned with the leftmost wing of the progressive movement. A sizable faction of the UAW’s membership today is not manufacturing workers but unionized university graduate students. And UAW’s national leadership took its cues on the Israel-

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



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Hamas conflict based on the pressure it faced from these more “woke” constituencies—most prominently its graduate student union at Harvard, which has been embroiled in a broader controversy over left-wing antisemitism.

The New Right has yet to explain how it can reconcile its conservative ideals with this brand of leftism. Even so, some conservatives have praised this new organizing direction and vocally support the organizing of new unions like the Amazon Labor Union.

Perhaps they are hoping that independent organizations will be less ideological than the Big Labor behemoths of the SEIU and AFL-CIO. If so, then the ALU almost immedi-

ately let them down. The new union didn’t even wait for the war to start to demand that their employer break contracts with the Israeli government, all the while campaigning alongside controversial activist Linda Sarsour.

Another new union rattling an ultra-woke company is the SEIU-backed Starbucks Workers United, which reacted to news of the attacks of October 7 by posting (and later deleting) “Solidarity with Palestine” in reaction to images of trucks plowing through the Israel-Gaza border barrier to murder and kidnap Israeli civilians. Its local chapters promoted anti-Israel rallies. This understandably prompted a boycott threat against the company from the Orthodox Jewish Chamber of Commerce.

As annoying as the liberal Starbucks might be, is the proper response to enable and strengthen an even more radical faction of the left?

Objectively, there’s no obvious reason for labor unions to side with a hostile power against an American ally. Indeed, those representing workers in munitions and defense-related industries should, in theory, favor strong support for the allies their workers will help supply. But today’s labor unions are not solely economic interest groups any more. They probably never have been. Instead, they are radical left-wing activist groups no different from the woke campus mobs that the New Right claims to oppose. Labor unionists are open about who they are; will the New Right believe them? ■



Another new union rattling an ultra-woke company is the SEIU-backed Starbucks Workers United, which reacted to news of the attacks of October 7 by posting (and later deleting) “Solidarity with Palestine.”

This article originally appeared in The Hill on December 14, 2023.

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



DEMAND JUSTICE: A PROJECT OF THE SIXTEEN THIRTY FUND

By CRC Staff

Summary: *Demand Justice is a left-of-center advocacy group created in early 2018 as a project of the Sixteen Thirty Fund, a part of the left-wing “dark money” Arabella Advisors network. Demand Justice’s stated purpose is to move the U.S. court system leftward, especially the Supreme Court. The group has been especially active in launching character-assassination campaigns against Supreme Court nominees submitted by President Donald Trump. The organization also aggressively promotes “court packing”—usually adding four new seats to the Supreme Court for Democrats to fill with left-wing progressive judges to outvote the current conservative majority on the Court. Demand Justice has received millions of dollars in grants via the Sixteen Thirty Fund, the New Venture Fund, and George Soros’s Open Society Policy Center.*

Demand Justice is a left-of-center advocacy group created in early 2018 to influence the political leanings of America’s courts by supporting the appointment of liberal judicial nominees and opposing right-of-center nominees. The organization acts primarily through media campaigns against nominated and unconfirmed judicial nominees. Demand Justice was established as a project of Sixteen Thirty Fund, a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization characterized as “dark money” by critics. Sixteen Thirty Fund hosts a number of similar advocacy groups advocating for a left-wing policy agenda. Demand Justice itself has been characterized by the left-leaning Center for Responsive Politics as a “liberal dark money” group.

According to BuzzFeed News, the organization launched in May 2018 with an initial staff of eight people. The article claimed that the initial staff included Christopher Kang, who served within the Obama administration by overseeing judicial nominations; Paige Herwig, another former Obama administration staffer; and former deputy general counsel to Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA).

On May 5, 2021, Demand Justice and Demand Justice Initiative both registered in Washington, DC as nonprofit corporations, indicating that the organizations were no longer merely projects housed by the Sixteen Thirty Fund



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Demand Justice is most notable for its activities opposing the confirmations of Supreme Court Justices Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett and proposing “court packing,” adding seats to the Supreme Court to be filled by Demand Justice’s political allies.

and the New Venture Fund, respectively, and were pursuing separate nonprofit status. The beneficial owner of both organizations was listed as Ezra Reese, a high-profile left-leaning lawyer formerly with the law firm Perkins Coie, and the organizations’ new business address was listed as 1010 Vermont Avenue NW, Suite 300, in Washington, DC.

Demand Justice is most notable for its activities opposing the confirmations of Supreme Court Justices Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett and proposing “court packing,” adding seats to the Supreme Court to be filled by Demand Justice’s political allies.

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

Media Campaigns

In May 2018, Demand Justice launched its first media campaign against Thomas Farr, President Donald Trump's nominee for the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina.

In June 2018, Demand Justice began an advertisement campaign called Ditch the List that targeted potential Supreme Court nominees to replace outgoing Associate Justice Anthony Kennedy. The campaign focused on Amy Coney Barrett, a judge on the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals, and Brett Kavanaugh, a judge on the DC Circuit Court of Appeals.

Brett Kavanaugh Confirmation (2018)

In anticipation of the announcement of President Trump's July 2018 nominee to fill Justice Anthony Kennedy's vacated seat on the Supreme Court, Demand Justice launched a campaign to pressure Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME) to vote against any nominee from Trump's short list of candidate judges. Demand Justice claimed that Sen. Collins must vote against any nominee in order to preserve her stance on reproductive rights.

Following Trump's nomination of Judge Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, Demand Justice organized protesters to line the halls outside the room of the conduct confirmation hearings. The protesters dressed as handmaids, referencing

the 1985 book *A Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood, in which women are denied basic freedoms. Demand Justice released a statement which read: "Right now in American, far too many women of color cannot access safe, affordable healthcare and the ability to decide whether, when and how to raise thriving families is out of reach."

Demand Justice also hosted StopKavanaugh.com as part of its campaign.

Attacks on Justice Brett Kavanaugh

In April 2019, Demand Justice sent a letter to Rep. Jerry Nadler (D-NY) requesting he seek documents from the National Archives that the group claims reveal Kavanaugh's preexisting stance on *Roe v. Wade*, prior to his confirmation to the Supreme Court. A 27-page memo was included in the letter from Demand Justice and other pro-abortion groups.

In June 2019, Demand Justice announced its intent to demand the Senate Judiciary Committee unearth documents from the U.S. National Archives that would supposedly prove that Justice Kavanaugh gave false information to the U.S. Senate during his confirmation process in 2018.

Demand Justice has paid for digital advertisements on Facebook demanding George Mason University stop Justice Brett Kavanaugh from co-teaching a summer course in 2019. The group also demanded the university issue an apology for allowing Kavanaugh to teach the course.

Confirmation of Amy Coney Barrett (2020)

During the confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Amy Coney Barrett, Demand Justice ran an advertisement that claimed Barrett and other "far-right Supreme Court" justices would help President Donald Trump "steal" the 2020 election."

According to *Politico*, Demand Justice made a seven-figure ad buy to oppose Barrett's confirmation in September 2020.

Supreme Court List Under Biden

In March 2021, President Joe Biden nominated Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson to replace Attorney General Merrick Garland on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Jackson, a former law clerk to Justice Stephen Breyer, had previously been listed on Demand Justice's Supreme Court short list. A former public defender, Jackson was confirmed to the U.S. District Court in Washington, DC, in 2013 and was widely considered a Supreme Court



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*In April 2019, Demand Justice sent a letter to Rep. Jerry Nadler (D-NY) requesting he seek documents from the National Archives that the group claims reveal Kavanaugh's preexisting stance on *Roe v. Wade*, prior to his confirmation to the Supreme Court.*



Demand Justice ran an advertisement that claimed Amy Coney Barrett and other “far-right Supreme Court” justices would help President Donald Trump “steal” the 2020 election.”

front-runner for an opening on the high court during Biden’s presidency.

In March 2022, Axios reported that Demand Justice had announced a \$1 million ad campaign in support of Ketanji Brown Jackson’s confirmation. Axios also reported that tax documents from Demand Justice and the Demand Justice Initiative anticipated a combined budget of roughly \$11.7 million in 2022. Reportedly, the organizations were willing to spend far more than \$1 million because political groups on both sides of the aisle were “looking to milk the [confirmation] process for every ounce of political advantage” in the 2022 midterm elections.

Trump Judicial Confirmations

Demand Justice posted a video on its Twitter page on February 27, 2019, criticizing Neomi Rao, President Trump’s nominee for the DC Circuit Court of Appeals. The video accused Rao of holding “far right conservative” views against feminism. Demand Justice argued that holding such views should disqualify her from holding a position on any court.

In March 2019, Demand Justice released its “grades” of Senate Democrats, rating their performance in halting the appointment of Trump-appointed federal judges. The report led to further advertisement campaigns against Democratic senators with low approval ratings.

In January 2019, Demand Justice and Data for Progress released a study comparing President Trump’s judicial nominees with those of prior U.S. presidents to unveil “how dangerously far to the right” the Supreme Court had supposedly become during his administration.

Rise Up for Roe

On August 1, 2018, Demand Justice announced the start of its Rise Up for Roe tour beginning August 11 in Washington, DC; New York City; Boston; Denver; Maine; Virginia; Los Angeles; Iowa; Texas; Nevada; and Arizona.

Tour speakers included Symone Sanders, Brittany Packnett, Alyssa Mastromonaco, Planned Parenthood president Cecile Richards, Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), former Michigan governor Jennifer Granholm (D-MI), Jessica Valenti, Karine Jean-Pierre, actress Alyssa Milano, National Women’s Law Center president Fatima Goss-Graves, NARAL Pro-Choice America president Ilyse Hogue, National Domestic Workers Alliance political director Jess Morales-Rocketto, Planned Parenthood vice president Dawn Laguens, Jess McIntosh, Daily Kos writer Rebecca Buckwalter-Poza, and Center for American Progress president Neera Tanden. The tour was funded by Demand Justice, NARAL Pro-Choice America, and Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

Supreme Court Decision Protest (2019)

On June 26, 2019, the last day of the year’s Supreme Court term, Demand Justice held a rally at the Supreme Court with two dozen progressive organizations in response to the Court’s decisions on two major cases, one on partisan redistricting and another on adding a citizenship question to the census.

The organizations at the rally were Democracy Initiative, Alliance for Justice, Common Cause, People for the American Way, Bread for the World, United Church of Christ, Church World Service, Nuns on the Bus, National Council of Jewish Women, CASA, Asian Americans Advancing Justice, Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM), New York Immigration Coalition, Make the Road New York, Black Alliance for Just Immigration (BAJI), NAACP, Color of Change, Sunrise Movement, League of Conservation Voters, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, National Women’s Law Center, National LGBTQ Task Force, National Partnership for Women and Families, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, and Human Rights Campaign.

The Atlantic Op-Ed

In August 2019, Demand Justice co-founders Brian Fallon and Christopher Kang wrote an op-ed in *The Atlantic* that outlined their philosophy and opinions toward judicial nominations, outlining how Democrats should approach judicial nominations in a post-Trump era. Fallon and Kang claim that Republicans have long appointed corporate firm lawyers tied to special interest groups to prominent positions in the federal judiciary. Kang and Fallon believe that such lawyers side with corporations over the people in championing various legal agendas, such as getting rid of

restrictions on political contributions during elections and battling unions.

Fallon and Kang urged Democrats to vehemently oppose all Trump administration judicial nominees moving forward and demanded that the Democrats eventually institute a strict no corporate-partner policy for judicial nominees. Although this may disqualify some quality judges—they highlighted President Barack Obama nominee Justice Sonia Sotomayor—they claim it would allow for many more judges and justices similar in practice to liberal icon Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

2019 Supreme Court Judicial Short List

On October 15, 2019, Demand Justice released a list of 32 lawyers and judges they recommend as possible nominees for the Supreme Court if a Democrat became president. Of the 32 lawyers listed, none had any corporate ties as partners at major law firms. Only eight had any judicial experience. The rest had, at most, experience clerking for federal or state judges. Demand Justice made it clear on their website that they are looking to increase left-of-center judicial activism. All of these choices have been advocates for radical left-of-center agendas. The list included U.S. District Judge Carlton Wayne Reeves, who once compared President Trump to segregationist George Wallace, and Fordham University Professor Zephyr Teachout, a multiple-time election loser for attorney general of New York and a friend of Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY). Pundits such as Judicial Crisis Network's Carrie Severino and Mike Davis, former clerk to Justice Neil Gorsuch, have criticized the "far left" nature of the candidates and have questioned their viability and credentials.

Demand Justice intended to use this list to "prod" the 2020 Democratic candidates. They have pressured candidates to announce that they will choose judges from the list, although no candidates had publicly announced their picks as of October 2019. Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) stated outright that she refuses to choose anyone unless she wins the election.

CC —————
In 2019, Demand Justice released a list of 32 lawyers and judges they recommend as possible nominees for the Supreme Court, all of whom were advocates for radical left-of-center agendas.

Professor Pamela S. Karlan

One lawyer on the list, Professor Pamela S. Karlan from Stanford University, appeared before the House on December 4 to voice her support for the impeachment of President Donald Trump. She made headlines after illustrating the Constitution's prohibitions against titles of hereditary nobility by making a joke about the name of President Trump's son Barron. The comment caused many Republicans in Congress and even First Lady Melania Trump to issue statements condemning the professor's choice to joke about a child's name.

Facebook Advertisements

In 2020, Demand Justice spent between \$196,500 and \$263,916 in Facebook advertisements. (The exact figure is unknown due to how Facebook reports its advertisements on a "minimum-maximum" range.)

Balls and Strikes Blog

In September 2021, Demand Justice launched "Balls and Strikes," an online blogging project focusing on Supreme Court–related issues from a left-leaning perspective. The blog featured articles from many left-leaning contributors and legal scholars and featured a data tracker for the political leanings of various federal courts and progress on new judicial nominations. Contributors to Balls and Strikes included prominent left-leaning journalists such as editor-in-chief Jay Willis, Elie Mystal, Adam Cohen, and Madiba Dennie. Some of the blog's first articles advocated for packing the Supreme Court and attacked Justice Samuel Alito's rulings related to public-sector unions.

Campaign Activism

Demand Justice has been active in election campaigns.

2018 Midterm Election

During the recount of the 2018 Florida U.S. Senate election, an email by Demand Justice urged supporters of Sen. Bill Nelson (D-FL) to "help out in a variety of roles in the recount process, including observing at polls, data processing, and logistics organization." "If you are a lawyer or have legal training and live in Florida or can travel to Florida, please sign up," the email added.

According to Federal Election Commission (FEC) filings, during the 2018 midterm elections Demand Justice spent nearly \$317,000 in electioneering communication for three

vulnerable Senate Democratic incumbents and against two incumbent Republican senators. The politicians supported by the project included Sen. Heidi Heitkamp (D-ND), Sen. Joe Donnelly (D-IN), and Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV), who received \$110,000, \$100,000, and \$100,000, respectively. Demand Justice also spent nearly \$101,000 against Sen. Dean Heller (R-NV), who lost reelection, and over \$7,000 against Sen. Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-MS), who was elected.

2020 General Election

In 2019, Demand Justice ran a digital advertisement thanking 2020 presidential candidate Julian Castro for his support of a “police overhaul” measure to prevent courts from protecting police officers on civil lawsuits of “brutality or misuse of deadly force.”

In March 2019, Demand Justice aired ads attacking Republican senators up for reelection in 2020 for their support of federal circuit court judge Chad Readler during his confirmation process.

The day before the 2020 general election, Demand Justice announced its initiative to reform the Supreme Court, calling the justices whom President Trump appointed to the Supreme Court “far-right” and claiming that they were prepared to help Republicans steal the election. It states that it wants to add four seats to the Court, create term limits, create a “code of ethics,” and add judges to the lower courts as a part of its plan to reform the courts.

Following the 2020 general election, Demand Justice began campaigning and lobbying for Joe Biden to fill judicial vacancies with liberal judges. Its goal was to take advantage of the Democratic control of the Senate by appointing as many liberal judges as possible while also making up for lost opportunities to do so during President Barack Obama’s presidency.

Controversies

Demand Justice has been involved in a number of controversies.

Support for Packing the Supreme Court

In March 2019, former attorney general for the Obama administration Eric Holder expressed his support for a future Democratic president “packing” the U.S. Supreme Court by adding additional favorable justices to it. Holder told the Yale Law National Security Group that the next Democratic president should “seriously consider adding



Credit: Sheila Fitzgerald. License: Shutterstock.

In April 2021, backed by Demand Justice and other left-wing groups, congressional Democrats introduced legislation to expand the number of justices on the Court from nine to 13, which would give liberal justices the majority.

two seats to the Supreme Court.” Holder has been the most prominent left-wing political figure to officially endorse a court-packing strategy.

Brian Fallon supported the idea, saying, “More and more Democrats are becoming convinced that we cannot resign ourselves to the third branch of government being captive to partisan Republican forces for the next 30 years.”

On June 11, 2019, Demand Justice purchased advertisements supporting an op-ed written by former Iowa attorney general Bonnie Campbell promoting the idea of court packing the Supreme Court. The op-ed was written in response to the anti-abortion legislation that was passed in several states that was believed to be initiated after the confirmation of Justice Brett Kavanaugh to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In response to the number of conservative judges appointed under the Trump administration and the lack of open seats, Demand Justice again advocated for court packing at both the lower levels and the Supreme Court following the Democratic Party’s victories in the 2020 general election.

In April 2021, backed by Demand Justice and other left-wing groups, congressional Democrats introduced legislation to expand the number of justices on the Court from nine to 13, which would give liberal justices the majority. Demand Justice executive director Brian Fallon praised the proposal, saying that the bill represents “a new era where Democrats finally stop conceding the Supreme Court to Republicans.”

In September 2021, Demand Justice announced a \$1.5 million campaign bolstering its existing advocacy for the Judiciary Act, a court-packing bill that proposed to expand the Supreme Court from nine to 13 justices. The campaign reportedly involved a dedicated in-house team of six staffers working with Becky Bond, a former Bernie Sanders presidential campaign strategist. The campaign also organized an in-person lobbying day scheduled for October 2021. Reports indicated that, in preparation for the campaign, Demand Justice also hired Democratic campaign strategist Alexa Sousa as its organizing director and had recruited more than 400 volunteers to meet with Democratic lawmakers and pressure them to support the Judiciary Act.

Comments on Fusion GPS

In 2017, Brian Fallon defended the decision of Hillary Clinton's campaign lawyer, Marc Elias, to hire Fusion GPS to conduct opposition research on then-candidate Donald Trump in 2016. In regard to Elias's hiring of Fusion GPS, Fallon said, "I am damn glad [Marc Elias] pursued this on behalf of our campaign and only regret more of [Fusion's] material was not verified in time for the voters to learn it before the election."

Attacks on Democratic Senators

In September 2019, Demand Justice resumed its attack ad campaign against Democratic senators, this time taking out "five-figure" advertisements against Sen. Chris Coons (D-DE). In a news release, they claimed that Coons has voted for 18 judicial nominees who do not support the final decision of landmark civil rights case *Brown v. Board of Education*. Sean Coit, a spokesman for Sen. Coons' office, responded that Coons "has not voted for any nominee who opposes *Brown v. Board*, nor would he." He added that the senator "has opposed unqualified Trump nominees . . . and has supported some whom he believes are qualified for their positions." These attacks came as Sen. Coons was running for reelection in 2020.

Following the advertisements running in September, Democratic allies of Sen. Coons fired back at Demand Justice for what they see as unfair attacks on the bipartisan-voting senator. Most notably, Sen. Mazie Hirono (D-HI), Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL), and Sen. Brian Schatz (D-HI) had strong words for the judicial advocacy group. Sen. Durbin chastised the attacks, arguing they were "really inaccurate" and added that he had voted for many of the same nominees. He criticized the group for stepping out of line and showed full support of Sen. Coons' judicial voting record during the Trump presidency. Sen. Hirono, a friend



When asked about attack ads ran by Demand Justice against him, Sen. Michael Bennet (D-CO) simply said, "I don't think about them at all."

of Demand Justice, said she "personally prefer that they didn't" smear Sen. Coons. Sen. Schatz said that the group did "half the job." He continued, saying, "One part of the job is to exert pressure on Democrats to do more, but you've got to do the hard work of organizing the constituency behind it. . . . They scratch a political itch but it doesn't solve the structural problem of us not having enough votes."

Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) was less critical of Demand Justice. He explained that it made little sense for senators to oppose judicial nominations for lawyers and judges that Demand Justice had itself recommended to the president. Meanwhile, when asked about attack ads ran by the group against him, Sen. Michael Bennet (D-CO) simply said, "I don't think about them at all."

Executive director of Demand Justice Brian Fallon doubled down on his strategy, asserting that the group intended to invest heavily in Delaware if Sen. Coons continued his voting record for Trump nominations. "If that's a record he's proud of and feels like he can defend then he has nothing to worry about from our ads," he said.

Sen. Tim Kaine (D-VA) suggested that Demand Justice was being politically short sighted in their ads against Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME), saying, "If you're going to have a strategy to muscle you better understand the people enough to know that it'll work." He offered that most senators do not respond to outside pressure when making a decision on how to cast their votes.

Politico's Report on Sixteen Thirty Fund

In November 2019, *Politico* released a report on the Sixteen Thirty Fund and the \$114 million it spent to help Democratic candidates win elections in 2018 and to attack Justice Brett Kavanaugh by funding Demand Justice. *Politico* highlighted how the spending was "fueled by massive anonymous donations" and explained that the donors can remain anonymous due to federal laws protecting "social welfare" groups. The report also mentioned Sixteen Thirty's connections to Arabella Advisors and noted that Arabella was "founded by former Clinton administration appointee Eric Kessler."

A few days later, the *Washington Post* published an editorial about *Politico*'s report, decrying the ability of dark money groups to "push causes and issues before voters" without disclosing "what special interests might lurk behind" their ads and campaigns. After detailing what *Politico* learned about Sixteen Thirty's spending and activities, the *Post* called on Congress to "change the law and force social welfare groups to identify their donors in full."

Smear of Judge Thomas Griffith

In March 2020, Demand Justice sent a letter requesting an inquiry into DC Circuit Court Judge Thomas Griffith's decision to retire from his position on September 1, 2020. Without any evidence the letter suggested that Judge Griffith had apparently accepted a bribe by coordinating with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell to step down in exchange for a "promise of future employment, such as a prestigious professorship, or future income or any bonuses that could have come with an agreement for future employment." Since the group claimed that this decision to step down was "particularly suspicious," it attempted to use this argument to obstruct the confirmation of Griffith's successor, Judge Justin Walker.

On May 1, DC Circuit Chief Judge Sri Srinivasan released an order stating that Demand Justice had not met the requirements to file a proper complaint against Justice Griffith as they did not verify their charges against him, nor did they attempt to clarify said charges within the six-week period between its filing and chief judge Srinivasan's decision. In addition, on May 5, National Public Radio released a report on Griffith including quotes from him explaining that he made his decision for entirely personal reasons back in June 2019, and had informed his colleagues he would be retiring to care for his wife due to her "debilitating chronic illness."

However, DC Circuit Chief Judge Srinivasan's order had also requested U.S. Chief Justice John Roberts to transfer the unverified complaint to another circuit for review. He called on Rule 26 of the Rules for Judicial-Conduct and Judicial-Disability Proceedings, which states that transfers may be used "where the issues are highly visible and a local disposition may weaken public confidence in the process." In addition, his order asserted Rule 5 of the Proceedings by "identifying" the complaint himself due to Demand Justice's lack of verification. Rule 5 states "when a chief judge has information constituting reasonable grounds for inquiry into whether a covered judge has engaged in misconduct or has a disability, the chief judge may conduct an inquiry, as he or she deems appropriate, into the accuracy of the informa-



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In March 2020, Demand Justice sent a letter requesting an inquiry into DC Circuit Court Judge Thomas Griffith's decision to retire from his position on September 1, 2020. Without any evidence the letter suggested that Judge Griffith had apparently accepted a bribe by coordinating with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell to step down in exchange for a "promise of future employment, such as a prestigious professorship."

tion even if no related complaint has been filed." However, Chief Judge Srinivasan's order noted that his "identification" had been made "without any inquiry by this court into the statements contained in the unverified correspondence or the questions posited by the organization in the correspondence about the possibility of judicial misconduct." On May 8, U.S. Chief Justice Roberts denied the transfer request, affirming that Chief Justice Srinivasan's "identification" did not fit the prerequisites under Rule 5 as it did not reflect "a determination of probable cause or provide sufficient indicia to infer such a finding."

Funding

In May 2018, a *New York Times* article noted that Demand Justice "expects to raise \$10 million in its first year." The article further noted that Brian Fallon, the executive director of Demand Justice, "said he was more than halfway to this initial fundraising goal." While Demand Justice has not released a list of donors, Fallon spoke at the 2018 Democracy Alliance conference in Atlanta.

Tax documents in 2021 reportedly showed Demand Justice receiving \$7 million in grants and spent roughly \$4.2 million on expenses including "legal fees, office expenses, travel

expenses, and program expenses.” Legal fees were likely paid to the Elias Law Group since the forms also showed that Demand Justice was incorporated in Washington, DC, by Ezra Reese, a partner at the controversial law firm as of 2021. Demand Justice also reported spending \$235,000 on grants and roughly \$2.3 million on employee and officer wages. Demand Justice also reported that it anticipated receiving \$7.5 million in grants and spending roughly \$3.8 million on employee and officer wages during 2022.

In its final 2021 Form 990 disclosure for 2021, Demand Justice reported total revenues of just under \$6 million, total expenditures of \$1.6 million (including grants paid totaling \$35,000), and net assets of \$4.3 million.

Donors to Demand Justice

In 2021, Demand Justice received \$1,982,613 from its former fiscal sponsor, Sixteen Thirty Fund.

Between April and June 2018, Demand Justice received more than \$2.5 million for general support from the Open Society Policy Center, a 501(c)(4) lobbying group founded by George Soros. The Open Society Policy Center gave Demand Justice an additional \$87,000 between October and December of that year to support its advocacy efforts on judicial nominations.

In 2018 and 2020 the New Venture Fund, which housed the 501(c)(3) wing of Demand Justice, received two grants from the Sandler Foundation totaling \$1 million that were earmarked specifically for Demand Justice.

Demand Justice also collects donations through its website and uses ActBlue Civics, a pass-through 501(c)(4) organization that serves as a fundraising platform for other left-wing 501(c)(4) organizations.

Leadership

Brian Fallon is the co-founder and executive director of Demand Justice and a board member of its 501(c)(3) “sister,” Demand Justice Initiative. In 2021, he received total compensation of \$158,570. According to his LinkedIn profile, he founded Demand Justice in February 2018, although a BuzzFeed article claims that the organization was launched in May of that same year. Prior to Demand Justice, Fallon previously served as president of Barracks Row Media, a public relations firm in Washington, DC. He previously worked as a political commentator for CNN and served as a senior adviser for the political action committee Priorities USA, which provided critical funding to Hillary



Credit: SHOWTIME. License: <https://bit.ly/41w9WV7>.

Brian Fallon is the co-founder and executive director of Demand Justice and a board member of its 501(c)(3) “sister,” Demand Justice Initiative.

Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign. Beginning in April 2015, Fallon also served as the Hillary Clinton campaign’s press secretary. Prior to joining Clinton’s campaign, Fallon was a spokesperson for former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder as well as communications director for Sen. Charles Schumer (D-NY) from 2007 to 2010.

In August 2018, Fallon lambasted Senate Minority Leader Schumer after the senator agreed with Senate Majority Leader McConnell to fast-track the confirmations of 15 Trump-nominated judges. Schumer justified the cooperation as a way to allow more time for vulnerable Democratic senators in the 2018 midterm elections to campaign in their home states, particularly when the specific judges were deemed likely to succeed anyway with bipartisan support.

Brian Fallon criticized Sen. Schumer’s strategy, writing that, “It is hard to think of a more pathetic surrender heading to the Kavanaugh hearings.” Furthermore, Demand Justice Chief Counsel Christopher Kang proposed that it would have been better if Sen. Schumer continued to delay the judicial nominee approval process. Instead, Kang suggested vulnerable Democratic incumbents skip votes to campaign instead.

In April 2018, Brian Fallon attended a secret meeting with Democracy Alliance in Atlanta, Georgia, to represent Demand Justice, which had not yet been officially launched.

In 2022, an unknown person leaked an early decision in the Supreme Court case *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health*

Organization showing that the court intended to overturn its previous decision in *Roe v. Wade*, returning abortion as an issue to the states. Fallon tweeted that “SCOTUS leaks are good. Rip the veil off.” He told *Vanity Fair* that intimidation protests outside the homes of conservative justices were acceptable “as long as they’re peaceful.”

I don’t think that you should tell people that are on the front lines of having to bear the brunt of the impact of these decisions that they don’t get any redress, that they have no ability to protest, or that we don’t like the style of how you’re registering your dissent.

After the decision was delivered in June 2022, Fallon urged Democrats to pack the Supreme Court with new “progressive” justices, calling the conservative majority “illegitimate.”

Board of Directors

Christopher Kang is chief counsel for Demand Justice and a member of the group’s board of directors. According to BuzzFeed News, Kang was one of eight initial staffers who launched the organization in May 2018. Prior to Demand Justice, Kang oversaw vetting and selection of judicial nominees in the Obama administration, including those of Supreme Court Justices Elena Kagan and Sonia Sotomayor. He previously worked as national director for the National Council of Asian Pacific Americans and in multiple roles



Credit: Lawrence Jackson/White House. Public Domain.

Christopher Kang is chief counsel for Demand Justice and a member of the group’s board of directors. According to BuzzFeed News, Kang was one of eight initial staffers who launched the organization in May 2018.

for Sen. Richard Durbin (D-IL) over seven years, including director of floor operations and Judiciary Committee counsel.

Kang is also a member of Demand Justice Initiative’s board. In 2021, he received total compensation of \$164,895.

Arkadi Gerney is chairman of Demand Justice’s board. Gerney is also the founder and executive director of the Hub Project, a left-of-center organizing group created by the Sixteen Thirty Fund. In 2021, the Hub Project was accused of violating federal election laws for allegedly funneling

CC —————
When asked by hosts on The View whether the Constitution was a sacred document, Mystal responded, “The Constitution is kind of trash.”

money from Swiss billionaire Hansjorg Wyss into political action committees and elections-related work during the 2020 elections.

Elie Mystal is a member of Demand Justice’s board. Mystal is author of *Allow Me to Retort: A Black Guy’s Guide to the Constitution*. He is known for holding controversial far-left beliefs, particularly regarding the Constitution. When asked by hosts on *The View* whether the Constitution was a sacred document, Mystal responded, “It’s certainly not sacred, all right, let’s start there. The Constitution is kind of trash.” Mystal has also said in interviews promoting his book that he thinks that the Constitution should be “scrapped altogether.”

Lori Lodes was a Demand Justice adviser during its 2018 smear campaign against Justice Brett Kavanaugh and a board member.

Adam Jentleson is a Demand Justice board member and a political commentator. He is a former speechwriter for Democrat John Kerry’s 2004 presidential campaign and deputy chief of staff for Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV), and he is a critic of the Senate filibuster rule. In December 2022, Jentleson was picked to be chief of staff for Sen. John Fetterman (D-PA).

Legal Counsel

Katie O’Connor serves as counsel for Demand Justice. She previously worked at the American Constitution Society, a left-of-center legal organization that interprets the Constitution as a “living document.” She also spent 10 years working at the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Paige Herwig was the former deputy chief counsel for Demand Justice. According to an article on BuzzFeed News, Herwig was one of eight initial staffers that launched the organization in May 2018 along with Demand Justice Chief Counsel Christopher Kang. Herwig left the organization in 2021 to serve as senior counsel for the White House Counsel’s Office. In May 2023 it was announced she would be leaving her position to serve a different role within the administration. Prior to Demand Justice and the

Biden administration, Herwig's career included serving as chief of staff and senior counsel at the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy under the Obama administration, the chief nominations counsel for Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), and counselor to former U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch.

Demand Justice was incorporated by lawyer Ezra Reese, of the Elias Law Group.

Digital and Media Staff

Gabrielle McCaffrey is the head of Demand Justice's digital team and runs its media campaigns. Previously, she worked on the Hillary for America 2016 presidential campaign as the digital director for Clinton's primary efforts in South Carolina, Florida, and Pennsylvania. She also served as the Pennsylvania state digital director for Clinton's general election campaign. McCaffrey also worked for the Democratic attorney general of Pennsylvania, Josh Shapiro, as his director of digital engagement, as well as in the communications department of various left-of-center organizations including the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, Revolution Messaging, and Run the World Digital.

Diana Bowen serves as the director of video at Demand Justice. She previously worked as filmmaker and producer on various political campaigns, including Hillary for America, Andrew Cuomo's 2018 New York gubernatorial reelection campaign, and Sen. Ed Markey's campaign for senator in the 2013 Massachusetts special election.

Taylor Casey serves as the digital strategist and designer for Demand Justice. She worked at Run the World Digital as well as on the Hillary for America campaign in South Carolina.

Shannon Wurthman serves as the digital and social media strategist at Demand Justice. Prior to joining Demand Justice, Wurthman worked for Free Speech for People and Run the World Digital, two left-of-center nonprofits. Wurthman also worked as the deputy digital director of the Greater Philadelphia area for the Hillary for America campaign as well as a volunteer for the Obama for America campaign.



Credit: Cameron Smith/White House, Public Domain.

Former White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki worked as a communications consultant to Demand Justice among other organizations such as CNN, Lyft, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace before taking her position in the Biden administration.

According to FEC filings, Andrew Schulz serves as the official custodian of records for Demand Justice. Schulz is an employee of Demand Justice's fiscal sponsor, Sixteen Thirty Fund, as well as Arabella Advisors, a center-left political consultancy that manages Sixteen Thirty Fund and New Venture Fund. Schulz works as a general council focused on nonprofit legal compliance.

Biden Administration

Former White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki worked as a communications consultant to Demand Justice among other organizations such as CNN, Lyft, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace before taking her position in the Biden administration. Psaki has previously served in the Obama administration and John Kerry's 2004 presidential campaign.

Paige Herwig serves a senior counsel in the Biden administration. Demand Justice praised her nomination for how she will influence judicial nominations. ■

This article is an abridged version of the InfluenceWatch entry for Demand Justice. InfluenceWatch is a project of the Capital Research Center.



THE ARCHITECTS OF THE WOKE U.S. MILITARY

By Fred Lucas

Summary: *The Left began its long march through the institutions of American society in the early 20th century and gained a complete stranglehold over education and the media. In recent years, wokeism has deeply infiltrated sports and organized religion. For a long time, the military and business were at least the last institutions the Right controlled, or so we thought. More recently, the Left has gained—if not a stranglehold—a vice grip on the corporate world. And now the military is under siege. Since his inauguration, President Joe Biden’s administration has run a full-court press to push woke policies on the military, including an executive order to opening military service to all transgender individuals, teaching about the threat of “whiteness” at West Point, and promoting senior officers who espouse left-wing progressive ideas.*

Hours after his inauguration in January 2021, President Joe Biden signed an executive order to open military service to all transgender individuals.

The push for wokeness in the military didn’t stop there.

Under the Biden administration, the Space Force has considered doing away with periodic fitness testing. The Biden administration’s Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Michael Gilday added Ibram X. Kendi’s book *How to Be an Antiracist* to his list of recommended readings, while the U.S. Military Academy at West Point taught about the threat of “whiteness.”

Biden has also nominated a string of senior officers for promotion to general who have expressed political opinions in favor of kneeling for the National Anthem, asked for dialogue on “whiteness,” and declared that DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) is in the Air Force’s DNA.

Military Woke Complex

In his farewell address in 1961, President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned about the growing influence of a “military-industrial complex”—the belief that private military defense contractors would agitate for war so they could



Credit: Adam Schultz. License: <https://shorturl.at/biR04>.

Biden has nominated a string of senior officers for promotion to general who have expressed political opinions in favor of kneeling for the National Anthem, asked for dialogue on “whiteness,” and declared that DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) is in the Air Force’s DNA.

cash in. This is something different. Whether the term is “woke” or DEI, it’s not just the government pushing these policies into the U.S. Armed Forces. What should also get attention is a developing “military woke complex”: a band of nonprofits—some very well-financed, others operating under the radar—pushing a left-wing agenda into the military.

The list of donors to the military woke complex suggests bringing the armed forces to heel is a priority. The money backing the military woke complex includes big checks from

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



On the same day as Biden's global warming gaffe, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Mark Milley asserted that China and Russia posed the biggest global threat to the United States.

George Soros and entities connected with Arabella Advisors, as well as from major bankrollers of the Left such as the Tides Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

Many of these organizations claim to be veteran service organizations, no different than Veterans of Foreign Wars or the American Legion. Others profess to represent active-duty military. Some assert they're doing both. But their real function seems to be providing cover for politicians and bureaucrats to push unpopular policies on the military.

These politicians and bureaucrats can claim they aren't just doing the bidding of the LGBTQ lobby or environmental lobby. In fact, they aren't imposing anything on military. All they have to do is point to soldiers, sailors, and airmen in these assorted organizations as proof that at least some men and women in uniform agree with them.

Common Defense

The Biden administration has done its part to push the military toward being "climate justice" warriors. The president once told a group of U.S. airmen based in Britain that the Joint Chiefs of Staff determined that the biggest threat facing America was global warming:

You know what the Joint Chiefs told us the greatest threat facing America was? Global warming. Because there'll be significant population movements, fights over land, millions of people leaving places because they're literally sinking below the sea in Indonesia; because of the fights over what is arable land anymore.

Even then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Mark Milley—no foe of wokeness—was quick to make a course correction. Milley didn't directly contradict his commander-in-chief, but he asserted that China and Russia posed the biggest global threat to the United States on the same day as Biden's global warming gaffe.

Nevertheless, by the end of his first year in office, Biden had ordered the Department of Defense and other federal agencies to transition to pollution-free electrical generation by 2035. In 2023, the Pentagon spent \$3 billion on addressing climate change concerns.

The Biden administration would be technically correct in claiming that military veterans are calling for a full-throttled focus on the climate and that the administration is not just relying on traditional green groups for these policies. But in this case it would be talking about a tiny percentage of veterans that is represented by the left-wing Common Defense network of nonprofits.

In 2022, the Common Defense Education Fund joined Critical Defense Civic Engagement to launch Vets for Climate Justice. The initiative said its mission is to lead campaigns on environmental issues, build political will for action, and pressure elected officials to transition to a green energy economy. The Common Defense Education Fund is part of the Common Defense network of nonprofits that began as an anti-Donald Trump organization and has since morphed into a catchall organization for woke policies in the military.

Common Defense was founded in 2016 as the Vets Against Trump movement in opposition to then-presidential candidate Trump's policies. The group claims the Right "co-opted" the idea of patriotism. The organization has its roots among organizers of a large veterans' rally that took place in 2016 outside the Trump Tower in New York City. The rally organizers continued as a group and incorporated in 2019 and gained tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service in 2022.

The network of organizations includes the Common Defense Education Fund, a 501(c)(3) that says it is for "training and organizing"; Common Defense Civic Engagement, a 501(c)(4) that says it is "for issue based and electoral advocacy"; and Common Defense Action Fund, a political action committee "for lobbying and electoral support."

The organization's website says:

Founded in 2016, Common Defense is the nation's largest grassroots organization of US military veterans and the only one that invests in the leadership of its members through training and deployment in campaigns that connect directly to their history of service, including voting rights, climate justice, and anti-militarism.



Credit: Alexandros Michailidis. License: Shutterstock.

During a congressional hearing when asked about the woke training materials at West Point, Gen. Mark Milley defended the woke curricular. “I want to understand white rage, and I’m white,” Milley said. “I’ve read Mao Zedong. I’ve read Karl Marx. I’ve read Lenin. That doesn’t make me a communist.”

The Common Defense network lists its priorities as lobbying and advocating for legislative bills and issues and making “endorsements of progressive candidates.” The group trains left-of-center veterans to engage in get-out-the-vote efforts. The Common Defense umbrella of groups also promotes social justice issues, such as critical race theory in military training, and opposes what it calls “forever wars.”

The network has seen some movement on its goal of more “equity” in the military. Through a Freedom of Information Act request, Judicial Watch found that training materials for West Point now teach on the problems of “whiteness.” One of the instructional slides said, “In order to understand racial inequality and slavery, it is first necessary to address whiteness.”

Members of Congress obtained curricular materials from West Point showing lectures titled “Understanding Whiteness and White Rage” and slides labeled “White Power at West Point.” When asked about these during a congressional hearing, Milley defended the woke curricular. “I want to understand white rage, and I’m white,” Milley said. “I’ve read Mao Zedong. I’ve read Karl Marx. I’ve read Lenin. That doesn’t make me a communist.”

After it was incorporated, Common Defense—though having expanded its menu of advocacy—was still out to get Trump and strongly advocated for the 45th president’s impeachment in 2019. In the lead up to the 2020 Democratic presidential primary, Common Defense asked candidates to sign a pledge ending “forever wars.” Seven Democratic candidates signed the pledge, and it was

adopted into the party’s platform at the 2020 Democratic National Convention. This marked a significant win, and proved the organization could flex its muscle.

The Common Defense Education Fund runs the Veterans Organizing Institute, which supports leadership development of left-of-center military veterans for a network of “highly diverse, former service members, with sophisticated political analysis and practical organizing skills to play an important role in reshaping the long-term American political landscape.” The institute also says it wants to create “training opportunities for all veterans,” especially those who represent directly impacted communities, including women, people of color, Indigenous, Muslim, LGBTQ+, and disabled veterans.”

Donors to the Common Defense network have included, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the David Rockefeller Fund (\$27,500 for climate advocacy), and the Fund for Nonviolence (\$20,000 to support the Veterans Organizing Institute). The Ford Foundation, a primary funder of left-of-center causes, gave a \$100,000 grant to the Common Defense Education Fund to organize a multiracial, multi-generational, and inclusive movement to get veterans to advocate for a “healthy and participatory democracy.”

Common Defense Civic Engagement, the 501(c)(4), had revenue of \$2.9 million and spent \$2.7 million in 2021. One of the biggest funders for the lobbying arm is the Sixteen Thirty Fund, a passthrough for the Arabella Advisors network, which gave \$1.06 million to Common Defense Civic Engagement—almost half of the group’s revenue. It has also received donations from major left-wing funders such as the Tides Foundation, the George Soros–connected Open Society Policy Center, the Clinton-aligned Onward Together, the group Need to Impeach, the Arabella-aligned North Fund, and the Communications Workers of America.

Jose Vasquez is the Common Defense executive director. Vasquez, a 15-year Army veteran honorably discharged in 2007, was previously the director of Iraq Veterans Against the War and was a member of the steering committee of United for Peace and Justice.

The board of directors for Common Defense Civic Engagement includes several activists on the left, including screenwriter Billy Ray; human rights lawyer Qasim Rashid; Shailly Gupta Barnes, policy director of the Poor People’s Campaign; Jeff Blum, former executive director of USAction and founder of Pennsylvania Citizen Action; and Jeff Quiggle, a supporter of Texas Democratic politician Beto O’Rourke and co-founder of “Veterans for Beto.”



Triste Ordex, national organizer for Vets for the People, asserted America's class system exploits poor people and compels them to join the military.

Vets for the People

Vets for the People, a project of the far-left Working Families Party, asserts “warmongers, white supremacists, and corporate politicians” exploit veterans. Vets for the People recruits ex-military members to be spokespersons for the group and specifically looks for vets who are ethnic minorities, women, LGBTQ people, and immigrants.

Triste Ordex, national organizer for Vets for the People, has a background in Texas Democratic Party politics. During an interview about her organization, she asserted America's class system exploits poor people and compels them to join the military. Ordex argued that the military subjects women, LGBT people, and ethnic minorities to “vicious harassment, violent assault, and worse.”

Such arguments build a platform for a more woke military.

The organization says the military disciplinary system is unjust, and thus does not see a distinction between honorably discharged and dishonorably discharged veterans.

Vets for the People endorses political candidates that support a minimum wage hike to \$15 per hour, socialized health care, increased social services, open borders, environmentalist policies, government-mandated family and medical paid leave, and reduced incarceration.

The organization participated in a 2021 rally in support of extending the eviction moratorium from the COVID-19 pandemic. The group also opposed Florida's House Bill 1 in 2021, which barred protestors from blocking roadways and increased penalties for crimes committed during the protest. The organization claimed the law would disproportionately harm minorities.

LGBTQ Military Groups

Numerous organizations are advocating for LGBTQ policies in the military. These organizations were likely enthused by the news in 2022 that Ramstein U.S. Air Base in Germany had scheduled a drag queen story hour at its base library for

children and that the Navy released a training video to help sailors understand pronoun use, but it was cancelled after a public backlash.

SPARTA is a 501(c)(3) organization that advocates for transgender people in U.S. military. SPARTA says its membership is “Open to all transgender, non-binary, and gender-nonconforming personnel in the U.S. Armed Forces, SPARTA further extends support communities for the families, veterans, and allies of transgender service members.”

The organization asserts there are 1,400 transgender service members.

The organization claims it works to “educate commanders, legislators, fellow service members, and the public about transgender service concerns, best practices, and the benefits of a diverse and representative military.”

The president and board chair of SPARTA is Emily Shilling, a Navy commander serving as an Aerospace Engineering Duty Officer with NAVAIR outside Washington, DC. The organization says Shilling is the “first trans-identifying individual to regain her Naval Flight Clearance to fly high-performance tactical jets post-transition in Feb 2023.”

In August 2023, SPARTA issued a warning to military personnel and veterans about living and even getting medical care in the state of Florida, claiming that laws recently enacted by the state make it a dangerous state for transgender members of the military:

SPARTA has withheld such recommendations previously, recognizing service members can fulfill their duties anywhere in the world. They have done so proudly for over 200 years and continue to do so in duty stations worldwide and ships sailing all the world's oceans.

However, here at home, the state of Florida has created circumstances that pose legal challenges and hazards to our nation's military members, even while they defend our nation's freedoms.”

The Modern Military Association of America, a 501(c)(3) organization, claims to be the largest LGBTQ servicemember organization in the country. It represents active-duty members, veterans, spouses, and family members.

Two organizations—the American Military Partner Association and OutServe-SLDN—merged in May 2019 to create the Modern Military Association of America (MMAA). The group said it was in response to the Trump



Ramstein U.S. Air Base in Germany had scheduled a drag queen story hour at its base library for children, but it was cancelled after a public backlash.

administration's transgender military ban the previous month. It named Navy veteran Andy Blevin, who was previously head of OutServe, as the first executive director of MMAA. The MMAA also says the merger was the "result of decades of work for the LGBTQ+ and HIV+ military and veteran community."

Although an advocacy group for U.S. military and veterans, the organization claims to have more than 85,000 people in a worldwide network of members and supporters. The MMAA filed four major lawsuits against the Trump administration:

- In the case of *Karnoski v. Trump*, the MMAA and Lambda Legal sued in federal court over the transgender military ban. The lawsuit represented six currently serving members of the armed services and three who sought to enlist.
- In *Roe and Voe v. Esper*, the MMAA and Lambda Legal sued over the Air Force's involuntary separation of airmen with HIV.
- In the case of *Harrison v. Esper*, the MMAA and Lambda Legal sued on behalf of Army Sgt. Nick Harrison, who was denied a position in the Judge Advocate General Corps because current policy considers servicemembers living with HIV non-deployable.
- In the case of *Deese and Doe v. Esper*, the MMAA and Lambda Legal sued on behalf of former Navy midshipman Kevin Deese and former Air Force cadet "John Doe," who were denied commissions based on their HIV status.

The group scored a victory when the Biden administration ended the long-standing policy prohibiting HIV-infected individuals from serving in combat zones. Previously the Pentagon cited the need for HIV medication and the risk of shared blood in combat zones as reasons to prevent them from being in combat.

The MMAA claims it opposes the "torrent of anti-LGBTQ+ legislation and policies that are making our states less equitable and actively harming our communities." The



Credit: Ted Egan. License: <https://shorturl.at/itguGO>.

"[American Veterans for Equal Rights'] mission of inclusion will not be complete until transgender patriots are allowed to serve honorably beside other members of the military. We will leave no one behind."

organization asserts that in 2022 more than 200 "anti-LGBTQ+" bills were introduced in state legislatures. The MMAA claims the number of bills increased to 500 in 2023.

The MMAA leads the Rainbow Shield Certification, which it describes as an online certification program that provides training and "culturally specific and trauma-informed linguistic, administrative, and environmental resources and knowledge for agencies and corporations to effectively work with LGBTQ+ and HIV+ military and veteran communities."

American Veterans for Equal Rights advocates for current and former service members. The organization also claims the same superlative as the MMAA, but with qualifiers, referring to itself as the "oldest and largest chapter-based, all-volunteer national" LGBTQ group advocating for active-duty military and veterans. The group says it is the nation's only LGBTQ veterans service organization that is recognized by the Department of Veterans Affairs.



The Modern Military Association of America opposes the "torrent of anti-LGBTQ+ legislation and policies that are making our states less equitable and actively harming our communities."

The organization boasts of successfully advocating for the repeal of the Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT) policy in the U.S. military. Yet AVER warns:

Despite the fact that transgender veterans were on the front lines of the fight to end DADT, transgender service members did not benefit from the DADT repeal. AVER's mission of inclusion will not be complete until transgender patriots are allowed to serve honorably beside other members of the military. We will leave no one behind.

AVER has active chapters in Albuquerque; Chicago; Miami/Ft. Lauderdale; New York City; San Antonio and Austin, Texas; Atlanta; central and northeastern Ohio; the metropolitan area of Washington, DC; Indianapolis; Phoenix; Denver; St. Louis; Los Angeles; Palm Springs; Sacramento; and Seattle.

Service Women's Action Network

The Biden Defense Department's policy of paying for military women to travel to other states to have an abortion became the subject of a hotly contested fight over more than 300 military promotions in 2023.



Credit: SWAN. License: <https://liborturl.lat/lat03>.

In 2012, the Service Women's Action Network sued the Defense Department over the policy of excluding women from military combat. A friendly Obama administration eliminated the policy in 2013, and by 2016, women began joining combat units.

Sen. Tommy Tuberville (R-AL) blocked a mass vote on the military promotions until the Pentagon dropped the new abortion policy—although he didn't prevent individual votes.

Among the key champions for the Pentagon's abortion policy was the Service Women's Action Network (SWAN).

The organization takes more mainstream positions as well, such as calling for tougher rules to stop sexual assault in the military, as well as advocating equal pay. But the group has made abortion part of the mix, as well as demanding women be allowed to serve in combat roles. It claims to be the voice of 350,000 service women and 2 million female veterans in the United States.

The SWAN website says:

Our efforts include opening all military jobs to service women, expanding access to services for a broad range of reproductive healthcare services, working to hold sex offenders accountable in the military justice system and eliminating barriers to disability claims for those who have experienced military sexual trauma. But our work is not done.

SWAN published an issue brief in 2023 calling for Congress and the president to greatly expand abortion at military and VA facilities, going well beyond what even the Biden administration authorized: "Congress must repeal the prohibition on the use of military bases for abortion and the ban on use of military funds for abortion care." SWAN argued, "Abortion is a human right. Congress and the administration must fulfill their obligation to make that right a reality for servicemembers, veterans and their dependents."

The brief recommended:

Servicemembers should be permitted to access abortion on base, with appropriate privacy protections and without consulting their superiors.

The administration must rescind regulations prohibiting abortion care within VHA [Veterans Health Administration] facilities. VHA must provide access to and coverage for abortion services as it does with other pregnancy-related care.

In 2012, SWAN sued the Defense Department over the policy of excluding women from military combat. A friendly Obama administration eliminated the policy in 2013, and by 2016, women began joining combat units.



Credit: C-SPAN. License: <https://bit.ly/477QAYG>.

The Service Women's Action Network argued, "Abortion is a human right. Congress and the administration must fulfill their obligation to make that right a reality for servicemembers, veterans and their dependents."

The most recent financial information on the organization shows that in 2021, SWAN received \$314,566 in revenue, made \$243,160 in expenditures, and had assets of \$419,527.

Veterans for American Ideals

Veterans for American Ideals describes itself as a coalition of veterans advocating for human rights at home and abroad. It is affiliated with the left-of-center group Human Rights

First, which calls for the United States to soften its immigration policies to accept more refugees.

Veterans for American Ideals also calls for "police demilitarization," demilitarizing border enforcement and addresses "domestic political extremism." The group also says it is battling online hate speech and bigotry.

"In response to the January 6th insurrection, VFAI has addressed the challenge of extremism by helping build civil society's capacity to confront and roll back violent extremist movements in the United States," the organization says.

The Left's Long March

The Left began its long march through institutions of American society in the early 20th century and gained a complete stranglehold over education and the media. In recent years, wokeism has deeply infiltrated sports and organized religion.

For a long time, the military and business were the last institutions not captured by the Left, or so we thought. More recently, the Left has gained—if not a stranglehold—a vice grip on the corporate world.

Militant wokeism is seeking a conquest of the U.S. military, and it has plenty of private-sector assistance backing up that battleplan. ■

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

A profile photograph of George Soros, looking thoughtfully to the right with his hand near his chin. Overlaid on the lower half of the image is a glowing, digital map of the world, primarily showing North and South America, with a network of blue lines and dots connecting various points across the continents. The background of the entire image is a dark, textured pattern of US dollar bills.

Read the special report at
capitalresearch.org/publication

MAPPING SOROS'S “PHILANTHROPY” AT HOME AND ABROAD



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



THE SEX EDUCATION OF OUR NATION'S CHILDREN

By Kali Fontanilla

Summary: Since its inception, sex education classes in our public schools have been a source of controversy. This fight over the sex education of our children has become more intense than ever since some states, such as New Jersey have introduced comprehensive sex education in K–12, which expands well beyond the two-week unit taught only in high school. It is important to examine history of sex education and ask questions. How did we get where we are now and who is behind the changes to sex education in our schools? When did it become standard for parents to hand over the birds and bees talk to teachers? Just because society has become more sexually explicit, should sex education keep up?

Since its inception, sex education in our public schools have been a source of controversy. A standoff between sexual health advocates and nonprofit organizations that want children to receive the most comprehensive sex education possible, whether the child has had sex or not, versus those who want it out of our schools or limited to a more conservative abstinence-centered approach. The latter group usually includes angry parents and religious organizations who fear that children are being corrupted at school and being taught to reject the moral teachings of their parents.

This fight over the sex education of our children has become more intense than ever since some states, such as New Jersey have introduced comprehensive sex education in K–12, and most sex education programs embracing the teaching of a plethora of gender identities outside of what the program creators deem the archaic gender binary. Furthermore, sex ed has greatly expanded. What used to be relegated to a two-week unit taught only in high school is now being given to students in much lower grades. Also, most states have lowered the age when a student receives sex education. In my former district, it was taught to every 7th grader with the option for the parent to opt their child out. It was then repeated in 9th grade more extensively.

No matter where you stand on the sex education debate, it is important to examine its history and ask questions. When did it become standard for parents to hand over the birds and bees talk to teachers? Who is behind the changes to sex education in our schools? Should sex education continue to



The National Education Association's LGBTQ caucus recommends the Queering Sex Education Teen Guide which asserts: "We recognize the need for an alternative sex education resource. There's so much opportunity in the queer world, and that includes queer sex."

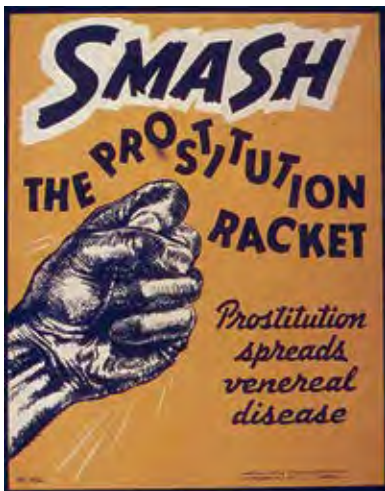
Credit: LGBTQ Caucus. License: <https://bit.ly/478U4bD>.

keep up with a more sexually permissive society? Or should we protect our children and censor what they are exposed to? Just because society has accepted more sexually explicit content in general does not mean that it should be discussed with children. Or should it? So-called progressive organizations argue that children are going to be exposed to these various sexual experiences anyway, so you might as well teach them to do it properly and with less risk. But is this the best approach for children?

The First Formal Sex Ed

One hundred years ago, sex education for our nation's children was exclusively the family's responsibility. There were no formal sex education classes in our public schools, let alone for the public in general. Sex education consisted of private conversations in the family circle, religious

Kali Fontanilla is a former public school teacher of 15 years. Her rebuttal statement to Proposition 16 in California helped to stop the push for legal reverse racism and a new extreme version of affirmative action in 2020. She is the co-founder of Exodus Institute, a K–12 online school with a nationally accredited program: Thinkexodus.org.



Credit: American Social Hygiene Association. Public domain.

Swift changes in sex education are often centered around outbreaks of venereal disease. Some of the earliest sex education organizations were formed to address these issues.

practices that guided morality, and perhaps some guidance from family doctors if asked. This began to change when venereal diseases began to spread rapidly at the turn of the century, particularly gonorrhea and syphilis. Swift changes in sex education are often centered around outbreaks of venereal disease. Some of the earliest sex education organizations were formed to address these issues.

These include the more prominent American Social

Hygiene Association (ASHA). With the goal of spreading awareness about venereal disease and, more importantly, providing moral guidance, ASHA received generous financial support from John D Rockefeller. They were endorsed by the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Children's Bureau, and many more groups that could be considered conservative organizations today.

We can thank World War I for the immediate and urgent need for more sex education in America. Soldiers overseas were contracting venereal diseases at such an alarming rate that it was one of the most common causes for soldiers to be absent from duty. They were contracting these diseases at prostitution sites near the military bases that catered to bored and lonely soldiers. It was during this time when, for the first time, the government united with an outside agency to bring sex education to U.S. soldiers. The secretary of war asked ASHA to create a program to combat venereal disease for our troops.

ASHA was tasked with educating the soldiers on venereal diseases and prevention. They also eliminated the prostitution sites around the bases and replaced them with more wholesome recreational activities for the soldiers to enjoy. The program was a huge success, by the end of WWII the venereal disease rate had fallen to the lowest point the United States had ever seen.

ASHA was again asked to work with the soldiers during World War II, and they were given even more resources to help them avoid contracting venereal disease. ASHA took a moral focus in all their work. They preached the importance of being an honorable and wholesome man, along with being a good husband. They emphasized the importance of marriage and keeping sex within the confines of a monogamous married relationship. Pretty soon, this style of sex education, known as "Family Life Education," began to be taught in high schools nationwide.

By the 1950s, Family Life Education was a standard curriculum in most of high schools. Again, it was built around the idea of waiting to have sex until married and keeping sex within a marriage relationship. It taught more than just the basics of the birds and the bees and diseases surrounding sex; it also emphasized how to be a good spouse and encouraged marriage.

Then came the 1960s and the Sexual Revolution. Many attribute the Sexual Revolution to the birth control pill approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in 1960. Some states banned the pill entirely or made it illegal for single women to purchase, but by 1972, the Supreme Court ruled that prohibiting the sale of contraceptives to unmarried women was unconstitutional. At the same time, attitudes about sex changed. Sex was no longer culturally tied to marriage and children.

With this change, a new organization was formed to tackle sexual health and education in America. Mary S. Calderone,



Credit: SMU Jones Film. License: <https://shorturl.at/gnKM9>.

Mary S. Calderone, the medical director of Planned Parenthood of America, co-founded the Sex Information and Education Council (SEICUS) in 1964.

the medical director of Planned Parenthood of America, co-founded the Sex Information and Education Council (SEICUS) in 1964. SEICUS had a mission of moving America away from the Family Life focus of sex education of the past. They asserted that "sex is not just something you do in marriage, in a bed, in the dark, in one position. Sex is what it means to be a man or woman." This was the first time the nation had been introduced to comprehensive sex education programs in our public

Table 1: The Distribution of Women's Premarital Sex Partners, by Marriage Cohort					
	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
0 partner	21%	17%	14%	12%	5%
1 partner	43%	36%	26%	21%	22%
2 partners	16%	15%	13%	13%	12%
3 partners	8%	11%	11%	11%	11%
4-5 partners	6%	12%	16%	17%	18%
6-9 partners	4%	5%	11%	13%	14%
10+ partners	2%	4%	10%	14%	18%
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	268	1,921	4,312	3,598	273

Source: Nicholas H. Wolfinger, "Counterintuitive Trends in the Link Between Premarital Sex and Marital Stability," Institute for Family Studies, June 6, 2016, <https://ifstudies.org/blog/counterintuitive-trends-in-the-link-between-premarital-sex-and-marital-stability>.

high schools. The type of sex education promoted by SEICUS included content on gays, lesbians, and masturbation.

Another proponent of comprehensive sex education during the time was Lester A. Kendell, who wanted the nation's sex education programs to move away from the idea that premarital sex was harmful to society or individuals. He explained, "The purpose of sex education is not primarily to control and suppress sex expression, as in the past, but to indicate the immense possibilities for human fulfillment that human sexuality offers." You can see how this mindset would lead to a focus on pleasure-based sex education, perhaps something fine for classes given to adults but wholly inappropriate for instruction to children.

SEICUS produced study guides on sex education, masturbation, and homosexuality with funding from the Office of Education at the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. With the wide distribution of its guides, SEICUS received requests from schools to help with their sex education programs. The Family Life Education programs, as proclaimed by the sexual progressives, were deemed insufficient to meet the educational needs of the rapidly changing sex lives of the American people. Or were the times really changing as quickly as we have been told?

As late as the 1980s, over half of women had only one partner before walking down the aisle, compared to 2010, where only 5 percent of new brides are virgins.

If you look at the statistics from the time of the Sexual Revolution, the mindset of Americans was still pretty tame. It turns out not everyone was a free-love hippie. Of married women, 21 percent had no premarital sex, and 43 percent of women had only one premarital sex partner—their future husband. Even as late as the 1980s, over half of women had only one partner before walking down the aisle. Compare this to 2010, where only 5 percent of new brides are virgins. It's all relative. At the time, the Sexual Revolution seemed wild, but in comparison, today, it was PG. Regardless, sex education organizations like SEICUS found their angle to get into the schools and promote their loose view of sex to those under 18.

By the 1980s, around half the states in America adopted comprehensive sex education curricula, while the rest continued to teach Family Life Education classes emphasizing abstinence before marriage. But in the mid-1980s, the deadly AIDS epidemic fundamentally changed how America viewed sex. With an almost 100 percent fatal rate at the time, both sides of the sex education debates blamed each other. Those in favor of more abstinence-centered programs believed that the AIDS epidemic was caused by the overall moral decline of society and the sanctioning of permissive attitudes toward sex by those favoring comprehensive sex education programs. Organizations like SEICUS used the AIDS epidemic to justify the need for more information on homosexual relationships to be taught in our schools. In 1986, U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop pushed for comprehensive sex education in our nation's public schools. "There is no doubt that we need sex education in our schools, and it includes information on heterosexual and homosexual relationships," Koop wrote in his report. "The need is critical, and the price of neglect is high."

But was the need critical? Yes, the AIDS epidemic was scary and certainly made the headlines, but the realistic chance for an American to contract and then die from AIDS in the 1980s was around 0.0002 percent. Nevertheless, AIDS deaths were the tragic excuse needed to get more instruction in our sex education programs about homosexual sex and a general push toward comprehensive sex ed.

Fast forwarding to today, some organizations are pushing for more pleasure-based sex education, completely obliterating the lines of what most sane people would consider appropriate to talk about with children. Consider that the National Education Association's LGBTQ caucus recommends the Queering Sex Education Teen Guide. The guide asserts:

We recognize the need for an alternative sex education resource. It's not okay that gaps are being left and our sexual experiences are being ignored: there's so much opportunity in the queer world, and that includes queer sex. Penis and vagina is one kind of sex, but it's not the only kind of sex! This information should not only be available but celebrated. We want to re-frame the sex that we have and the sex that we want to have as something positive. We want to see the kind of sex we have and want to have reflected in the curriculum. It's needed.

The guide recommends that students be taught about fisting, rimming, bondage, and sadomasochism. They also have a resource video produced by Planned Parenthood of Toronto to teach students about all those acts. This is just one example of the push for pleasure-based sex education in our schools. The point is that putting a condom on a banana was PG-13, but now they want sex education to be NC-17. America, this is not a joke. This is really happening.

What's Best for the Kids

To go back to a previous question, should sex education continue to keep up with a more sexually permissive society? It is often assumed that young people just want less rules and more permissive stances on all issues, especially regarding teens and sex. But is this true? Morality in society may be declining, but does that mean kids want to continue this downward trend? Not necessarily.

Think back to your teenage experience with sex education. Perhaps you remember what your sex education class was like in public school. I received comprehensive sex education when I was a teen in California in the 1990s, my sophomore year, which was the customary age for the class. We watched



Credit: SEICUS. License: <https://shorturl.at/gq4X>

SEICUS had a mission of moving America away from the Family Life focus of sex education of the past. They asserted that “sex is not just something you do in marriage, in a bed, in the dark, in one position. Sex is what it means to be a man or woman.”

the movie *Daddy* about the difficulties of having a baby as a teen, learned about STDs with graphic pictures (which was a traumatizing but effective deterrent), awkwardly practiced putting a condom on a banana, and memorized all the sexual reproductive organs. Do you remember being enthusiastic about sex ed class, or was it an embarrassing and uncomfortable necessity? I bet the answer is the latter. It's an uncomfortable subject for children, and it should be, especially among their peers and adult teachers.

But back then, it wasn't nearly as bad as today. It was a two-week session in a required health class. That's about it. Some even had boys and girls separated, thankfully. And the subjects weren't nearly as graphic and uncomfortable as they are today.

It is often assumed that kids want less rules, more freedom, more sex, etc. But that's not what I heard from students as a public middle school teacher. They hated it. It was “weird” and “uncomfortable” for them. Could it be that adults are pushing their own perverted agendas on kids, not because the kids want this, but because the adults want it?



The point is that putting a condom on a banana was PG-13, but now they want sex education to be NC-17. America, this is not a joke.



Instead of focusing on sex and pleasure, with the latest kink trends, society should teach young men how to be good husbands and young girls how to be good wives.

Consider these statistics cited by the organization ASCEND, which provides instructor training for Sexual Risk Avoidance Education, and keep in mind these are current statistics. Contrary to popular ideas of sex-crazed teenagers, “most adolescents support reserving sex for marriage, both in general and for themselves.” Shocked yet? It turns out a lot of kids just want to stay kids as long as possible, at least in some ways. Sadly, peer pressure often pushes children to do things they don’t even want to do, and then adults turn around and use those sad results as a picture of what kids want.

Furthermore, around half of 18–19-year-olds “wish they had waited longer before becoming sexually active.” Again, contrary to the views of comprehensive sex ed advocates that paint the picture of sex-crazed teens desperately needing their information, the statistics show that most teens are not having sex today. Nor do they like the idea of casual sex, with 80 percent of 18–19-year-olds saying they disagree with such an attitude toward sex. Lastly, and this statistic drives home my point the most, “about 40% of teens say that their sex ed classes make them feel pressured to have sex.”

What are we pushing on our innocent children?

Are There Any Solutions?

Rather than push pleasure-based fringe perversions on children who don’t want it, schools should go back to what sex ed was originally designed for, such as the Family Life Education of the 1950s. Instead of focusing on sex and pleasure, with the latest kink trends, society should teach young men how to be good husbands and young girls how to be good wives. Radical, I know. But even from a secular perspective, it’s simply practical. A country is comprised of family units, and there is no better structure on which to build a growing and healthy society than the traditional family.

States should focus on opt-in policies, rather than opt-out. This strategic approach will put those with perverted agendas on the defensive. Make them answer why they oppose

Welcome to Family2Family Family Life Education Curriculum



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Rather than push pleasure-based fringe perversions on children who don’t want it, schools should go back to what sex ed was originally designed for, such as the Family Life Education of the 1950s.

parents being in complete control with opt-in policies. If there’s nothing wrong with what they are teaching, they should be happy that the parents know about it and must approve it before it’s taught to their children. This should be a bare minimum, but it’s a crucial step.

Lastly, prosecution is a necessary deterrent to protect our children, but it’s strangely ignored today. Imagine what would happen if the things taught to kids in the way they are taught today were done in the 1950s. Imagine adults teaching kids how to have more pleasure and kink practices, and then couple that with the practice of schools keeping things like gender transitioning secret from parents. What would happen in the 1950s? People would be arrested. No new laws would need to be written. They would just be prosecuted under existing child endangerment laws among others.

Why don’t we do this today? Why aren’t we protecting our children? This is abuse, and the practice will not stop unless there are real consequences, like all detrimental societal practices. In the future, our children will look at how we responded to the assault on their innocence and judge our inaction unless there is a decided change. ■

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



BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

Arabella Advisors' Half-Billion-Dollar
"Dark Money" Network

Hayden R. Ludwig

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

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



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



INVENERGY: BILLIONAIRE MICHAEL POLSKY'S WIND POWER COLOSSUS

By Ken Braun

Summary: In March 2023, Goldman Sachs reported the 10-year cost of the energy subsidies in the Inflation Reduction Act would reach \$1.2 trillion. Corporations that develop weather-dependent wind and solar energy and storage for these subsidies were projected to be the largest winners of this windfall. Under the guidance of its founder, billionaire Michael Polsky, Invenergy is well positioned to reap the benefits of this windfall. But a far more rational public policy would present an existential threat to the Invenergy business model.

In a 2021 corporate news release, Chicago-based Invenergy claimed to be “the largest privately held global developer, owner, and operator of sustainable energy solutions.” Under the guidance of its founder, billionaire Michael Polsky, the firm has become one of the most influential and controversial American players in the weather-restricted wind energy industry.

In June 2022, energy journalist Robert Bryce reported on a lawsuit Invenergy had filed against Worth County, Iowa, seeking to force the community to accept development of a 30,000-acre wind turbine project. Beginning in April 2021, the county’s elected officials began approving ordinances and considering regulations to halt wind energy development.

This wasn’t the first time. Bryce wrote that Invenergy was “facing staunch opposition to its projects in multiple states.”

The author of *A Question of Power: Electricity and The Wealth of Nations*, Bryce maintains a Renewable Rejection Database to track local opposition to weather-restricted power projects. The database records at least six communities in four states, spanning 2015 through 2021, that have already successfully blocked Invenergy projects.

But that alone won’t slow down Polsky’s controversial colossus. The Inflation Reduction Act has touched off an unprecedented corporate welfare gold rush for wind energy developers. Polsky could have a big payday.

In a sane world, real environmentalists would shut this down. In addition to their heavy dependence on the weather



Credit: mike janowski. License: <https://bit.ly/47aoKo0>.

Under the guidance of Invenergy’s founder, billionaire Michael Polsky, the firm has become one of the most influential and controversial American players in the weather-restricted wind energy industry.

and a mountain of tax dollars, wind and solar power systems also devour far more of the environment than every form of power they are supposed to replace.

Chewing Up the Environment

No less than the U.S. Department of Energy has reported that replacing the energy provided by a typical commercial nuclear reactor would require 3 million solar panels or 430 wind turbines. Similarly, a June 2021 report from Bloomberg News showed wind energy gobbles up 100 times more land than nuclear power.

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



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The U.S. Department of Energy has reported that replacing the energy provided by a typical commercial nuclear reactor would require 3 million solar panels or 430 wind turbines.

The land use comparisons against natural gas are even more lopsided against the fickle wind and solar power systems.

Because it produces no air pollution, the Department of Energy has also praised nuclear power for producing “minimal waste” and providing the “equivalent of removing 100 million cars from the road and more than all other clean energy sources combined.”

On the financial side, Bryce recently reported that federal subsidies for solar energy in 2022 were 300 times greater than nuclear for each unit of energy produced. Similarly, he calculated wind energy subsidies at 69 times that of nuclear. He also wrote this is just a “foretaste of the climate corporatism to come,” as the Inflation Reduction Act will dump even more largesse on wind and solar.

Yet with all that massive assistance flooding into wind and solar, nuclear power still produces more American electricity than wind and solar combined.

Bryce also showed wind and solar subsidies are many times higher than oil, natural gas, and coal. But nuclear energy stands alone as the undisputed champion of producing more American electricity per subsidy dollar spent. If decoupling carbon emissions from electricity production is the objective of these massive subsidies, then all the paydays for wind and solar should be taken away and redirected to nuclear power.

Although a far more rational public policy, this would present an existential threat to the Invenergy business model. The firm’s leader appears to have been very thorough in his efforts to prevent that from happening.

Protection Money

Polsky has been a member of the World Resources Institute (WRI) board of directors since at least 2013 and remains on the board as of this writing.

This gives him nearly a decade of leadership experience over one of the planet’s largest climate policy advocates. WRI employed more than 600 people and raked in more than \$289 million for the fiscal year ending September 2020.

WRI’s annual reports from 2014 through 2022 show Polsky supporting them at the highest levels. He is credited with donations of \$1 million or more for 2014 and 2015; \$750,000 or more in 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021; and \$500,000 or more for 2022.

“As the electricity markets of the future take shape, I hope that this gift will help WRI deliver access to clean energy for everyone,” said Polsky, in a September 2015 WRI news release announcing one of his \$1 million donations.

What is “clean energy”? That depends on where you look.

The International Energy Agency website tracks the combined electricity production of all major industrial nations (i.e., members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). Nuclear reactors were the developed world’s largest provider of carbon-free power for 53 consecutive months, literally every single monthly entry in a database that begins January 2010. Second place wasn’t wind or solar, but hydroelectric dams.

One might hope that a group now gobbling up a quarter billion dollars in annual revenue to be the “World” Resources Institute would want to ramp up the planet’s most important carbon-free energy sources. WRI is on a different planet. The nonprofit’s “energy future” page is filled with only wind and solar promotions.

It gets worse. In 2018 WRI hosted an “environmental prize” awards ceremony honoring activists credited with blocking nuclear power in South Africa. The WRI news release praised the pair for a “victory that protected South Africa from an unprecedented expansion of the nuclear industry.”



In 2018 the World Resources Institute hosted an “environmental prize” awards ceremony honoring activists credited with blocking nuclear power in South Africa.

Polsky has also been linked with at least three other major climate alarmist nonprofits that oppose nuclear energy: the League of Conservation Voters (LCV), the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), and the Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI). His specific level of support for these three is unclear, but his generosity to the World Resources Institute indicates his capability.

According to *Forbes*, Polsky was worth an estimated \$1.6 billion in October 2023.

More Nuclear Freeze

Polsky is quoted praising the NRDC in an October 2009 report produced by the group. “NRDC is providing the tough advocacy, experience, and vision to make the policy changes necessary to move the clean energy economy forward in the Midwest,” said Polsky.

But once again, “clean energy” has a very limited meaning.

Over the last five years, NRDC has repeatedly advocated for closure of nuclear power plants, most recently including



Credit: Energy NOW. License: <https://bit.ly/3v3goQa>.

On the financial side, Robert Bryce recently reported that federal subsidies for solar energy in 2022 were 300 times greater than nuclear for each unit of energy produced. Similarly, he calculated wind energy subsidies at 69 times that of nuclear.

California’s Diablo Canyon and the Indian Point facility near New York City.

The League of Conservation Voters thanked Polsky as a “Patron” level donor as recently as a 2013–2014 biannual report. As a 501(c)(4) advocacy nonprofit, LCV is not required to make general disclosures of donor names and appears to have avoided doing so ever since.

LCV co-signed a November 2020 letter to the U.S. Senate that claimed nuclear energy “amplifies and expands the dangers of climate change” and is an example of “false solutions to the climate crisis that perpetuate our reliance on dirty energy industries.”

In February 2015, the Rocky Mountain Institute announced that Invenergy was the “founding project developer” of RMI’s Business Renewables Center. Polsky’s firm shared this distinction with other heavyweights in the weather-dependent power industry, such as Apex Clean Energy, E.ON-Climate and Renewables North America, FirstSolar, NextEra Energy Resources, NRG Energy, OneEnergy Renewables, OwnEnergy, and SunEdison.

In May 2016 another RMI news release praised Invenergy for its work on the Business Renewables Center.

RMI reported a modest five-figure donation from Polsky in 2010, in what appears to be the last publicly revealed support given by him or Invenergy to the Colorado nonprofit.

However, like LCV, as a 501(c)(3) educational nonprofit RMI is also legally permitted to maintain the privacy of its donors. As RMI’s funding base has grown over the years, so have the “anonymous” six-figure and above donations listed in its annual reports. For 2022, four anonymous donors were credited with donations of \$1 million and above, one for a donation in excess of \$500,000 (but less than \$1 million), and eight for donations in excess of \$100,000 (but less than \$500,000).

RMI founder Amory Lovins has been a prominent opponent of nuclear power for nearly half a century and remains so today. In a 2011 RMI report, Lovins wrote that nuclear energy was “costly and dangerous and a poor alternative to renewable energy sources.” In a February 2022 report, another RMI researcher criticized French and

Dutch investments in nuclear power. Also in 2022, Lovins testified in favor of closing California's Diablo Canyon nuclear facility.

Political Protection

Polsky has also been generous with politicians.

"I met yesterday in Chicago with a big group of clean renewable energy businesses and they're just ready to go," said Hillary Clinton in the fall of 2015, a year before losing the 2016 presidential election. "But" she added, "they need some help from the government."

The Washington Examiner reported that Clinton's discussion with the needy took place at a \$2,700 per person fundraiser held at Michael Polsky's home.

What sort of "needs" did Polsky have? Three years earlier in 2012, according to the *Carolina Journal*, Invenergy had already hoovered up \$199 million in wind energy stimulus payments from the Obama administration.

The *Journal* noted Polsky was "a major contributor to President Obama's 2008 and 2012 presidential campaigns" and had also forked over "the individual \$50,000 maximum to Obama's 2009 presidential inauguration committee."



"I met yesterday in Chicago with a big group of clean renewable energy businesses and they're just ready to go," said Hillary Clinton in the fall of 2015. "But" she added, "they need some help from the government."

Federal Election Commission (FEC) records reveal that he gave a total of \$75,000 combined to the Hillary Victory Fund and Hillary for America, two political action committees (PACs) created to promote the Clinton 2016 Presidential Campaign. A 2019 *Philanthropy News Digest* report credited the Polsky Foundation, Michael Polsky's philanthropic nonprofit, with putting at least another million bucks toward the Obama Foundation.

During the 2022 mid-term election, the Invenergy PAC spent \$105,404, giving \$77,000 directly to federal candidates (61 percent to Democrats). Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) received more than any other politician (his campaign was apparently in "need" of \$8,500).

This was record-level spending for Invenergy PAC, an 11 percent increase over the \$94,910 spent in 2020 and a 155 percent boost above the 2012 Obama reelection year. Invenergy has already reported raising more than \$52,000 toward 2024 election spending.

FEC records show that Polsky personally donated nearly \$160,000 during the 2022 election cycle, giving \$10,000 to the Invenergy PAC and \$50,000 to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Does He Mean It?

"I'm an engineer. Not an environmentalist," said Polsky, in a quote that opens a peculiar November 2020 *Forbes* profile of the billionaire. The article notes that Polsky began collecting his fortune by developing America's low-carbon natural gas infrastructure.

Natural gas leaves tiny environmental and financial footprints relative to its other huge advantages over wind and solar.

Bloomberg News reported wind energy needs 370 times more land than natural gas to produce the same kilowatts and that solar as needs 140 times more. Robert Bryce's research for 2022 showed solar energy received 135 times more federal subsidies per kilowatt hour of electricity than oil and gas, and wind energy received 31 times more.

When used to generate electricity, natural gas produces just half the carbon emissions of coal, and coal chews up eight times more land to produce the same amount of power. Between 2000 and 2021, American per capita carbon emissions declined by 30 percent, largely because we

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Credit: fokke baarsen. License: Shutterstock.

Bloomberg News reported wind energy needs 370 times more land than natural gas to produce the same kilowatts and that solar as needs 140 times more.

switched so much of our electricity production from coal to natural gas.

Polsky first became a wealthy man as part of this success.

So, why switch to a line of work that eats up so much of the environment?

CC —————
The Forbes 2020 profile of the billionaire notes that Polsky began collecting his fortune by developing America's low-carbon natural gas infrastructure.

To explain the perverse behavior of firms that are confronted with these massive gobbs of wind and solar energy corporate welfare, Robert Bryce quoted bank robber Willie Sutton. "When asked why he robbed banks," wrote Bryce, "Sutton simply replied, 'Because that's where the money is.'"

Even as this flood of taxpayer loot has helped elevate Polsky to billionaire status, does the "engineer" who claims he isn't an environmentalist really believe his new business model is as honorable as his original one?

Here it's helpful to quote legendary journalist H.L. Mencken: "Never argue with a man whose job depends on not being convinced." ■

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

ARCHITECTS OF WOKE:

The 1619 Project's Fake History



STOKELY CARMICHAEL



& RACISM WITHOUT RACISTS

SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK & THE ROMANCE OF REVOLUTIONARY TERROR



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

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

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

Watch the entire series at DangerousDocumentaries.com.



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



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THOMAS SOWELL ON SOCIAL JUSTICE FALLACIES

By David Hogberg

Summary: “Social justice” has become all the rage in academia, the mainstream media, and corporate boardrooms across America, spurred on by the violent Black Lives Matter movement and pseudo-thinkers like Robin DiAngelo and Ibrim X. Kendi. In his new book *Social Justice Fallacies*, Thomas Sowell cuts through the muddled and misleading thinking that is creating so much havoc in America.

Thomas Sowell’s influence is unparalleled among current intellectuals. Entering his name into an internet search engine yields millions of results, while a search of YouTube finds a near endless number of videos to choose from.

Sowell has achieved this influence through dozens of books and thousands of articles that cut through modern cant with common sense conveyed in plain, easy-to-understand language. His legacy would be secure even if he had stopped writing years ago.

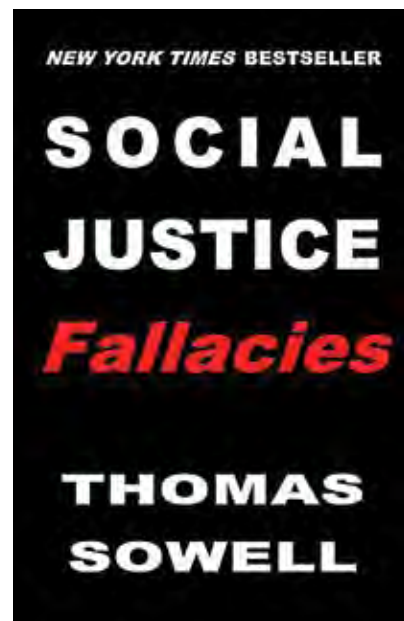
*But, at age 93, Sowell has written a new book entitled *Social Justice Fallacies*. The book couldn’t have come at a better time. Spurred on by the violent Black Lives Matter movement and pseudo-thinkers like Robin DiAngelo and Ibrim X. Kendi (née Ibram Henry Rogers), “social justice” has become all the rage in academia, the mainstream media, and corporate boardrooms across America.*

*Sowell once quipped that since justice involves the relationship between two or more people, what kind of justice isn’t social? Indeed, the term is soothing rhetoric that hides an agenda based on fallacious beliefs. *Social Justice Fallacies* cuts through the muddled and misleading thinking that is creating so much havoc in America.*

Sowell recently sat down with David Hogberg, a former senior research associate at the Capital Research Center, for an interview about his new book.

Hogberg: You are in your 90s and you should be enjoying retirement. So, why did you write this book?

Sowell: Well, there were things that needed to be said, and other people who weren’t saying them, and perhaps they had enough sense not to say them.



Credit: Amazon. License: <https://shorturl.at/rzGNO>.

Social Justice Fallacies cuts through the muddled and misleading thinking that is creating so much havoc in America.

Hogberg: In chapter one you look at what you call the “equal chances” fallacy. Explain what that is.

Sowell: Well, it’s the idea that if you find groups, whether by race, by sex, or whatever, all who are doing very differently in terms of outcomes or the skills that lead to those outcomes, we wonder why there are these disparities. The tendency is to look for someone to blame for this. It seems to me that when you think about it, realistically, there’s very little reason to expect different people to have similar outcomes or skills—or that everyone even wants to have the same skills much less put in the effort to get those skills.

*David Hogbert, Ph.D., is a CRC alumnus and author of *Medicare’s Victims: How the U.S. Government’s Largest Health Care Program Harms Patients and Impairs Physicians*.*



Realistically, there's very little reason to expect different people to have similar outcomes or skills.

For example, one of the ways in which groups differ is age. People give very little attention to that. There are American ethnic groups where the average age differs by a decade, some that differ by more than two decades. I would suggest to people who are in their 40s or 50s that they look back when they were in their 20s and compare the salary they had when they were in their 20s to the ones they have in their 40s or 50s. If they did that many of them would discover that the disparity is greater than the disparity between the sexes or the disparity between the races.

Hogberg: A big theme of chapter one is that even if a society obliterated every last ounce of discrimination and everyone was given an equal chance at success, different groups in that society would still not have equal outcomes.

Sowell: Yes. Different groups have different cultures, and thus they have different values. One of my pet examples is, if there's some black kid in Harlem who grew up with the exact same muscular makeup in his body as the famous ballet dancer Rudolph Nureyev, the odds that he would become a ballet dancer are something like 100 to one if not 1,000 to one. Why? Because he'll probably never even think about becoming a ballet dancer given where he lives.

Hogberg: You don't mention this concept in chapter one, but I think it is related to your discussion of human capital, and that is this trendy new term "cultural appropriation." It's the name now given to the practice of one culture taking and using an idea developed by a different culture, and that is immoral because it amounts to stealing. The people making this argument about cultural appropriation, should we take them seriously?

Sowell: No. The entire human race does that. For example, in ancient civilization, the Greeks were way ahead of the British. The Greeks were much closer geographically to the civilizations in Northern African and the Middle East. The Greeks had far more chances to learn from those civilizations than the British did, who were located thousands of miles away. So Greek civilization takes off and is literally centuries ahead of the British, just due to accidental location.

Hogberg: Where would the human race be if we didn't engage in this kind of behavior?

Sowell: We would still be back in the caves. No given group has been able to progress just on its own terms. Three

years ago, I wrote a book about charter schools. The lady in charge of the Success Academy Charter School, she's Jewish. It also happens that her father was a mathematician at Stuyvesant High School, which is big on mathematics and science. So she had all these things that these kids in Harlem don't have. Shortly after she took over, the fifth-grade class at that school—kids from Harlem—did better on the math exams than any fifth-grade class anywhere in the entire state of New York. They appropriated her knowledge, to use those kinds of terms.

Virtually everything we lay our eyes and ears on has been appropriated. The numbers that we use originated in India. The letters that we use originated with the Romans, and so on. Everyone wants to take advantage of the knowledge that other people have. I don't want to be operated on by a surgeon who is as clumsy as I am.

Hogberg: In chapter two you look at racial fallacies. You note that while progressives of today abhor racism, progressives of the early 20th century believed some races, particularly blacks, were genetically inferior. Yet despite that you claim that progressives of both eras are eerily similar. How so?

Sowell: They all believe in a big role for government. They believe that elites like themselves should be preempting other people's decisions through the power of government.



(Thomas Sowell with Milton Friedman) They [progressives] all believe in a big role for government. They believe that elites like themselves should be preempting other people's decisions through the power of government.

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*Raise the price of labor, employers demand less labor.
When you raise the price of food, people buy less food.*

They are very resistant to any kind of facts that go contrary to what they believe. One of their patterns is that they almost never respond to an argument with a counterargument. They respond with ad hominem attacks.

Hogberg: In chapter three you say that people are not chess pieces. What exactly do you mean?

Sowell: Well, I'm taking that from a statement by Adam Smith in the 18th century, that abstract theorists—John Rawls being a classic example—they argue as if they can move people around in society much the same way that the hand moves pieces on a chessboard. You can see the results of that assumption in many things. For example, in the notion that if the government raises the tax rate, they'll collect more taxes. If people were just inert chess pieces, that would be true. But since they react to what the government does, sometimes raising the tax rate lowers tax revenue.

It applies to government policy in general. During the Great Depression, both Hoover and FDR believed that the government should promote higher prices for labor, for capital, for farm products, and so forth. And therefore, workers and farmers and businessmen would all have higher incomes, and that would create additional demand needed to get out of the Depression. That would be true if people were inert chess pieces. But they're not. And of course, raise the price of labor, employers demand less labor. When you raise the price of food, people buy less food. They raised all these prices, and it did nothing to end the Depression.

Hogberg: Could you expand a little bit on the tax cuts example?

Sowell: Yes. Some years ago, the politicians in Maryland decided they were going to raise more revenue by increasing the taxes on people who had an income of a million dollars a year or more. But after they did this, the number of people with incomes of a million dollars or more in Maryland went down. Because rich people were not chess pieces, they moved out of Maryland. Instead of getting \$100 million in new tax revenue like they predicted, Maryland got \$200 million less in revenue.

The classic example was back in the 1920s. During the Woodrow Wilson Administration income taxes quickly went up to 73 percent, particularly in trying to finance World War I. But in the next administration, the Secretary of the

Treasury, Andrew Mellon, called for a tax rate reduction. He realized that if you kept the top rate at 73 percent, people were just going to avoid the tax by putting their money into tax-exempt securities and the Treasury would take in less revenue. Tax-exempt securities usually don't pay a rate of return as high as other deposits. But when you bring the tax rate down to 25 percent, then it pays people to take their money out of the tax-exempt securities and put them in investments that pay a bigger rate of return, even after taxes had been deducted. After Mellon succeeded in getting the rate lowered from 73 percent to 25 percent, the government collected far more taxes, especially from high-income people. And as I mentioned in the book, 25 percent of something is larger than 73 percent of nothing.

Hogberg: The title of chapter 4 is "Knowledge Fallacies." Where does the Left go wrong in its understanding of knowledge?

Sowell: They believe that the most consequential knowledge is concentrated in people like themselves. They want to preempt the decisions of other people because they feel that they can make better decisions for them. That is true of early progressives and the later progressives of our time.

The classic tragic example of that is minimum wage law. Employers are willing to offer wages, and workers are willing to accept them to get the job. But then third parties say, "No, that's not a high enough wage." And they will preempt the decision that both the employer and the employee have made and raise the minimum wage. The employer, though, not being a chess piece, decides he's not going to hire as much labor as before. The result is you get huge amounts of unemployment, especially among black teenagers. When you raise the minimum wage, you get more job applicants because the higher wage attracts them. But there are fewer jobs because the employer finds ways of doing without low-skilled workers. So you end up with a chronic surplus of job applicants. And what that means is that it does not cost the employer anything to discriminate against minorities. For every qualified black he turns away, he has plenty of qualified whites to choose from in the surplus applicant pool.

Look at 1948. I'm old enough to remember when President Truman ran for reelection that year making civil rights part of his platform. That cost him huge votes in the South, and some Southerners got together and ran their own third-party

candidate. But even with all of that, there was zero difference between the unemployment rate of black and white teenagers at that time. The reason is the minimum wage hadn't been increased in 10 years. Inflation had all but neutralized it. An ineffective minimum wage increased the cost of discrimination for employers. At that lower wage rate, the pool of job applicants is smaller. If an employer rejects an applicant because he's black, the job can easily go unfilled because there won't be enough qualified white applicants in the pool.

But as they later raised the minimum wage and kept on raising it, the unemployment rate among teenagers in general—and black teenagers especially—rose dramatically. And now there is a big difference between the black and white teenagers that did not exist in 1948. The real irony is during the first year of the Obama Administration, which would not have existed unless there had been a reduction in racism since 1948, the unemployment rate among black teenagers was 52 percent. It had been 10 percent in 1948. That is the high cost of people who don't know what they are talking about preempting the decisions of other people who know their own circumstances better than third parties.

Hogberg: Related to that, there is a movement right now to get rid of gas stoves and replace them with electric stoves. Why should I be able to decide what kind of stove I want in my own home versus politicians or environmental activists?

Sowell: Because you know the price you're paying for the stove you choose better than they do. What's tragic is that you have too many people making too many decisions for other people. Too often those making the decisions pay no

price for being wrong no matter how high the price paid by others.

Hogberg: So if I pay the price, would you say that that gives me more incentive than anyone else in the process to get the decision right.

Sowell: Absolutely.

Hogberg: Recently the head of the American Library Association, Emily Drabinski, an avowed Marxist, said that “public education needs to be a site of socialist organizing, and I think libraries really do to.” How does that relate to chapter four?

Sowell: If she wants to be a Marxist, it's a free country. But the question is what gives her the right to make other people's decisions? If you look at the history of the 20th century, most of the great tragedies of that century came out of elites who thought they knew better. When totalitarian dictatorships appeared in the 1920s and 30s, intellectuals in Western democratic nations were full of enthusiasm for them.

People often don't realize that intellectuals were in favor of those dictatorships, even the Nazis. It was George Bernard Shaw who chided Americans for being against dictators, arguing that dictatorships get things done. The things they got done, we discovered as time went on, were some horrible things.

Hogberg: In chapter five, you compare the campaign for affirmative action to the COVID Pandemic? Why is that an apt comparison?

Sowell: Oh, wow, I totally forgot about having done that. But the pandemic, like affirmative action, is another case of third parties setting priorities for other people. Now, it's good that we tried to save lives during the pandemic. But once politicians are given the power to preempt decisions, they'll persist in it as long as it works for them politically. Politicians have no great incentive to avoid mistakes because it is other people who pay for those mistakes.

Hogberg: In chapter five you write that the “social justice vision often fails to show any serious interest in the progress of the less fortunate when it happens in ways unrelated to the social justice agenda.” Explain.

Sowell: We have how many hours?

I can start with the situation of blacks in the United States. The social justice narrative is that blacks came out of poverty, advanced in professional occupations, and so on as a result of the wonderful government programs that came in the 1960s. But just because you start the time series in



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What's tragic is that you have too many people making too many decisions for other people. Too often those making the decisions pay no price for being wrong no matter how high the price paid by others.



From 1954 to 1964, the number of black professionals doubled in the U.S. All of this before the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

the 1960s doesn't mean the trend started in the 1960s. For example, the black poverty rate dropped 40 percentage points in the two decades leading up to 1960. From 1954 to 1964, the number of black professionals doubled in the U.S. All of this before the 1964 Civil Rights Act. What are the factors that led to the improvement of blacks prior to the 1960s? Well, since that doesn't fit the social justice narrative, the political Left has no interest in it.

This happens on an international scale as well. And some of the most dramatic rises of people from poverty to affluence occurred in Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea due to free markets. At one point Hong Kong had more millionaires than the entire nation of India, despite India having 100 times the population. The problem was that India had all kinds of government controls to supposedly protect the downtrodden. It kept them downtrodden even longer. Towards the end of the 20th century, both China and India opened up their economies much more so to international markets. In both countries, literally tens of millions of people rose from poverty. You can search the social justice literature in vain for any mention of those things because they were done in ways that were the opposite of the social justice vision.

Hogberg: Finally, you give a warning about using power to achieve social justice goals. What is that warning?

Sowell: That warning is that when you give people power, beyond some point you won't be able to take it back. Communists around the world did not come to power by saying that they wanted to set up slave labor camps and murder their opposition. They had all kinds of high moral principles. Once they got the power, though, what they did with it was the opposite of those moral principles.

Hogberg: I want to circle back to chapter one now, and talk about factors that can impact the different outcomes among different groups. Give a brief statement of how much impact each of these factors has on outcomes.

First, how about discrimination?

Sowell: At different times and places discrimination can have a huge effect, and at other times and places it will have virtually no effect.

Hogberg: Age.

Sowell: Age has a huge, huge effect. Almost always, the people who are older have more human capital, and they produce more and have higher incomes. And different groups have different average ages, sometimes like decades. In the U.S., the difference in age between blacks and whites is not that large. The difference between Mexican Americans and Japanese is much larger, and this results in different average incomes between the two groups.

Hogberg: Culture.

Sowell: Culture is really important. Culture is our patterns of behavior. There are differences between the races that have nothing to do with race and have everything to do with different behavior patterns. Blacks who are married have had a poverty rate in the low single digits for over a quarter of a century, despite blacks as a whole having a higher poverty rate than whites as a whole. The difference is not in the race; it's in the behavior. What's tragic is that a lot of people who promote social justice want to freeze every group in a particular culture, even if that culture is not serving a group very well. People don't exist to serve the purposes of culture. Culture exists to serve the purposes of people.

Hogberg: Human capital.

Sowell: Human capital would be the assets you have to control yourself economically and socially. And human capital varies not only in the usual ways such as having particular skills but even such things as honesty. Honesty is a huge factor. One of the reasons that the British were able to have the Industrial Revolution is that British law had the reputation internationally as being honest and dependable. So people that might be living in Eastern Europe or South America, for example, they'd want to invest their money and wouldn't want to lose it. They'd send their money to Britain before they'd send it elsewhere.

Hogberg: Sex.

Sowell: Women frequently have different work patterns. Women often take time out to have children and raise them and so on. So by comparing the incomes of women directly to men you're comparing apples and oranges. When you



There are differences between the races that have nothing to do with race and have everything to do with different behavior patterns.

compare men to women who have worked continuously since leaving school and into their 30s—and this was done decades ago—such women have slightly higher income than men of the same description. It's trickier to try to compare women and men the way you compare blacks and whites. The same things that help blacks tend to help whites. But in the case of women and men, marriage tends to lower a woman's earnings and raise a man's. Single men make less than married men, and married women make less than single women.

Hogberg: Education.



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The lady in charge of the Success Academy Charter School, she's Jewish. It also happens that her father was a mathematician at Stuyvesant High School, which is big on mathematics and science. Shortly after she took over, the fifth-grade class at that school—kids from Harlem—did better on the math exams than any fifth-grade class anywhere in the entire state of New York.

Sowell: It depends on what the quality of the education is. I have long thought that there are actually too many people going to college, and probably too many going to high school. The argument is made that people who've been to college have higher incomes than people who don't. But college really serves as a sorting device. That is, it shows that a person has what it takes to stay in college for four years and come out again, and that is probably what is driving higher incomes.

Years ago I was an economist at AT&T. While at AT&T headquarters, a senior person said to me, "You know, all of our elevator operators have to have high school diplomas." I asked him, "Have elevators gotten more complicated over the years so that it takes more education to run them?" Of course, they hadn't. They'd gotten simpler. All you have to do is push a button. The point being that it is very easy to make the mistake that having a degree is what creates a certain outcome. What if everybody went to college? Then you'd need a college degree to get that job as an elevator operator. And so we've gotten trapped into this kind of notion that it is what happens in college that leads to a higher income.

Hogberg: Finally, geography.

Sowell: It can have a huge impact. People who live in mountain villages, whether they are black or white, whether they are in the United States, Europe, Asia, Africa, you name it, those people lag far behind people who live in coastal areas. This is why in the book I mentioned the hillbilly communities. The counties in which they live are 90 to 100 percent white. And they have over a period of a half century had lower incomes than black Americans. They face zero racism. They face zero discrimination. They have no legacy of slavery, and yet they're worse off consistently over that period of time. Which then raises the question, why then do we assume that the poverty among blacks can only be due to discrimination? ■

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THE GROWING IMPACT OF CRC'S SPECIAL REPORT ON

HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

Released on August 15, 2023, Parker Thayer's exposé on a \$120 million "nonpartisan" voter registration scheme that helps Democrats win elections immediately reached policymakers, reporters, and other influencers. Since released, the report has been viewed on CRC's website more than 250,000 times.



- » We first provided this research ahead of time to **the House of Representatives Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight**, and on August 14, the committee launched an investigation, asking the public for input on charities that were conducting partisan work and **citing CRC's research throughout its request**.
- » News outlets like the **Wall Street Journal**, Daily Caller, the **New York Post**, the Federalist, **Newsweek**, RealClearPolitics, and the **Epoch Times**, local TV stations like DC's **WJLA** and **Fox's Baltimore** affiliate, and others carried the story. Thayer was also interviewed by **Jesse Kelly** and **Charlie Kirk** for their radio shows, **Dan Bongino** mentioned it on his program, and he was interviewed on **The Story with Martha MaCallum** on **Fox News**.



- » Policymakers like **Rep. Claudia Tenney** and former **Ambassador Richard Grenell** shared the report on social media, and we've tracked that the study appeared in over **2 million** social media feeds.
- » Thayer even appeared on the popular **Ruthless** podcast, reaching over 2 million unique listeners with an average of 100,000 downloads per week, the full episode has been watched 2.5k times on the podcast's YouTube channel, and clips on CRC's YouTube channel have been viewed another 2.6k times.
- » Our videos explaining the study's findings has already earned over 340,000 views on YouTube and Instagram.



This report on charitable dollars in elections caps off three years of work raising the visibility of charitable dollars that are going to partisan activities. Our conversation about politicized nonprofits now reaches a wide audience and multiple policymakers are now taking action on our research.



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