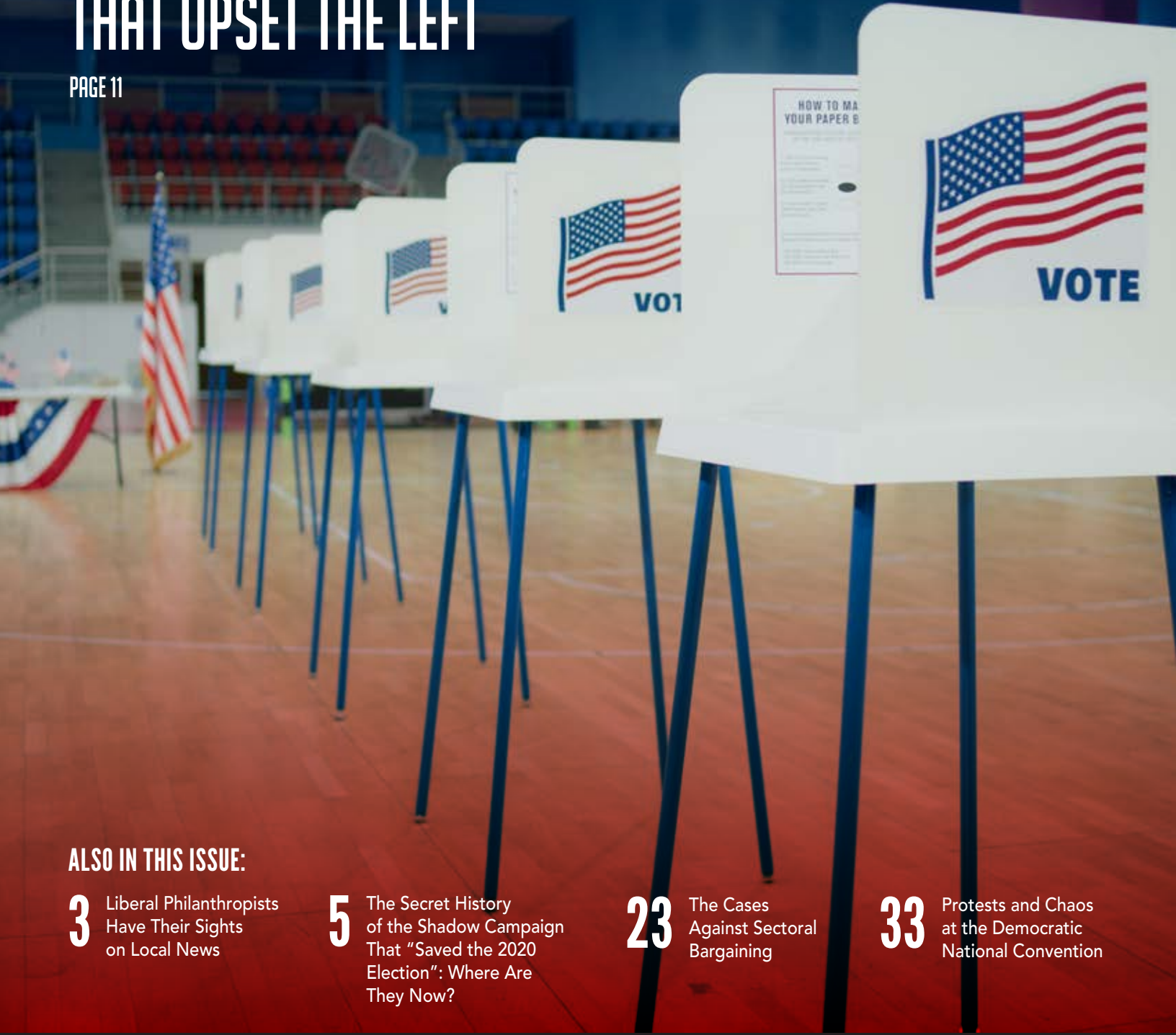




## ELECTION INTEGRITY WINS THAT UPSET THE LEFT

PAGE 11



### ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

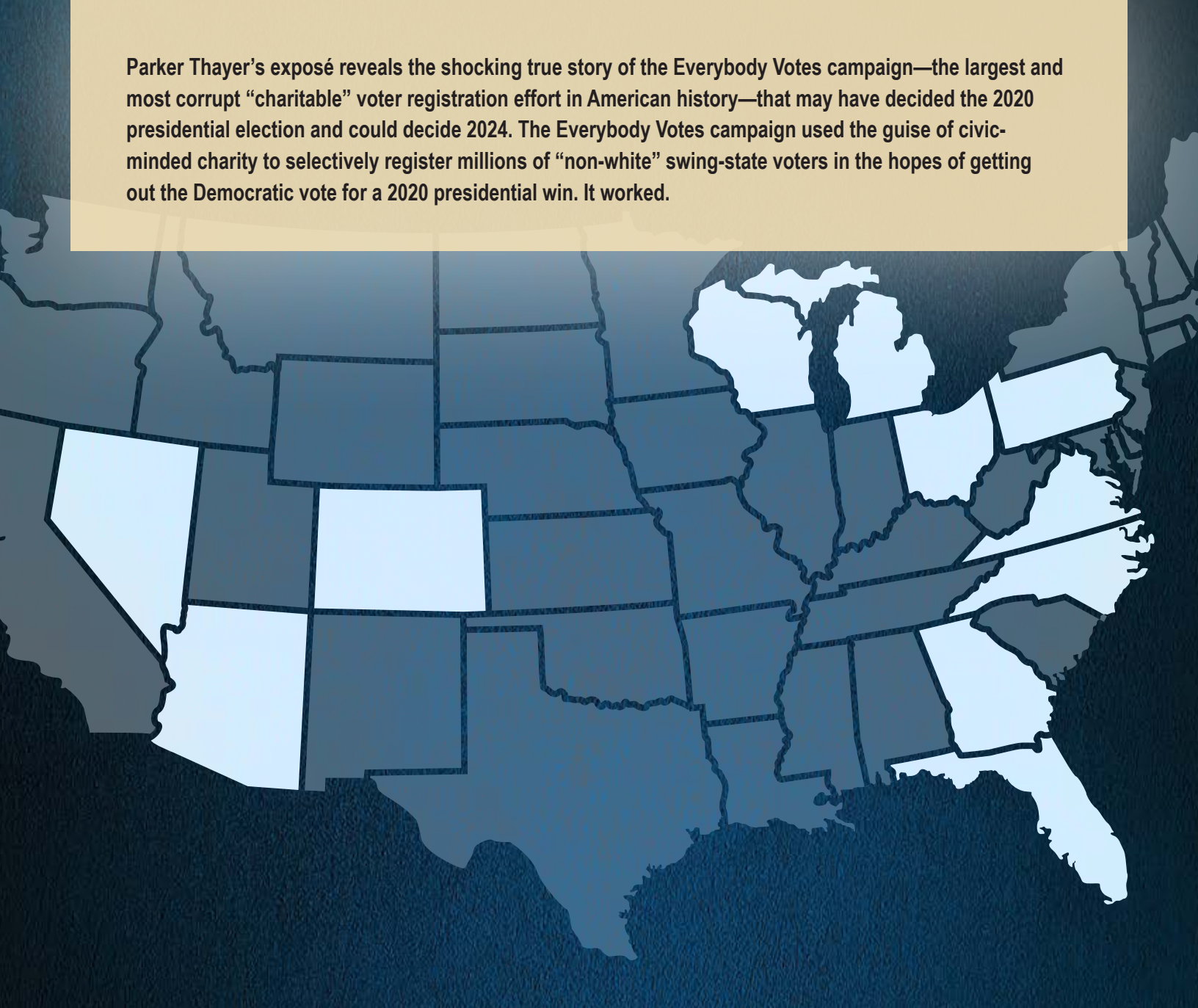
**3** Liberal Philanthropists  
Have Their Sights  
on Local News

**5** The Secret History  
of the Shadow Campaign  
That "Saved the 2020  
Election": Where Are  
They Now?

**23** The Cases  
Against Sectoral  
Bargaining

**33** Protests and Chaos  
at the Democratic  
National Convention

Parker Thayer's exposé reveals the shocking true story of the Everybody Votes campaign—the largest and most corrupt “charitable” voter registration effort in American history—that may have decided the 2020 presidential election and could decide 2024. The Everybody Votes campaign used the guise of civic-minded charity to selectively register millions of “non-white” swing-state voters in the hopes of getting out the Democratic vote for a 2020 presidential win. It worked.



# HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

BY PARKER THAYER

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



3

## COMMENTARY

### Liberal Philanthropists Have Their Sights on Local News

*By Michael Watson*

*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.

CRC is an independent, tax-exempt institution governed by an independent board of trustees. We rely on private financial support from the general public—individuals, foundations, and corporations—for our income. We accept no government funds and perform no contract work.

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://www.CapitalResearch.org)

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

Internship inquiries are welcome.

Publisher, Scott Walter  
Editor-in-Chief, Kristen Eastlick  
Editor, Jon Rodeback  
Photo Editor, Gayle Yiotis

© 2024

# CONTENTS

OCTOBER 2024  
Volume 9, Issue 7



5

## SPECIAL REPORT

### The Secret History of the Shadow Campaign That “Saved the 2020 Election”: Where Are They Now?

*By Parker Thayer*



11

## ORGANIZATION TRENDS

### Election Integrity Wins That Upset the Left

*By Fred Lucas*



23

## LABOR WATCH

### The Cases Against Sectoral Bargaining

*By Michael Watson*



33

## ORGANIZATION TRENDS

### Protests and Chaos at the Democratic National Convention

*By Ryan Mauro*



**INFLUENCE  
WATCH**

**Who funds that group?  
How much \$ are they spending?  
Who's behind that campaign?**

*InfluenceWatch: Answering the questions  
you need to know.*

## **What We Watch**

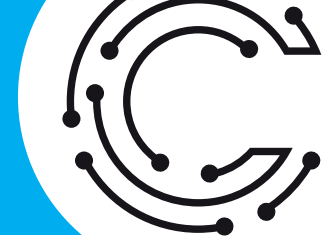
- 🔍 **Complete profiles on more than 6,000 organizations and activists**
- 🔍 **30 active researchers adding new information on a daily basis**
- 🔍 **In-depth investigations on labor unions, George Soros, Arabella Advisors, and other left-wing activists**

## **Our Influence**

- 🔍 **More than 14 million pageviews since our launch in 2018**
- 🔍 **More than 117,000 backlinks to InfluenceWatch.org**



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



## LIBERAL PHILANTHROPISTS HAVE THEIR SIGHTS ON LOCAL NEWS

By Michael Watson

Now, more than ever, the news has a credibility problem.

Thanks to the rise of so-called pink-slime news outlets, stories that might read like news reports are increasingly often ideological advertisements rather than journalistic endeavors. These newspapers and digital outlets present themselves as fact-based local media but in reality are partisan or ideological propaganda mills affiliated with political consultants and funded by ideological donors who sometimes remain anonymous. Perhaps the best-known of these outfits is Courier Newsroom, founded by longtime Democratic operative Tara McGowan and recipient of one of President Joe Biden's rare one-on-one interviews.

But the growing partisan media sphere is about far more than just "dark money" newsgathering outfits aligned with political operatives. Left-wing institutions are making a major investment to make local news, which public opinion polling shows is more trusted than national news, a font of liberal and progressive messages and opposition research.

Partisan journalism is not new; it's arguably the American tradition. Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, and their Democratic-Republican and Federalist parties, battled out the idea war of their day in openly partisan gazettes. Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, party-backed newspapers were common, with some bearing their old partisan names to this day.

The post-World War II era saw mass consolidation of the so-called objective mass media. The news was spread on airwaves regulated by the government's fairness doctrine and in consolidated, citywide newspapers that claimed to be "objective" and not aligned with a political party. This was at best misleading; as conservative activists such as Reed Irvine and Brent Bozell pointed out decades ago, these metropoli-



Credit: Rob Cunniff. License: Shutterstock.

*Thanks to the rise of so-called pink-slime news outlets, stories that might read like news reports are increasingly often ideological advertisements rather than journalistic endeavors.*

tan outlets were clearly and consistently liberal and aligned with Democrats.

But changes in the media landscape have diminished the mass media and opened the door to ideological interests backed by big money, especially in local and state-capital news production and distribution. In the state capitals, that big money operation has been boosted by Arabella Advisors, the consulting firm that manages a multibillion-dollar "dark money" network for liberal interests and election campaigns.

States Newsroom, originally created as a project of the Arabella-managed Hopewell Fund, operates a network of outlets focused on state-level politics and policy that

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



---

*Last year, a coalition of major liberal foundations announced a \$500 million Press Forward campaign to strengthen local news outlets.*

includes Maryland Matters in the Old Line State. In 2022, the network reported raising \$23.4 million and spending \$18.7 million. On its 2021 tax return, States Newsroom declared that its “program service accomplishments” included “hard-hitting reporting and commentary to change the political debate,” indicating its ideological motivation.

But States Newsroom is only the beginning. Last year, a coalition of major liberal foundations including the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation announced a \$500 million Press Forward campaign to strengthen local news outlets. Other participants in the Press Forward campaign include the Ford Foundation, one of the largest left-of-center advocacy philanthropies; the Democracy Fund endowed by liberal eBay billionaire Pierre Omidyar; and the left-of-center William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. The project will be managed through the Miami Foundation, a provider of donor-advised funds that can obscure the flow of money from institutional donors and foundations to particular projects.

And while the Press Forward foundations, like their predecessors in the commercial mass media, claimed that their intentions were not ideological, there’s good evidence that that is not the case. MacArthur Foundation president John Palfrey said of the project, “The philanthropic sector . . . is beginning to see that progress on every other issue, from

education and healthcare to criminal justice reform and climate change, is dependent on the public’s understanding of the facts.” One can reasonably suspect that the big philanthropic foundations behind Press Forward, which are overwhelmingly left-wing, hope to control “the public’s understanding of the facts” to win on “every other issue.”

And that’s why conservative donors and activists are in danger if they do not engage on the issue of journalistic production.

It falls to conservative consumers to be discerning in their media consumption, but if only the biggest and most progressive names in Big Philanthropy are playing at helping the public understand the facts, it will be harder for the public not to come to their preferred progressive policy conclusions. The conservative donor class ultimately must get off the sidelines and give the movement the tools it needs to fight back. ■

---

*This article first appeared in the Baltimore Sun on July 26, 2024.*

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



## THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE SHADOW CAMPAIGN THAT “SAVED THE 2020 ELECTION”: WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

By Parker Thayer

---

**Summary:** In February 2021, Molly Ball of *Time* magazine published an article titled “The Secret History of the Shadow Campaign That Saved the 2020 Election” that took both sides of the aisle by storm. Depending on the reader’s perspective, the story was a tell-all confession or a story of epic heroism about a massive, multi-faceted, and secret campaign to “save” the 2020 election by helping President Joseph Biden win and defend his win from legal challenges by President Donald Trump and his allies. Now, as the 2024 election seems destined to be something like a rematch, it’s time to revisit the old article and see what the conspirators—or heroes, depending on one’s view—are doing now.

---

In February 2021, as the Biden Administration began, the nation was still grappling with the results of the 2020 election and the ensuing disputes and theories surrounding it. During that time journalist Molly Ball of *Time* magazine published an article titled “The Secret History of the Shadow Campaign That Saved the 2020 Election” that took both sides of the aisle by storm. Depending on the reader’s perspective, the story was a tell-all confession or a story of epic heroism about a massive, multi-faceted, and secret campaign to “save” the 2020 election by helping President Joseph Biden win and defend his win from legal challenges by President Donald Trump and his allies. Ms. Ball, undoubtedly aware of the opposite ways readers might interpret her article, concluded the introduction with the following lines:

That’s why the participants want the secret history of the 2020 election told, even though it sounds like a paranoid fever dream—a well-funded cabal of powerful people, ranging across industries and ideologies, working together behind the scenes to influence perceptions, change rules and laws, steer media coverage and control the flow of information. They were not rigging the election; they were fortifying it. And they believe the public needs to understand the system’s fragility in order to ensure that democracy in America endures.

The last two sentences became infamous within days. Many on the Right viewed them as the paper-thin rationalizations of a guilty conscience and as proof of suspicions that the 2020 election and the narratives surrounding it were being unfairly manipulated by powerful and organized forces on the Left and in the media and government. Many on the Left viewed them as a heroic mission statement and as a harrowing reminder that Donald Trump was a dangerous man who had to be stopped at all costs.

Now, as the 2024 election seems destined to be something like a rematch, it’s time to revisit the old article and see what the conspirators—or heroes, depending on one’s view—are doing now



Credit: Time. License: tinypurl.com/b44eduwj

*During that time journalist Molly Ball of *Time* magazine published an article titled “The Secret History of the Shadow Campaign That Saved the 2020 Election” that took both sides of the aisle by storm.*

---

### The Stars of the Roster

Witnessing the controversy the article created at the time, the Capital Research Center published a list of the people and organizations named in the article, providing useful commentary and context for each, in an attempt to explain the funding and forces at work behind the “shadow campaign” in 2020. Reviewing that list today and observing where its major players stand now paints an interesting pic-

---

*Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher.*

ture of the state of the “shadow campaign” in 2024, showing where the Left’s power has accumulated and where power vacuums have emerged that will be filled by new leaders and groups.

## “The Architect”

The *Time* article leaves no room for interpretation regarding the ringleader of the “shadow campaign” to “save” 2020. Ball named Michael Podhorzer, senior advisor to the president of the AFL-CIO, the nation’s largest labor union, as the leader and mentioned him 27 times throughout the article. She calls Podhorzer “The Architect” and recounts how the veteran Democrat strategist studied the 2016 election hard, gathered an army about himself, and launched the whole operation with a memo titled “Threats to the 2020 Election,” which laid out a strategy to beat Donald Trump and accurately predicted that he would cast doubt on the integrity of the 2020 election if he did not win. Podhorzer created both the Analyst Institute, which uses data to measure the impact of and assist left-wing campaigns in the PAC and nonprofit worlds, and Catalist, which remains the largest of most powerful database of left-leaning voter information in the world.

Today, after a long career, Podhorzer has taken a step back from his leadership roles. Most significantly, Podhorzer is no longer working at the AFL-CIO and is not listed as a co-chair of the board of managers at Catalist. While stepping into retirement, or something close to it, Podhorzer has taken to writing a substack and working as a senior fellow for advocacy and outreach at the Center for American Progress, the Left’s most well-known think tank. Even though he is no longer working at the AFL-CIO, most of Podhorzer’s work still focuses on helping Democrats win elections.

In the wake of President Biden’s withdrawal from the 2024 election, Podhorzer published “Election 2024: The Path Forward” a full-spectrum article laying out his ideas for the Democratic Party and how it could win the 2024 elections. Podhorzer seems to agree that Biden’s withdrawal was necessary, admitting that his polling numbers were abysmal and calling the choice “the right and patriotic choice” that would improve the Democrat’s chances of beating Trump. In the article, Podhorzer claims that if voters think of the election as a referendum on “normal” things like the economy and crime rates then Democrats will lose, but if they go to the ballot box thinking of it as a referendum on “MAGA,” then Democrats will win. Specifically, Podhorzer says that it will become a winnable “MAGA Election” if voters are reflecting on “what Trump will do if he is returned to the

White House, and how his MAGA allies on the Supreme Court and Project 2025 will help him do it.”

It seems unlikely to be a coincidence that, since this article was published, the Democratic campaign messaging strategy has revolved almost entirely around attacking the Supreme Court and Project 2025 and trying to draw a line between “weird” “MAGA Republicans” and ordinary people. Mr. Podhorzer, “the architect,” might not be as retired as many people think.

## The AFL-CIO and Chamber of Commerce

Ms. Ball’s 2021 article also places a lot of emphasis of an unlikely joint statement by the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO, joined by the National Association of Evangelicals and the National African American Clergy Network, which called for the public to be patient, understand that it would take time to count ballots, and trust in the results. With COVID-19 well in the rearview, and the issue of election integrity far more polarized, it is unlikely that such a statement will be issued again.

An update on the activities of the AFL-CIO is hardly needed. The labor union, as it was in 2020, is spending enormous sums of money backing Joe Biden/Kamala Harris and the Democratic Party. The union is now led by Liz Schuler instead of Richard Trumka, who died in August 2021, and Michael Podhorzer has left, but aside from that the union remains much the same as it did in 2020. The union has already unanimously endorsed Harris and will no doubt be spending millions of dollars backing her in 2024.



Credit: C-SPAN. License: tinyurl.com/hu9rhzmj

*The Time article leaves no room for interpretation regarding the ringleader of the “shadow campaign” to “save” 2020. Molly Ball named Michael Podhorzer as the leader and mentioned him 27 times throughout the article.*



## *The AFL-CIO is spending enormous sums of money backing Joe Biden/Kamala Harris and the Democratic Party.*

The Chamber of Commerce, meanwhile, has charted a fraught path toward the center-left since 2020. Shortly after the 2020 election Thomas Donohue, the CEO who signed the statement with the AFL-CIO stepped down from his post to be replaced by Suzanne Clark, who was reportedly a close ally. Donohue and Clark's leadership was castigated by many including the Chamber's longtime political strategist who departed the organization saying that it was moving rapidly toward the Left. The Chamber, for its part, claimed Reed was fired for cause, but the leftward shift was proved and later regretted when the Chamber endorsed 15 Democrats in 2020 who later voted for a bill the Chamber called "un-American." An anonymous Republican operative reportedly told the *Washington Post* that, after 2020 and the Chamber's subsequent debacles, "the Chamber doesn't have the capability of changing a single vote in Congress."

On the specific issue of election integrity, the Chamber *again* came to regret its shift to the Left when its one-time olive branch was rejected over the Chamber's opposition to H.R.1 in 2021, which would have wreaked havoc on America's campaign finance laws and election policies. Immediately, a campaign was launched by a left-wing watchdog group pressuring companies to withdraw from the Chamber unless it changed its stance. Unable to find reliable allies on either side, the Chamber of Commerce may be looking for a change of strategy in 2024. There are few indications of what the group might do this election cycle, with the only real statement being a generic acknowledgment of Biden's withdrawal.

### **Protect Democracy and Ian Bassin**

Featured seven times in the *Time* article, the Protect Democracy (or the Protect Democracy Project) was a major player in the 2020 "shadow campaign." Protect Democracy is credited in the article with assembling "a bipartisan election-crisis task force" that published reports and held media briefings to douse the public in "widespread coverage of potential election issues and fact-checking of Trump's false claims." One of its key contributions was tracking and lowering the public's expectations of the election night counting, eventually conducting a poll showing that 70 percent of voters did not expect to know the winner on election night and that the majority of them did not view that as a problem. Protect Democracy CEO Ian Bassin was also

quoted several times—and was one of the more ominous commentators—saying that it was "important for the country to understand that [the 2020 election] didn't happen accidentally. The system didn't work magically. Democracy is not self-executing." Today, Bassin and Protect Democracy are doing everything in their power to prevent a second Trump administration.

In December 2023, shortly after the Colorado Supreme Court ruled that Trump could not appear on the Colorado presidential ballot due to an erroneous interpretation of the 14th Amendment, Bassin published a 2,700 word blog post on the Protect Democracy website supporting the decision and calling on the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold it, saying, "the Court upholding the Colorado Supreme Court decision, even in the face of extreme political pressure to do otherwise, would be the greatest vindication of the American Constitutional system and the founders' invention." Protect Democracy, meanwhile, signed an amicus brief supporting neither side but stating the Colorado Supreme Court was acting within its authority and that the Supreme Court should never have taken the case. The Supreme Court unanimously disagreed in a 9-0 decision. For excellent legal scholarship like this and other election-related activities, Bassin received a \$800,000 MacArthur genius grant in 2023 while Protect Democracy and its related 501(c)(4), United to Protect Democracy, saw its revenue increase to a combined \$46.2 million in 2022, the most recent year of disclosures available.

In preparation for 2024, Protect Democracy is doing almost exactly the same work it did in 2019 and 2020. Protect Democracy recently published a 2024 Faith in Elections playbook that advises activist groups on the best ways for faith-based nonprofits to "protect the 2024 election." Possible methods include recruiting poll workers, running get-out-the-vote drives, and holding seminars to combat disinformation and polarization. Protect Democracy has also kept the 2020 "bipartisan election-crisis task force" going, now calling it the National Task Force on Election Crises. The task force has already published a series of cookie-cutter "Explainers" meant to assuage concerns about election integrity in 2024 for South Carolina, Michigan, North Carolina, and Virginia. The task force's members still include numerous people mentioned in the original *Time* article, along with many new names. It has the potential to be a powerful force for "fortification" as the 2024 election approaches.

## Norm Eisen and the Voter Protection Program

Mentioned twice in the *Time* article, Norm Eisen and his Voter Protection Program were clearly involved in “saving” the 2020 election, but the report never goes into detail on what their role was. Eisen, for his part, was considered an expert lawyer with a specialty in litigating against Republicans. He joined the left-leaning Brookings Institution in 2014 and in 2019, just before the election, he was the lead author on a Brookings report titled *The Democracy Playbook: Preventing and Reversing Democratic Backsliding*.

This 100-page playbook laid out a strategy for the 2020 election that included a whole chapter on how “international actors” could get involved in the U.S. election through nongovernmental organizations dedicated to countering “disinformation” and promoting democracy. This report was probably highly influential within the “shadow campaign” and may even have inspired a large portion of the campaign. Coincidentally, John Allen, the president of Brookings, resigned in 2022 amid an FBI probe into alleged illegal foreign lobbying by Brookings on behalf of the government of Qatar. Eisen has also taken a job as a legal commentator for CNN, offering all sorts of opinions, most of them critical of Donald Trump in the various legal proceedings targeting Trump.

Outside of his election-related work for Brookings, which is not mentioned in the *Time* article, Eisen is also credited with recruiting “Republicans and Democrats” to the board of the Voter Protection Program. In 2024, the organiza-



Credit: RepPascrell. License: tinyurl.com/223cvt8h

*Mentioned twice in the Time article, Norm Eisen and his Voter Protection Program were clearly involved in “saving” the 2020 election, but the report never goes into detail on what their role was.*

tion no longer exists under that name, instead becoming known as the States United Democracy Center. Its main job remains promoting left-of-center election policies. The group raised \$14.5 million in 2022 and has shifted its focus to the 2024 election, creating a database of “election deniers” in office and publishing a playbook for the 2024 election. Eisen himself, meanwhile, has kept busy by sitting in on every minute of Trump’s trial in New York and testifying about the trial to the House judiciary committee. Eisen has also been hosting weekly calls briefing reporters and left-wing commentators about Trump’s various legal troubles.

## The Working Families Party

The Working Families Party (WFP), the favored activist group of the far Left, played a big role in the 2020 *Time* article. Two senior WFP officials were quoted, each describing a different part of the group’s 2020 election activism. Maurice Mitchell, national director of the Working Families Party, credited Michael Podhorzer with excellent work keeping communications strategies aligned between the coalition *before* the election. Nelini Stamp, national organizing director, described how WFP created an election protection team of poll watchers that turned urban polling places into block parties *during* the election. Finally, Mitchell was quoted bragging about the WFP’s activists drowning out a Trump campaign press conference with loudspeakers in the streets of Philadelphia *after* the election.

Mitchell and Stamp both remain in their roles at WFP, and WFP has grown much bigger thanks to some new large donors. The WFP has a complex structure composed on several PACs and nonprofits, but the two main entities—Working Families Organization, a 501(c)(4), and WFP National PAC, a political action committee—have become much larger. The pair raised just over \$35 million in 2020, and their 2022 revenues climbed to over \$73 million, largely thanks to a surge of donations routed through the Tides Foundation and Tides Advocacy, its 501(c)(4) sister. The 2024 disclosures for Working Families Organization are not yet available, but WFP National PAC has already raised \$12 million in the 2023–2024 cycle; a generous haul for a group on the extreme fringe of the Left.

WFP’s website says the group is now active in 14 states, where they are operating mostly to the left of President Biden and the Democratic Party establishment, particularly on the issue of Israel’s conflict in Gaza—the subject of several WFP-hosted protests. However, since Biden’s withdrawal from the election, WFP has fallen in line behind Kamala Harris, endorsing her just days after Biden withdrew, although the tone of the endorsement was reluctant to say the least.

## Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and Vanita Gupta

The *Time* article mentions that the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (LCCHR) formed a coalition of over 150 organizations that signed on to a letter demanding \$2 billion in federal funding for election administration as part of the CARES Act. The CARES Act ultimately distributed \$400 million in funding to state election offices. Another revealing anecdote from the article says that LCCHR CEO Vanita Gupta was invited to and attended a dinner at the home of Mark Zuckerberg with eight other “civil rights leaders,” where she seemingly made the case for increased social media censorship. “It took pushing, urging, conversations, brainstorming, all of that to get to a place where we ended up with more rigorous rules and enforcement,” Gupta told Ball. Gupta also met with Twitter’s then-CEO Jack Dorsey, presumably to discuss similar things. and, Gupta said that the platforms were eventually cajoled into creating methods for “tagging things and taking them down.”

Gupta was apparently rewarded for her effective advocacy of censorship with a nomination as associate attorney general in the Biden Department of Justice. During her tenure, Gupta sued the State of Texas over its redistricting process, its installation of floating barriers along the southern border, and its enforcement of SB 4, authorized state and local police to arrest illegal immigrants.

On January 31, 2024, Gupta suddenly returned to her previous role as CEO of LCCHR. Back in her old office, Gupta will no doubt focus the organization on “election fortification” in the upcoming election.

So far, the group has not said much publicly about 2024. One report, published by the group in 2023, graded various federal agencies on their compliance with controversial Executive Order 14019, which directed agencies to find ways to use their resources to register new voters, turning federal agencies into get-out-the-vote machines. The executive order has been pejoratively named “Biden bucks.” The report, among other things, blasted the U.S. Department of Education for not incorporating voter registration into the application for federal student loan aid assistance. Coincidentally, in February 2024 the Department of Education released a toolkit advising schools on how to encourage civic engagement and voter registration, a move that LCCHR praised. LCCHR seems to be a powerful force in directing the flow of “Biden bucks,” which could play a major role and create a great deal of controversy in the 2024 election.



Credit: U.S. Department of Justice. License: Public domain.

*Vanita Gupta was apparently rewarded for her effective advocacy of censorship with a nomination as associate attorney general in the Biden Department of Justice.*

## Amber McReynolds and the National Vote at Home Institute

One of the leading advocates for the nationwide sea change in the election rules in 2020 was Amber McReynolds and her National Vote at Home Institute. In 2020, McReynolds spearheaded a national policy shift toward no excuse vote by mail as her organization’s funding increased eightfold. The organization became so involved in the “shadow campaign” that a National Vote at Home Institute staffer became the “de facto elections administrator” of the city of Green Bay as part of the organization’s work as “grant mentors” for the Center for Tech and Civic Life (CTCL). Today, with many of the rule changes from the 2020 election now made permanent, McReynolds and the National Vote at Home Institute are taking a victory lap. McReynolds was nominated and confirmed for a spot on the U.S. Postal Service board of governors, while the National Vote at Home Institute has returned to the sidelines, still engaged in the same work, but far less prolifically than in 2020.

## Voter Participation Center

The Voter Participation Center is credited in the article with sending out 15 million absentee and mail-in ballot applications to voters in key swing states, resulting in 4.6 million



*Executive Order 14019 directs agencies to find ways to use their resources to register new voters, turning federal agencies into get-out-the-vote machines.*

applications being returned. At the time it was already widely known that the Voter Participation Center had long been acting as a thinly veiled Democratic get-out-the-vote operation. Today, the organization is behaving no differently. In 2022, the group raised over \$37 million and has been busy sending out ballot applications and voter registration forms to millions of eligible voters in swing states across the country. Some of the voter registration forms have become a focal point of controversy since they featured a conspicuous portrait of Michelle Obama on the front, which many interpreted as an underhanded tactic to filter out unregistered voters that favor Republicans. Recent publications on its website show the group is researching new ways to register voters in demographics that just so happen to vote overwhelmingly for Democrats.

Mind the Gap, a Democratic Super PAC, once called VPC, one of the most cost-effective partisan electioneering weapons in the Democratic Party's arsenal during the 2020 election. Expect nothing to change in 2024.

## New Names and Faces to Watch in 2024

Several other groups and persons named in the *Time* article are still active in electioneering and elections policy today, but their influence today does not reach the same level as the groups and people discussed above. And several groups and people that *aren't* named in the 2020 article have since risen through the ranks and might be worthy of attention as November nears.

## The Voter Registration Project

Also known as the Everybody Votes Campaign, the Voter Registration Project is a 501(c)(3) organization whose 2020 activities were kept so secretive that Ms. Ball would never have had the chance to learn about them. The group, first exposed in a Capital Research Center special report, was created in the lead-up to the 2016 election with the specific purpose of raising \$100+ million for hand-picked "nonpartisan" voter registration groups with the implicit understanding that these groups would target demographics

that would vote for Democrats in the 2020 election. The group initially operated in total secrecy but has since gone public, boasting that it has paid for the registration of over 5 million voters, while its database experts ensured that all these voters were added to voter-contact databases used by the Democratic Party and to state voter rolls.

The project was originally supposed to close its doors after 2020, but it was apparently so successful that its mission was renewed for 2024. The group still operates quietly, but job listings suggest that the group is now targeting Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin with massive voter registration drives in 2024 that could tilt the field of play toward the Democratic Party.

## Brian Fallon and Demand Justice

Brian Fallon, the press secretary of Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign, was not named as a major player in the 2020 election. At the time he was acting as head of Demand Justice, a "dark money" advocacy group that he founded to target the Trump administration's nominees to the Supreme Court and other federal courts. Demand Justice played a major role in turning the confirmation process of Justice Kavanaugh and others into a media smear circus, and it later hand-picked Justice Ketanji Brown-Jackson for the Biden administration.

In 2023, Brian Fallon left Demand Justice to join the Biden campaign as the communications director for Kamala Harris, who was still just the second name on the ticket. The apparent step downward was a confusing move at the time, but Fallon has since found himself promoted to head communications advisor for a presidential campaign with very little time on the clock and an immediate need for communications and messaging wizardry. At the same time, Demand Justice, Fallon's former group, has announced an ad-blitz of unprecedented size targeting Trump, Republicans, and the Supreme Court. And President Biden announced he would be supporting term limits for the Supreme Court, which would, coincidentally, flip the court's ideological balance in favor of the Left.

As the Left continues to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the Supreme Court, expect Brian Fallon and Demand Justice to play a big role in "election fortification" during 2024, especially on any court rulings on disputes over election results. ■

*Read previous articles from the Special Reports series online at [CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/](https://CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/).*



## ELECTION INTEGRITY WINS THAT UPSET THE LEFT

By Fred Lucas

---

**Summary:** *The 2020 election, fraught with real and perceived controversies, has perhaps had a significant positive impact on improving election integrity. Over the past four years, various pro-election integrity organizations have achieved major victories both legislatively and in the courts. States have passed stronger voter ID laws, kept private oligarchs from bankrolling election administration, and rolled back the ranked-choice voting trend.*

---

The 2020 election, fraught with real and perceived controversies, perhaps had a significant positive impact on improving election integrity. “Before 2020, people out in America weren’t paying that much attention. Now we have a network of election integrity advocates,” said Kerri Toloczko, executive director of the Election Integrity Network (EIN).

Over the past four years, various pro-election integrity organizations have achieved major victories both legislatively and in the courts. States have passed stronger voter ID laws, kept private oligarchs from bankrolling election administration, and rolled back the ranked-choice voting trend.

### SAVE Act

More recently, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives passed the Safeguard American Voter Eligibility (SAVE) Act. The bill would amend the 1993 National Voter Registration Act, known as the “motor voter law,” to require that states obtain documentary proof of U.S. citizenship before a person may register to vote. “The SAVE Act passing the House allows for a discussion about a real and current threat,” Toloczko said. “States can take action constitutionally to protect citizen voters.”

With Democrats controlling both the Senate and the White House, it won’t become law in this legislative session. But it does lay the groundwork for lawmakers to try again. It also will put lawmakers on the record about what they think of noncitizens registering to vote.



Credit: Virginia Institute. License: bit.ly/3B9z30T.

---

*“Before 2020, people out in America weren’t paying that much attention. Now we have a network of election integrity advocates,” said Kerri Toloczko, executive director of the Election Integrity Network.*

---

“The SAVE Act laid down the marker. It is fixing an issue propped up by activists abusing the courts,” said Jason Snead, executive director of the Honest Elections Project, in a phone interview.

There has also been plenty of opposition to election reforms.

---

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

---

On the left, the Institute for Responsive Government (IRG) established a report card for states, assigning a grade of A through F. It dinged states for having voter ID laws—broadly supported by the public. It also opposed any restrictions on private money running elections administration but favored automatic voter registration and expanded mail-in voting. The IRG progress report is sort of the Left’s alternative to the Heritage Foundation’s Election Integrity Scorecard.

The momentum is with the election integrity supporters, Toloczko explained, and in many states, it has fundamentally altered the political landscape. “Election integrity was an issue. We knew we needed to turn it into a movement, just like the pro-life movement, just like the pro-gun movement,” she said.

Even billionaire Elon Musk, owner of Space X and the social media platform X (formerly Twitter) has taken notice. He even called opponents of the SAVE Act “TRAITORS,” on X.

“Now, election integrity is all over social media,” Toloczko added. “Elon Musk is even talking about it. But Elon Musk wouldn’t be talking about it if not for us,” she said, highlighting the activism of the EIN and other organizations.

There have long been organizations making arguments, presenting election fraud databases (Heritage Foundation), or filing various legal briefs and lawsuits about problems with voter registration rolls (Public Interest Legal Foundation).

Post 2020, the Left was eagerly trying to lump every evidence-based legitimate concern into a pile with the far-fetched tales on social media as a means to silence opponents.

So the grassroots had to up their game and arm themselves with facts, Toloczko explains. Beyond the think tanks and legal foundations, this movement at even the local level has diligently researched and shared Census data on voter registration lists and focused on separating fact from fiction. She said she encourages people in the Election Integrity Network, which now boasts 26 state chapters, to “be researchers and be resources.”

“It’s no longer one group of people running around with their hair on fire shouting fraud and another group of people just rolling their eyes,” she asserted. “We have done the research, gathered the facts about the vulnerabilities of elections, and threats to voters.”

## Approaching 2024 Elections

As we move closer to the 2024 elections, states have continued to enhance election integrity.

In March, Indiana Gov. Eric Holcomb signed legislation to require state officials to compare voter registration lists with motor vehicle lists for noncitizens. Under the federal Motor Voter Law—officially the National Voter Registration Act—people slip through the cracks and foreign nationals can be registered to vote.

State legislatures in Wisconsin and North Carolina, two battleground states, approved amendments to their state constitutions to ban noncitizen voting. The measures will go before voters in November.

Likewise, in March, the Kentucky legislature approved a proposed state constitutional amendment to prevent foreign nationals from voting in elections. The measure will be on Kentucky’s November ballot.

Similarly, in May, the Missouri General Assembly passed a state constitutional amendment to ban ranked-choice voting and ensure only U.S. citizens are able to vote in state and local elections. The proposed amendment will go to the November ballot.

In July, Idaho Governor Brad Little signed Executive Order 2024-07, which makes the process stronger for validating voter registrations to prevent foreign nationals from registering to vote. Idaho will also have a ballot measure for a constitutional amendment to prohibit noncitizen voting.

Voters in Oklahoma and South Carolina will also vote on ballot measures in November to ensure that only citizens vote.

Also this year, the Oklahoma legislature passed a ban on ranked-choice voting, while in Virginia, Republican Gov. Glenn Youngkin vetoed a ranked-choice voting bill passed by the Democratic legislature.



*Under the federal National Voter Registration Act people slip through the cracks and foreign nationals can be registered to vote.*

In August, Youngkin signed Executive Order 35 to codify election security procedures he put in place as governor. This included complete and thorough counting machine testing and updated voter list maintenance. It directs the Virginia Department of Elections to certify in writing each year improvements are in place and outlines procedures for dealing with noncitizens who attempt to register to vote, including referral to state prosecutors.

Youngkin said in a statement about the executive order:

We use 100% paper ballots with a strict chain of custody. We use counting machines, not voting machines, that are tested prior to every election and never connected to the internet. We do not mass mail ballots. We monitor our drop boxes 24/7. We verify the legal presence and identity of voters using DMV data and other trusted data sources to update our voter rolls daily, not only adding new voters, but scrubbing the lists to remove those that should not be on it, like the deceased, individuals that have moved, and non-citizens that have accidentally or maliciously attempted to register.

## 2024 vs. 2020 Elections

The 2022 midterm elections for the most part had few of the administrative problems that plagued the 2020 election, with the exception of printing malfunctions in Maricopa County, Arizona, the state's largest jurisdiction.

Nevertheless, polling shows that voters in both parties lack trust and view U.S. democracy as "threatened." However, it's very likely each side has a differing view of that threat.

An exit poll by Edison Research on the day of the 2022 election found 72 percent of Democrats and 68 percent of Republicans thought democracy was under threat. However, the same polls found about two-thirds of Republicans and 90 percent of Democrats where confident elections were being conducted fairly in their own state.

So, what happens in 2024? Are elections safer than in 2020?

"It really depends on which state you live in," said Snead of the Honest Elections Project. "Florida, Ohio Georgia, and Arizona are in a better spot than they were in 2020. Michigan and Nevada have a host of new laws that could make matters worse."

Snead also noted that the Mississippi legislature passed a bill giving the state's secretary of state's office the authority to audit election returns in the state's 82 counties and to improve verification of citizenship and voter registration lists maintenance.

He noted that California and the swing state of Nevada have moved to all-mail ballots. After the Wisconsin state Supreme Court determined drop boxes were illegal, a new majority on the state Supreme Court overturned the verdict to bring back drop boxes.

Meanwhile, in the battleground state of Michigan, state officials have implemented the voter-approved "Promote the Vote" ballot initiatives from 2018 and 2022. These sweeping changes amended the Michigan constitution to:

- Provide at least nine days for early voting;
- Allow use of an affidavit—if an ID is not available—before voting;
- Establish a constitutional right to request an absentee ballot; Require the state to fund ballot drop boxes; and
- Allow local election offices to accept private money to administer elections.

"Michigan replaced its entire election code with a constitutional amendment in 2022," Snead noted.

Hans von Spakovsky, manager of the Election Law Reform Initiative at the Heritage Foundation, wrote, "Overall, many parts of the country will be in better shape in 2024 than they were in 2020 when it comes to the security of their elections."

Even on the left, Richard L. Hasen, a law professor at the University of California Los Angeles, and head of the Safeguarding Democracy Project, has predicted that 2024 could proceed more smoothly.

In *Politico*, Hasen wrote that bipartisan changes in Congress to the Electoral Count Act would prevent alternative slates of electors:

Most other advanced democracies do not go through what the United States does each election season: legislatures changing voting rules to make voting harder or easier for partisan advantage; a cycle of litigation over those rules; and incendiary rhetoric about voter fraud and vote suppression.



Credit: GNEWS

*The about \$400 million the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative dumped on election offices was heavily criticized and has been derided as “Zuck bucks” or “Zuckerbucks.”*

However, Hasen neglected to mention that most European counterparts have strict voter ID laws, while the United States has only a state-by-state patchwork, and European counterparts do not allow mass mail-in elections as many U.S. states do.

## “Zuck Buck” Bans

In the lead up to the 2020 election, the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative—a nonprofit group of Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg and his wife Priscilla Chan—spent about \$400 million on election offices, funneled primarily through the Center for Technology and Civic Life (CTCL). This money dumped on elections was heavily criticized and has been derided as “Zuck bucks” or “Zuckerbucks.” The Capital Research Center was among the first to expose the hundreds of millions of dollars in “Zuck bucks” flowing to election offices.

In 2022, Wisconsin Special Counsel Michael Gableman issued his final report that determined that Zuckerberg-funded grants going to five heavily Democrat cities constituted an illegal get-out-the-vote campaign.

In October 2023, Louisiana voters overwhelmingly approved a referendum to ban private funding of election administration. To date, at least 28 states (including Louisiana) have enacted similar bans or restrictions on “Zuck bucks.”

After a controversy, Zuckerberg pledged to refrain from future election funding.

However, CTCL started a tech-heavy funded U.S. Alliance for Election Excellence to continue distributing private dollars and “best practices training” for election offices.

The alliance selected jurisdictions in several battleground states, including Clark County, Nevada; DeKalb County, Georgia; Madison, Wisconsin; and Coconino County, Arizona. But the alliance has also doled out cash to counties in non-battleground states, such as California, Connecticut, Illinois, and Missouri.

Despite a state ban, the U.S. Alliance for Election Excellence still gave \$2 million to DeKalb County, Georgia. A loophole in the law allowed the money to go into a county’s general treasury, but not the election office. In May 2023, Georgia Gov. Brian Kemp signed legislation closing loopholes to the state’s Zuck bucks ban.

In October 2023, the North Carolina state legislature overrode Gov. Roy Cooper’s veto of Senate Bill 747, which prevented private individuals or organizations from funding North Carolina election operation.

## Noncitizen Voting

Democratic-led cities, such as New York City and Washington, D.C., have enacted laws allowing foreign nationals to vote in local elections, raising concerns about additional strain on election workers and potential errors.

In one election integrity victory from the litigation front, the Appellate Division for the Second Judicial Department in New York ruled 3-1 that the New York City law violated the state’s constitution. Thus, noncitizens are no longer eligible to vote in the Big Apple.

In 2024, eight states—Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Wisconsin—placed constitutional amendments on the ballot to prevent local jurisdictions from allowing noncitizens to vote.

If past is prologue, these amendments will pass overwhelmingly in November.

In 2022, voters approved constitutional amendments requiring citizen-only voting by 73 percent in Louisiana and 77 percent in Ohio, according to Ballotpedia. In 2020, voters backed similar constitutional amendments by 79 percent in Florida, 77 percent in Alabama, and by 62 percent in blue Colorado. In 2018, 65 percent of voters in North Dakota approved such an amendment.

Although a 1996 federal law specifically prohibits noncitizens from voting in federal elections for president or members of Congress, it doesn’t block voting in local elections.



Credit: Top News Daily. License: bit.ly/4d6xQfh.

*More recently, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives passed the Safeguard American Voter Eligibility Act. The bill would amend the 1993 National Voter Registration Act, known as the “motor voter law,” to require that states obtain documentary proof of U.S. citizenship before a person may register to vote.*

Further, the 1993 National Voter Registration Act—better known as the Motor Voter Law—requires voter registration at state motor vehicle departments and social services agencies. With 18 states and the District of Columbia granting driver’s licenses to illegal immigrants, this creates vulnerabilities, according to the Only Citizens Vote Coalition.

In a case involving an Arizona law, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 2013 that states can’t require proof of citizenship for federal elections but may for state elections. Currently, Arizona keeps separate voter registration lists for state and federal elections.

California, Illinois, Maryland, and Vermont allow non-U.S. citizens to vote in local elections, but not in state or federal elections. This approach, however, requires election officials to keep separate lists of registered voters. The problem is that this adds complexity and the potential for errors. Critics argue this puts additional strain on election workers and requires significant trust in local government officials to manage the lists accurately. It also arguably makes it more likely noncitizen voters will slip through the cracks.

“It’s not quite the SAVE Act in these states, but it is a marker to overcome bad law at the federal level,” Snead said. “Most state constitutions say that all citizens can vote. Activists groups say that doesn’t mean only citizens can vote. So, this language clarifies that. We don’t want this happening in local and city elections either.”

In California, the cities of Oakland and San Francisco allow voting by noncitizens in local school board elections. The District of Columbia allows noncitizens to vote in all local elections, Chicago has allowed noncitizens to vote in school board elections since 1989. In Maryland, municipalities allowing foreign nationals to vote in local elections include Barnesville, Cheverly, Chevy Chase, Garrett Park, Glen Echo, Hyattsville, Martin’s Additions, Mount Rainier, Riverdale Park, Somerset, and Takoma Park. In Vermont, the cities of Burlington, Montpelier, and Winooski allow foreign nationals to vote.

The Left’s effort to recruit noncitizen voters is part of a larger effort, combined with the Left championing prisoner voting and lowering legal voting age, Snead said. “You have D.C. and other localities,” Snead said. “There is a movement that instead of the voters picking their government, the government will pick what people they want voting.”

## “Protect the Vote”

In June, the Republican National Committee (RNC) launched its Protect the Vote Tour to hit several battleground states for the 2024 election.

The RNC’s Protect the Vote initiative is aimed at mobilizing 100,000 poll watchers, poll workers, and legal experts across



---

*“Democrats would have an election system as open as Kamala’s border,” Gineen Bresso said.*

the country to oversee whenever a ballot is being cast or counted in an election.

“President Trump’s Election Integrity team is protecting the vote and securing the election,” Gineen Bresso, Election Integrity Director for the Republican National Committee, and the Donald Trump campaign, told the Daily Signal. “While Democrats continue to try to weaken election systems and dismantle election integrity safeguards, we have undertaken an unprecedented operation to identify and fix the problems in our election system. We are defending the law and fighting for commonsense security measures that benefit all Americans— like stopping illegal immigrants from voting, mail ballot safeguards, voter ID measures, stopping leftist Dark Money, and cleaning the voter rolls.”

The effort was ramped up in late 2023 to recruit poll watchers. The tour aims to train volunteers across the country. The RNC planned to designate election directors in 15 states.

“Democrats would have an election system as open as Kamala’s border,” Bresso continued, referencing Vice President Kamala Harris appointment by President Joe Biden to oversee the southern border. “While they champion election interference, the RNC and Trump Campaign champion election integrity. We are winning in court, and have recruited over 150,000 volunteers for the election. We are protecting the vote for all Americans.”

The RNC is well behind the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in political infrastructure such as campaign offices, community centers, and canvassers in key states.

For almost 30 years, the RNC was handcuffed in election activities because of a consent decree that resulted from a DNC lawsuit that alleged voter intimidation in New Jersey during the 1981 governor’s election. A judge lifted the consent decree in 2018.

A DNC spokesperson did not respond for this story.

But the Associated Press quoted DNC spokesperson Alex Floyd asserting the party, “won’t let MAGA Republicans get away with these baseless attacks on our democracy, and we

will continue to use every tool at our disposal to ensure that all Americans can make their voice heard at the ballot box.”

Democrats have pushed the notion that Republican-recruited poll watchers means intimidation of voters and election workers. That’s an extremely dishonest and scaremongering argument.

It’s important to note that poll watchers have been a constant in American elections for decades. Even if the RNC wanted to recruit a bunch of random MAGA thugs to bully voters, they couldn’t. Poll watchers are highly regulated by states, with limits on how many people can be designated. Also, only political parties—or in some states also civic groups—can designate someone to be a poll watcher, such as the nonpartisan National Conference of State Legislatures explains.

## Winning in Court

The Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF), an election integrity watchdog group, kicked off 2024 with a settlement agreement with Ramsey County, Minnesota—which encompasses St. Paul—to eliminate duplicate names on the voter registration rolls. This marks the sixth Minnesota county from which the foundation has secured such an agreement, for a total of removing 501 duplicate registrations in the state.

The 2002 Help America Vote Act requires states to implement computerized statewide voter registration lists and eliminate duplicate voter registrations, but far too many have to be nudged into compliance.

There were significant election law cases in both battlegrounds and non-battlegrounds across the country.

In February, an appeals court in New York upheld a lower court ruling that struck down a New York City law allowing noncitizen voting. The law allowed about 800,000 foreign citizens in the Big Apple to vote before the courts determined it was illegal.

In an ongoing New York case, Democrats attempted to turn a loss into a victory in the most undemocratic way. They



---

*“In New York City, we stopped the Democrat plot to have nearly 1 million non-citizens vote.” said Gineen Bresso.*

first attempted universal mail-in voting through a 2021 referendum. Voters in the Empire State rejected the idea for a proposed constitutional amendment to allow no-excuse absentee voting. Section 2 of the existing New York constitution limits mail voting to only people traveling, sick, or with a personal disability.

Since the will of the people and democracy were too bothersome, the Democratic trifecta in the legislature, and Gov. Kathy Hochul just passed a universal vote-by-mail law and decided to let the courts sort out the constitutional aspect.

That appears to be what will happen. New York Reps. Elise Stefanik and Claudia Tenney, both Republicans, have challenged the law in court. The Public Interest Legal Foundation is representing them in the lawsuit.

On its face, the law seems clear enough. But New York’s bench is stacked with elected Democratic judges, so it’s not a sure thing.

Other cases have been settled, with clear victories for election integrity advocates.

PILF won a case this past February when a Delaware court struck down the state’s early voting law as unconstitutional. The legislature passed a 2019 law to allow early voting 10 days before Election Day. But the Delaware Superior Court ruled that the law violated the state’s constitution. The court also voided the Delaware law to allow absentee voting in perpetuity. The Delaware constitution limits Election Day to one day and includes specific reasons for eligibility for absentee voting.

That same month, a major win for election transparency came out of Maine. The U.S. First Circuit Court of Appeals ruled Maine’s voter registration records must be public. This is key since, as with anything else in government, it’s not possible to determine if voter registration is accurate if we just have to take a government’s word for it.

The legal foundation first asked for Maine’s voting files and histories in October 2019. The state responded that such information was limited to entities such as political parties. The legal foundation sued the following February. The court sided with PILF. The foundation previously won cases

to access voter registration records in Illinois, Maryland, and Hawaii.

“The First Circuit Court decision in Maine will have the effect of keeping election officials honest,” Adams said in an interview, referring to the case.

The Republican National Committee sued Michigan in March in a challenge to Democratic Secretary Jocelyn Benson’s instructions to local election clerks to presume the validity of an absentee voter’s signature. The RNC argued the instruction violated the state’s constitution that requires verification of signatures.

The RNC won a partial victory in June, in which state Judge Christopher Yates ruled: “A presumption is a presumption. Whether the guidance manual includes a gentle nudge instead of a hip check, it’s still a foul under Michigan law.”

“In Michigan, we stopped the Secretary of State’s illegal instructions to ignore mail ballot safeguards,” Gineen Bresso, Election Integrity Director for the Republican National Committee, and the Donald Trump campaign, told the Daily Signal.

The RNC legal team also issued several amicus briefs.

“In New York City, we stopped the Democrat plot to have nearly 1 million non-citizens vote,” Bresso continued. “In Wisconsin, we successfully fought for poll worker parity and poll watcher protections. We also successfully defended state laws that get it right—such as ballot safeguards in Pennsylvania and critical election integrity measures in Florida’s SB90. These are just a few of our wins in over 100 lawsuits in 25 states.”

Also in Michigan, the Public Interest Legal Foundation is leading a potentially precedent-setting case regarding the National Voter Registration Act. An investigation by the legal foundation found that 23,663 registered voters in Michigan have been dead for at least five years, another 17,479 registered voters have been dead for 10 years or longer, while 3,956 registrants have been dead for at least 20 years.

The foundation is trying to push Bension to make a “reasonable effort” to remove the names of dead people who are

still registered to vote in the state. As of August, the case is still awaiting a decision by the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

“The Michigan case in the 6th Circuit could set some clearer ground rules about what states are required to do to clear dead people from voter rolls,” Adams said during a phone interview.

In a battleground win, the Arizona Free Enterprise Club teamed with the America First Policy Institute to challenge some of the election policies pushed by Arizona’s Democratic Secretary of State Adrian Fontes.

Fontes issued the Election Procedural Manual (EPM) in 2023, which restricted the right to observe conduct near voting drop boxes and polling places. The plaintiffs alleged these restrictions violated their First Amendment rights and due process rights of Arizona residents.

A Maricopa County Superior Court Judge Jennifer Ryan-Touhill sided with the plaintiffs, when he wrote in August: “The EPM’s language has restricted what the Secretary finds acceptable regarding behavior, both speech and acts. Our state constitution guarantees a right to speak freely and is only restricted for an abuse of that right.”

Another major battleground state court ruling occurred in 2022 and might have been the most significant in recent years, said Adams, president of the Public Interest Legal Foundation.

Because of what the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation said was a programming glitch, foreign citizens were automatically registered to vote for decades, according to PILF.

PILF had unearthed this information through a public records request—which Pennsylvania initially resisted. In April 2022, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania ruled the foundation is entitled to the documents under the National Voter Registration Act of 1993. The foundation further requested the voting histories of the 1,100 registered noncitizen registered voters who had self-reported.

“The Pennsylvania ruling tops the list,” Adams in a phone interview. “Pennsylvania has stopped adding noncitizens to the voting rolls, which they have been doing for the last 20 years.”

In August, the Supreme Court gave a partial victory to opponents of noncitizen voting, siding 5-4 with the Republican National Committee to allow Arizona to



Credit: OSCE. License: bit.ly/3XK00HN.

*Hans von Spakovsky, manager of the Election Law Reform Initiative at the Heritage Foundation, wrote, “Overall, many parts of the country will be in better shape in 2024 than they were in 2020 when it comes to the security of their elections.”*

enforce its proof of citizenship law for voter registration. The proof of citizenship is required if a voter registers with a state form. This will allow election officials to reject voter registration forms without proof of citizenship. RNC Chairman Michael Whatley called the ruling a “seismic win in the fight to stop non-citizens from voting.” Arizona has a law requiring proof of citizenship to register to vote, but famously keeps two voter registration lists, one for state elections (requiring proof of citizenship) and another for federal elections (which doesn’t require proof of citizenship). However, the Supreme Court previously ruled that for federal elections this violates the 1993 National Voter Registration Act. In its recent victory, RNC called for reinstatement of the law that stops anyone registered without proof of citizenship from voting in a presidential race or by mail.

## House GOP Sets Table for Future Reforms

The Committee on House Administration, which has oversight over election policy, advanced several bills that won’t become law anytime soon, but could set the stage for enacting future federal election policy.

It’s not uncommon for reform legislation—good and bad—to be brought up for several cycles before building enough public pressure to enact it.

The most sweeping was the American Confidence in Elections (ACE) Act, which passed the committee in

July 2023. House Administration Chairman Bryan Steil (R-WI), called the bill, “the most conservative, transformative election integrity bill in the House in over 20 years.”

The ACE Act was a bit of an election integrity omnibus bill that among other things:

- Gives states the tools to use photo voter ID as proof of citizenship.
- Gives states access to a federal database so they can have accurate voter lists.
- Repeals President Joe Biden’s Executive Order 14019, which orders federal agencies to partner with non-profits to mobilize voters. The provision also prevents federal agencies from engaging in political activities.
- Blocks federal funds to states that allow ballot harvesting and noncitizen voting.
- Ends noncitizen voting in the District of Columbia.
- Stops ranked-choice voting in the District.
- Requires list maintenance and voter ID to vote in D.C. election.
- Closes loopholes that allow foreign nationals to be involved in U.S. elections.

There are ways other than enacting laws to influence and drive the conversation. Still, in January of this year, Steil and Rep. Laurel Lee (R-FL), developed model election integrity legislation for states called the Uniform State ACE Act. The model provides states with 13 suggested measures—as the Constitution gives states the primary authority over elections.

Most of the committee’s legislation might have been messaging bills that could never get through a Democratic Senate majority, much less a Democratic president. However, the messaging bills could return in a future Congress. That’s particularly likely if there is a new Senate majority and new administration.

For example, in November 2023, the committees passed eight reform bills to stop noncitizens from voting. Though not the same legislation, this clearly gave momentum for the House to pass the SAVE Act, which the committee approved in May and the House approved in July.

In June, the House committee subpoenaed 15 Biden Cabinet secretaries to find out more about Biden’s electioneering executive order.

“Elections are partisan, but our election administration should never be partisan. Allowing federal employees from the Biden Administration to flood election administration sites threatens election integrity and reduces Americans’ confidence,” Steil said. “This Executive Order is another attempt by the Biden Administration to tilt the scales ahead of 2024. I will continue working to provide transparency and accountability on this administration’s latest scheme as Congress did not appropriate taxpayer funds for partisan activities.”

## Texas vs. Big Tech

While Congress has taken some steps to investigate Big Tech companies, states are also getting into the act. In particular, the Texas Senate committee that oversees election security has subpoenaed the Big Tech giants for election interference.

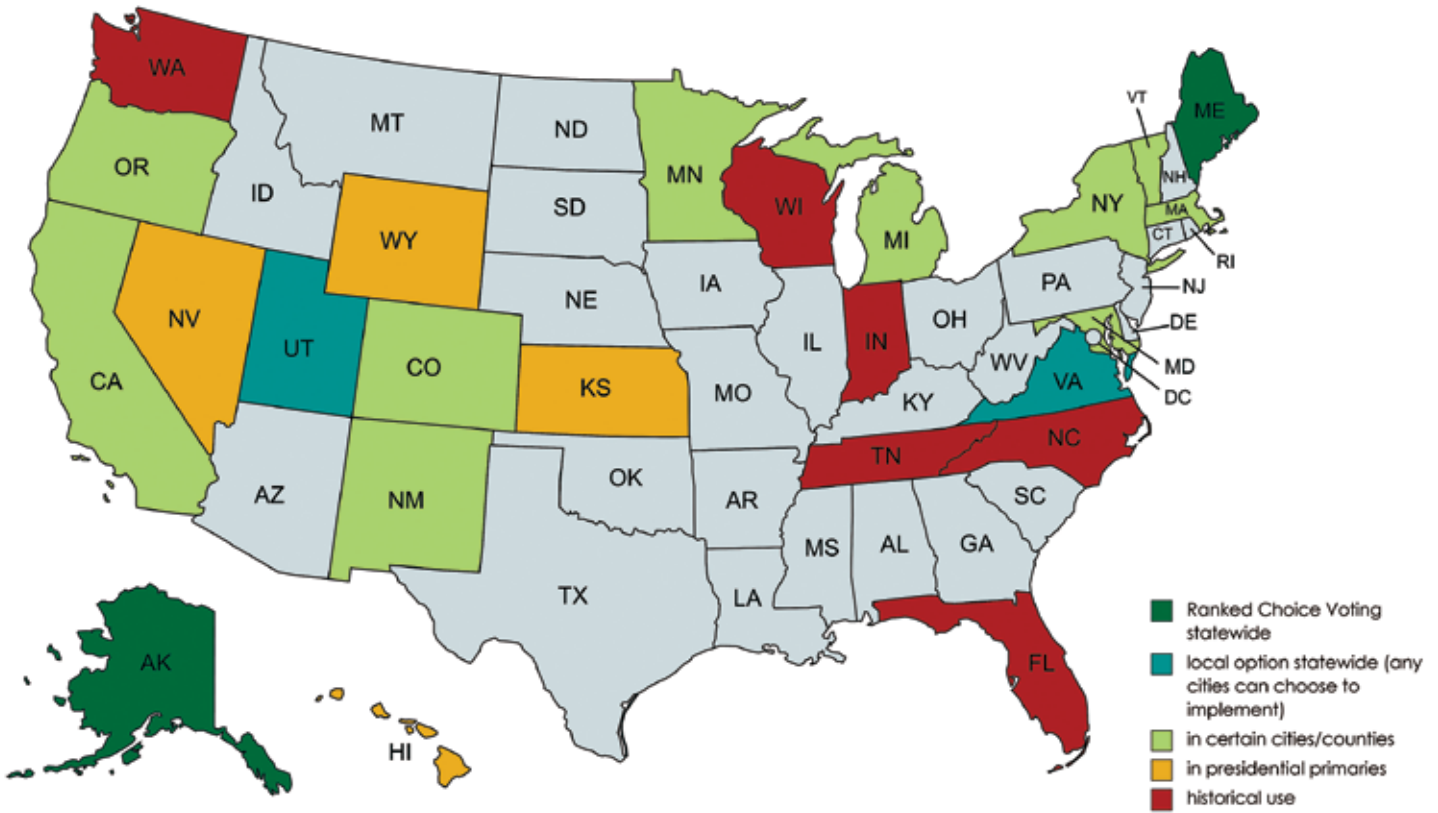
In August, the State Affairs Committee issued a formal document request to Meta, parent company of Facebook and Instagram; Alphabet, parent company of Google; TikTok; and X, formerly Twitter. This followed a May committee hearing in which a whistleblower alleged election interference and political bias.

At the May hearing, onetime Facebook content moderator Ryan Hartwig told the committee “the company took a particular interest in politics, and would often bend or break their own rules — for example, newsworthy exceptions.” “What I observed at Facebook includes interference with U.S. election activities, along with influence from foreign countries,” Hartwig said during the hearing.

If the companies don’t comply, the committee will subpoena the records, said Sen. Bryan Hughes, chairman of the State Affairs Committee.

“Big Tech firms have immense power to influence elections, and Texans deserve to know how this power is being used,” Hughes said according to *The Texan*, a news website. “It’s well known that these companies censor the free speech of everyday Americans, and Texas has taken bold action to deal with Big Tech censorship. But their ability to sway elections has got to be addressed.”

Texas already passed a 2021 law restricting viewpoint-based censorship on social media sites, but the U.S. Supreme Court tossed the law. Also, the state passed a law that went into effect in July to force more transparency and safeguards for social media users’ personal information.



Credit: Richard Kickem. License: [tinyurl.com/3qfz6w9](https://tinyurl.com/3qfz6w9)

*Ranked-choice voting can allow a candidate to win an election despite receiving fewer votes than a competitor. It also potentially undermines the one-person, one-vote principle and disenfranchises voters whose choices aren't for the top candidates.*

## Rejecting Ranked-Choice Voting

Since 2022, 10 states have enacted bans on ranked-choice voting (RCV), a complex system where voters rank candidates, leading to a process of elimination.

Five of those states passed bans in 2024. This system can allow—and has allowed—a candidate to win an election despite receiving fewer votes than a competitor. It also potentially undermines the one-person, one-vote principle and disenfranchises voters whose choices aren't for the top candidates.

“This last year, another five states banned ranked choice voting, 10 states total,” Snead said in a phone interview. “There is still a big fight in states over ‘final five’ voting and ‘instant runoffs,’” which is a way to adopting ranked choice voting under another name.”

Tennessee initiated this trend of barring ranked-choice voting. It was followed by Florida, with Idaho, South Dakota, Montana, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Oklahoma joining in.

This year in Kentucky, the Republican-controlled legislature overrode a veto by Democrat Governor Andy Beshear to ban RCV in every jurisdiction.

“This system has resulted in thousands of discarded ballots, widespread voting errors, delayed election results, longer lines at polling places, suspect recounts, and consequently, diminished voter confidence,” wrote Snead and Trent England, in an op-ed in *The Hill*. England is executive director at Save Our States, and Snead and England co-chair the Stop Ranked-Choice Voting Coalition. They noted that Alaska experienced significant issues with RCV in 2022, with about 11 percent of ballots spoiled due to voter confusion—more than three times the normal rate. Nearly 15,000 ballots were discarded during a special election for the at-large congressional race because voters selected only one candidate without ranking others.

The Alaska problems have led to enough buyer's remorse to put the RCV issue back on the ballot in November.

## Ohio, Congress, and Foreign Contributions to Ballot Initiatives

Ohio became the first state to ban direct and indirect foreign contributions to ballot initiatives in June 2024. Advocates hope to see more states follow suit.

It's already illegal for foreign individuals or entities to contribute to federal political candidates; it's also illegal in most states. However, ballot initiatives have remained a loophole.

California, Maine, South Dakota, and Washington have bans on foreign governments or corporations from donating to state candidates or ballot initiatives. But these bans aren't as comprehensive as what passed in Ohio.

"That's why the Ohio legislation was so important," Sutherland told the Daily Signal. "They were the first ones in the nation to take not only an approach to ban direct funding of ballot issues, but also indirect funding as well."

While a federal bill has advanced through the House Administration Committee and was proposed in the Senate, neither appear likely to pass this year.

In 2023, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) recommended Congress close this loophole after dismissing a 2021 complaint that Australian mining company Sandfire Resources contributed over \$280,000 to defeat a Montana ballot initiative that would have increased the power of state mining regulators. It determined it was "outside the purview" of federal law.

"The FEC rule said no, ballot issues are not elections. We only regulate elections," Sutherland in the Daily Signal story.

"They said if you don't like it, you can do one of two things. One, you can say ballot issues are elections and therefore they would fall under the purview of the FEC. I don't think anyone's really interested in that approach. Or two, you can change the law. And that's kind of what we're seeing on the state and the federal level as well."

## What Happened with Those Jim Eagle Laws?

Democrats across the country have decried new election integrity laws as "Jim Crow 2.0," with President Joe Biden calling them "Jim Eagle," suggesting they are a magnified version of past voter suppression.

More than 20 states passed election reform laws. The most criticized laws emerged from Georgia, Arizona, Florida, and Texas—states with nationally known Republican governors. This made for an attractive target for Democrats.

While the 2021 laws varied, they primarily aimed to expand voter ID requirements to mail ballots, restrict ballot harvesting by political operatives, clean up voter registration lists to remove the names of dead people and otherwise ineligible voters, and ban private funding of election administration.

The biggest test of whether the 2021 laws would impact voter turnout came during the 2022 midterm elections. The bottom line is that based on the numbers, the laws didn't lead to any voter suppression. ■

---

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

# CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER LABOR WATCH

## EXPOSING TEACHERS UNIONS

### ARMING PARENT ADVOCATES WITH FACTS



#### Combatting Corruption

Investigating how activists leverage wealthy teacher's union pension plans to advance "wokeism" in corporate boardrooms by promoting misguided environmental social & governance (ESG) policy.

Unmasking union bosses who force teachers to pay dues that are then funneled to political campaigns.



#### Exposing Extremism

Uncovering unions' adoption of diversity equity and inclusion (DEI) efforts, such as the NEA's 2018 *Racial Justice in Education* report that advocates for Critical Race Theory and Marxist ideology in schools.

Documenting flaws in education trends, such as the new "restorative justice" movement, which favors community building over classroom discipline.



#### Supporting Students

Researching the funding and influence behind the movement to restrict parental involvement in schools while inserting radical sex education programs into K-12 institutions.

Rejecting hijacking of K-12 education by the National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers.

### CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER SENIOR FELLOW

#### KALI FONTANILLA

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.





Sectoral bargaining changes that: It empowers a union or group of unions to negotiate contracts that apply to all workers in an industry with many employers simultaneously. If a worker does not favor the contract negotiated, too bad; he would have to change professions, not merely employers, to get out from under union boss power. And in all likelihood, even that would not work. In France, while a smaller proportion of the workforce is union members than in America, nearly all jobs are subject to union-negotiated sectoral contracts.

There is a warning in the desire for some conservatives and supposed conservatives for social solidarity enforced by organized labor. Today, and (one presumes) in a future sectoral bargaining regime, collective solidarity in worker organizing is a simple elective dictatorship of 50 percent plus one, sometimes under a de facto regime of one worker, one vote, one time.

I make four separate but interrelated cases against sectoral bargaining. The first is practical, based on the impact of sectoral bargaining on three goals I call the “Taft-Hartley Consensus” of conservative labor-relations policy:

- Voluntarism in union membership and participation,
- Government scrutiny of union operations as the price of their extensive government-secured powers, and
- Protection of the economy and society from fallout from other people’s workplace disputes.

Compared with the present, sectoral bargaining would unequivocally make union participation less voluntary and would expose the country to French-style strike waves, including strikes and “general strikes” for non-workplace-related reasons.

The second case traces unions’ political activities and alignment with the Democratic Party and ideological Everything Leftism. Advocates for sectoral bargaining, whether on the left or the ostensible right, explicitly declare that the purpose of moving to a sectoral bargaining system is to empower organized labor. Those on the right should be extremely averse to doing so, if only because organized labor is a pillar of the Left. Sectoral bargaining would strengthen openly socialist, anti-anti-Hamas, radical environmentalist, ESG-aligned, socially progressive-vanguardist, pro-gun control, and generally Everything Leftist elements in American life. Conservatives should not go along with them.

The third presents an ideological case, demonstrating how the traditional American Republican and conservative approach to workers as workers deviates from that of union organizers and the leftist community organizers who are

in many cases the exact same people. Likewise, some have argued that organized labor can be a counter to the compulsory social coordination of “woke capitalism” and the WEIRD Elite formal institutions. But that is not the case; if anything, labor organizing is a vehicle to increase the coordination of the WEIRD Elite formal institutions, and through ESG investing of pension funds organized labor is a perpetrator of woke capitalism, not an opponent.

Finally, one would be remiss not to at least consider the economic case against adopting sectoral bargaining, which is strong. By whatever standard one measures economic success, no evidence shows that France or the other sectoral-bargaining countries of Continental Western Europe have had greater economic success than the United States. There is no reason to believe that sectoral bargaining would propel the United States or communities within the United States to higher economic heights. More likely, the stagnation would continue, much as France experienced after the end of its “Thirty Glorious Years.” Neither socialist left nor conservative right nor technocratic center have been able to resuscitate the French economy, empowering political extremists on the neo-Communist left and populist right.

American Compass has promoted sectoral bargaining as an alternative to the welfare state and as a method to promote mutually beneficial labor-management deviation from top-down federal labor mandates. The cases presented here show those expressed hopes to be misguided at best.

## The Practical Case

In 1947, one of the most important pieces of conservative domestic legislation of the 20th century was enacted: the Taft-Hartley Act. Best known for explicitly authorizing state-level “right to work” laws that prevent forcing non-union-members in a unionized workplace to pay union fees, the law made numerous reforms to the Wagner Act framework of labor relations that the New Deal Democrats had enacted at Big Labor’s urging in the 1930s. These reforms were practical, pragmatic, and moderate responses passed by a bipartisan congressional supermajority to address real problems that had developed in the Wagner Act framework.

Those reforms advanced three pillars that would come to define the Republican and conservative approaches to labor-management relations for the next eight decades. Conservatives and Republicans would promote policies that ensured union membership and political participation would be voluntary, most notably through state-level right-to-work laws. They would subject union operations to government scrutiny as the price of unions’ being given



be obvious to anyone who promotes sectoral bargaining, because disruptive national strikes are common in European countries (e.g., France) that authorize sectoral bargaining. Unions in these countries also back broader leftist causes with strikes. French unions frequently call national “general strikes” for political reasons, including an annual “General Feminist Strike” each March. These frequent mass disruptions enabled by sectoral bargaining have helped France earn its reputation for economic sclerosis and public disruptions, the exact opposite of the intention of conservative labor-relations policymakers since the 1940s.

## The Political and Advocacy Case

Organized labor in the United States serves as a functional adjunct to the Democratic Party and the left-wing advocacy movement. Everyone who pays attention knows this, and the extensive ties of operative networks and funding demonstrate the truth of this axiom. Thus, expanding the power of union commissars by adopting sectoral bargaining would empower the adversaries of all forms of conservatism, but some who claim to be conservatives endorse it anyway. It is therefore worth exploring exactly how involved organized labor is in the Everything Leftism movement.

Unions’ best-known political advocacy is their contributions to political candidates at the state, federal, and local levels. These contributions are unsurprisingly highly partisan Democratic, and at the local level often support more radical candidates than “normal” Democratic machine politicians. Likewise, unions’ contributions to outside political spending groups at the federal level are also highly partisan Democratic.

In OpenSecrets’s reckoning of the “Top Organization Contributors” for the 2022 federal election cycle, seven labor unions made the top 51 groups. All seven contributed more than \$19.5 million, and each made more than 98 percent of its tracked political contributions to Democratic politicians and liberal political committees. Four largely government worker unions—the NEA, AFT, SEIU, and AFSCME—unsurprisingly exceeded 99.9 percent in contributions to Democrats and liberal groups. But the three largely private-sector unions—the Carpenters and Joiners, the Laborers, and the hotel and casino workers’ Unite Here—also gave overwhelmingly to Democrats and leftist groups. And that does not include spending associated with Amalgamated Bank, an SEIU-tied financial institution that also made the top 51 and contributed almost exclusively—OpenSecrets rounded the percentage split to 100 percent—to Democrats and liberals.

Spending at the state level is not quite so partisan, but it is highly partisan nonetheless. The FollowtheMoney database on state and local political spending splits the roughly \$500 million in contributions from the organized labor industry to major-party candidates and committees at 88 percent Democratic to 12 percent Republican for the 2020 through 2024 election years (catalogued through July 2024). Top major-party recipients over that period included three Illinois Democratic state legislators, most prominently disgraced former state House Speaker Mike Madigan (D-Chicago); Democratic governors Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania, Tina Kotek of Oregon, and Kathy Hochul of New York; and unsuccessful 2021 Virginia gubernatorial candidate Terry McAuliffe. Not included in the two-party figures is Brandon Johnson (D), the Chicago mayor, former Chicago Teachers Union lobbyist, and recipient of roughly \$11.4 million in labor contributions. FollowtheMoney classifies him as a “nonpartisan” candidate since Chicago mayoral elections do not use party labels.

So, union campaign contributions and outside-group campaign spending are overwhelmingly Democratic. But that only scratches the surface of how deeply intertwined organized labor is with Everything Leftism. Consider the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which has made news for making nominal overtures toward moderates in the Republican Party. The Center for Union Facts (CUF), a watchdog group tracking Big Labor’s political involvement and ethical misconduct, scrutinized the annual spending reports of the Teamsters and its affiliated local unions from 2019 through 2022 and identified \$240 million in



Credit: AFGE. License: bit.ly/3TunZon.

*Liz Shuler, the Everything Leftist leading the AFL-CIO union federation, said in a statement that the Republican ticket, which includes the American Compass favorite U.S. Senator J.D. Vance (R-OH), was “on the bosses’ side.”*

spending by the union on outside political and advocacy entities and vendors. Of that \$240 million, CUF found a grand total of \$7,877 sent “toward GOP-led initiatives and campaigns.” The Teamsters union did not send eight million dollars toward right-leaning groups and initiatives; it sent fewer than eight thousand dollars.

The CUF finding that the Teamsters sent over 99 percent of its advocacy funding to the political Left is consistent with an earlier CUF analysis that tracked outside contributions (not vendors in most cases) by all major Department of Labor-reporting unions. Of \$530 million identified over the 2012–2015 period, 99 percent went to left-of-center groups.

The rest of organized labor’s response to Teamsters national president Sean O’Brien giving a speech to the 2024 Republican National Convention, in which he did not endorse the Republican ticket, is illustrative. A Teamsters vice president condemned O’Brien for giving the speech. Liz Shuler, the Everything Leftist leading the AFL-CIO union federation (of which the Teamsters union is not a member), said in a statement that the Republican ticket, which includes the American Compass favorite U.S. Senator J.D. Vance (R-OH), was “on the bosses’ side.” If there were a need for more evidence Big Labor puts partisanship over policy, there it is.

Here one can introduce the potential effects of adopting a sectoral bargaining regime. In addition to the likelihood that an emboldened Everything Leftist labor movement would use its newfound power to conduct industrial actions for non-economic leftist goals, sectoral bargaining would place every American worker under control of Everything Leftist labor union commissars.

American Compass is explicit about this, arguing that “The United States should begin to foster broad-based bargaining models, in which representatives for all workers in a group defined by region, industry, and occupation negotiates with representatives for the counterpart employers.” Details matter, especially when sectoral bargaining would strengthen openly socialist, anti-anti-Hamas, radical environmentalist, ESG-aligned, socially progressive-vanguardist, pro-gun control, and generally Everything Leftist elements in American life. Who would decide the “representatives”? Would dissenters have any rights, or would the system follow the present “elective dictatorship” model? Details are not forthcoming.

What subjects would be bargainable? Recall that “workplace safety” was the justification for the jihad by the NewsGuild at the New York Times in response to a 2020 op-ed advocating a crackdown on rioting. It was authored by another

Compass favorite, Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR). Again, details are not forthcoming.

The European experience of sectoral bargaining demonstrates clearly that such a system is not a path to the mythical “nonpolitical labor union.” Germany’s DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund), Germany’s analog to the AFL-CIO, is closely aligned with the country’s Social Democratic Party (SPD) and is led by a former SPD Member of the Bundestag (national parliament). France has several union federations. While the CFDT (Confédération française démocratique du travail) is centrist by French standards, it is only slightly larger than the more prominent CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail), which was historically aligned with the French Communist Party. Italy’s CGIL (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro), the largest of that country’s three major union confederations, was also historically Communist-influenced and aligns with the country’s left-of-center political movements.

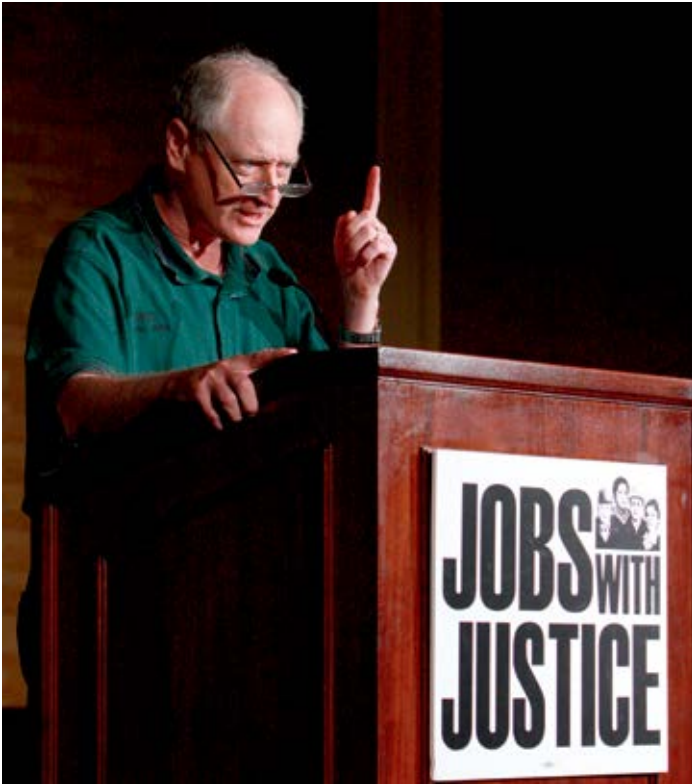
## The Ideological Case

The ideological case against sectoral bargaining is subtly different than the political-advocacy case. Organized labor has always been susceptible to Marxist or Marxist-influenced class-conflict analysis, which has been alien to the Whig-Republican and later conservative view of work, entrepreneurship, and working people from Marxism’s beginning.

In a long Twitter/X thread, Gilded Age history podcaster Avi Woolf argued:

The freedom to have access to land to work, for those who could, or to use their labor as they wish, was thus genuinely sacred and vital for them. It was not just about independence but also individualism. For free soilers, and for the Gilded Age Republican party generally, workers did not form a distinct “class.” Everyone worked in some capacity and was free to change jobs or places and try their luck elsewhere, like any entrepreneur.

Woolf further argues that industrialization changed how the Republicans related to working people, including by compelling the GOP to concede to a role for governments in regulating working conditions. This was a change from the GOP’s preference to aid workers through the government provision of general goods like homesteads to farm, land-grant universities at which to gain knowledge and skills, or government-funded railroad projects to use to transport their produce.



Credit: Jobs with Justice. License: bit.ly/3XI88fu.

*Likely the most prominent SDS alumnus to trade student radicalism for union radicalism was Paul Booth, a longtime political strategist for the AFSCME government worker union.*

Meanwhile, the union movement rose alongside Marxism and other forms of socialism in the late 19th century. Key early labor union leaders, among them Samuel Gompers of the AFL, flirted with socialism early in their ideological development. Others like Big Bill Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World and trade unionist-turned-politician Eugene Debs embraced radicalism and socialism throughout their careers. In the 1930s, as the Wagner Act labor-relations regime developed, members of the Communist Party USA and their fellow travelers exercised substantial influence over the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the more left-wing of the two major labor confederations of the time that later merged to form the AFL-CIO.

But thanks in large part to following strategically inept directions from their de facto masters in Moscow, the CPUSA cadres could not make the American labor movement a Communist one, like that of France's CGT or Italy's CGIL. Even influential democratic socialists like Walter Reuther could not make the movement an explicitly socialist one, like the German movement. Old-fashioned American

liberalism epitomized by AFL-CIO head George Meany was too strong and too successful in the era of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

But socialism would leave its mark on how American labor organizers conceive of economic life and the world. The New Left of the 1960s defined by the Students for a Democratic Society activist faction would move into labor organizing. Likely the most prominent SDS alumnus to trade student radicalism for union radicalism was Paul Booth, a longtime political strategist for the AFSCME government worker union. Alongside the SDS alumni, the labor movement's membership shifted from industrial workers at private firms like those of Reuther's UAW toward civil servants, teachers, and other government functionaries like those of Booth's AFSCME. The result was a rise in socialist thinking in the labor movement, a greater incentive toward support for government planning and nationalized industries, and a firmer focus on workers' supposed class interests over personal material interests.

UnionStats estimates that in 1973, there were 14.9 million private-sector unionized workers and 3.1 million government-sector unionized workers. By 2009, the sectors had briefly switched prominence, with the 7.9 million government worker unionists outnumbering their 7.4 million private-sector counterparts. Following some post-2010 limitations on government-worker bargaining (most effectively the bans on the SEIU "dues skim" home healthcare worker "union" scheme in states that Republicans controlled after the 2010 midterm elections), the private-sector unions retook the lead, but their margin is only an estimated 400,000 organized workers.

Unions changing from where their dues bread was buttered provided added fuel to an ideological shift that was already ongoing and unlikely to reverse. In the 1990s, a slate led by card-carrying socialist John Sweeney took over the AFL-CIO. His lieutenant Richard Trumka would lead the union federation until his death in 2021. During the Sweeney-Trumka regime, the union federation went so far as to share outright Marxist propaganda encouraging workers to "seize the means of production."

When they are not Marxist in economic analysis, union staff and senior leadership are Everything Leftist in social analysis. Trumka's successor, Liz Shuler, has endorsed radical transgender activists. The motivating ideology of union officials, who would be strongly empowered if sectoral bargaining were adopted, is "social justice unionism," essentially Everything Leftism as applied to organized labor. As I defined it previously:

CC —————  
*During the Sweeney-Trumka regime, the union federation went so far as to share outright Marxist propaganda encouraging workers to “seize the means of production.”*

Under social justice unionism, organized labor is not a fully independent actor pursuing the material interests of its membership or even the working class at large. Instead, it is a cog in a political and cultural machine that works towards a full-spectrum left-wing agenda, including on issues far outside what might be considered organized labor’s “economic core.”

There is no reason to believe that sectoral bargaining will somehow uproot social justice unionism. If anything, the intellectual and corporate dynamics would likely further entrench the ideology at the heights of a newly empowered organized labor with the power to lord its position over every working person in the country.

The incentive structure within organized labor officialdom selects for a primarily ideological cadre. While top-level executives in Big Labor make an easy six-figure paycheck, that is less than a top productive profit-seeking businessman makes. This fact selects for one of two categories of union leaders: leftist ideologues and embezzlers. The embezzlers are easy to explain: With vast opportunities for racketeering and theft, Mafiosi and common thieves alike can pad their compensation packages with ill-gotten gains.

But the crooks tend, ultimately, to end up in jail or worse, as James Riddle Hoffa would explain if he had not encountered misfortune at or around the Machus Red Fox in 1975. So that leaves the leftist ideologues as the other class of union officers—one that is likely larger and more able to stick around than the crooks who keep giving each other up to the Feds. Union organizing (or its kissing cousin, community organizing) is a key resume-building item for many prominent left-wing leaders. Most prominently, Center for American Progress head, former head of George Soros’s Open Society Foundations, and former Obama administration official Patrick Gaspard was political director of 1199SEIU, the famed “union that rules New York.” Below the level of the highest officers, union leadership offers the power to build resumes for a career in liberal politics. Claims that organized labor has a “conservative heart” must deal with the fact that organized

labor has a radical leftist brain and staunchly progressive musculoskeletal system.

Expanding union power through sectoral bargaining, whether or not that comes with bigger union budgets filled with forced dues, will further empower these left-wing ideologues. It is these ideologues, not the union membership at large and certainly not a minority (however substantial) of that membership, who decide how unions operate. Some have argued that organized labor can be a counter to the coordination of “woke capitalism” and the elite-class formal institutions. If anything, organized labor is a vehicle to increase the coordination of the elite formal institutions, and through ESG investing of pension funds organized labor is a perpetrator, not an opponent, of woke capitalism.

On the other side of the coin, organized labor avowedly loathes working arrangements that encourage entrepreneurship and self-ownership rather than class consciousness. American Compass’s Jonathan Barry rightly notes that “Conservatives have long appreciated that workers include working owners, especially small business owners and independent contractors.”

The political and class independence of working owners is a large part of why Big Labor holds such a visceral hatred for independent contracting, especially aided by the “gig economy” brokerage platforms that ease the conduct of independent work. If freelancers see themselves as members of the petite bourgeoisie rather than as members of a Marxist working class that must seize the means of production in class consciousness and organizing, they will not be amenable to enrolling as socialist labor’s “woke conscript” foot soldiers in the Everything Leftist cause. As expressed by Biden administration Acting Labor Secretary Julie Su: “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.” Sectoral bargaining would increase the number of woke conscripts forced to submit to Big Labor workplace commissars. It must be rejected.

## The Economic Case

For all the ideological and social-policy arguments inherent to labor-relations policy, labor-relations policy is fundamentally economic. Everyone who works for pay and everyone who employs workers is affected by the labor regime. It affects all economic activities. And on the question of the economic effects of European-style sectoral bargaining versus American-style enterprise bargaining, the world has been running a sort of general economic experiment since the end of social democracy’s “thirty glorious years” in the 1970s.

The results are in, and the Americans beat the French.

There is no evidence that France has had greater economic success than the United States. As of 2016, its gross domestic product at purchasing power parity (that is, adjusted for the cost of living) was lower than all U.S. states except Idaho and Mississippi. Even leftist measures that consider life expectancy, obesity rates, or wealth inequality show the United States as better off. More recent research shows the European economy falling even further behind the U.S. economy, even as Americans have complained about stagnation in their own country. The same social and economic problems—uncontrolled immigration, declines in manufacturing employment, and political instability and loss of social cohesion—have not been helped obviously by a stronger organized labor movement with more coercive power in France. The 2024 national legislative elections saw the liberal party of President Emmanuel Macron lose votes to populists of right and left, with the neo-communist Unsubmissive France (La France Insoumise) and the party of the controversial Marine Le Pen, the National Rally (Rassemblement National) surging in vote share and legislative seats. The country may be ungovernable until another legislative election is called or President Macron resigns.

Then there is the question of cost of living and consumer prices. In the U.S., higher-cost-of-living states often have strong labor union movements. Even where labor relations policies are not the cause of these higher costs, labor unions’ institutional leftism encourages regulatory and legislative environments that dissuade business formation, restrict construction, raise the price of energy with environmentalist mandates, and hike taxes.

Supporters of sectoral bargaining focus on the potential of the policy to raise nominal wages before considering inflation or changes in cost of living. In a late 2020 policy paper



Credit: Stephen McCarthy. License: bit.ly/4gAocx.

*Oren Cass of American Compass has argued that sectoral bargaining would become an alternative to government labor-standards regulation, with sectoral bargaining unions and employer associations able to come to mutual agreements to waive certain government rules.*

issued while he chaired the House Education and Labor Committee (the committee name changes from Education and Labor to Education and the Workforce whenever the House majority changes), left-wing Rep. Bobby Scott (D-VA) argued, “Centralized bargaining benefits employers and employees by removing wages from competition, enabling employers to compete over the quality of their products or services.” But this ignores price competition that helps consumers and controls the “wage-price spiral” that exacerbated the inflation of the 1970s.

In discussing the causes of Big Labor’s Long Decline, I wrote:

Big Labor had risen in an environment of privation and war, but the country now identified with—and demanded—plenty and peace. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the American consumer flex its power, demanding that something—anything—be done to curtail rampant inflation. After the predictable failure of wage and price controls enacted by the Nixon administration and the pathetic “Whip Inflation Now!” campaign of the Gerald Ford administration, a bipartisan consensus emerged, first under Jimmy Carter, in favor of deregulating the national economy.



---

*If the public-opinion response to the economy under the Biden administration is any indication, Americans still absolutely loathe inflation.*

If the public-opinion response to the economy under the Biden administration is any indication, Americans still absolutely loathe inflation. Adjusting economic policy to raise the cost of living, a certainty under sectoral bargaining, would likely trigger the American consumer's visceral response to higher prices.

Some, most prominently Oren Cass of American Compass, have argued that sectoral bargaining would become an alternative to government labor-standards regulation, with sectoral bargaining unions and employer associations able to come to mutual agreements to waive certain government rules.

Cass sells it as a win-win, but it runs into the problem of incentives. Unions have no reason to negotiate below the level set by a government minimum labor standard. Well, no honest reason: They have at least two dishonest reasons. One is straightforwardly corrupt labor-management collusion, like what happened in the previous regime at the United Auto Workers. Corrupt managers pay corruptible union officials to keep them “fat, dumb, and happy” and to do management favors.

The second dishonest reason is both more subtle than simple corruption and also completely legal. Currently, union-backed politicians often include waiver clauses in local wage-minimum laws that create a curious carve-out: They don't apply to a collectively bargained contract. Unions—not necessarily union members—profit from this arrangement in easier organizing and more dues collections, since they can hold the possibility of avoiding these rules as a carrot to secure a card-check union recognition.

Without details on what an American sectoral bargaining system would involve, the potential to abuse of employee autonomy using Cass-promoted waiver clauses is limitless. Unions run by corrupt officials could take kickbacks for going below national standards. Unions run by leftist activists could use their ability to collude with employer associations to enshrine left-wing social policy in workplaces nationwide. Either class could use the ability to collaboratively waive regulations to secure what is euphemistically called “union security”; that is, forced dues, unless there were a national right-to-work-style protection that Cass's allies in Congress have not endorsed.

## Conclusion

Sectoral bargaining is not the answer to conservative cultural concerns or broader economic problems. Adopting it would repudiate the practical gains of the Taft-Hartley consensus to empower a Democratic Party constituency group steeped in socialist ideology with no obvious case that it would benefit the economy.

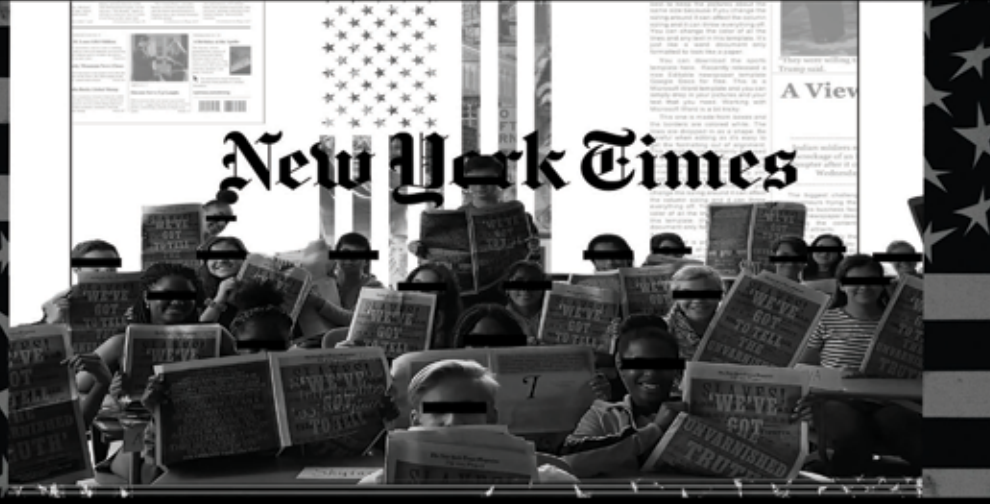
American Compass's Jonathan Barry proposes that “The key theme—both philosophically and politically—for conservatives to recover [vis-à-vis workers] is agency, defined as participation in the charting of one's life course.” Agency is a noble goal, but the details of any approach to secure that agency must ensure that workers, especially conservative workers, are not forced to sacrifice their political agency for the false promises of economic agency. ■

---

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

# ARCHITECTS OF WOKE:

## The 1619 Project's Fake History



## STOKELY CARMICHAEL



## & RACISM WITHOUT RACISTS

## SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK & THE ROMANCE OF REVOLUTIONARY TERROR



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

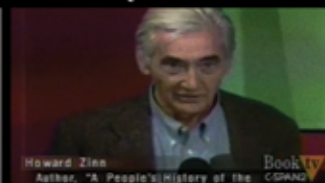
The series is hosted and directed by award-winning filmmaker Rob Montz, whose online documentary work has attracted millions of views and coverage in major outlets, including *The Economist*, *USA Today*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and The Adam Carolla Podcast.

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

**Watch the entire series at [DangerousDocumentaries.com](https://DangerousDocumentaries.com).**



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



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER  
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

**DANGEROUS**  
**DOCUMENTARIES**



## PROTESTS AND CHAOS AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

By Ryan Mauro

---

**Summary:** *A Capital Research Center investigation discovered that over 150 extremist groups—groups that support terrorism and/or identify as Marxist, communist, or anarchist—were planning on protesting the Democratic National Convention, with some vowing to forcefully disrupt it or shut it down. Our investigation shows that this disturbingly influential and capable extremist infrastructure should not be seen as swing voters or a conventional part of the country's body politic. Instead, it should be seen more like a subversive, seditious, and dangerous third party with the potential to do enormous damage to our national security and the health of our civil society.*

---

A Capital Research Center investigation has discovered that over 150 extremist groups—defined as groups that support terrorism and/or identify as Marxist, communist, or anarchist—were planning on protesting the Democratic National Convention (DNC), with some vowing to forcefully disrupt it or shut it down.

The investigation reviewed:

- At least 279 groups that are a part of the Coalition to March on the DNC in Chicago on August 19–22,
- A separate coalition that is publicly planning disruptions at the convention; several Chicago-based Islamic groups that are involved in the efforts but are not officially enlisted in any coalition, and
- Groups that participated in the overlapping Coalition to March on the RNC (Republican National Convention) in Milwaukee on July 15–18.

### Findings

The eight key findings are as follows:

1. Of the 229 groups involved in the anti-DNC efforts, 162 (71 percent) qualify as extremist groups based on our criteria.



Credit: ezallphotography. License: Shutterstock.

---

*A Capital Research Center investigation has discovered that over 150 extremist groups were planning on protesting the Democratic National Convention, with some vowing to forcefully disrupt it or shut it down.*

---

2. At least 147 of the anti-DNC groups have expressed support for, or have ties to, terrorist groups or terrorist attacks. All but a handful of those 147 groups have ties to or publicly support Hamas and/or the terrorist attacks on Israel it committed on October 7, 2023.
3. The Hamas-allied and Iran-backed Marxist-Leninist terrorist group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) has strong and direct links to a coalition that is openly planning to replicate the violent 1968 Democratic convention riots.

---

*Ryan Mauro is an investigative researcher for Capital Research Center.*

4. The majority of the identified extremist groups are linked to or have expressed solidarity with at least one of nine foreign governments hostile to the United States including Iran, China, Venezuela, Russia, North Korea, Syria, Cuba, Pakistan, and Nicaragua.
5. The extremist groups have ties to or have expressed support for 19 foreign terrorist organizations: Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement), Hezbollah, the Houthis, the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps, PFLP, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Resistance in Iraq, Lion's Den, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Muslim Brotherhood, Jammāt-e-Islami, the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Marxist terrorists in Puerto Rico, Islamist terrorists in Sudan, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Hizbul Mujahideen, Dukhtaran-e-Millat, and the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army.
6. The Coalition to March on the DNC's official statements and website content explicitly support Hamas and the atrocities it committed on October 7, 2023. A group's official involvement in the coalition is a very strong indication that it is a supporter of terrorism.
7. A large portion of the extremist groups have engaged in, endorsed, or attempted to assist acts of violence, property destruction and economic sabotage on U.S. soil that could be justifiably described as acts of terrorism.
8. Our monitoring of mainstream media coverage of the protests found an almost universal failure to inform readers about the pro-terrorism stances of the groups and activists mentioned and quoted in news articles and on-air segments.

Capital Research Center will provide further information regarding the designated entities upon request.

## Defining Extremist

In this investigation, designating a group as "extremist" requires:

- Documented ties to or publicly expressed support for terrorism or terrorist groups
- Ties to or publicly expressed solidarity with hostile foreign governments, and/or
- Support for anarchism, Marxism, or communism.

The threshold for the extremist designation is so strict that designation is not based on a group's desire to abolish the U.S., Canada and Israel; demonizing the U.S. and the West in the worst ways, or even a group's calls for overthrowing the government and the ruling system without justifying violence toward that end.

Yet the decision to exclude a group from our list of designated extremist groups should not be misinterpreted as exoneration. All it means is that we did not find sufficient proof that the group fulfilled the above criteria within our limited timeframe.

## Leadership of the Anti-DNC Protests

Around 30,000 protestors are expected to take part in the anti-DNC protests. Four Chicago-based Islamic organizations have gone so far as to predict an attendance of over 100,000.

Leaders, members, and official supporters of the Coalition to March on the DNC have long vowed to protest illegally if they are denied a permit near the convention or are granted an overly restrictive permit.

After a six-month delay, the city of Chicago finally approved a very limited permit that denies the coalition the ability to set up and use basic necessities required for any significant demonstration, such as tents, bathrooms, and sound and lighting equipment.

Many of the groups involved in the anti-DNC demonstrations have expressed support for and even provided guidance on how to engage in violence and destruction that arguably qualifies as terrorism, such as resisting police crackdowns and "de-arresting" those who are apprehended by law enforcement by physically battling the police to free them and then quickly escaping.

The city's officials are apparently aware of many of the groups' public plotting and ideological extremism, arguing that the bans on basic necessities are necessary because weapons can be hidden in or created using those prohibited items.

The Coalition to March on the DNC rejects the notion that the protests could become violent and oddly speaks with total confidence that it can control the behavior of the 30,000 to 100,000 expected demonstrators. It claims that it is so well-prepared to maintain safety at the protests that they don't even need police assistance, guaranteeing it will be "family friendly."



*“Palestinian women have ensured that the legacy of resistance lives on generation after generation.”—Nazek Sankari*

The Coalition to March on the DNC and the previous Coalition to March on the RNC appear to be spearheaded by a partnership between two pro-Hamas organizations: The US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN) led by Hatem Abudayyeh and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), which identifies USPCN as an “affiliate organization.”

**USPCN.** Hatem Abudayyeh, the national chairman of US Palestinian Community Network, has been the most consistent spokesperson for both march coalitions since the beginning, giving the strong impression that he is the ringleader of the overall network that has put together both coalitions. He said his goal is to make Democratic Party officials feel “miserable.”

Nazek Sankari, an official co-chair of the Coalition to March on the DNC, is also the co-chair of USPCN’s Chicago chapter. She celebrated International Women’s Day in March by praising female Palestinians who have violently fought Israel and framed their cause as “inherently a reproductive justice and feminist issue.”

“Palestinian women have ensured that the legacy of resistance lives on generation after generation. They have always been leading the popular resistance, and their teachings and legacy have been enshrined in armed resistance as well,” she said.



*Hatem Abudayyeh, the national chairman of US Palestinian Community Network, has been the most consistent spokesperson for both march coalitions since the beginning, giving the strong impression that he is the ringleader of the overall network that has put together both coalitions.*

USPCN is reportedly the largest group in the Coalition to March on the DNC, at least as of early May. The coalition acknowledged Abudayyeh and USPCN’s elevated role in a video on its Instagram page featuring Abudayyeh alongside text describing USPCN as a “leading” member of the coalition.

Interestingly, the organizers of the Coalition to March on the RNC in Milwaukee in July apparently did not want USPCN’s deep involvement to be obvious. The website did not list USPCN as a coalition member, but USPCN boasted about its presence at the protest on its social media pages once it was underway.

Abudayyeh’s speech at the March on the RNC expressed support for Middle Eastern terrorist groups who he enthusiastically proclaimed will soon destroy Israel and defeat “the U.S. empire,” which he confidently asserted to be “on its last legs.”

Abudayyeh is also the executive director of the Chicago-based Arab American Action Network (AAAN), another member of the Coalition to March on the DNC.

He attacked the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) for expressing reasonable concerns that some pro-terrorism protestors might act like the terrorists they admire. He said ADL is “racist” against blacks, Arabs, and Muslims and that it seeks the “criminalization of our community” via the “weaponization of anti-Semitism.”

His resume shows that he is also an Advisory Board member of the National Network for Arab American Communities, which is an “institution” of the Arab American Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS). His bio also points out that AAAN is a member of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

Abudayyeh, who has a well-documented history of supporting terrorism, was one of at least 23 activists in Chicago and Minneapolis whose homes were raided or who were issued subpoenas as part of a FBI counterterrorism investigation in 2010.

The authorities believed they had strong evidence that the suspects had provided material support to terrorist organizations, particularly PFLP and the Marxist-Leninist



*Hatem Abudayyeh, the national chairman of US Palestinian Community Network, said his goal is to make Democratic Party officials feel “miserable.”*

narco-terrorist group Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), which appeared on the State Department’s list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations until November 2021.

Other reports indicated that law enforcement was also investigating links to Hamas and Hezbollah. One of the suspects said it seemed that the FBI’s case related to their links to the Palestinian Women’s Committees, a front for PFLP.

In addition to USPCN and AAAN, suspects also belonged to two other members of both march coalitions: the Marxist-oriented and pro-Hamas Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO) and the Minnesota Anti-War Committee (also known simply as the Anti-War Committee) that proclaims solidarity with the government of Iran, Hamas, the Syrian dictatorship of Bashar Assad, and other Iran-backed terrorists. This “anti-war” group even endorsed Iran’s direct attack on Israel in April 2024.

Suspects were also linked to the FightBack! news media outlet, an FRSO entity. Abudayyeh appeared on a FightBack! podcast three weeks after the attacks on October 7, 2023, to glorify the attacks.

AAAN had a convicted PFLP terrorist, Rasmae Odeh, serving as its associate director until she was imprisoned in 2015 and deported back to Jordan in 2017 for lying about her involvement in terrorism on her application for citizenship. She is also the co-founder of AAAN’s Arab Women’s Committee.

An Instagram post from September 2022 authored by USPCN and reposted by Mamas Activating Movements for Abolition and Solidarity (MAMAS) says Odeh is a “co-founder” of USPCN. Elsewhere, USPCN has only described her role in the group as that of founding member of its Chicago chapter.

**NAARPR.** NAARPR endorsed the Hamas-led terrorist attacks on Israel on October 7. It said, “the Unified Palestinian Resistance initiated a morally and legally justified self-defense campaign on October 7th, 2023.”

NAARPR even threatens to become violent itself. It says it “pledges to (politically and physically, if necessary) defend

the democratic rights of all Palestinians and supporters who are coming under government, Zionist, and law enforcement attack in the U.S. and everywhere else.”

Kobi Guillory, co-chair of the Coalition to March on the DNC, is simultaneously co-chair of the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, a chapter of NAARPR. A spokesperson for the DNC March, Faayani Aboma Mijana, is also a member of NAARPR’s Chicago wing.

Guillory was permitted to enter Syria in 2021 as part of a trip to see the presidential “elections” take place. It was arranged by a group called the Syria Solidarity Movement that staunchly backs the Iran-aligned Syrian dictatorship that sponsors Hamas, Hezbollah, and various other terrorist organizations. He represented FRSO and the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression in the delegation to Syria.

He conducted a joint interview with Wyatt Miller of the Minnesota Anti-War Committee after returning home. What the dictatorship showed them unsurprisingly vindicated the Assad regime to the fullest degree and accused the U.S., the entirety of the Syrian rebels and opposition forces and the regional partners of the U.S. to the fullest degree.

The pair claimed that Assad is an overwhelmingly popular freedom fighter trying to save his country from U.S. “imperialism.” Guillory alleged that characterizations of Assad as a dictator are based on false agenda-driven propaganda. Miller even defended Syrian elections as legitimate and credible, asserting that “Syria is a republic, where people vote for their president in democratic elections, as defined in their constitution.”

The delegation also included the pro-Assad groups Arab Americans for Syria and the International Action Center, the latter of which defends Hamas’s October 7 atrocities, publicly aligns with the government of Iran and its terrorist proxy groups and publishes propaganda and calls-to-action from Hamas, PFLP, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

The lead organizer and co-chair of the March on the RNC was Omar Flores. He is also the finance chair of NAARPR's Milwaukee chapter, which is also involved in the upcoming DNC protests.

Jasmine Smith, the co-chair of NAARPR's Chicago chapter's Campaign to Free Incarcerated Survivors of Torture, seemed to allude to advancing the group's cause through violent revolution when she chose to honor Assata Shakur on International Women's Day in March.

Shakur was a fiercely anti-American Marxist militant who could arguably be described as a terrorist. She was a supporter of the Black Panthers and was convicted of murdering a police officer. She then fled to Cuba and received safe harbor from its communist government for the rest of her life.

She said, "Like Assata Shakur said, it is our duty to fight for our freedom, and it is our duty to win. All of us who are oppressed have a common enemy, which is this parasitic system, so we need to come together and fight until we win!"

## Plots to Disrupt the DNC Convention

The Hamas-allied, Iran-backed PFLP terrorist group is strongly linked to an effort to disrupt or shut down the DNC convention by at least three extremist groups. More groups have signaled their approval of the plan, and others may be secretly involved.

The publicly named members of the coalition are Behind Enemy Lines, a chapter of Anti-Imperialist Resistance; Samidoun (Palestinian Prisoner Support Network), which is essentially a PFLP front; and the U.S. wing of Palestine Action, a pro-Hamas and pro-PFLP militant group headquartered in the U.K. that engages in and encourages acts of violence, property destruction, and economic sabotage.

Behind Enemy Lines published its schedule for the convention. The graphic includes imagery glorifying Hamas's October 7 terrorist attacks. The accompanying text criticizes the Coalition to March on the DNC for being too passive. It declares "this convention must be shut down" and supporters should "get ready to throw down against the criminals who are invading Chicago to celebrate their genocide." The Instagram post has been liked by New York City Labor for Palestine, the Detroit chapter of General Strike U.S. and Flyover Social Center, located in the Illinois city of Carbondale.

Behind Enemy Lines published its clearest incitement to violence on August 13. The post harshly criticizes those



*The Hamas-allied, Iran-backed PFLP terrorist group is strongly linked to an effort to disrupt or shut down the DNC convention by at least three extremist groups. More groups have signaled their approval of the plan, and others may be secretly involved.*

who are committed to safe protests at the convention and encourages demonstrators to physically endanger themselves and others. It cites the fiery rioting in Minneapolis in 2020 as proof that violence is more effective and then shows artwork symbolizing punching police officers in the face.

One of the nearly 1,000 Instagram accounts that liked the call to violence is the Bronx Anti-War Coalition, an extremist group that openly sides with the Iranian government, Hamas, and other Iran-linked terrorist groups and "support[s] the right to resist colonial imperialism by any means necessary, including armed struggle." Of particular concern is that it defines the U.S. as one of the places where an oppressive "colonialist" system must be defeated.

The call for violence is also liked by the "abolitionist, anti-capitalist & anti-imperialist collective" based in Los Angeles that is called the People's City Council and an organization named Mass Struggle in Boston.

An August 2 post reiterating its plans to "shut down the DNC for Gaza" is liked by the University of Illinois-Chicago chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine, a group that declared itself to be a literal part of Hamas; Unidos Por El Pueblo, a member of the Coalition to March on the DNC; Purple Up for Palestine; a Puerto Rican extremist group in Chicago named the Borikén Liberation Front; the Southern California chapter of Dare to Struggle; the Chicago chapter of READ (Revolutionary Education and Discussion) and Chi Food Sovereignty Coalition.



*“From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will Be Free”  
is a slogan calling for the genocidal destruction of Israel.*

## The Coalition’s Pro-Terrorism, Anti-American Website

The Coalition to March on the DNC is inarguably pro-Hamas and in favor of the October 7 terrorist attacks and atrocities. Every official member or supporter of the coalition either agrees with the sentiment or failed to give its website even the most cursory glance before joining it.

The webpage that lists the coalition members and supporters has a large image right at the top of protestors holding a USPCN-branded banner with the hashtag “Al-Aqsa Flood,” which is what Hamas calls its October 7 attacks to make it sound like a legitimate military operation. The banner has the words, “Palestinian resistance is justified when our people are occupied!”

The coalition’s statement blaming President Joe Biden and the Democratic Party for Israel’s “genocide” in Gaza blatantly justifies Hamas’s attacks and frames the Jew-hating terrorist group as a freedom-fighting self-defense force that is only seeking liberation from oppression.

It refers to the attacks as “Al Aqsa Flood,” using Hamas’s favored terminology, and describes the bloodshed as “when Palestinians broke out of the Gaza prison walls.” The coalition declares it “stands in unconditional solidarity with the Palestinian resistance.”



Credit: March on DNC 2024. License: itnyuul.com/27xcpjrh.

*The Coalition to March on the DNC is inarguably pro-Hamas and in favor of the October 7 terrorist attacks and atrocities.*

The coalition accuses the U.S. of backing Israel as part of its “imperialism in the region” and implies that the government and elites in power must be forcibly overthrown:

There is no crime against humanity the ruling class will not commit or allow to keep the exploitative and oppressive imperialist system intact. They will not independently grow a conscience and rescind their support for Israel’s genocide.

It also demands the release of “all Palestinian and Arab political prisoners,” which would include terrorists who pose a risk to innocent Israeli lives. The coalition’s proposed resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the creation of a single Palestinian state “from the river to the sea,” meaning the complete erasure of the state of Israel.

Actions taken to entirely destroy Israel and wipe it off the map meet international law’s definition of genocide under the Geneva Conventions.

The coalition’s homepage features photos of protestors with signs with text like, “Amerikkka is sick,” “Guilty as hell the whole damn system” and “From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will Be Free,” which is, again, a slogan calling for the genocidal destruction of Israel.

Their far-reaching, fantastical demands paint China and Russia as the world’s good guys and the U.S., Ukraine, the Philippines, and other adversaries of the Chinese Communist Party–ruled regime as the bad guys.

The coalition also dedicates itself “to the fight to free political prisoners,” mentioning the “Uhuru Three” as among those that must be released. This refers to three extremely anti-American, pro-terrorism activists who are being prosecuted for their allegedly deliberate and illegal involvement in influence operations in the U.S. run by Russian intelligence.

## The Plan to Trick and Then Conquer the Democratic Party

The anti-DNC convention protests are the culmination of the Abandon Biden campaign launched in December, mostly by activists who support Hamas or lead pro-Hamas organizations, to threaten the Democratic Party



Credit: American Muslims for Palestine. License: tinyurl.com/yf72hh4d.

*One of the founders of the Abandon Biden movement and former cochair of its Michigan chapter is Khalid Turaani, who became the executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Ohio state chapter's Columbus and Cincinnati offices in June.*

with a potential Republican presidential election victory if President Biden is nominated for re-election.

A review of mainstream media coverage of the Abandon Biden campaign did not find a single story that informed readers of the pro-Hamas motivations of some of its key leaders.

Abandon Biden still exists under that name and is listed as a member of the Coalition to March on the DNC. The movement has mostly transformed into an anti-Harris campaign.

The stated premise of its supporters is that forcing the Democrats to lose by not voting or voting for a third party is worth the burden of a second Trump presidency because it would show the Democratic Party that its future electoral prospects depend on their approval.

One of the founders of the Abandon Biden movement and former cochair of its Michigan chapter is Khalid Turaani, who became the executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Ohio state chapter's Columbus and Cincinnati offices in June.

CAIR, as documented in its InfluenceWatch profile, has long been credibly accused of having ties to Hamas and its parent organization, Muslim Brotherhood. The CAIR national executive director publicly cheered the October 7 attacks, prompting the Biden White House to condemn the group.

Turaani celebrated the October 7 attacks with a graphic that references Hamas's name of its attacks as "Al-Aqsa Flood,"

publicly takes joy in Hamas holding an Israeli brigadier-general hostage, and honors famous PFLP spokesman and author Ghassan Kanafani.

The website for the formal Abandon Biden campaign organized by the Civil Rights Alliance for America shows that another founder is Jaylani Hussein, the executive directors of CAIR's Minnesota chapter. And another founder, Rabiul Chowdhury, is a member of CAIR Philadelphia's executive committee.

Its director, Hassan Abdel Salam, says he was arrested and held by Israeli forces for 23 days in December 2022 and claims he was tortured. At least two official Abandon Biden "ambassadors," Omar Suleiman and Tom Facchine, expressed support for Hamas after the October 7 attacks.

A third Abandon Biden ambassador, Mobeen Vaid, is one of the Muslim American community's fiercest enemies of the LGBT community. He condemns religious communities that "have largely collapsed at the altar of homosexuality and are quickly proving incapable of resisting transgenderism, too." One of the reasons he supports Hamas is because the group believes in executing those who engage in non-straight activities.

Faayani Aboma Mijana, a spokesperson for the Coalition to March on the DNC and a member of the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, said, "We are the base that the Democratic Party claims to represent, but they have failed to represent us on this. So that's the significance of this march."

The strategy of the Abandon Biden/Harris movement and the overall network of about 280 groups that are in the Coalitions to March on the DNC and RNC and the broader anti-DNC protests is to:

1. Convince the Democratic Party that it is extremely unlikely to win the swing states necessary for presidential election victories in the future unless it surrenders to the network's demands so it can deliver an election-deciding percentage of the Muslim, Arab, and "far-left" vote.
2. Present this mostly Marxist-Anarchist-Islamist constituency that is represented by the network not as an extremist bloc but a reasonable and winnable part of the Democratic Party base that has been alienated by the party's failure to be sufficiently ideologically purist and to make good on its promises.

3. Attempt to entice the growing elements of the Republican Party that are less friendly or even hostile toward Israel that it can revive the days when Muslim and Arab Americans and the network associated with Hamas, Hezbollah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the like favored the Bush presidential campaign in 2000 and arguably delivered him the presidency.

## Dealing with the Pro-Terrorism Constituency

Political strategists on both sides of the aisle would be wise to refer to our study and understand that the organizations in this bloc are mostly extremist supporters of terrorism with Marxist, anarchist and Islamist ideologies that are incompatible with progressive, liberal, centrist, conservative, or libertarian political philosophies or even patriotism and Western values.

All observable indications suggest that the majority of those in this constituency never voted for Democrats to begin with, instead choosing to decline participation in the system they hope to overthrow or choosing to vote third party.

Whatever portion of the voters in this pro-terrorism, anti-American Marxist-Anarchist-Islamist faction has actually voted Democratic cannot be won back without capitulating to their radical and politically unviable demands. Even attempting to accomplish that feat would alienate a far greater number of current supporters.

Our investigation shows that this disturbingly influential and capable extremist infrastructure should not be seen as swing voters or a conventional part of the country's body politic. Instead, it should be seen more like a subversive, seditious, and dangerous third party with the potential to do enormous damage to our national security and the health of our civil society. ■

---

*See the Appendix in the online version of this article for lists of extremist groups protesting at both the DNC and RNC.*

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

# 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*



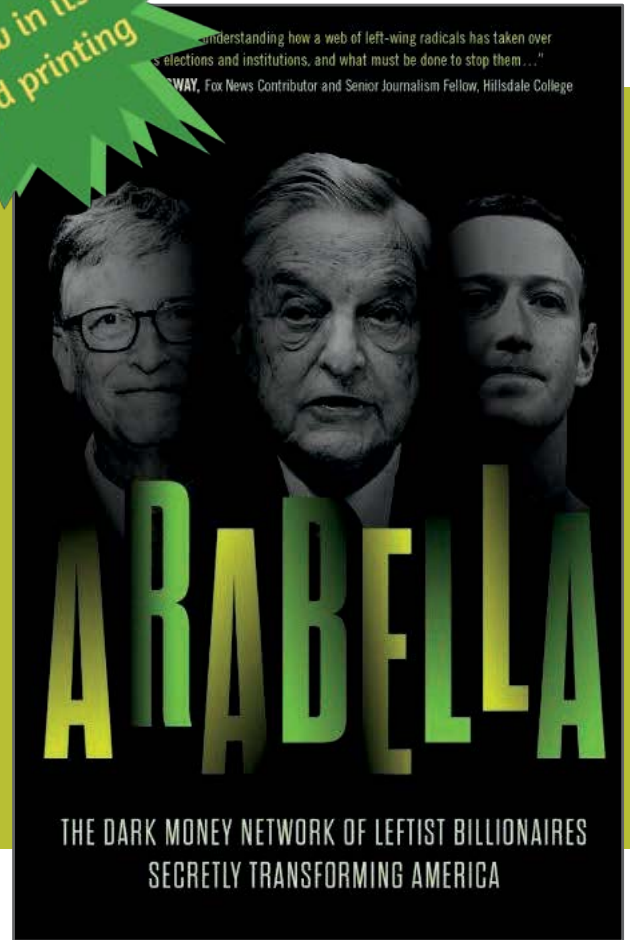
Now in its 2nd printing



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.”

## Purchase your copy today



Amazon  
[www.Amazon.com](http://www.Amazon.com)



Encounter Books  
[www.EncounterBooks.com](http://www.EncounterBooks.com)



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

1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036  
202.483.6900 | [www.capitalresearch.org](http://www.capitalresearch.org)

**CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER WELCOMES LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.**

Please send them to [Contact@CapitalResearch.org](mailto:Contact@CapitalResearch.org) or 1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

## FOLLOW US ON OUR SOCIAL NETWORKS



[facebook.com/capitalresearchcenter](https://facebook.com/capitalresearchcenter)



[@capitalresearchcenter](https://www.instagram.com/capitalresearchcenter)



[@capitalresearch](https://www.gettr.com/@capitalresearch)



[@capitalresearch](https://twitter.com/capitalresearch)



[@capitalresearch](https://www.youtube.com/capitalresearch)



[Capital Research Center](https://www.youtube.com/capitalresearchcenter)

By subscribing to our YouTube channel and by following, sharing, and liking our posts, tweets, and images, we can share our messages with others like you.



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