



**TRAVEL CAUTION**

Smuggling and illegal immigration may be encountered in this area

Do not travel alone  
 Avoid encounters with suspicious groups  
 Avoid traveling at night  
 Dial 911 to report illegal activity

## THE IMMIGRATION INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

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### ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION ON SOUTHWEST BORDER, FY 2023

**6.2 million**  
 Encounters  
 (up 40% since  
 FY 2021)

**1.7 million**  
 Known  
 Gotaways

**169**  
 Suspected  
 Terrorists  
 Stopped

**35,433**  
 Criminals  
 and Persons  
 with Warrants  
 Arrested

**27,293**  
 Pounds of  
 Fentanyl  
 Seized

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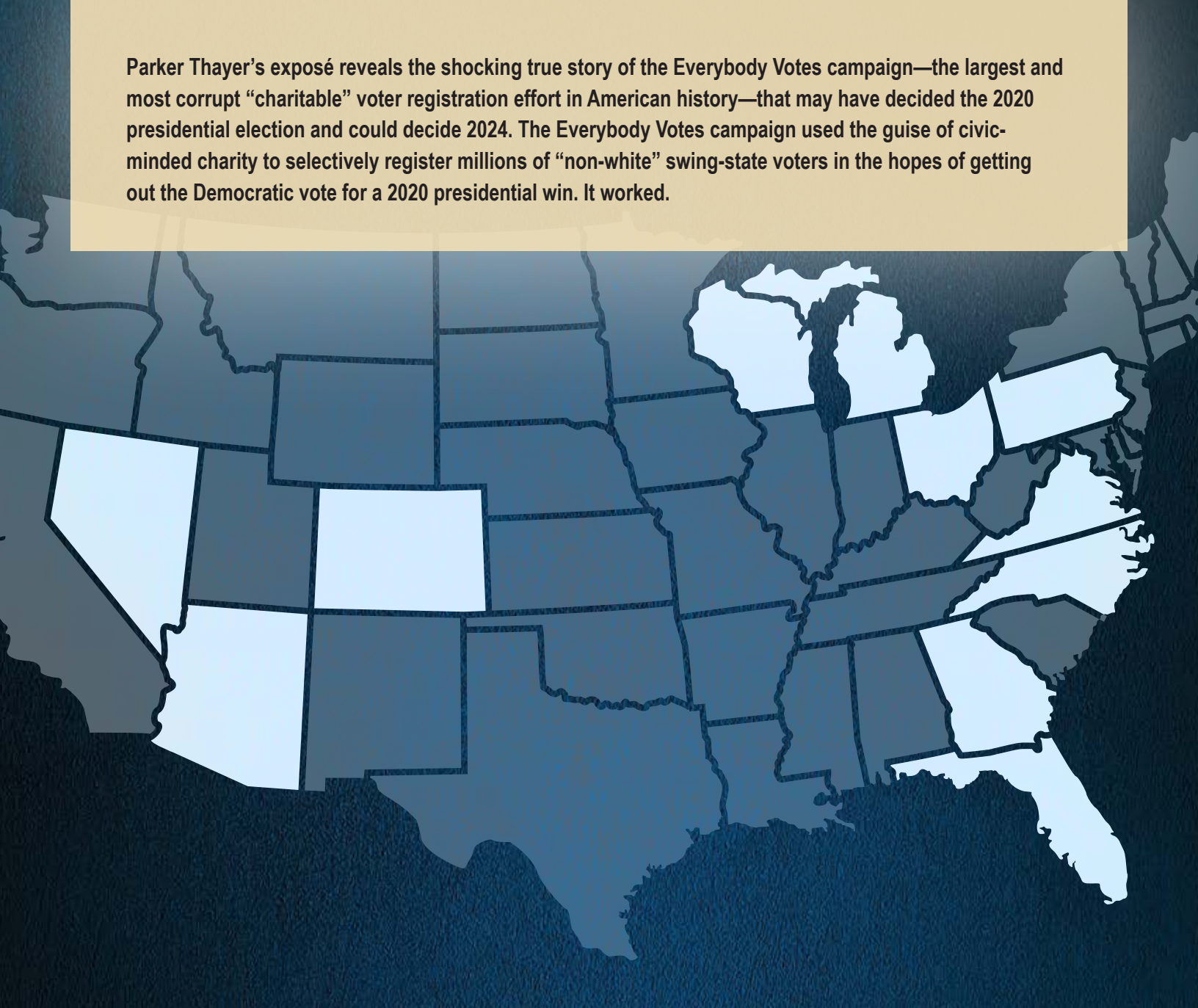
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# HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

BY PARKER THAYER

Read the report at  
<https://capitalresearch.org/article/report-how-charities-secretly-help-win-elections/>



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### Meet The Dark Money Network Quietly Transforming America

By Parker Thayer

*Capital Research* is a monthly publication of the Capital Research Center (CRC), a non-partisan education and research organization, classified by the IRS as a 501(c)(3) public charity.

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

#### CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER

1513 16th Street NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202.483.6900

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

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

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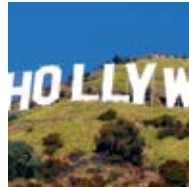
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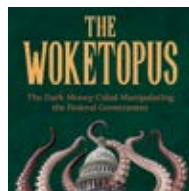
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## FOUNDATION WATCH

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# To understand the 2024 presidential election you must understand Arabella Advisors

Scott Walter, Author  
*Arabella: The Dark Money Network of Leftist Billionaires Secretly Transforming America*



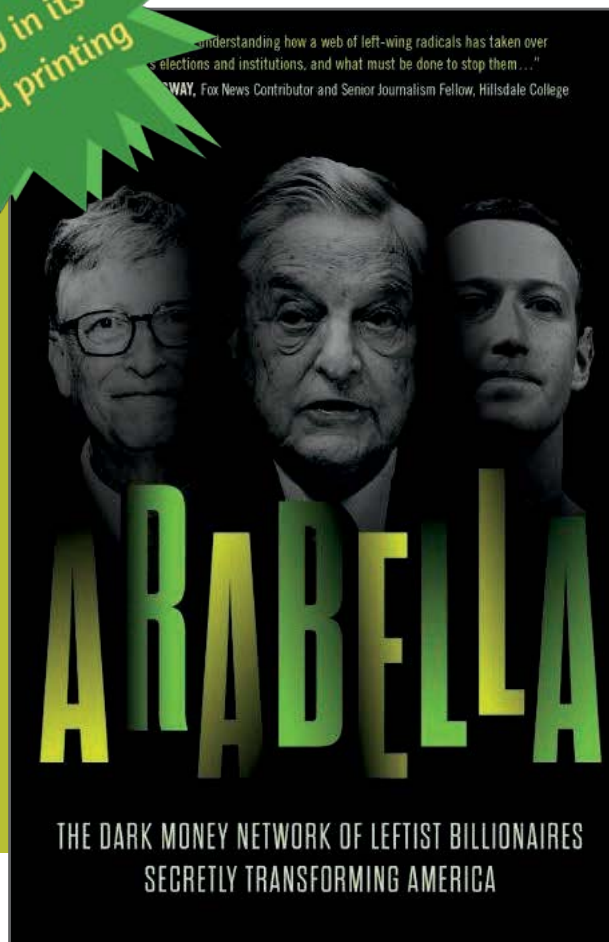
Now in its 2nd printing



Reviewed by Mollie Hemmingway  
Fox News Contributor  
Editor-in-Chief, The Federalist

“A handful of left-wing billionaires—including one who’s not even an American citizen—have so much power they can demand the

Democratic party do their radical bidding. As a result, riots, crime, racial and sexual grievances, attacks on the Supreme Court, and open borders dominate our politics. In *Arabella*, Scott Walter presents a compelling, deeply researched book that rips the mask off the billion-dollar “dark money” operation subverting America. Scott Walter and the Capital Research Center are invaluable for understanding how a web of left-wing radicals has taken over America’s elections and institutions, and what must be done to stop them from destroying the country.”



## What people are saying



**Michael Lee**  
U.S. Senator (R-UT)

“This book is a crucial expose of the myriad ways these groups interplay with left-wing “dark money” to shape the political landscape. Essential for those seeking to understand power and money dynamics in modern politics.”



**Tucker Carlson**  
Political Commentator,  
Tucker Carlson Network

“Ever heard of Arabella Advisors? Probably not. And that’s strange, since they’ve done a lot to destroy the world you grew up in. You should know, so read this book.”

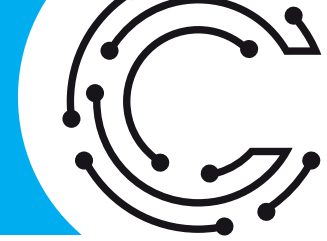
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## MEET THE DARK MONEY NETWORK QUIETLY TRANSFORMING AMERICA

By Parker Thayer

To the outside observer, Arabella Advisors is nothing more than an accounting and human resources firm that helps charities get things done, not a billion-dollar political influence operation helping leftists remain in power.

But, in fact, it is the latter—although you'd never know it from the website. The organization certainly does not publicly hint that they run the largest political influence operation in America. Those who visit their site will be met with a simple slogan: “We help changemakers create a better world.” And who would impugn a noble goal like that?

A motivated researcher with a little grit might be able to find scattered stories about the multi-million dollar political operations Arabella has been tangled up in across the country for years, but there has never been one place to learn the full story.

That changed this year with the publication of *Arabella: The Dark Money Network of Leftist Billionaires Secretly Transforming America*, written by Scott Walter, President of Capital Research Center and my boss. I will be offering my thoughts on the effort below. (Disclosure: It's quite a thing to review a book published by your boss, but his biggest complaint has always been that he does not have enough critics. I intend to become one.)

As mentioned above, the average person, before reading “Arabella,” would have no idea that the company is one of the most powerful political forces in America. Today, when confronted by reporters, Arabella still maintains the pretense that it is nothing more than a back-office support team. This book takes that pretense, shreds it and scatters the pieces to the wind.



Credit: World Economic Forum. License: <https://bit.ly/4f9ff02>.

*To the outside observer, Arabella Advisors is nothing more than an accounting and human resources firm that helps charities get things done, not a billion-dollar political influence operation helping leftists remain in power.*

The first chapter of the book introduces readers to Arabella Advisors the same way Walter and the Capital Research Center (CRC) first encountered it: a citizen tip-off from out of the Montana wilderness. Walter's experience leading an investigative team shines through immediately, immersing the reader in the details and excitement of good-old fashioned investigative journalism. It gives the dull subject of nonprofit political activism the feeling of a compelling mystery novel; one so compelling that, even knowing how it ends, I found myself pleasantly frustrated by the informative flashbacks and foreshadowing that took me away from the tantalizing main storyline.

*Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher at CRC.*



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*Towards the end, the feeling of detective work returns as the chapters dig into the fallout from Arabella's unwilling exposure to sunlight.*

By the end of the first two chapters, the book has fully explained the structure and origins of “The \$1.6 Billion Pound Gorilla.” That is quite a feat when you consider that the whole network was designed to obfuscate and confuse.

After that, the story becomes more anecdotal, diverging from a central narrative and presenting Arabella's greatest hits (or worst, depending on your point of view) in the form of several in-depth case studies. These rapid-fire accounts show how the Arabella network was a leading advocate for retaining Obamacare in 2018; how it created pop-up groups to advocate for elections policies in 2020; how it spent hundreds of millions on abortion advocacy; and how it has quietly influenced the Biden Administration's regulatory policies since 2021.

These case studies don't come with the same thrill of the early chapters, but they're easy to understand and almost entirely self-contained, allowing for buffet-style reading of chapters that interest the reader the most. I would recommend reading them all, though, as they convey the incredible scope of Arabella's operations better than anything I have read before.

Towards the end, the feeling of detective work returns as the chapters dig into the fallout from Arabella's unwilling exposure to sunlight; first at the hands of the Capital Research Center, and then at the hand of an ever-lengthening roster of mainstream reporters. The later chapters are filled with Walter's witty remarks and sarcasm, but they end on a more somber note. “Can the Arabella Problem be Solved?”

reads the penultimate chapter title. In answer, Walter runs through a list of well-researched policy fixes that would patch the loopholes that the reader just learned the Arabella network is exploiting, giving a convincing and nuanced argument in favor of each.

It is not the satisfying end of a mystery novel where the perpetrator is unmasked and hauled away, but investigations in the real world usually are not like that. The mystery told in “Arabella” is a disturbing fact, not fiction, but the conclusion makes clear that real-world solutions exist and the fairytale ending is possible.

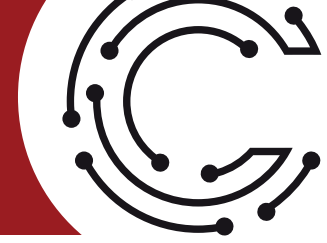
Walter ends with a compelling call to action: “The choice America faces is between these two visions: Arabella's style of Big Philanthropy ganging up with Big Government to force the rest of us to live as our betters think we should, or the original American vision, where government is decentralized and limited so that citizens can govern themselves and help each other through their families, neighborhoods and local groups.”

“Arabella” is truly Arabella's worst nightmare. ■

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*This article first appeared in the Daily Caller on June 16, 2024.*

*Read previous articles from the Commentary series online at [capitalresearch.org/category/commentary/](https://capitalresearch.org/category/commentary/).*



## HOW THE FORD FOUNDATION CHANGED THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY

*A Data Driven Analysis on How One of the Nation's Largest Foundations  
Disseminates Its Ideology Through Film and Television*

By Thomas Pack and Robert Stilson

Media and entertainment are a rapidly growing sector of the global economy, as money flows in to fuel the world's seemingly endless appetite for movies and television. These films and shows do more than just entertain. Their content is injected into the culture, and they affect the way people think and feel. Wise funders know that supporting the entertainment industry can yield more than just a financial return on investment: shaping Hollywood shapes the world.

Often underappreciated within this multi-billion-dollar Hollywood spending craze is the impact of charitable giving. While Hollywood films are often seen as high-risk, high-reward investment opportunities, much of the independent film ecosystem consists of unprofitable passion projects. Documentaries in particular—with a few notable exceptions—tend to be unprofitable and usually fundraise on the promise of a cultural impact, rather than financial returns.

While discerning viewers may certainly come to their own conclusions about the motives of major funders, creators, and distributors in the entertainment industry, analyzing the ideological motivations behind Hollywood investments is often difficult. However, because of the transparency required of 501(c)(3) nonprofits and foundations, meaningful data are available to reveal how and why films are receiving charitable funds. An examination of this data can provide insights into how major philanthropic film funders view the relationship between entertainment and ideology.

This article focuses on one of the largest of these funders: the Ford Foundation. It will primarily use public information provided on the foundation's website. Ford is proud of its grantmaking, and with good reason: It represents many millions of dollars over years of dedicated media and entertainment strategy. In analyzing this strategy, we can reveal how a well-funded and ideologically driven film apparatus can support the production of the stories that shape our culture.



Credit: Walter Cicchetti. License: Shutterstock.

*Wise funders know that supporting the entertainment industry can yield more than just a financial return on investment: shaping Hollywood shapes the world.*

Ford is not a primarily film-oriented foundation, though such funding does constitute a meaningful part of its total grantmaking strategy. Crucially, Ford has a holistic attitude toward film funding, and analyzing its entire film program—not just the direct funding for individual films—reveals how the foundation maximizes its effect on the culture.

Accordingly, Ford's left-of-center grantmaking bias is also examined. It is certainly no surprise that a left-progressive foundation would focus on backing left-progressive artistic endeavors. Ford is transparent about its mission and even more transparent about its grantmaking than is legally required. It provides detailed grant information in a searchable database directly on its website.

*Thomas Pack is director of the Incubator Program and associate producer at Palladium Pictures.*

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



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*The vast majority of Ford's total film spending appears to go directly toward advancing an identifiably left-wing worldview.*

Support for the arts is also a widely accepted purpose for philanthropy, and Ford has made an impressive show of support for art that aligns with its ideology and goals. For those interested in how money can help one ideology prevail over another in media and pop culture, the Ford Foundation provides a blueprint.

## The Ford Foundation

Founded almost 90 years ago and endowed with the vast mid-20th century wealth of the founder of Ford Motor Company, the Ford Foundation is one of just a handful of private foundations in the United States that can claim to be something approaching a household name. With total net assets of nearly \$14 billion at the end of 2022, it is one of the largest grantmaking foundations in the world.

Ford is also a pillar of the philanthropic Left, with a well-earned reputation as one of the country's most overtly ideological institutional grantmakers—even among a peerage in Big Philanthropy that already leans decidedly in that direction. Ford describes its history as one of “social justice” and considers efforts to combat various forms of inequality to be its core purpose. To Ford, the root causes of this inequality are things such as “patriarchy” and “an economic system that exploits some and advantages others.” In a 2020 Capital Research Center study analyzing 501(c)(3) public policy spending on both the right and left, Ford was selected as one of the five nationally representative left-of-center grantmakers used in the analysis.

Against this backdrop, it is notable that the Ford Foundation places a heavy emphasis on supporting the documentary film industry. According to the foundation, its film-related grantmaking constitutes “one of the largest documentary funds in the world.” Films are a powerful medium for telling stories and affecting culture, and Ford has emphasized the importance of storytelling in advancing its mission, noting that filmmaking plays “a powerful role in building a more equitable, democratic, and joyful world.”

## Size, Scope, and Strategy

The Ford Foundation is far from the only foundation that supports filmmaking, though it's probably the most

important. A 2022 report from *Inside Philanthropy* lists 10 “film funders to know,” which it says give the most money for filmmaking. According to the report, while Ford is “clearly the biggest foundation funder of film in the country,” other important grantmakers include the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Hobson Lucas Family Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, the Wyncote Foundation, the Lilly Endowment, the Foundation to Promote Open Society, the Dalio Foundation, and the San Francisco Foundation. Some of these—such as MacArthur and Open Society—rank alongside Ford as among the most prominent left-of-center private foundations in the United States.

According to that *Inside Philanthropy* report, Ford gave over \$321 million total for filmmaking from 2014 to 2018. Based on its annual tax filings, this would represent approximately 12.5 percent of the foundation's total grantmaking over that five-year period—a substantial investment.

One way to zoom in on the details of Ford's film grantmaking is to use its online grant database, which provides transparency into the foundation's giving. As of July 2024, it contained 28,211 grants to 8,056 grantees from 2006 through 2023, though grants for 2006 appear to be incomplete. A search for the word “film” in that database returns 909 grants made to 523 grantees over that period, for a total of approximately \$161 million. This means that over 3 percent of grants and 6 percent of grantees in Ford's database are returned by a search for “film.”

Clearly, this method is far from exhaustive—it results in a substantially lower total than what is given in the *Inside Philanthropy* report, for instance. Ford has certainly made many relevant grants that don't include the specific word “film.” Still, it is probably sufficiently representative of Ford's film funding during these years to provide a sense of the types of film programs that the foundation is funding.

Not every Ford Foundation film grant furthers a left-progressive ideological agenda. In fact, and in full disclosure, one of the authors of this article works for a family film business that has received Ford funding for a decidedly un-woke and not-at-all progressive film. Ford would say that all the money they spend advances their mission, but their mission isn't exclusively ideological.



That said, the vast majority of Ford’s total film spending appears to go directly toward advancing an identifiably left-wing worldview.

One key aspect of the Ford Foundation’s film funding strategy appears to be longevity. Ford is massive, and its endowment ensures that it can exist indefinitely. Indeed, its lofty goals for the future of society necessitate a long-term vision. Ford adheres to many of the same axioms common to forward-thinking Hollywood investors: try lots of different things, fund many projects, don’t be afraid to fund flops, and don’t be discouraged if success isn’t immediate. Ford has funded many successful, high-impact films, but for each of those there are scores of projects that founder in obscurity. Such patience is key to a film funding strategy, something that Ford seems to keenly appreciate. By contrast, donors who are unaccustomed to long-term film funding and instead fund the occasional film project on an ad hoc basis are often disappointed when they don’t see an immediate impact.

Also crucial is that Ford’s vision is much more expansive than film production alone. There appear to be at least three important prongs to its film funding strategy: direct support for films, an appreciation for the importance of film festivals, and fostering a broader filmmaking infrastructure—such as through education, outreach, and networking. These pillars all serve to augment the successes and ultimate impact of Ford’s favored filmmakers, who benefit from an entire ecosystem that is designed to cultivate effective left-progressive storytelling.

## Direct Film Funding

The Ford Foundation’s major film grants program, the JustFilms initiative, provides an even more detailed look at the foundation’s film-related grantmaking. Although Ford has supported filmmaking for decades, the JustFilms program was begun in 2011 with a five-year \$50 million commitment. Since that time, JustFilms has grown to become “one of the largest social justice documentary funders in the United States,” according to the foundation. Its objective is to support documentaries that transcend “commercial interests”—necessary, given the nature of activist filmmaking—and instead function “as a philanthropic endeavor to preserve diverse narratives, amplify marginalized voices, and foster inclusive storytelling.”

JustFilms is not shy about its ideological goals. The program “supports independent film and emerging media projects that explore urgent social justice issues and seek to challenge inequality in all its forms.” Prospective grant applicants are



Credit: Peter Durand. License: <https://bit.ly/4fnGWqm>.

Since that time, JustFilms has grown to become “one of the largest social justice documentary funders in the United States,” according to the foundation.

reminded that JustFilms prioritizes projects that explore themes related to

1. Political power (“a robust civil society and fair governance”);
2. Economic power (“workers’ rights and equitable and just economic policies”); and
3. Cultural power (“to shape narratives that promote equality”).

Between 2017 and 2021, the JustFilms program provided \$27.3 million in “content grants” to support 187 films, plus another \$44 million for 88 groups that support “documentary infrastructure and filmmaking.” For individual films, the median amount of support was \$125,000, though it typically ranged anywhere from \$15,000 to \$300,000. This is according to a program evaluation that Ford commissioned in 2023.

Film investors seeking a profit often back only proven, successful filmmakers. JustFilms helps cultivate the next crop of left-leaning storytellers, with 52 percent of the program's grants going to filmmakers who had previously made fewer than five films. It also walks its talk regarding support for what Ford would call "marginalized" filmmakers. 58 percent of JustFilms-funded projects were led by women, while individuals categorized as BIPOC (black, indigenous, and people of color) reportedly headed 63 percent of U.S.-based projects and 74 percent of international ones.

Considerations of race or ethnicity do indeed appear to be a major priority for JustFilms supported productions. On its website, Ford lists a total of 312 different films that it has supported dating back to 1981, although more than three-quarters of these have been since 2012—the year after the JustFilms program was established. Each film is accompanied by a one or two-sentence description. Over one-third—nearly 40 percent since 2017—of these feature a direct reference to race or ethnicity or clearly imply it in context. If references to immigration or migration (another major and occasionally overlapping topic) are added, the numbers jump to 43 percent and 52 percent, respectively. Other common themes include gender and LGBT issues, criminal justice, illness or disability, and general activism. Many films deal with multiple themes.

In January 2024, Ford announced \$4.2 million in grants to support 59 films through the JustFilms program. Two of these premiered at the 2024 Sundance Film Festival: *Union*, a film about labor organizing at Amazon, and *The Battle for Laikipia*, a film about "unresolved historical injustices and climate change...in a generations-old conflict between Indigenous pastoralists and white landowners in Laikipia, Kenya." Other supported films include *Her Socialist Smile*, about the left-wing politics of Helen Keller; *The Chemistry of Racism*, which purports to explore "the phenomena of the systemic and often deliberate poisoning and exploitation of the black and colored body by America's patriarchal systems"; *Queer Futures*, a series that "articulate[s] future visions for queer life that offer liberation, joy, and connection"; *Time Hunter*, in which "a revolutionary agent is dispatched to steal technology from his colonial oppressors to use against them"; and *Plot of Land*, which "explores how race, class, land, and power have been used to build and maintain unfair systems that harm nearly everyone."

From 2010 through 2020, Ford gave \$5.2 million to Brave New Films, whose mission is "to champion social justice issues" through media. Of that total, \$900,000 was for content "to increase youth involvement in social justice issues" and \$1,075,000 was for videos about "the costs and consequences of mass incarceration and [to] promote effective

alternatives." A \$750,000 grant made in 2013 was "for an operating reserve fund to help manage fiscal emergencies."

From 2010 through March 2024, the Ford Foundation committed \$1.2 million to Participant Media, a film production company perhaps best-known for Al Gore's 2006 climate change documentary *An Inconvenient Truth*. Describing itself as having "pioneered socially conscious storytelling at scale," Participant has been involved with 134 different films since 2004. Its films have been nominated for 86 Academy Awards and won 21 of them. Specific Participant films that Ford has supported include *BLKNWS*, which aims to "reimagine what news can be for marginalized people in America," and *Waiting for Superman*, about public education.

Participant is an example of the impact that popular documentary films can have. Think of how the world was affected by *An Inconvenient Truth*. It is also an example of why philanthropic funding matters. Despite many successes and accolades, Participant was not profitable. When its founder and largest donor, billionaire Jeffrey Skoll, suddenly announced in April 2024 that he was ending his financial support, Participant Media was forced to shut down.

The Ford Foundation's direct film funding strategy appears to be multifaceted. Successful studios like Participant can have a clear and immediate impact on culture in a manner that aligns with Ford's ideological preferences. Their films simply would not exist without the financial backing of Ford and other major philanthropic funders. Participant's rapid shuttering illustrates this dependency well. Ford also funds Sundance darlings like *The Battle for Laikipia* that impact culture from the top down, appealing to film festival circles and critics. But the foundation also invests in the future, funding new filmmakers that can leverage their JustFilms-backed projects to gain traction as their careers progress. Over the decades, Ford has funded many flops, and many more of its projects achieved only minor success without resulting in any immediately discernable cultural impact. But Ford understands that ideological and cultural change is a slow and deliberate process that requires a steady long-term vision.

## Film Festivals

Production funding is not enough to ensure a film's impact, nor can marketing dollars alone manufacture success. Filmmakers can gain credibility for their projects with the public—and more crucially, with distributors—by winning awards at film festivals. The largest and most important of these festivals are well known to have a left-progressive bias,

but this is partially because only left-of-center donors like Ford bother to support them. Ford knows that for their films to be successful, they need to appear in prestigious and well-funded festivals.

Grants to festivals and festival operators are a comparatively small but important component of Ford's film funding strategy. A search for the phrase "film festival" in the Ford Foundation's online grant database—a useful but not fully comprehensive method—returns 73 results to 39 grantees from 2006 through 2023, for a total of over \$6.8 million. These include grants to support the festivals themselves—some of which are not especially well known—as well as travel expenses for filmmakers to attend festivals. Festivals that have received Ford funding include the African Film Festival, the Athena Film Festival at Barnard College, the International Documentary Film Festival of Mexico City, the March on Washington Film Festival, and the New Orleans Film and Video Festival.

No American film festival is more famous than the Sundance Film Festival, held annually by a 501(c)(3) charity called the Sundance Institute. Its founder and president is famed actor



Credit: PureRadiancePhoto. License: Shutterstock.

*No American film festival is more famous than the Sundance Film Festival, held annually by a 501(c)(3) charity called the Sundance Institute. Its founder and president is famed actor Robert Redford.*

CC —————  
*The Sundance Institute's board features several prominent individuals who are not from the world of entertainment, but the world of politics and activism.*

Robert Redford, and its board of trustees features prominent entertainment industry executives such as longtime Walt Disney Pictures president Sean Bailey, former PBS president and CEO Pat Mitchell, Blumhouse Productions founder Jason Blum, and former Hallmark Media president and CEO Wonya Lucas. Also on the Sundance Institute's board is Ebs Burnough, who in addition to working as a filmmaker was previously a senior advisor to First Lady Michelle Obama and director of politics and legislation at the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 1199—one of the most politically powerful local labor unions in the entire country.

Indeed, the Sundance Institute's board features several prominent individuals who are not from the world of entertainment, but the world of politics and activism. Most notably, this includes Patrick Gaspard, president and CEO of the Center for American Progress, which is among the most important left-of-center think tanks nationwide, and one that has deep ties to the Democratic Party. Before that, Gaspard was national political director at SEIU Local 1199 and president of the Open Society Foundations—the multi-billion-dollar philanthropic network of political megadonor George Soros. During the Obama Administration, he was White House director of political affairs and U.S. ambassador to South Africa. Also on Sundance's board is Kimberlé Crenshaw, a major proponent of critical race theory who is credited with having coined the now-ubiquitous activist term "intersectionality."

The Sundance Institute reported total revenues of \$45 million for the fiscal year ending August 31, 2023. While its trademark film festival represents the largest single line item in the institute's budget, it also operates other programs that support the broader industry. One of these is its documentary film program, which supports documentary filmmakers in a variety of ways and accounted for over \$4.1 million of the Sundance Institute's expenses in its fiscal year 2023. The program was originally set up in 2002 with funding from the Open Society Foundations.

In fact, foundation funding is crucial to the Sundance Institute's work, and the Ford Foundation has supported it since 2000. According to its online grants database, Ford

has committed over \$14.7 million to the Sundance Institute since 2006, most of which was earmarked to fund either the documentary film program or for general development support. Tax filings reveal that just over \$1.5 million of this was disbursed from 2020 to 2022. Some other large funders of the Sundance Institute during that time period include the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund (\$4,105,715), the Foundation to Promote Open Society (\$4,000,000), the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (\$3,469,600), the MacArthur Foundation (\$1,970,000), the Horn Foundation (\$1,600,000), the Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund (\$1,610,000), the Pritzker Pucker Family Foundation (\$1,405,000), and the Kendeda Fund (\$1,150,000).

The Ford Foundation's JustFilms program was originally announced one day before the 2011 Sundance Film Festival began. Since then, numerous JustFilms-supported productions have premiered at the festival—more than 20 by 2015, according to press releases on the foundation's website. While no evidence shows that receiving Ford funding helps place films at Sundance, there is no denying that the foundation's largest festival-operating grantee has been tremendously useful for some of the films the foundation has supported

A number of festival entrants supported by JustFilms have even won awards at Sundance. Since 2020, these include:

- *The Fight*, about the efforts of American Civil Liberties Union attorneys to combat the policies of the Trump Administration, which won the 2020 U.S. Documentary Special Jury Award for Social Impact Filmmaking
- *Philly D.A.*, about left-wing Philadelphia district attorney Larry Krasner, which won the 2021 Sundance Institute/Amazon Studios Producers Award for Nonfiction.
- *Crip Camp*, about a 1970s camp for those with disabilities and the activism associated with it, which won the 2020 Audience Award: U.S. Documentary.
- *Softie*, about a political activist and candidate in Kenya, which won the 2020 World Cinema Documentary Special Jury Award for Editing.
- *Welcome to Chechnya*, about the persecution of LGBT individuals in Chechnya, which won the 2020 U.S. Documentary Special Jury Award for Editing.
- *Users*, about the impacts of modern technologies, which won the 2021 Directing Award: U.S. Documentary.
- *I Didn't See You There*, about disabled individuals and how they are seen, which won the 2022 Directing Award: U.S. Documentary.

- *Going to Mars: The Nikki Giovanni Project*, about progressive poet Nikki Giovanni and “the joy and the raw reality of the Black experience,” which won the 2023 U.S. Grand Jury Prize: Documentary.
- *The Battle for Laikipia*, about environmental and racial tensions in Kenya, which won the 2024 Sundance Institute/Amazon MGM Studios Producers Award for Nonfiction.
- *Union*, about the organizing efforts of the Amazon Labor Union, which won the 2024 U.S. Documentary Special Jury Award for the Art of Change.

Ford's festival strategy appears to be twofold. First, it puts significant funding behind the groups that hold some of the most influential festivals in the world (such as Sundance) and directly funds films that appear in it. Second, it also funds smaller festivals to help keep the broader landscape healthy and competitive. Ford contributes to festivals that amplify stories that match the foundation's ideology. Few such festivals exist on the right. This may be because conservative donors don't subscribe to the same mentality and neglect to fund existing right-of-center festivals to nearly the same degree that their left-of-center counterparts do.

## Outreach, Networks, and Education

The Ford Foundation's film strategy involves much more than simply paying for the nuts and bolts of making and promoting a movie. Indeed, as noted earlier, JustFilms spends vast sums on what it calls “documentary infrastructure.” An October 2023 program evaluation prepared by the California-based consulting firm Informing Change noted the “social justice documentary ecosystem” that JustFilms seeks to foster consists of “filmmakers, filmmaker support organizations, academia, journalism, tech, social movements, and more.” Indeed, much of Ford's support for the Sundance Institute has been earmarked for the institute's documentary film program, which provides constant support for documentary filmmaking outside of the festival itself.

Another example is the over \$9.6 million that Ford has given since 2012 to a nonprofit called Firelight Media, whose mission is to support “documentary filmmakers of color.” Almost all this money was earmarked for “general support to connect inclusive talent pipelines with best practices for film impact and audience engagement, and for core support for institutional strengthening.” The foundation has also given an additional \$975,000 to the group's for-profit spinoff Firelight Films to produce specific films.



Credit: KinoMaster.com. License: Shutterstock.

*The Ford Foundation's film strategy involves much more than simply paying for the nuts and bolts of making and promoting a movie. Indeed, as noted earlier, JustFilms spends vast sums on what it calls "documentary infrastructure."*

From 2011 to 2023, Ford gave over \$10.1 million to a group called the Doc Society, whose mission is to support both individual filmmakers and the networks associated with them. The organization asserts that "a commitment to anti-racism, economic justice and climate justice is embedded in and informs all we do." According to the Doc Society, populism, misinformation, climate change, and white nationalism are among the principal challenges facing society, and the group strongly believes in the power of documentary filmmaking to bring about what it would consider to be favorable sociopolitical shifts. The Doc Society's board members include a former Obama Administration official, a vice president at Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, the former CEO of the Sundance Institute, the president of the New York Times Company's international business, the co-executive director of Green New Deal UK, and the executive director of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

Most of the Ford Foundation's money for the Doc Society was earmarked simply for general support, but it also gave \$2 million specifically to fund an initiative called Good Pitch, which functions as a forum to connect "social justice filmmakers" with prospective partners and activists. It

offers training and other filmmaker development resources. According to its website, Good Pitch events have brought about over 1,600 partnerships "between filmmakers and changemakers," led to over \$30 million in funding for documentary films, and resulted in more than 100 films that were "used in social justice campaigns." The Ford Foundation is one of two Good Pitch Global Partners, alongside the Sundance Institute.

The Doc Society appears to leverage its relationship with the Ford Foundation to help convert Good Pitch participants into bona fide Ford-funded filmmakers. For instance, in 2015 filmmakers Ian Kibbe and Margaret Byrne presented their film *Raising Bertie* at the Good Pitch Chicago event, sponsored by the Chicago Media Project. The event was designed to connect filmmakers with "foundations, NGOs, campaigners, philanthropists, policy makers, brands and media around leading social and environmental issues to forge coalitions and campaigns that are good for all these partners, good for the films and good for society." It did just that. Kibbe and Byrne raised an additional \$50,000 from the Ford Foundation that day, setting their film up for success and positioning themselves well to have a continued relationship with Ford in the future.



Credit: doemyc. License: <https://bit.ly/3yZSqg>.

*Ani Mercedes is one example of this system working in practice. Mercedes has been involved with at least two Ford-funded films: Building the American Dream, which received \$280,000 from the foundation, and Through the Night, which received \$100,000.*

Film training and related educational programs abound within the Ford Foundation’s film-related grantmaking, many of which are for startup funds or for the benefit of international filmmakers. For example, in 2015 the foundation gave \$100,000 to the New Fund for Cinema and Television’s Greenhouse Development Program, which helps train emerging filmmakers in the Middle East and North Africa. From 2014 to 2015 it gave \$155,000 to Race Forward for a social justice activist documentary film training program. From 2012 to 2021 it gave \$2,565,000 to the East African Documentary Film Fund, mostly for training, development, and “institutional strengthening” for

filmmakers in the region. In 2017, it gave \$200,000 to the Bronx Documentary Center to create a training program called BDC Films. Xavier Cousens, a recent alumnus of the BDC Films program, worked on *Out of the Picture*, a 2024 documentary that itself received \$52,500 from the Ford Foundation—just one example of how Ford’s education and training grants complement its direct content grants as part of the foundation’s broader film funding strategy.

The list of such programs funded by Ford is long, as the foundation spreads its grants among a variety of different educational strategies. Ford seems to understand that if it wants direct film funding to be part of its portfolio, it must invest in the world’s future filmmakers as well. Ford takes a long-term view of its film funding, and it is willing to support educational programs that may not immediately pay dividends. Eventually however, the top filmmakers who emerge from these training programs are well positioned to receive further Ford funding for documentaries that align with Ford’s ideological perspective for the remainder of their careers.

Education and training are only one part of the strategy for how Ford uses its funds to leverage networks and maximize the impact of films that it supports. Of the 900+ separate Ford Foundation grants returned by a search for “film” in its online database, at least 65 mention “outreach” somewhere in their one-sentence blurb, many of which also include the word “engagement.” Ford regularly spends on the infrastructure surrounding film distribution and screening. Fundamentally (and crucially), Ford is as interested in funding future filmmakers, increasing the visibility of a film, and making sure it gets in front of the right audience as it is in funding the production of the film itself.

Ani Mercedes is one example of this system working in practice. Mercedes started her career at Kartemquin Films, studying raw footage from Steve James, a world-renowned director who was nominated for an Academy Award for the 1994 documentary *Hoop Dreams*. Since 2007, Kartemquin Films has received nine grants from the Ford Foundation, totaling \$915,000. Mercedes was a 2017 participant in the Impact Producer Fellowship, which is an activist-oriented training program for “producers of color.” While that fellowship was not directly funded by Ford, it was launched by Firelight Media, which has received millions of dollars from the foundation over the years. Mercedes has also attended the Doc Society’s Good Pitch events, remarking on the “dynamic and electric synergy between pitchers and local organizations.” All of this appears to have paid off, as Mercedes has been involved with at least two Ford-funded films: *Building the American Dream*, which received \$280,000 from the foundation, and *Through the Night*, which received \$100,000.

Of course, many activist-filmmakers were educated at universities and film schools. Accordingly, Ford also funds this early stage of the film training process. American University's Center for Media and Social Impact received \$235,000 from 2020 to 2022 for documentary-related research. Montana State received \$356,221 from 2015 to 2016 to train and mentor emerging African filmmakers. Other schools receiving film-related grants from Ford include the University of Iowa (\$110,000), and the University of Alabama at Birmingham (\$60,000). Interestingly, Ford has also funded less conventional film schools and related programs such as React to Film (\$200,000) and South Africa-based Big Fish (\$822,734). A \$750,000 grant Ford made through the Nate Parker Foundation in 2016 was earmarked for Wiley College's film program. In 2017, Ford even made a \$150,000 grant to Natives at Large, for a program that would provide mentorship to recent graduates of film schools in South Africa.

## Why Ford's Strategy Works

The Ford Foundation has chosen to make documentary film funding a meaningful part of its massive annual grantmaking, and the impact of this spending has been staggering. Between 2017 and 2021, 187 different films received a sizable grant (median of \$125,000) from Ford through its JustFilms program, making the foundation a major reason why those films exist today. On the ideological side, consider the impact a conservative funder would have if it helped create 187 films over that same period, plus injecting more money into the broader infrastructure supporting the filmmaking ecosystem.

To conservatives, it may be somewhat disconcerting to look at the film production landscape and see it flooded with left-progressive documentaries. But for those on the right who may be interested in shifting this landscape, Ford's model offers some promise.

For starters, it is entirely replicable. Crucially, the foundation earmarks consistent funding year over year. It also comprehends the industry. When the foundation launched the JustFilms program in 2011, the driving force behind it was not a public policy-oriented program officer, but Orlando Bagwell, an experienced and successful director



*Ford and its ideological allies have created an ecosystem in which left-leaning filmmakers flourish.*

who understood the ins and outs of film funding. The Ford Foundation's current president Darren Walker credited Bagwell with having changed the foundation's entire approach to film funding.

Ford's strategy involves funding hundreds of films—for every Sundance winner, it has supported scores of films few have heard of. It involves funding outreach initiatives: getting films into film festivals, in front of policymakers, students, and the general public. It involves funding the festivals themselves and the infrastructure necessary for documentary filmmakers to grow in success and stature. Finally, it involves funding the educational and training programs necessary to support the future of left-progressive filmmaking worldwide.

Ford and its ideological allies have created an ecosystem in which left-leaning filmmakers flourish. Such films benefit not only from access to significantly more direct funding than conservative ones, but also from a stable of skilled and ideologically aligned filmmakers whose careers have been supported at virtually every stage. Filmmakers such as Ani Mercedes can move about this entire ecosystem, which exists only because philanthropic funders like Ford constructed it.

The Doc Society considers filmmakers to be “agents of social change who shape public opinion, shape our social and political attitudes with narrative.” They're not wrong. Documentary films are a powerful tool, and one which few funders can support at any scale given the costs involved. Americans are increasingly turning to video for all things news, entertainment, and media, and left-of-center interests have a big head start. Mega-funders like the Ford Foundation have created a blueprint. Conservatives would be wise to follow it. ■

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



# THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

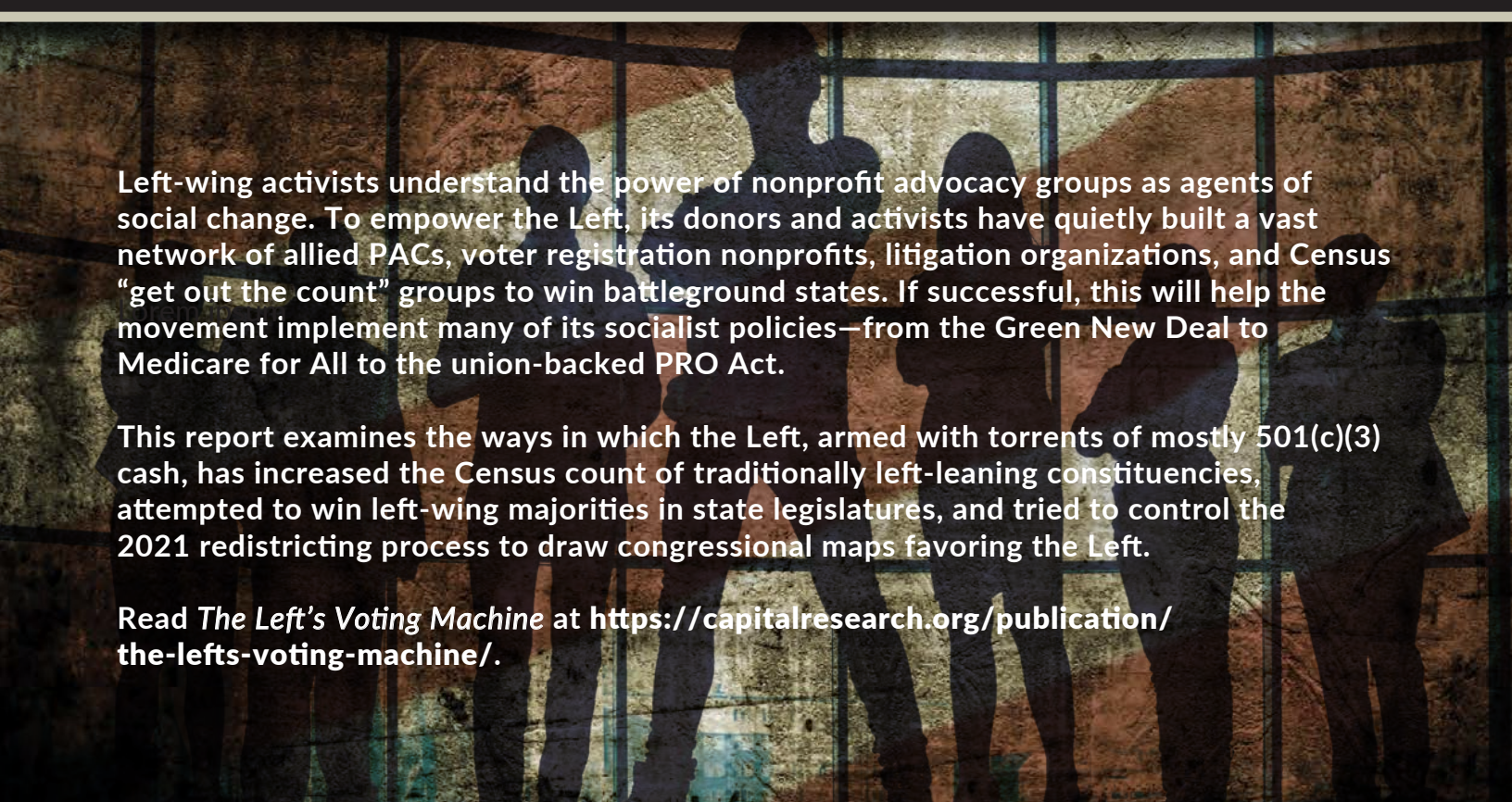


**CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER**  
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

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

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

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







## THE IMMIGRATION INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

*Excerpts from Tyler O'Neil's new book THE WOKETOPUS*

By Tyler O'Neil

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**Summary:** *The wokedopus, an interlocking constellation of nonprofits, far-left donors, and government bureaucracies, favors the large influx of illegal aliens America has witnessed under President Biden, perhaps thinking that these aliens will support its causes. The administrative state has worked with nonprofits to create an immigration industrial complex that sends illegal aliens throughout the country in the name of charity but with horrific effects on America.*

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That federal government you learned about in school, with the nice Constitution and its nifty checks and balances—that's not how the government adopts policies today. Instead, a cabal of far-left donors props up a system of woke nonprofits that help staff bureaucratic government agencies and essentially write the laws Americans have to live by, all in the name of priorities that have nothing to do with improving your everyday life. This interlocking constellation of nonprofits, far-left donors, and government bureaucracies is the wokedopus, a political monstrosity that is enabling the left-wing dark money cabal to manipulate the federal government.

### Woke Immigration Policy

The wokedopus favors the large influx of illegal aliens America has witnessed under President Biden, perhaps thinking that these aliens will support its causes. Under Biden, the administrative state has worked with nonprofits to create an immigration industrial complex that sends illegal aliens throughout the country in the name of charity but with horrific effects on America.

From his very first day in office, Biden rushed to reverse the policies former President Donald Trump set in place to curb illegal immigration and fortify the U.S.-Mexico border.

On January 20, 2021, Biden signed executive orders reversing Trump's restrictions on immigrants from countries of terror concern (which Biden referred to as a "Muslim ban"), revoking Trump's executive order beefing up enforcement of immigration law, blocking the construction of the border

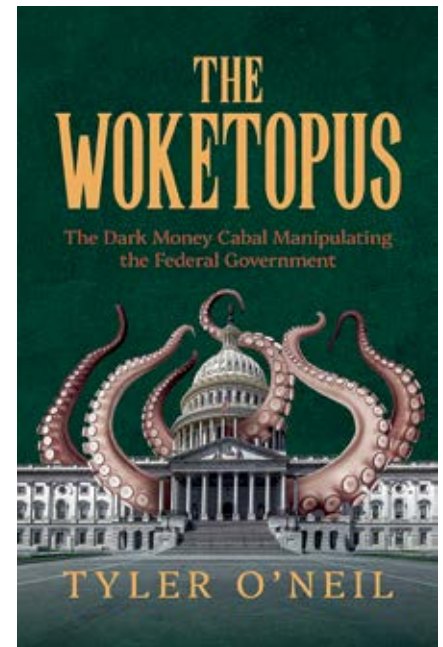
wall, and cementing deferred action for illegal immigrants who arrive in the U.S. as children.

In January 2024, House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA), released a list of 64 actions the Biden administration took to "intentionally" undermine border security.

The Department of Homeland Security under Biden began to reverse the

Trump-era policy of requiring asylum seekers to remain in Mexico as DHS began processing their asylum cases, a policy known as the Migrant Protocols Program. DHS allowed asylum seekers to enter the U.S. on February 19, 2021, and on June 1, 2021, DHS Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas terminated the program. While the program remains in legal limbo after a U.S. district judge prevented the administration from fully ending it in December 2022, its operation ceased in October 2022.

These policies sent a message that migrants, even if they entered the U.S. illegally, would receive welcome under Biden. "Thank you for supporting us," a group of migrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border told reporter Jorge Ventura back in March 2021. He had asked them what they would say to President Biden.



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*Tyler O'Neil is managing editor of The Daily Signal and the author of Making Hate Pay: The Corruption of the Southern Poverty Law Center.*

Also that month, a group of migrants went to a border crossing in Tijuana, Mexico, wearing T-shirts reading, “Biden, Please Let Us In.” The president responded to these trends by going on news outlets like ABC News, saying, “I can say quite clearly: Don’t come.” The fact that Biden felt the need to say this clearly emphasized that his policies sent the opposite message.

## A Massive Influx of Illegals

Since Biden became president, the influx of immigrants has set new records. U.S. Customs and Border Protection encountered a record 3.2 million illegal aliens in fiscal year 2023 (October 1, 2022, to September 30, 2023). By contrast, CBP encountered only 646,822 in the last fiscal year under Trump. Since Biden became president, CBP has encountered at least 8.7 million illegal aliens.

Many illegal aliens slip past authorities after crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Fox News reporter Bill Melugin received the number of “gotaways” for each fiscal year from 2010 to 2023 through a Freedom of Information Act request in May 2024. From fiscal year 2021 (starting in October 2020) to fiscal year 2023, 1,664,203 illegal aliens got away from authorities. As Melugin noted, in the decade from fiscal year 2010 through fiscal year 2020, Customs and Border Protection recorded about 1.4 million “gotaways,” fewer than the number escaping authorities in the first three years of the Biden administration.

Many of these “gotaways” are likely involved in illegal smuggling, so they may have crossed the border many times.



Credit: Ian radin. License: Shutterstock.

*Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas has not attempted to hide the fact that his agency, among others, is directing taxpayer dollars to transport illegal aliens throughout the country.*

Finally, the administration established a special parole program for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans in January 2023. According to documents obtained by the House Committee on Homeland Security, the Department of Homeland Security helped process more than 400,000 aliens into the country between January 2023 and February 2024.

## Abetting the Border Crisis

The administrative state under Biden has not just loosened border enforcement, however. It has actively helped resettle illegal aliens throughout the country, funneling billions into migrant resettlement programs. The nongovernmental organizations that help resettle illegals also pressure the Biden administration to loosen border enforcement, allowing for more illegal aliens to enter the country.

Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas has not attempted to hide the fact that his agency, among others, is directing taxpayer dollars to transport illegal aliens throughout the country.

In an April 2022 memorandum, Mayorkas laid out his agency’s “Plan for Southwest Border Security and Preparedness.” In that plan, “Border Security Pillar 4” involves “bolstering the capacity of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to receive noncitizens after they have been processed by CBP and are awaiting the results of their immigration removal proceedings.”

DHS helps NGOs receive funding from the Federal Emergency Management Agency’s Emergency Food and Shelter Program (EFSP). “The EFSP, administered by DHS through FEMA, supplements and expands ongoing work of local NGOs to meet the urgent needs of local agencies assisting the unique and vulnerable migrant population encountered by DHS,” the document explains. It notes that Congress authorized \$150 million for the program.

## Where Does the Money Go?

The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) directs billions in grants through programs to house and transport illegal aliens throughout the country.

The HHS’ Administration for Children and Families directed \$1.99 billion through the Refugee and Entrant Assistance State/Replacement Designee Administered Programs grant in 2022 and another \$3.78 billion through that program in 2023. As of April 1, 2024, ACF has already funneled \$1.35 billion through the program this fiscal year.

These numbers represent an over 500 percent increase over the program's \$372 million grants in the last full fiscal year under Trump.

Where does the money go? Between Fiscal Year 2021 and Fiscal Year 2024:

- \$1.13 billion went to chapters of Catholic Charities
- \$8.3 million went to The North Dakota and South Dakota chapters of Lutheran Social Services
- Nearly \$410 million went to The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants

The ACF also awards grants for the “Unaccompanied Alien Children Program,” which significantly increased under Biden. ACF awarded \$2.9 billion in Fiscal Year 2022 and \$3 billion in Fiscal Year 2023, and the agency awarded \$1.45 billion so far in Fiscal Year 2024. It awarded \$1.75 billion in 2020, the last full fiscal year under Trump.

Between Fiscal Year 2021 and Fiscal Year 2024, this program gave:

- \$239 million to Lutheran Social Services
- \$209 million to the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
- \$61 million to various chapters of Catholic Charities
- \$386 million to Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, which rebranded as “Global Refuge” in January 2024
- \$76 million to Church World Service

According to HHS, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops received \$145.6 million in grants from the Administration of Children and Families and the HHS generally in 2023 alone, mostly for refugee assistance and long-term foster care for unaccompanied alien children.

## A Sizeable Chunk of Revenue

These nonprofits receive large portions of their revenue from federal grants.

According to Forbes, Catholic Charities USA received \$1.4 billion of its \$4.7 billion in revenue from government support, more than the \$1 billion it received in private donations, in 2022.

Global Refuge, formerly Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, received \$180 million in government grants, more than seven times what it received in “all other contributions,” namely \$25 million.

Church World Service received \$20.5 million in government grants in the fiscal year ending in June 2022, a sizeable chunk of its \$51 million in total assets. It spent \$3.8 million on advocacy during that same fiscal year.

HIAS, formerly known as the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, notes in its report for 2021 that “the most significant source of HIAS’s revenue are grants from the U.S. Government.” HIAS received \$37 million from the State Department and \$3.9 million from HHS that year, making up 30 percent and 3 percent of its total revenues of \$119 million.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants reported receiving the vast majority of its revenue (\$117.4 million of its \$121.7 million) through government grants in 2020.

## Where Do the Illegal Aliens Go?

The Immigration Industrial Complex sends illegal aliens across the country, but the true scope of the problem only became clear after a year and a half of the Biden administration.

In 2022, the Heritage Foundation’s Oversight Project teamed up with the Heritage Border Security and Immigration Center to track how illegal aliens spread throughout the country after crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. It proceeded in four phases.

First, the investigation examined 407 cell phone devices at the Val Verde Border Humanitarian Connection and Customs and Border Protection’s Del Rio Station. The investigation tracked those devices to 40 different U.S. states.



*“Thank you for supporting us,” a group of migrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border told reporter Jorge Ventura back in March 2021. He had asked them what they would say to President Biden.*

The second phase focused on 20 private organizations in Arizona, California, and Texas. The 22,000 unique cell phones detected at those locations made their way to 431 out of the 435 congressional districts worldwide.

The investigation's third phase involved following 5,000 cell phones detected at 13 organizations along the U.S.-Mexico border. Those devices traveled to 434 congressional districts—all but one in the entire country.

Finally, the investigation focused on Catholic Charities of the Rio Grande Valley. During January 2021, the investigation detected nearly 3,400 devices, which it traced to 433 congressional districts.

The border crisis truly is a national crisis, and these organizations are helping to turn every state into a border state.

## Open Borders Advocacy

While many Christians and Americans believe it is noble to help refugees and immigrants, these organizations also advocate against policies that would crack down on illegal immigration. Many of them also have ties to the Left's dark money network.

These nonprofits opposed the vital bill to address the border crisis, H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023.

According to Rep. Mark Green (R-TN), an original cosponsor of the bill, H.R. 2 “addresses the immediate impact of the crisis by focusing on mitigating and stopping the surge of illegal aliens and drugs flowing across the U.S. borders, mainly between ports of entry.”

The bill would require DHS to resume the construction of the U.S.-Mexico border wall, prohibit DHS from processing the entry of non-U.S. nationals arriving between ports of entry, limit asylum eligibility, authorize the removal of illegal aliens to a country other than that person's nationality, expand the types of crimes that may make aliens ineligible for asylum, impose penalties for overstaying a visa, and require DHS to create an electronic employment eligibility confirmation system modeled after E-Verify.

Heritage Action for America praised H.R. 2 as “the strongest and most consequential border security and immigration enforcement legislation to date.” The advocacy group noted that the bill would “end the inhumane catch and release practices of the Biden administration, prevent the exploitation of unaccompanied alien children, and curb the fraudulent abuse of asylum claims.” The bill also “cuts off

“*Organizations receiving government funding to house illegal aliens and transport them into the country oppose H.R. 2 or other efforts to crack down on illegal immigration.*”

funds for non-governmental organizations that are being misused to process and transport illegal aliens into U.S. communities.”

H.R. 2 passed the House of Representatives in a party-line vote of 219-213 on May 11, 2023, but it has yet to receive a hearing in the U.S. Senate.

Each of the organizations receiving government funding to house illegal aliens and transport them into the country opposes H.R. 2 or other efforts to crack down on illegal immigration.

## HIAS

HIAS, formerly known as Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, launched in 1903 to continue the work of previous organizations aiming to assist Jews fleeing pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe. HIAS now provides services to “refugees, asylum seekers, and other forcibly displaced and stateless persons around the world and advocates for their fundamental rights,” according to its website.

HIAS does not receive support directly from the Arabella Network, the Tides Foundation, or the Proteus Fund, but it has received \$19,500 in grants from the Amalgamated Charitable Foundation between 2020 and 2022. As mentioned in the last chapter, the Amalgamated Charitable Foundation, a donor-advised fund spun off from the SEIU-owned Amalgamated Bank in 2017, funds various left-wing advocacy groups.

HIAS condemned H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023.

“HIAS staunchly opposes H.R. 2, and we urge representatives to vote NO on it,” Naomi Steinberg, HIAS vice president of U.S. policy and advocacy, said in a May 2023 statement. “If this bill were to become law, it would essentially end the U.S. asylum system. Among other things, it would eliminate the right to seek asylum for people who enter the U.S. between ports of entry, even though that is a violation of accepted international asylum law.”

HIAS has close ties to the Biden administration. Alejandro Mayorkas, the secretary of Homeland Security, served as a HIAS board member until Biden nominated him in November 2020.

HIAS President Mark Hetfield has visited the White House seven times under Biden.

## Catholic Charities

According to its website, Catholic Charities aims “to provide service to people, families and communities in need, to advocate for justice in social structures and to call the entire church and other people of good will to do the same.” The group claims to have served “more than 15 million of our at-risk neighbors” in 2023, and it includes 168 diocesan Catholic Charities agencies. Each agency falls under the authority of its local bishop or archbishop in the Roman Catholic Church. The organization dates to 1910 with the National Conference of Catholic Charities.

This storied Catholic organization has ties to the Left’s dark money network. In 2017, the Arabella Network group New Venture Fund contributed \$150,000 to Catholic Charities USA.

On May 8, 2023, Catholic Charities President and CEO Sister Donna Markham sent a letter to then-House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-CA), and Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY), urging them to oppose H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023.

Why did Catholic Charities oppose the bill? The nonprofit’s president, Donna Markham, wrote that the bill “would severely restrict vulnerable people’s access to asylum, detain more families including children, undermine U.S. efforts to effectively manage immigration, and dismantle the public-private infrastructure currently in place to manage the humanitarian crisis at the southern border and its impact throughout the country.”

“The gospel calls us to provide shelter for those who are homeless, feed the hungry, and ‘welcome the stranger,’” Markham added. “The work of Catholic Charities is humanitarian not political. While we do not oppose all the provisions in H.R. 2, several of them, if enacted, would severely hinder the government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) from aiding migrants who need services, care, and assistance.”

The claim that H.R. 2 would “undermine U.S. efforts to effectively manage immigration” seems absurd, and some



Credit: Vic Hunterlang. License: Shutterstock.

*This storied Catholic organization has ties to the Left’s dark money network. In 2017, the Arabella Network group New Venture Fund contributed \$150,000 to Catholic Charities USA.*

supporters of H.R. 2 might say that undermining the “public-private infrastructure” that helps illegal aliens settle throughout the country might be part of the point.

Markham has traveled to the White House at least eight times during Biden’s tenure.

Kerry Alys Robinson, who took Markham’s place at the helm of Catholic Charities on July 25, 2023, does not appear to have visited the White House.

Anthony J. Granado, vice president of government relations for Catholic Charities until August 2023, when he re-joined the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, visited the White House at least nine times.

## The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops runs a Migration and Refugee Services ministry separate from Catholic Charities.

The USCCB previously listed 10 types of grants it receives from the federal government, but the web page with this list appears to have been deleted. The list included a Department of Homeland Security grant “for the processing, reception and placement of Cuban and Haitian entrants paroled by DHS into the U.S.,” an HHS grant to provide “enhanced services to newly arrived refugees at sites selected for their proven success in resettlement,” and a grant to serve “unaccompanied children who have been apprehended by immigration officials.”

Bishop Mark J. Seitz of El Paso, Texas, chairman of the USCCB's Committee on Migration, released a statement opposing H.R. 2. He wrote to lawmakers in Congress, expressing the USCCB's "strong opposition to H.R. 2, the 'Secure the Border Act of 2023.'"

"If enacted, this measure would fundamentally weaken our nation's decades-long commitment to humanitarian protection," he wrote. He warned that the bill "would endanger unaccompanied children and inflict harm on other vulnerable persons, decimate access to asylum, mandating damaging detention and removal practices, restrict access to legal employment, limit—and potentially eliminate—federal partnerships with faith-based and other nongovernmental organizations, undermine the rule of law, and more."

The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on Migration urged members of the U.S. House of Representatives to oppose a bill codifying Title 42 into law, claiming it would "unjustly deprive vulnerable persons of the legal right to seek humanitarian protection in the United States."

Three USCCB leaders, Archbishop Timothy P. Broglio (the president), Archbishop William E. Lori (the vice president) and Rev. Michael J.K. Fuller (the general secretary), met with John McCarthy, special assistant to President Biden, at the White House on July 20, 2023.

The conference's associate general secretary, Rev. Paul B.R. Hartmann, had a White House meeting on September 17, 2023.

## A Note on Catholic Social Teaching

Former Congressman Tim Huelskamp, now advisor to the conservative Roman Catholic nonprofit Catholic Vote, explained in an interview for this book that Catholic social teaching does not require Catholics to support illegal immigration. In fact, he argued that abetting the border crisis conflicts with Catholic social teaching.

"Facilitating lawlessness at America's southern border and throughout the country is completely inconsistent with Catholic social teaching," Huelskamp said. "Catholic groups promoting an open border are defying centuries of teaching, and they must be held accountable for enabling the resulting historic and humanitarian border crises of massive human trafficking, the deadly drug trade, and an influx of criminal aliens."



*Tim Huelskamp argued that abetting the border crisis conflicts with Catholic social teaching.*

Huelskamp wrote a chapter in the book *For God, Country, & Sanity: How Catholics Can Save America*, dedicated to exploring Catholic social teaching on the immigration issue.

He noted that the Catechism of the Catholic Church places obligations on immigrants, as well as on the governments that deal with them.

"Immigrants are obliged to respect with gratitude the material and spiritual heritage of the country that receives them, to obey its laws and to assist in carrying civic burdens," the Catechism states.

"By extension, these fundamental obligations logically fall upon those assisting immigrants, including charitable and religious organizations such as Catholic Charities USA," Huelskamp writes. "It is well documented that tens and thousands of these charitable entities and employers, not to mention the immigrants themselves, have promoted and developed lawless, often cash-only economies specifically designed to avoid detection, hide income from taxation, and illegally qualify for government benefits."

"As a result, legal immigrant workers and just employers who seek to obey the law and 'assist in carrying civic burdens' are pressured by competition, lax social mores, lack of clear Church teaching, economic hardship, or even bureaucratic complexity to ignore this obligation," the former congressman adds.

"Under no Catholic doctrine is one country, no matter how wealthy, meant to be the band-aid for the wounds of another country, for the Church in another nation, or for the people and families of another homeland," he concludes.

## Global Refuge

Global Refuge, formerly Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, began in 1939 as American Lutherans responded to the needs of Europeans displaced in World War II.

Global Refuge does not appear to have weighed in on H.R. 2, but it has condemned Title 42, the COVID-19 health policy the Trump administration used to curtail immigration.

When Biden won the 2020 election, Global Refuge President Krish O'Mara Vignarajah called the results “a new dawn in America for immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, DREAMers, and all those who stand for welcome.” (DREAMer refers to a child brought to the U.S. as an illegal immigrant, who would have received legal status and rights through the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act. While the DREAM Act failed in Congress, President Obama created the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, program. That program remains in legal limbo after President Trump tried to reverse it and states sued Biden to block it.)

Vignarajah called the Trump years “a dark chapter for our immigrant brothers and sisters.” She called his pause on immigration from countries of terror concern a “xenophobic Muslim ban,” and accused him of an “assault on DACA and DREAMers,” among other things.

The nonprofit has also condemned the Biden administration’s more lax policies.

Global Refuge condemned what it called Biden’s “punitive enforcement and deterrence measures.” The nonprofit launched a campaign urging Americans to “tell the Biden administration to end the asylum ban and restore access to asylum at the border! Let elected leaders know we want welcome, not harsh policies!”

The campaign also urges readers to “join us in urging [elected leaders] to ... develop solutions that welcome and

honor the dignity of the protection-seeking migrant and support organizations assisting migrants at the border and across the country.”

Vignarajah, the nonprofit’s president, previously served as policy director to first lady Michelle Obama. She has visited Biden’s White House six times, taking a one-on-one meeting with President Biden on December 9, 2022. Vignarajah is married to Collin O’Mara, president and CEO of the anti-fossil fuel group National Wildlife Federation.

One Global Refuge leader’s resume reveals the ties between the administration and the nonprofits that send illegal aliens to settle across the country.

Ashley Feasley spent two years as a migration policy advisor at the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, then joined Catholic Legal Immigration Network as director of advocacy for about a year, and then returned to USCCB to become director of migration policy and public affairs. After leading USCCB’s migration policy from September 2016 to March 2021, she joined U.S. Customs and Border Protection for eight months, and then hopped over to the White House where she became “Director of Transborder Security” at the National Security Council.

In January 2023, she joined the Administration for Children and Families at HHS (which oversees many of the grants groups like USCCB receive). She worked there through March 2023 before hopping over to become vice president of policy and advocacy at Global Refuge in April 2024.



Credit: Susan Montgomery. License: Shutterstock.

*When Biden won the 2020 election, Global Refuge President Krish O'Mara Vignarajah called the results “a new dawn in America for immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, DREAMers, and all those who stand for welcome.”*

## Church World Service

Seventeen Christian denominations came together to form Church World Service in 1946, mobilizing more than 11 million pounds of food, clothing, and medical supplies for Europe and Asia in the aftermath of World War II. The group also resettled more than 100,000 refugees in its first 10 years, according to CWS’s website.

The Arabella Network’s Sixteen Thirty Fund donated \$25,000 to Church World Service between 2014 and 2015.

On May 9, 2023, Church World Service urged its members to contact their representatives in Congress to vote against H.R. 2. CWS presented a script for a phone call, urging Americans to tell their representatives to “reject legislation that would further entrench anti-asylum, anti-immigrant, anti-family policies.”



Credit: CWS Kids. License: <https://cuskits.org>

## The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, also known as USCRI, provides legal services, social services, and health services to “refugees, unaccompanied migrating children, trafficking survivors, and other immigrants in all 50 states, El Salvador, Honduras, Kenya, and Mexico,” according to its website. The committee also advocates for refugees and immigrants in law and policy.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants has received \$75,000 in grants through the Open Society Foundations between 2017 and 2021. The 2021 grant supported the committee in developing “a community sponsorship program that will expand resettlement support for refugees and other forcibly displaced populations.”

The committee condemned some of the provisions in H.R. 2, calling them “anti-asylum” and “anti-immigrant proposals.”

The committee’s leaders do not appear to have a record of visiting the White House.

## Influencing Elections?

The influx of at least 9 million illegal immigrants may impact America’s elections. Even if a very small amount of these illegals register to vote and successfully cast ballots, they may have the potential to swing an election.

A peer-reviewed study from Just Facts estimates that 10–17 percent of non-citizens are registered to vote, and based on previous elections and federal data, at least 1–2.7 million non-citizens will vote in the 2024 presidential election.

In April 2024, a journalist discovered flyers at a resource center for migrants heading to the United States. The flyers urged migrants to vote for Biden after they crossed the U.S.-Mexico border, in order to keep the border open.

“Reminder to vote for President Biden when you are in the United States,” the flyers read. “We need another four years of his term to stay open.”

The flyers, first reported by The Heritage Foundation’s Oversight Project, appeared in porta-potties at the center, which is just south of the U.S. border. The city of Matamoros, located in the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, borders Brownsville, Texas, where President Biden spoke in February.

*Church World Service also denounced Texas Republican Gov. Greg Abbott for signing SB 4, a bill making it a felony for a person to illegally cross the U.S.-Mexico border into Texas.*

The script continues, “Proposed legislation—in particular the Secure the Border Act (H.R. 2) in the House and legislation proposed by Senators [Kyrsten] Sinema and [Thom] Tillis in the Senate—would abdicate our responsibility to those seeking protection and do nothing to effectively manage the border.”

CWS also denounced Texas Republican Gov. Greg Abbott for signing SB 4, a bill making it a felony for a person to illegally cross the U.S.-Mexico border into Texas. Church World Service dismissed the fact that federal law already prohibits illegal entry, claiming that the law “will charge migrants seeking safety in the United States a state crime.”

Church World Service has urged Americans to contact their representatives in Congress, urging them “to robustly fund key refugee and immigrant accounts, include key authorizing language to improve and expand services, and reallocate funding away from border militarization and ICE detention facilities.”

The organization launched its campaign after Congress passed an appropriations bill that included fewer funds for migrant grant programs—programs from which Church World Services directly benefits. Church World Services urged Americans to write their legislators, saying “I urge you to support ... \$4.447 billion for the Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) account.” Between November 15, 2022, and September 30, 2023, Church World Services received \$28 million from the Migration and Refugee Assistance Program.

Church World Service leaders do not have a record of visiting the White House.





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*A peer-reviewed study from Just Facts estimates that 10–17 percent of non-citizens are registered to vote.*

Resource Center Matamoros describes itself as “the home for HIAS, which is providing legal assistance and assistance with obtaining formal documents for job search and integration into the city of Matamoros as they wait to access the asylum process in the U.S.” HIAS told The Associated Press that it has not rented space from the center or had any ties to it since 2022.

Gaby Zavala, founder and executive director of Resource Center Matamoros, told The Associated Press that her organization did not know who made the flyers. She insisted that her group “does not encourage immigrants to register to vote or cast ballots in the U.S.”

Yet Zavala has publicly admitted that she founded her organization in part to fight U.S. policy.

“I founded the Asylum Seeker Network of Support as an effort to fight policy, U.S. policy,” Zavala said in a video posted online. In other videos, she attributed the immigration crisis to climate change.

Rep. Dan Bishop (R-SC), asked Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas, “What actions is the Department of Homeland Security taking to ensure that ... noncitizens are being prevented from registering and voting unlawfully?”

Mayorkas replied that “state and local election officials” handle voter eligibility. “We do not oversee the election enrollment process. What we do is enforce our borders.”

Republicans condemned the flyers and claimed that Democrats are trying to “import a new electorate.”

“Democrats want permanent power and they are willing to import a new electorate to get it,” Rep. Jim Banks (R-IN),

told The Daily Signal after news of the flyers broke. “The endgame of the Biden border crisis is to disenfranchise American citizens by diluting their votes.”

Democrats disavow this political strategy, and left-wing groups claim that it is a conspiracy theory. Yet the very plausibility of this narrative shows just how dangerous it is to allow millions of illegal aliens to cross America’s borders and settle in the country. If the woketopus doesn’t support illegal immigration for this reason, what other explanation makes sense?

## Conclusion

Contrary to the Left’s rhetoric, many Americans loathe the idea of settling 9 million illegal aliens in the U.S. not because these Americans are racist and fear race-based “replacement” but because these aliens showed a fundamental disrespect for America’s laws and its self-determination as a country. The U.S. welcomes legal immigrants, and Americans are anxious to help refugees who really have no other choice. But abetting the flow of illegal aliens and the lax enforcement of drugs like fentanyl crossing the U.S.-Mexico border is a recipe for destruction. ■

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*This article is adapted from Tyler O’Neil’s new book THE WOKETOPUS: The Dark Money Cabal Manipulating the Federal Government, forthcoming in August 2024 from Bombardier Books.*

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AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



## THE IDEOLOGICAL FUEL OF A NEW LEFT

By Michael Watson

**Summary:** We are not the only people to identify the bizarre tendency of left-of-center causes to be promoted as a block even when they directly contradict each other. Some critics of institutional progressivism call this tendency “The Omnicause.” Liberals who worry that this tendency toward making every issue about every other issue puts sand in the gears of their ability to deliver popular policy outcomes caution against “Everything-Bagel Liberalism.” But this tendency that we call “Everything Leftism” is more than just coalitional transactions or a roadblock to the sunlit uplands to which true socialism would supposedly lead humanity if only it were properly tried. It is a left-wing ideological practice that drives institutional progressivism to take positions inimical to the national interest and even harmful to its own political interest.

Closely tied to the ideology of “intersectionality,” which holds that all identities deemed “oppressed” are united and linked in compounding dimensions, Everything Leftism applies left-wing ideological frameworks to unify progressive policies on issues as apparently distinct as Middle East policy, the environment, and gender reassignment for minors. While incoherent to those who do not see view policy through a left-wing lens, Everything Leftism is highly coherent to those who reduce all political issues to “oppressor versus oppressed” analysis, which flattens out all complexities and leaves only neatly polarized choices to be deployed at the appropriate time. To understand the Left’s policy analysis and institutional structure, we must understand the impulse toward Everything Leftism, how it functions, and how it affects the left-wing’s ability to manage coalitions.



In Peter Jackson’s film adaptations of J.R.R. Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings*, the villain Sauron is depicted as a great flaming eyeball that can look upon his evil realm like a spotlight from the top of his tower. Everything Leftism can be analogized to this Eye of Sauron, focusing its energy on a single issue or cause in the public consciousness.

“In this house we believe.” The yard signs, which pronounce banal left-of-center slogans, became a common feature of upper-middle-class suburban neighborhoods where “virtue signaling” is a way of life after the 2016 election. Behind the sloganeering was a presumption of support for a package of left-wing policies, including potentially radical ones:

- Defunding the police (“Black Lives Matter”),
- Liberal access and public funding for abortion (“Women’s Rights Are Human Rights”),
- Open borders (“No Human Is Illegal”),
- Environmentalism (“Science is Real”),
- LGBTQIA+ vanguardism (“Love Is Love”), and
- Commitment to left-wing policies to be named later (“Kindness Is Everything”).

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



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*Conservatives tend to frame arguments in terms of civilizing forces prevailing over barbaric ones.*

In the years following the first flowering of the “In this house” yard signs, they have retreated as some of those policies were implemented and found wanting. Tough-on-crime, even in some cases crypto-Republican, district attorneys have replaced police-defunders in many cities. President Joe Biden feels compelled to issue executive orders that make him appear to take border security seriously after years of a de facto free-for-all. Liberals have begun to question whether transitioning children is a good idea, even if the governments they elect still dare not.

But the impulse to “‘In this house we believe’ ideology,” as heterodox Bay Area podcaster and chief marketing officer of Peter Thiel’s Founders Fund Mike Solana called it, remains. More recently, radical-left demonstrators proclaimed themselves to be “Queers for Palestine,” apparently ignorant of the fact that “queer” lifestyles are much more tolerated in Israel than under the rule of either the terrorist faction Hamas or the Palestinian Authority. What lies behind this impulse, especially among more radical factions of the Left, to go for “everything” apparently all at once?

This is where Everything Leftism—sometimes known to critics as “The Omnicause” or to more conventional liberals as “Everything-Bagel Liberalism”—becomes a useful concept. A corruption of or derivative from the left-wing theory of “intersectionality,” Everything Leftism views all left-of-center policies and identities as linked in compound-ing dimensions that intersect. Thus, every leftist advocacy group and cause must align with the rest of the Left on all other issues at whatever degree of radicalism the left-wing hive-mind decides is appropriate. And for important institutional reasons, that degree of radicalism can be very high, with Marxism and its Communist derivatives making too many appearances to be mere coincidence.

### **Three Axes, Two Buckets, and One Approach**

In 2013, libertarian economist Arnold Kling proposed a “Three Axes Model of Political Communication” in a book entitled *The Three Languages of Politics*. Kling argued that American political argumentation tends to follow one of three styles of argument, each corresponding to an ideological tendency and placing the arguer in a position of moral superiority over an opponent.

Libertarians tend to frame arguments in terms of liberty prevailing over coercion. Thus, a libertarian opponent of marijuana prohibition might argue that the liberty to use the substance should prevail over the government’s desire to reduce usage for the would-be user’s own good by force. Conservatives tend to frame arguments in terms of civilizing forces prevailing over barbaric ones. Thus, a conservative arguing for stricter regulations on pornography might argue that pornography is a morally corrupting force that turns men who consume it into barbarians. Progressives tend to frame arguments in terms of elevating an oppressed class or person at the expense of an oppressor. Thus, a left-wing progressive arguing for a higher minimum wage might argue that employers have the inherent power to oppress workers, so the government must set strict laws on pay and working conditions.

The argumentation styles are commonly associated with but not necessarily exclusive to their prevailing ideological tendencies. One can make a “conservative-left” argument for something like Britain’s National Health Service, suggesting that a civilized country provides medical care to its citizenry. One could make a “progressive-right” argument against affirmative action, arguing that it oppresses white men. Both right and left in the U.S. frequently make libertarian arguments, with leftists favoring them involving personal sexual behavior or abortion and rightists favoring them on economic issues and gun rights.

With the three styles of argumentation in mind, let one return to the concept of Everything Leftism. Everything Leftism functions firmly on the progressive axis, which should not be a surprise, since most leftists are progressives and vice versa. Kling writes, “The progressive asserts moral superiority by denouncing oppression and accusing others of failing to do so.” This is why Everything Leftist argumentation and public commentary includes an overwhelming urge to denounce conservative positions as opposing the “existence” or “bodies” of identity groups in some almost spiritual sense, rather than as necessarily being opposed to the material interests of the left-of-center coalition.

This can be seen across movements by the obsession of left-wing groups with naming their ideological goals “X justice,” where “X” is a designated-oppressed identity like race, gender, or class. Even when the target of “justice” is

not an oppressed personal identity (as in the phrase “climate justice”), an oppressor-oppressed framework functions, as one who would deny “justice” is inherently an oppressor.

This form of argumentation conveniently deposits any political position into one of two buckets: For the Oppressors and therefore Bad, or for the oppressed and therefore Good. The only question is defining who is oppressed, which seems to function as a ranking on “intersectionality points.” Thus, it is safe for Everything Leftists to side with Jews when they are attacked by white supremacists, who have no intersectionality points, but it is *not safe* for Everything Leftists to side with Jews when they are attacked by Palestinian militants, who have many intersectionality points.

One might also here note that the surest way to change one’s intersectional status is to join Republicans or conservatives, who are by ideological definition the maximum oppressors. Such a conversion forfeits any intersectionality points one might possess and subjects the defector to withering vitriol equivalent to the dignity of the intersectional rank forfeited. This would explain why conservatives who are neither white nor male are so viscerally irritating to ideological progressives.

## Everything Leftism’s Rise

Everything Leftism is less a policy manifesto than a radical approach to issue analysis. It surged during the “Great Awakening” after the 2016 election and was given a nitrous-oxide boost by the 2020 COVID lockdowns, the death of George Floyd and ensuing demonstrations and rioting, and the riots at the Capitol on January 6, 2021.

For progressives, Donald Trump was (and remains) a prototypical oppressor. The 45th president is a white man with a reputation for womanizing, was born well-off and became a billionaire landlord, serially employed callous language toward ethnic minorities and other “oppressed” groups and people, and ran as a Republican. Then, he was elected by the Electoral College (a product of dead, white slaveholders—obviously oppressors) over a Democratic woman (oppressed twice over) with (in their minds, at least) help from Russia (white, allegedly Christian, not Communist anymore—sounds oppressive).

His election threatened all oppressed identities. For progressives, it became time to march in defense of all oppressed identities everywhere, all at once. The largest rallying event and institution became the national Women’s March, which focused on “women’s issues” (in practice, first and foremost



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*The Women’s March remained a primary motive force of opposition to the Trump administration until late 2018, when Tablet magazine and later the New York Times reported on the ties between Women’s March’s national leadership and anti-Semitic groups like the Nation of Islam and on the anti-Jewish views of Women’s March leaders.*

meaning abortion access as it so often does in progressive activism) but also supported broad causes on the oppressor/oppressed matrix. The Women’s March was forcefully “intersectional” and proposed identity-politics based “Unity Principles,” which included this mouthful, as quoted in Tablet magazine:

We must create a society in which women, in particular women—in particular Black women, Native women, poor women, immigrant women, Muslim women, and queer and trans women—are free and able to care for and nurture their families, however they are formed, in safe and healthy environments free from structural impediments.

The Women’s March remained a primary motive force of opposition to the Trump administration until late 2018, when Tablet magazine and later the *New York Times* reported on the ties between Women’s March’s national leadership and anti-Semitic groups like the Nation of Islam and on the anti-Jewish views of Women’s March leaders. Those leaders—most notably Tamika Mallory, Carmen Perez, and Linda Sarsour—had become public political celebrities and faces of the new Democratic-aligned political movements despite their and their group’s ties to radical groups like Gathering for Justice and anti-Semites like Nation of

Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Radical leaders camouflaging themselves as a mass movement and rampant anti-Israel and anti-Jewish sentiments would in the subsequent years become calling cards of Everything Leftism.

President Trump's election and the identity-politics based reaction to it on the left congealed into a "Great Awakening." In late May 2020, the Awakening, which had percolated through left-of-center activism, was given a burst of rocket fuel when a Black suspect, George Floyd, died on videotape at the hands of a Minneapolis police officer. The "Summer of Love" was about to begin.

The COVID-19 pandemic then occurring had broken social relations at the urging of the "community" of government public health officials, who confined most Americans to their homes before revealing their commitment to Everything Leftism. After the initial outbreak of protests, an open letter signed by a reported "over 1,000 health professionals" demanded that governments not interfere with Black Lives Matter (BLM) demonstrations that followed Floyd's death, despite standing government orders closing businesses, limiting public gatherings, and restricting social interaction. The letter stated, "However, as public health advocates, we do not condemn these gatherings as risky for COVID-19 transmission. We support them as vital to the national public health." In the Everything Leftist ruling regime, rallying for Everything Leftism was praised; sporting events, other political assemblies, and going to work, religious services, school, or restaurants was condemned or forbidden by law.

Arising alongside lockdowns, masks, and ideological double-standards for public gatherings was the "defund the police" movement, and the activists behind it meant *precisely that*. A *New York Times* op-ed headline declared, "Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police." Corporations promised and purchased hundreds of millions of dollars in indulgences from left-wing radicals like the Movement for Black Lives, which endorsed socialist economics and racial reparations among other radical-left ideals, and the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, which rapidly devolved into a multi-million-dollar grift.

Numerous cities cut funding for their police departments, and the left-wing "progressive prosecutor project" and net-

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A *New York Times* op-ed headline declared, "Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police."



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*Corporations promised and purchased hundreds of millions of dollars in indulgences from left-wing radicals like the Movement for Black Lives and the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, which rapidly devolved into a multi-million-dollar grift.*

work of supporting nonprofits backed by mega-donors like George Soros, Mark Zuckerberg, Dustin Moskowitz, and Cari Tuna supercharged their non-prosecuting approach to prosecution. Combined with the social devastation of lockdowns, these policy changes resulted in a crime surge.

The Summer of Love and the lockdowns brought a change in party control of the federal government, and with the Biden-Harris Transition came Everything Leftism as formal government policy. The Biden administration announced "whole of government" approaches to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI)—effectively BLM as practiced by corporate consultants; climate change; and union organizing.

## Everything Leftism Revealed by Hamas

Everything Leftism as an ideology jumped out of the political background and into the forefront after the Hamas attacks on Israel in October 2023. Almost immediately after the attacks, radical-left organizers from the Party for Socialism and Liberation, International ANSWER, the Democratic Socialists of America, and other groups staged mass demonstrations in major (Democratic-controlled) cities and on college campuses (controlled by left-wing administrations) in support of "Free Palestine" and "cease-fire" (in practice, Hamas victory). Abroad, the living secular saint of the environmentalist movement, Swedish activist Greta Thunberg, joined the demonstrations.

American Jews, who are by a comfortable majority liberal Democrats with sympathy for the tenets of 2020-vintage progressivism, wondered how their allies could turn so forcefully to the anti-Israel side, especially given Israel's cultural liberalism on matters of religion, gender expression, and

sexuality in a region not known for liberal tolerance of any of that. Some were driven out of employment within liberal institutions for their support—even liberal-facing, pro-two-state-solution support—of Israel.

Everything Leftism supplies the answer. Israelis inhabit a rich, relatively culturally Western, relatively capitalist, militarily powerful country allied with the United States; therefore, they are oppressors. Palestinians inhabit a poor, culturally non-Western, relatively socialist, and militarily weak statelet opposed to the United States and its allies. All those are hallmarks of the global oppressed. Add in the ongoing disputes over “occupation,” whether of parts of the West Bank or of the State of Israel proper, and the Palestinians become arguably *the* prototypical oppressed group, rich in intersectionality points and Everything Leftist power.

The “bucketing” of Palestinians and their pseudo-governance by an Islamist terrorist group as “oppressed” explains the confusing images and alignments that have marked the 2024 “riot season” of “ Hamas glampers” on college campuses and in parks and streets in New York City and Washington, DC. How can Queers for Palestine exist when Gaza is ruled by a theocratic Islamist terrorist group that violently suppresses homosexuality while Israel is a relatively liberal democracy that tolerates same-sex intimate relations? (A quirk in Israeli marriage law means that while same-sex marriages cannot be performed in Israel, the government recognizes those performed abroad or by virtual presence abroad, most notably by Utah County, Utah.)

Everything Leftism provides the answer: Both Western “queers” and Palestinians go in the “oppressed” bucket, regardless of the actual policies of Hamas-ruled Gaza or



Credit: abu adel. License: Shutterstock.

*Almost immediately after the Hamas attacks on Israel in October 2023, radical-left organizers from the Party for Socialism and Liberation, International ANSWER, the Democratic Socialists of America, and other groups staged mass demonstrations in major cities and on college campuses in support of “Free Palestine” and “ceasefire.”*

Israel toward gay and lesbian residents. Thus, the “queers” must be for Hamas-ruled Gaza, not relatively liberal Israel.

Similar bucketing, often mixed in with a helping of Cold War-era Communism or critical theory, aligns Black Lives Matter movement institutions, the Democratic Socialists of America, Antifa, Code Pink, and other radical groups with the broader left-of-center political movement. That movement normally manages its coalition by the practice of mutual backscratching, with each discrete interest in the Left coalition getting its most important “thing.” Thus, the Green New Deal is not just about environmentalism, but also about compulsory unionization, state ownership of the means of production, and DEI requirements.

## The (Corporate) People of Everything Leftism

The average liberal voter—a “latte mom Democrat” counterpart to the “grill dad Republican”—is not necessarily an Everything Leftist. A minority of left-of-center voters probably operate on a “conservative-left” civilization-over-barbarism issue framework to defend the welfare state, much as Britons do in defending their National Health Service. Others focus principally on an issue or set of issues where they align most closely with the Left or support the Left for material reasons (government workers for Big Government, for example). Some align for cultural or historical reasons, perhaps breaking only when the ideological contradictions between Everything Leftist-Democratic policies and their personal views or material needs become insurmountable. (For recent examples, see the political shifts in Appalachian coal country from 2008 to 2016 and shifts now occurring in the Rio Grande Valley.)

Due to social pressure among liberals to profess Everything Leftism, it is impossible to know what proportion of the Democratic voter base is sincerely Everything Leftist. But even if most of the Democratic voter base do not follow the Everything Leftist approach, these more moderate people do not define the policies that Democratic administrations and liberal institutions pursue. Left-of-center Big Philanthropies, especially the more bleeding-edge-radical ones like the Marguerite Casey Foundation, the staff of media outlets like the *New York Times*, and activist formation cliques like the Democratic Socialists of America and Sunrise Movement pressure the adoption of an Everything Leftist approach.

Part of the reason is simple personal interest. It is a fact of political and activist life that people who do politics, public

policy, or related things for a living tend to *really care* about political things. Most political professionals do not *start out* in activism or advocacy just to make a buck, although some get there with age. Political professionals tend to be more ideologically coherent than vibing voters, which inclines the professionals and the institutions they control—from the very top down to the interns’ bullpen—toward Everything politics.

But there are also professional interests pushing politics, even if they might already be inclined to Everything politics, toward a full-spectrum Everything Leftism. The signaling power of left-of-center institutions encourages liberal activists-on-the-make to adopt Everything Leftist slogans and positions to signal loyalty to the ideological tribe. For a classic example of this, consider the case of NPR CEO Katherine Maher, who faced criticism when her public statements professing a long list of radical, Everything Leftist



Credit: Web Summit. License: <https://bit.ly/4fjkdvc>.

*While rising through the ranks at Wikimedia Foundation and other left-of-center institutions, Katherine Maher signaled her loyalty to the liberal-progressive cause with her public statements, which aligned with her work for the liberal institutions.*

positions were brought to public attention. While rising through the ranks at Wikimedia Foundation and other left-of-center institutions, Maher signaled her loyalty to the liberal-progressive cause with her public statements, which aligned with her work for the liberal institutions. On a smaller scale, liberal professional activists do the same thing daily, on the issues which Everything Leftist institutions have chosen for their focus. The practice of listing one’s chosen pronouns in a professional or social-media biography is an illustrative example.

## The Eye of Sauron

In Peter Jackson’s film adaptations of J.R.R. Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings*, the villain Sauron is depicted as a great flaming eyeball that can look upon his evil realm like a spotlight from the top of his tower. Everything Leftism can

Cancel culture is just another phrase for the social coercion practiced in the name of Everything Leftism.

be analogized to this Eye of Sauron, focusing its energy on a single issue or cause in the public consciousness.

When the Eye of Sauron focuses on an issue, Big Philanthropy and big individual donors pledge hundreds of millions, if not billions, of dollars to address the issue, encouraging left-wing groups to talk about it or focus themselves on it. Younger staff with radical views, often through unionized staff cadres, demand action on the Eye’s priorities.

Liberal citizens propagate a culture of social coercion, using social media and the mainstream press to intimidate skeptics into silence out of fear of social and professional reprisals. Left-wing control of formal institutions such as labor unions, graduate schools, governments, the metropolitan media, and big philanthropies further enhances the strength of the social coercion effects. Cancel culture, which journalist Nellie Bowles has written is “about finding the betrayer in your midst,” is just another phrase for the social coercion practiced in the name of Everything Leftism.

It’s not a perfect analogy. There is no singular “Sauron” behind the Eye, which is more of an emergent phenomenon based on events, media coverage, and organizational and institutional rapid reaction ability. While the ideological proclivities of major left-wing donors like George Soros, Mark Zuckerberg, Bill Gates, the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Service Employees International Union, the AFL-CIO, and so on can help direct the focus of the Eye and will direct the policy consequences of its focus, no single person or group has enough “market share” in the liberal movement to focus the Eye all by itself.

Successful mobilization campaigns like Black Lives Matter in 2020 turn the Eye of Sauron to issues that divide the Right from the center and unite the Left. When the issue set is favorable to Everything Leftism and the Eye is focused, social coercion ruthlessly directs all who are not explicitly conservative into alignment with Everything Leftism. The results can drag radical leftists into positions of power and authority within the liberal movement or government policy; leaders of Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation proved to be explicit “trained Marxists” unafraid to praise Lenin.



But the Eye of Sauron is not all-powerful. It sometimes turns to issues that divide the Left and unite the center and Right. Attempts to propel the Palestinian nationalist cause and opposition to Israel's existence into a 2024 reprise of Black Lives Matter have as of this writing largely failed. While Palestinian nationalism has strengthened its position in internal left-wing affairs, enough centrists and liberals remain sympathetic to Israel alongside the vast majority of conservatives such that social pressure to affirm anti-Zionism or support for boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) against Israel is not effective.

## Cross-Pressures

There is a lesson in the failure of Hamas Glampers to reprise the BLM marchers of 2020. Everything Leftism's success relies on ensuring its demands do not cross-pressure its supporters or the broader liberal coalition base beyond the point of social coercion's ability to prevent defection.

Smart liberal analysts are aware that there is no hand of God that will ensure constant progression to the left on all issues. In their 2002 book *Emerging Democratic Majority*, John Judis and Ruy Teixeira premised continued Democratic electoral success powered by growing demographics on "progressive centrism," by which they meant liberalism constrained by reality. As Everything Leftism has shed the constraints, the majority has fallen away or at least failed to consolidate and expand, as some ebullient leftists confidently predicted was inevitable after Barack Obama's reelection in 2012.

So if Everything Leftism is not inevitable, from where could cross-pressures in its coalition emerge? There are numerous potential sources of discord, not all of which simply involve defecting in elections to the conservative side. Jewish liberals are already struggling to reconcile their support for Israel's existence and alliance with the United States with an Everything Leftist ecosystem that wants to rally behind the "oppressed" Palestinian nationalist cause. Others are noticing that institutional DEI schemes they supported have not protected Jewish students in higher education.

Ethnic-minority Democrats, at least in opinion polling, tend not to be as enthusiastic about Ibram X. Kendi or Robin DiAngelo-style racial activism as their white co-partisans. Asian Americans increasingly realize that under affirmative action regimes in higher education, they lose out on educational opportunities. The growing population of Latinos who identify with a Protestant church tend to be more religiously observant than white liberals. Ethnic-minority men may

chafe at Everything Leftism's affirmation of vanguardist "the future is female" feminism, while gender-realist women balk at Everything Leftism's assertion that maximalist transgender ideology means a "woman" can have male reproductive organs and should smash into their daughters in sports.

Notably few of the cross-pressures I can identify are economic in nature. This shows the relative strength of identity-based Everything Leftism over traditional left economics, even if lip service is still paid to labor organizing and class consciousness. One might recall the position of Biden administration Acting Labor Secretary Julie Su on organizing: "We build critical coalitions not only because of the enhanced potential for favorable outcomes, but also because the process of coalition-building itself sometimes changes each of us." The creation of labor coalitions organized on Everything Leftist lines makes new soldiers for Everything Leftism, who can be compelled in states without a right-to-work law to pay for "their" union's Everything Leftist activism.

Prominent cases where a liberal or non-conservative has publicly broken with Everything Leftism illustrate how that might happen. Some, most prominently the economically left-wing gender-realist author J.K. Rowling, have a fundamental commitment that crosses the Everything Leftist Eye of Sauron and enough resources to stand and fight for it. Some, like Tesla CEO Elon Musk, are simply cantankerous and do not care what the Everything Leftist hive-mind thinks. That both Rowling and Musk are fantastically wealthy makes this stand easier; they are immune to social pressure threatening their livelihoods.

Others flip because the Eye of Sauron focuses on an issue on which one is cross-pressured or because leftist activism unjustly targets an individual one knows personally. If one asserts Everything Leftist positions insincerely for fear of reprisal, changes to the threat matrix (either Everything Leftist activists becoming weaker, counter-activists from the right becoming stronger, or expressing any position becoming a greater waste of resources) may change one's affirmations.

Everything Leftism is a powerful force. It defines the praxis of one of the two great ideological coalitions that define 21st-century American politics and policy. But it is not all-powerful, and its successes may breed its own defeats. In their house they believe, but America may not. ■

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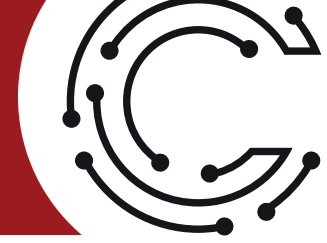
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## THE SEQUOIA CLIMATE FOUNDATION AND AMERICA'S SECRETIVE CLIMATE COLONIALIST

By Ken Braun

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**Summary:** Reclusive billionaire C. Frederick Taylor has become a left-wing climate policy influencer to rival Michael Bloomberg. IRS records for 2020 through 2022 show Taylor-funded nonprofits have already spent at least \$450 million on an extremist anti-energy agenda that frequently includes opposition to even carbon-free nuclear power. A lot of the loot has landed in the United States, funding radical climate groups such as the League of Conservation Voters. Taylor's ideology has also been exported to overseas nongovernmental organizations, with a disproportionate focus on Australia, a nation responsible for just 1 percent of the world's carbon emissions.

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*Natural Resources Defense Council cheered the closure of New York's Indian Point nuclear power plant in 2021, and during that same year boasted that it had been "working for years" to close California's Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant.*

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Since at least 2021, California billionaire Charles Frederick "Fred" Taylor has likely been one of America's biggest bankrollers of anti-energy climate alarmism. Although his spending on the agenda now rivals that of billionaire Michael Bloomberg, Taylor's name has been absent from nearly all major media coverage of that particular subject—and all others.

Part of the reason for the publicity blackout is climate colonialism. At least 40 percent of Taylor's funding has been directed overseas, placing it mostly out of the U.S. media's sightline.

The larger reason for his muted media coverage is that Taylor likes it that way.

A February 2023 report in *Inside Philanthropy* declared the Sequoia Climate Foundation to be a "new giant in climate change philanthropy" and revealed that its "benefactor appears to be C. Frederick Taylor, a low-profile hedge fund billionaire." But aside from other mentions in that philanthropic trade journal and passing mentions in the California business press, Taylor's national media profile has been nonexistent.

In its 2022 IRS filing Sequoia reported \$173.7 million in total grants. In 2022 Michael Bloomberg's Bloomberg Family Foundation (Bloomberg Philanthropies) gave grants totaling \$233 million that were listed under the "Environment" giving category by FoundationSearch, a charitable recordkeeping service.

Much is known of Michael Bloomberg, the founder of Bloomberg LP, a financial information empire that includes the Bloomberg media properties. He is the former Republican mayor of New York City and a former Democratic presidential candidate. The annual dollars he gives to the climate alarmism movement are so substantial that he has been named UN Special Envoy on Climate Ambition and Solutions.

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



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*That 2014 story remains the only substantive journalistic effort to investigate Taylor or TGS (Management LLC).*

As of early May, *Forbes* ranked Michael Bloomberg 12th on its list of the world's wealthiest, with an estimated net worth of \$106.2 billion. Potentially the biggest mystery that remains about him is somewhat of a joke: The Bloomberg Billionaires Index conspicuously doesn't include Michael Bloomberg himself.

It also doesn't include Fred Taylor, even though it probably should. But Taylor probably won't complain.

## The "Secretive U.S. Vulture Fund"

In July 2023, the *Orange County Business Journal* listed Taylor as among the California community's wealthiest people, with an estimated net worth of "\$1.2 billion to multiple billions." According to the report, the vagueness was due to the source of the wealth: "Taylor is the 'T' in TGS [Management LLC], an extremely secretive quant hedge fund."

The business newspaper also reported TGS was so secretive that there had been "next to no mention of the firm or its founders" since a *Bloomberg News* exposé back in May 2014.

That 2014 story remains the only substantive journalistic effort to investigate Taylor or TGS.

In that now decade-old report, *Bloomberg News* reported the discovery of a pair of obscure charitable trusts. Both were created on the same day in 2002, and their combined assets were \$9.7 billion. The *Bloomberg* reporter wrote that this made the trusts (at that time) "one of the largest pools of philanthropic funding in the U.S., bigger than the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations combined."

But he noted that "someone had taken elaborate steps to make sure no one figured out where this money came from, using layers of company subsidiaries to obscure its origins."

*Bloomberg* revealed the source of funding was three billionaires behind TGS Management: Taylor, David Gelbaum, and Andrew Shechtel. By the time of this discovery, the trio had already given away \$13 billion to many causes,

including noncontroversial efforts such as medical research. Taylor was credited as a major funder to the Landmine Survivors Network.

The *Bloomberg* coverage referred to TGS as a "black box" quantitative investing firm founded by the three partners in 1989. Sources familiar with the early history provided *Bloomberg* this comically vague description of the investing strategy that allowed T, G and S to strike it rich ... and then hide:

According to Thorp, when the TGS partners started trading, they pursued a form of statistical arbitrage. In its simplest form, statistical arbitrage seeks to profit from the tendency of stocks that recently fell to rise, and stocks that recently rose to fall. Within a few years, the hedge fund had made enough to return money to most of its outside investors, according to Thorp and another person with knowledge of its activities. Without having to further solicit outsiders for money, they'd rarely have to tell anyone about their investment strategies. The three men could focus on multiplying their own funds in privacy.

Yes, buy low, sell high, and vice versa. Simple as that!

One such arbitrage action against Scottish investment funds, according to *Bloomberg*, put TGS "briefly in the press in the late '90s" and led to British media referring to it as a "secretive U.S. vulture fund."

None of the TGS partners spoke to the *Bloomberg* reporter, who made the following observation about Taylor's lifestyle:

Taylor lives in a gated enclave a few miles from the hedge fund's West Coast office in Irvine, Calif. Before dawn one day in March, I peered through a black metal fence into the compound in Irvine where TGS keeps banks of computers. The place was on a dead-end street between a sandy creek bed and a carwash. A row of pines flanked a cluster of timber and glass buildings. From somewhere inside the compound, machinery whined.

Describing Taylor's background, *Bloomberg* reported that he came to California in the "early 1980s" to join the investing group where he met Gelbaum and Shechtel. At the time he was a "clean-cut East Coaster with an economics degree from Haverford College." The May 2014 report stated that Taylor was then 54 years old.

This would make him 64 or 65 today.



*Wellspring was originally named the Matan B'Seter Foundation—Hebrew phrase meaning “anonymous gift.”*

The July 2023 *Orange County Business Journal* report on Taylor included an undated photo of a man who appeared to be roughly in his 50s. Referring to a \$240 million “real estate mystery,” the *Journal* also reported that TGS had “rapidly ramped up its OC real estate presence over the past three years via a series of acquisitions, development plans and leases.”

An August 2023 home sale report on a \$25 million mansion in Irvine, California, noted the residence was located in an 800-unit community where other reported homeowners included Taylor and novelist Dean Koontz.

## Following Fred's Money

In February 2023 a spokesperson for the Sequoia Climate Foundation told *Inside Philanthropy* that Sequoia was “spun out” of the Wellspring Philanthropic Fund. Wellspring is one of the original TGS-linked mystery funds revealed in the 2014 *Bloomberg* report.

Citing the opinion of a San Francisco–based lawyer who worked in the nonprofit field, *Bloomberg* reported in 2014 that Wellspring’s practice of “using intermediaries to disguise a private foundation’s backers is extremely unusual” and “contrary to the spirit, though probably not the letter, of the private-foundation rules.”

Wellspring was originally named the Matan B'Seter Foundation in its first tax filing back in 2001. The Hebrew phrase means “anonymous gift.”

The most recent IRS filing for 2022 shows John R. Taylor as the president of the Wellspring board, with W. Miles Taylor and Fred Taylor as board trustees. The 2014 *Bloomberg* report identified the three men as brothers.

An entity named Twenty-One Holdings LLC of Roseland, New Jersey, appears to be the corporate vehicle used to move money into the donor foundations.

Twenty-One was listed as a major donor to Wellspring in each of six consecutive IRS filings covering 2015 through 2020. The average annual donation into Wellspring from

Twenty-One was well over \$100 million, culminating with a \$179.1 million donation in 2020.

This pattern abruptly ended in 2021, and neither that year nor the Wellspring filing for 2022 show new contributions from Twenty-One Holdings.

But those two later years coincided with the first two annual IRS filings from Sequoia, both of which showed Twenty-One Holdings money coming in. The first two Sequoia filings reported a \$181 million donation from Twenty-One Holdings for 2021 and another \$206 million for 2022.



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*As of early May, Forbes ranked Michael Bloomberg 12th on its list of the world’s wealthiest, with an estimated net worth of \$106.2 billion. Potentially the biggest mystery that remains about him is somewhat of a joke: The Bloomberg Billionaires Index conspicuously doesn’t include Michael Bloomberg himself.*



*Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez promoted the Green New Deal as a 10-year plot to bring about a “massive transformation of our society.”*

Both represent all of the new money reported coming into the fund.

Sequoia also appears to have inherited the funding of climate policy groups that previously received grants from Wellspring.

For example, the Sierra Club Foundation, European Climate Foundation, Sunrise Project, League of Conservation Voters Education Fund and EarthJustice received a combined total of \$67 million from Wellspring in 2020.

Wellspring did not report funding any of the five in either of the two following years. Instead, each was funded by Sequoia during those next two years, receiving a combined total of more than \$87 million.

In all, at least 82 left-leaning climate policy nonprofits received funding from Wellspring for 2020, and then from Sequoia for 2021 or 2022.

So, if the 2020 Wellspring donations to that group of 82 were to be interpreted as the first year of Sequoia being “spun out,” then the combined amount spent on climate policy for the three years from the groups presumably funded by Fred Taylor is more than \$450 million.

The largest spending year of the three was the last one, when \$172 million of that loot was doled out in 2022 through Sequoia. The IRS has not yet released Sequoia filings for 2023. But if this upward trajectory of total donations continues through the current year, then subsequent IRS reports through 2024 may show the cumulative total to the climate groups to be near or even above \$1 billion.

Something like that seems to be the plan. *Inside Philanthropy* reported that Sequoia was “focusing on climate interventions that will have an impact by 2030, the deadline for the world to halve emissions by the Paris Agreement,” but also “intends to stick around for the long term.”

“It’s not a spend-down institution,” said Christie Ulman, the Sequoia president, according to *Inside Philanthropy*.

## Funding of Anti-Energy Radicals

During those three years of the Sequoia/Wellspring funding, a cumulative total of at least \$76.9 million was sent out to 18 of the most strident, anti-energy zealots in the climate alarmism movement. What makes each of them so strident is that they oppose not just conventional hydrocarbon fuel such as oil, coal, and natural gas, but also the use of nuclear energy.

Nuclear power is the largest single source of carbon-free electricity used by the United States and other nations over many decades. There are non-crazy conservation groups, such as the Nature Conservancy, that promote a significant increase in nuclear energy output.

The League of Conservation Voters Education Fund received \$14.7 million through the three years from Sequoia. Along with more than 100 other climate extremist groups, the LCV was a signatory on a November 2020 letter to Congress that claimed “nuclear energy amplifies and expands the dangers of climate change.”

Similarly, Wellspring granted \$3.5 million to the Natural Resources Defense Council in 2020, and this was followed by an additional \$7 million from Sequoia for 2022. NRDC cheered the closure of New York’s Indian Point nuclear power plant in 2021, and during that same year boasted that it had been “working for years” to close California’s Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. (Pro-nuclear conservationists later lobbied successfully to keep Diablo Canyon open).

The Sierra Club Foundation received \$8.1 million combined from Wellspring and Sequoia during the three-year period. Although nuclear power is by a wide margin the safest and cleanest form of reliable energy in use, the Sierra Club’s extremist position is that nuclear power is “a uniquely dangerous energy technology for humanity.”

The anti-nuclear, anti-everything, serially crazy Sunrise Movement Education Fund received \$1 million from Wellspring in 2020 and then another \$1.5 million from Sequoia for 2022. All of this funding flowed in *after* the



Credit: Taras Vysnyy. License: Shutterstock.

*There are only 27 million Australians. It's not even one of the planet's 50 largest populations, and they account for just 1 percent of the world's carbon emissions. Nonetheless, one of the biggest recipients of Wellspring/Sequoia climate policy bucks over the 2020–2022 period was the Sunrise Project, an Australian nongovernmental organization.*

Sunrise Movement became the main proponent of the Green New Deal (GND), an idea that would be so economically ruinous that it should have scared away the smart money.

The GND was introduced in Congress in February 2019 by Rep Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) and Sen. Ed Markey (D-OR). The grab bag of the climate alarmist movement's most extreme demands was swiftly derided by then Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi as the "green dream, or whatever they call it."

Background material provided by Ocasio-Cortez's office promoted the Green New Deal as a 10-year plot to bring about a "massive transformation of our society." Eliminating hydrocarbon energy, phasing out carbon-free nuclear power, and replacing air travel with supposedly "high-speed" rail were just some of the radical pieces. It also promised full employment with union jobs, guaranteed paid vacations for everyone, and even an end to monopolies.

In response to the obvious "How do we pay for all this?" concern, the FAQ provided this ironic comparison: "We invested 40–50% of GDP in our economy during World War 2 and created the greatest middle class the US has ever seen."

Well, yes, we used that money to crank out a disproportionate share of the weapons, bullets, and bombs for a historically unprecedented global conflict. That war shattered the industrial spine of the rest of the planet and killed off tens of millions of civilian workers. It's true that this did provide a silver lining for Americans who were able to work in highly efficient, undamaged factories and get well paid to rebuild the rest of a badly broken world.

(So, Mrs. Lincoln, other than that loud interruption, did you enjoy the play?)

In April 2019 the American Action Forum, run by the former director of the Congressional Budget Office, estimated the Green New Deal's 10-year price tag at \$5.4 trillion.

Other examples of anti-nuclear, anti-energy nonprofit recipients of Wellspring and Sequoia loot during at least

two of the three years from 2020 through 2022 included the Rocky Mountain Institute (\$4.8 million total), Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis (\$4.5 million), 350.org (\$2.5 million), Public Citizen Foundation (\$2.2 million), the Center for International Environmental Law (\$2.1 million), Climate Justice Alliance (\$2 million), and the Environmental Defense Fund (\$2 million).

## Climate Colonialism

The World Resources Institute (WRI) received \$10.4 million from the Taylor nonprofits during the period, with nearly all of it coming during the two Sequoia-funded years.

The U.S.-based nonprofit WRI is an exceptional example of the climate colonialism supported by Sequoia. A 2018 news release promoting a WRI award ceremony in Washington, DC, said the event was for anti-energy activists who “protected South Africa from an unprecedented expansion of the nuclear industry.”

My, what heroes!

At least \$180.5 million of the \$450 million in Wellspring/Sequoia climate policy grants given during the 2020 through 2022 donor years—40 percent of the total—went to either nonprofits operating outside the United States or American groups (such as WRI) with a worldwide remit.

The Netherlands-based European Climate Foundation received a cumulative total of at least \$106.4 million during the period from Wellspring and then Sequoia. Typical of the Taylor-supported groups, the ECF proposes to eliminate the use of hydrocarbon fuels and supports the deployment of weather-dependent wind and solar energy systems.

Sequoia Climate Foundation president Christie Ulman holds one seat on the ECF board. Representatives from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and Bloomberg Philanthropies—two other multi-billion-dollar pots of American left-wing climate and energy mischief—fill two other seats on the 12-member board of the supposedly *European* group.

On a per-capita basis, perhaps no nation has been a greater target of Taylor’s climate colonialism than Australia.

There are only 27 million Australians. It’s not even one of the planet’s 50 largest populations, and they account for just 1 percent of the world’s carbon emissions. Nonetheless, one of biggest recipients of Wellspring/Sequoia climate policy bucks over the 2020–2022 period was the Sunrise Project, an Australian nongovernmental organization. (Despite the name, it has no known relation to the aforementioned American-based Sunrise Movement.)

Sunrise of Australia is an anti-energy nonprofit that pressures banks to refuse financing for hydrocarbon energy projects and promotes instead the deployment of weather-restricted wind and solar power.

It isn’t clear whether Sunrise Australia has adopted a policy regarding nuclear energy, but it really doesn’t need one. Even though Australia is one of the world’s leading exporters of uranium, it perversely has a long-standing prohibition on the use of nuclear power.

Sunrise Australia received \$8 million from Wellspring in 2020, then \$5 million from Sequoia in 2021, and another \$6.5 million from Sequoia for 2022. The \$19.5 million total makes the Australian nonprofit the fourth-largest single recipient of Taylor’s anti-energy spending during the period.

Opposing hydrocarbon fuels in the Land Down Under means Taylor is literally attacking the only reliable energy Aussies can still legally produce. Unless they legalize nuclear, their remaining major energy alternatives would be weather-dependent wind and solar power ... or returning to the 19th century.

Not coincidentally, these intermittent power systems are the energy options preferred by nearly all the Wellspring/Sequoia supported nonprofits.

Add to all this Australia’s geographical isolation and small population. It’s difficult to imagine another rich industrial nation where anti-energy climate colonialists could realize a bigger bang for the buck.

It almost resembles the behavior of a secretive hedge fund billionaire seeking a uniquely vulnerable arbitrage opportunity. ■

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**JULY 2021**

**EDITED BY  
HAYDEN LUDWIG**



# **RISE OF THE ECO-RIGHT**

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



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# BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

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

Hayden R. Ludwig

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

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



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Serving as CRC's Senior Fellow for Education, Kali Fontanilla focuses on topics related to K-12 public education and teachers unions. With 15 years of experience as a credentialed educator working in public and Christian schools, she brings hands-on classroom and teachers' union experience. She authored a guide to counter Critical Race Theory in the classroom and is the founder of the Exodus Institute, a fully accredited K-12 grade online school seeking to redefine education by joining technology with traditional values. She has been featured in newspapers across the country including the Washington Post, Epoch Times, Associated Press, and the Boston Globe.





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