



“DEATH TO AMERICA”: 250 ANTI-ISRAEL GROUPS WANT TO DESTROY THE U.S.

PAGE 15



ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

3 There's a Double Standard When It Comes to Media Moguls

5 The Winged Nike of Pennsylvania Avenue: 2024 Election Roundup

25 Thinking About Fiscal Sponsorship

33 A History of Everything Leftist Unionism

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COMMENTARY

There's a Double Standard
When It Comes
to Media Moguls

By Scott Walter

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CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER

1513 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.483.6900

CapitalResearch.org

Contact@CapitalResearch.org

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CONTENTS

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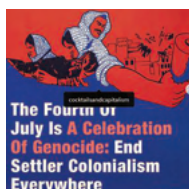
Volume 10, Issue 1



5 ORGANIZATION TRENDS

The Winged Nike
of Pennsylvania Avenue:
2024 Election Roundup

By Michael Watson



15 SPECIAL REPORT

“Death to America”:
250 Anti-Israel Groups
Want to Destroy the U.S.

By Ryan Mauro



25 ORGANIZATION TRENDS

Thinking About Fiscal Sponsorship

By Robert Stilson



33 LABOR WATCH

A History of Everything
Leftist Unionism

By Michael Watson

Front cover photo: Washington, DC—July 24, 2024—Protesters battled with police as Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu addresses Congress. Credit: Andrew Leyden. License: Shutterstock.

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



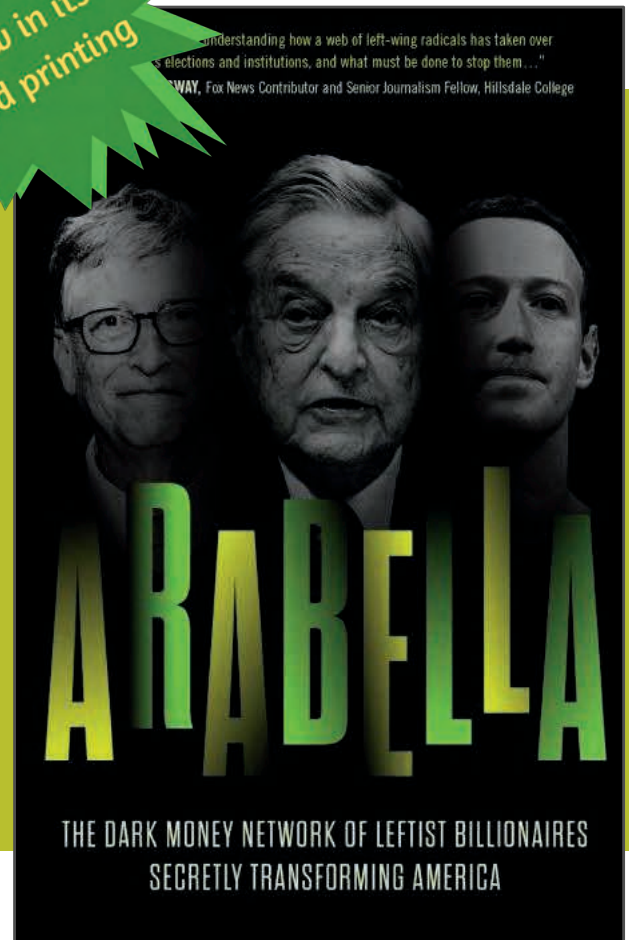
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Reviewed by Mollie Hemmingway
Fox News Contributor
Editor-in-Chief, The Federalist

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

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



What people are saying



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

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



Tucker Carlson
Political Commentator,
Tucker Carlson Network

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

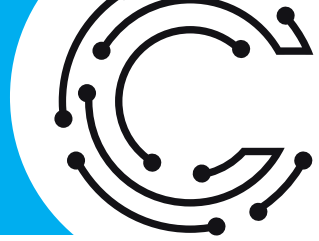
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THERE'S A DOUBLE STANDARD WHEN IT COMES TO MEDIA MOGULS

By Scott Walter

During the run-up to Donald Trump's return to the White House, helped in no small part by the direct campaigning of Elon Musk, left-wing activists went into attack mode, obsessively "fact-checking" the tech titan and accusing him of nefarious election influence. That's in sharp contrast to how they treat left-leaning billionaires. The double standard is hard to miss.

For example, in September, billionaire George Soros, known for funding left-wing causes and political activism, purchased Audacy, the second-largest chain of radio stations in the United States, and the voices now loudly scrutinizing Musk were silent.

In the Baltimore area alone, Soros's Audacy has 1.6 million monthly broadcast listeners, and its streaming audience reaches 151,000 listeners monthly across six different brands. Multiply that by the 40-odd additional markets Audacy's 200 radio stations are in. Musk's tweets, by comparison, regularly garner millions of views, so both he and Soros hold significant sway over public opinion.

When Musk announced his plans to buy Twitter (now X) in April 2022, left-leaning operatives and voters immediately raised concerns and threatened to leave the platform. Two years later, the platform remains a critical part of the American media landscape. In the lead-up to the 2024 election, multiple articles were written on Musk's growing support for Donald Trump and his ability to influence voters.

Soros donated at least \$140 million toward political advocacy organizations and ballot initiatives in 2021 via his 501(c)(4) advocacy nonprofit, Open Society Policy Center. He also personally donated \$170 million to Democratic candidates during the 2022 midterm elections.

Over the course of three decades, Soros's Open Society Foundations has spent \$22 billion spreading left-wing ideology and policies throughout the West, using at least 253 journalism and activist media groups.



Credit: Frederic Legrand/COMEO. License: Shutterstock.

Elon Musk at VIVA Technology (Vivatech) in Paris on June 16, 2023.

Now, thanks to the Audacy buy, Soros has the ability to use his hundreds of radio stations to amplify leftist ideology.

Soros recently handed control over his multibillion-dollar Open Society Foundations over to his son, Alex Soros, following the 2022 midterm elections. Both George and Alex have publicly endorsed Kamala Harris for president, and late last month Alex Soros met with Tim Walz in Soros's Manhattan home.

Yet only Musk, who now has been tasked by the second Trump administration to clean up government waste, faces backlash from the left and their corporate media handlers.

Scott Walter is president of Capital Research Center.



*Musk likes to say that X promotes open dialogue.
Soros, by contrast, tends to suppress ideological dissent.*

The left argues Musk's growing media empire might have unfairly swayed the election, but they have at least as much reason to worry about Soros. Musk likes to say that X promotes open dialogue. Soros, by contrast, tends to suppress ideological dissent.

Open Society Foundations has a history of funding organizations that combat so-called disinformation. Grantees with innocent-sounding names like Good Information Inc. and Free Press seek mostly to silence other political and policy ideas. During the 2022 midterm elections, the Soros-backed Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights called on Big Tech CEOs to take action to "help prevent the undermining" of democracy by addressing "voting disinformation." The effort was aimed at controlling media narratives in the left's favor.

The same quiet censorship is commonplace on the left. For example, Free Press, funded by Soros, proudly sent an open letter to top Big Tech executives in April to encourage them to enforce "rules against election lies and hate in political advertising" and to reinstate "election-integrity policies, inclusive of moderating content around the Big Lie."

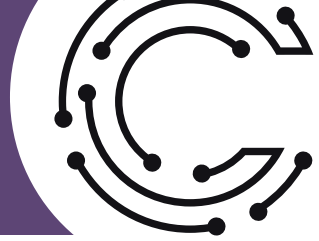
In sharp contrast, Musk has successfully made X the "digital town square" for the 21st century, with loud voices from across the political spectrum enjoying vigorous debate. Proving its bipartisan power, President Joe Biden even announced the end of his 2024 presidential campaign via X.

As the left clamored over Musk's potential to influence the 2024 election through open dialogue on X, they overlooked the quieter, yet potentially more significant, power the Soros family wields over hundreds of radio stations, in Baltimore and across the country.

As a conservative myself, I wish more right-leaning billionaires would invest in media outlets that shape public opinion, even if that creates more condemnation from the left's hypocrites. ■

This article first appeared in the Baltimore Sun on December 5, 2024.

Read previous articles from the Commentary series online at capitalresearch.org/category/commentary/.



THE WINGED NIKE OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE: 2024 ELECTION ROUNDUP

By Michael Watson

Summary: *In 2016, Donald Trump turned the political world upside down. In 2020, Democrats thought they had set it back on course and ended an error. In 2024, it was made clear that there was no return to the time before the Golden Escalator. The “new American majority” voted not as a loyal bloc for the “emerging Democratic majority,” but instead, divided itself with strong support for the “current American plurality”—the Republican Party of President-elect Donald Trump.*

Around 6:30 PM on Election Night 2024, Hamilton County, Indiana—home to Carmel, a leafy suburb of Indianapolis famous for its European-style traffic roundabouts—reported about half its votes. They broke 50 percent to 49 percent in favor of Vice President Kamala Harris over former (and future) President Donald Trump, giving hope to Democrats and Democratic Party supporters like Bill Kristol that Ann Selzer might have been right. Selzer’s polling of her home state had forecast close national races in 2016 and 2020 and forecast a Democratic sweep in 2024.

But that ballot drop, consisting of early votes, was a “blue mirage.” President Trump won Hamilton County, the national ballotage, and the Electoral College—the Electoral College by a convincing if not landslide prospective margin of 312-226 (pending the potential for faithless electors). Democrats, who had convinced themselves that the unlikely return of the 45th President as the 47th was impossible, were left stunned more than outraged.

The results are easily shown by the *New York Times* election-swing map. Unlike 2020, in which the swing-from-2016 map shows many counties that shifted against the change in the national margin toward the Democrats, the 2024 swing map shows a nearly universal red shift, with only the Seattle and Atlanta metropolitan areas noticeable for some counties drifting bluer. All 50 states and the District of Columbia swung Republican from 2020.

Unlike in 2016, the Left could not blame dead white men who wrote the perfidious Electoral College into the Constitution for their loss of power. Trump won a plurality of the “national popular vote” and adding the half-percent of votes thrown to withdrawn candidate Robert F. Kennedy



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Winged Nike, the ancient Greek goddess of victory, had sided with the Left in 2020, but that victory betrayed a hollowness as electorates voted in the Biden administration with numerous state-level checks on its power and the barest of federal legislative majorities.

Jr., the longtime environmentalist campaigner and vaccination skeptic whom President-elect Trump nominated for a Cabinet post in the post-election period, would make a majority. Unlike in 2016, ample evidence indicated the election could be close, with mathematical handicappers like Nate Silver projecting nearly-to-literally equal likelihoods that either major-party candidate could win.

The Left was, by its own lights, fairly beaten. Winged Nike, the ancient Greek goddess of victory, had sided with them in 2020, but that victory betrayed a hollowness as electorates voted in the Biden administration with numerous state-level checks on its power and the barest of federal legislative majorities. But the Biden administration governed not as a caretaker or a soft proponent of the “progressive centrism” of the Bill Clinton era, but as the representative of “the

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



It is notable that Trump won over the “multiracial working class” without adopting a tax, spend, and regulate economic policy.

Groups” with a capital “G”—the institutions of left-wing politics and advocacy familiar to readers of InfluenceWatch.

But on what Republican Party has Winged Nike landed? Its leader, former President Donald Trump, is familiar, but much else was not. The trends in non-white communities that trended right as the nation swung left in 2020 continued, making Trump’s third coalition the most ethnically diverse Republican coalition since the Civil Rights Era. It was the financially least-well-off Republican coalition in living memory, with exit polls showing the Democrats winning the 40 percent of the electorate with household incomes over \$100,000 and the Republicans winning the 60 percent making less than that amount. The “gender gap,” projected by many commentators to favor the Democrats as women stormed the polls to support abortion access even if they had to keep their Harris votes secret from their husbands, actually favored the Republicans, with former President Trump winning men by 13 points while Vice President Harris won women by eight.

It is notable that Trump won over what Patrick Ruffini, a Republican pollster and author of the book *Party of the People*, called the “multiracial working class” without adopting a tax, spend, and regulate economic policy. While he opposed reforms to old-age entitlements and continued his longstanding support for tariffs and other restrictions on international trade, Trump’s economic campaigning focused on combating inflation, cutting middle-class taxes, and cutting federal regulations—all policies that would have fit comfortably in the Republican coalitions of the Presidents Bush or Ronald Reagan. Despite his selection of American Compass favorite Sen. J.D. Vance (R-OH) as his running mate, Trump’s campaign was *not* a campaign of the Hewlett Foundation-funded conspiracy to abandon (excuse me, “reimagine”) capitalism; it was a campaign of capitalism for normal people.

The Left’s defeat, which also saw Republicans retain the majority in the U.S. House of Representatives and take the majority in the U.S. Senate, led not to a reprise of the forceful #Resistance of 2016 but rather a circular firing squad. Democratic-aligned commentators like Ezra Klein questioned the positioning of left-wing Groups as pollsters found evidence that Everything Leftist positions on immigration non-enforcement and transgender coercion combined with the inflationary effects of the Everything Leftist spending

packages of the Biden administration dragged Harris down. The efforts of the organized “Never Trump” activists, nominally of the Right but funded by and campaigning alongside the Left, failed comprehensively, with the 22nd Amendment rather than any electorate set to retire Trump from the presidency in 2029.

In 2016, Donald Trump turned the political world upside down. In 2020, Democrats thought they had set it back on course and ended an error. In 2024, it was made clear that there was no return to the time before the Golden Escalator.

It Wasn’t Just the Presidency

In 2020, Republican resiliency below the presidential ballot demonstrated the weakness of President Joe Biden’s victory. Republicans had narrowed their deficit in the House of Representatives, came within a few thousand votes in Georgia from retaining control of the Senate, and expanded their control of state governments. In 2024, the down-ballot results largely confirmed that the Republicans had secured a comfortable if narrow plurality of national support, with Republicans holding the narrow majority in the U.S. House of Representatives they had won in 2022 and retaking the



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In 2020, Republican resiliency below the presidential ballot demonstrated the weakness of President Joe Biden’s victory.

Senate with a 53-seat Republican Conference, despite the best efforts of Marc Elias and outgoing Sen. Bob Casey (D-PA) to conjure enough dubious ballots to overturn Casey's loss to Sen.-elect Dave McCormick (R-PA).

While the gubernatorial campaign of North Carolina Lieutenant Governor Mark Robinson (R) imploded spectacularly, former U.S. Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH) retained the New Hampshire governorship and the state government trifecta for the Republican Party. Republicans broke Democratic trifectas by retaking control of the Michigan state House of Representatives and by evenly dividing the Minnesota state House of Representatives. Democrats lost their legislative supermajority in Vermont and failed to gain a legislative supermajority in Nevada, giving those states' Republican governors more powerful vetoes.

Conservative and anti-progressive politics also gained at the local level. The Chicago Teachers Union, a strong backer and former employer of embattled Chicago Mayor Brandon Johnson (D), lost a majority of the elected school board seats contested in the fall election despite throwing just under \$1.75 million at the races. District attorneys supported by George Soros and other left-wing billionaires pushing the progressive prosecutor project did poorly across California, as Oakland-area voters overwhelmingly recalled Alameda County District Attorney Pamela Price and George Gascon, the prototype progressive prosecutor during his time as San Francisco district attorney, was defeated for re-election as Los Angeles County district attorney.

The red tide even washed over America's far-flung dependencies. Puerto Rico, the focus of a firestorm late in the mainland presidential campaign over a comedian's intemperate jokes at a Trump campaign rally in New York City, elected former territorial Republican Party chair and sitting Resident Commissioner (Puerto Rico's title for its nonvoting delegate to Congress) Jenniffer Gonzalez-Colon governor as the candidate of the pro-statehood coalition. Republicans gained a territorial governorship in the Pacific as well, as Pula Nikolao Pula, a former civil servant in the federal Office of Insular Affairs who opposed the Biden administration's appointment of a Puerto Rican to lead the office, won the American Samoa gubernatorial election. On Guam, Republicans took the majority in the territorial legislature. The Northern Marianas Islands will send a Republican non-voting delegate to Congress, Kimberly Kay King-Hinds, to complete the Pacific delegate sweep alongside re-elected Delegates Amata Radewagen of American Samoa and Jim Moylan of Guam.

And ballot measures *mostly* went the way of the conservative/anti-left coalition. Arizona comfortably passed a ballot

initiative making certain immigration offenses state-level crimes and requiring use of E-Verify to determine the immigration status of people seeking government benefits. Ohio voters rejected a "nonpartisan" redistricting commission, and voters in four states rejected ranked-choice voting schemes. Both Dakotas rejected marijuana legalization by majority vote, and a measure to legalize the drug in Florida failed to reach the supermajority requirement. And while several states passed abortion-access measures in 2024, the issue's post-*Dobbs v. Jackson* winning streak was broken, with Nebraska and South Dakota rejecting creating rights to abortion by majority vote and a Florida measure creating an abortion right failing to achieve a needed supermajority.

California, the Golden State of plebiscitary democracy, voted to reject a measure pushed by the radical-left AIDS Healthcare Foundation (AHF) that would have authorized local rent control measures while simultaneously punishing AHF for pushing extremely costly ballot campaigns by passing a measure restricting non-health-services spending by certain health providers that participate in a major state prescription-drug benefits program. Voters in every single county in California voted to increase punishments for certain drug- and theft-related crimes. And perhaps most astonishingly, California voters brushed aside a \$10 million campaign from Blue Apron investor Joe Sanberg and *rejected an increase to the minimum wage*, an outcome that is so rare no statewide electorate had done it in the 21st century.

The Current American Plurality

Since before the first election of President Barack Obama, Big Philanthropy and liberal interest groups have awaited the rise of a "New American Majority." This New American Majority, a derivation from the demographic projections that inspired *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, was to be based on a "rising American electorate" of Generation Z and millennials, unmarried women, and "people of color," especially Latinos.

And, as the "unmarried" adjective in the "unmarried women" segment betrays, these groups were expected to be loyally Democratic, turning the "emerging" majority into a potentially permanent one. Before the 2016 election, then-Democracy Alliance president Gara LaMarche wrote:

There is one sure path to a progressive victory in the 2016 election, and that is to excite, mobilize, and turn out at the polls the communities of what have been called the "new American majority"—African-Americans, Latinos, Asian-Pacific Islanders and other communities of color, young people and

women, as well as progressive white voters. This case has been most powerfully made by author and analyst Steve Phillips in this year's key political book, *Brown is the New White*.

LaMarche continued, noting that the Republican candidate in the way of “a progressive victory in the 2016 election” was perhaps uniquely unsuited to the world of the “new American majority”:

Donald Trump is getting trounced in these communities, and his numbers are unlikely to improve, since racism, xenophobia and misogyny are not incidental to his candidacy, but its essential fuel.... Some polls find Trump's support at no more than 17% of Latinos and 20% of millennials, a yawning gender gap, and a standing in the African-American community barely higher than cancer.

But all trends continue, until they cease. In 2020, Democrats were warned that Latinos were not entirely on-board with the Everything Leftist program, as south Florida and Texas's Rio Grande Valley swung against the national tide. Asians had swung to Republicans, especially down-ballot. President Joe Biden sent Donald Trump into Floridian exile on the backs of the “*falling*” *suburban and white American electorate changing their votes*, not by super-powered rising groups marching to the Democracy Alliance drum.

And in 2024, LaMarche's 2016 totems were all cast down by Winged Nike. Donald Trump won a Republican Party record 46 percent of Hispanic voters—and an outright majority of Latino men—in the national exit poll, with

county-level results suggesting he may have even exceeded that total. Millennials and younger voters, those born after 1980, voted for Vice President Harris by only a 51 percent to 46 percent margin. The gender gap, expected throughout election season to power Vice President Harris to victory, favored Republicans, as former President Trump widened his 2020 advantage with men and narrowed his 2020 deficit with women. And while Black voters remained loyally Democratic, former President Trump narrowed his 2020 deficit even as Black turnout declined (a plausible sign of dissatisfaction with the dominant party in one-party areas).

Progressive institutions are left asking, “What happened?” The “new American majority” voted not as a loyal bloc for the “emerging Democratic majority” but divided itself with strong support for the “current American plurality”—the Republican Party of President-elect Donald Trump. Substantial evidence suggests that the progressive movement and the Democratic Party that is its electoral vehicle misjudged the communities that it claimed would make up its New American Majority.

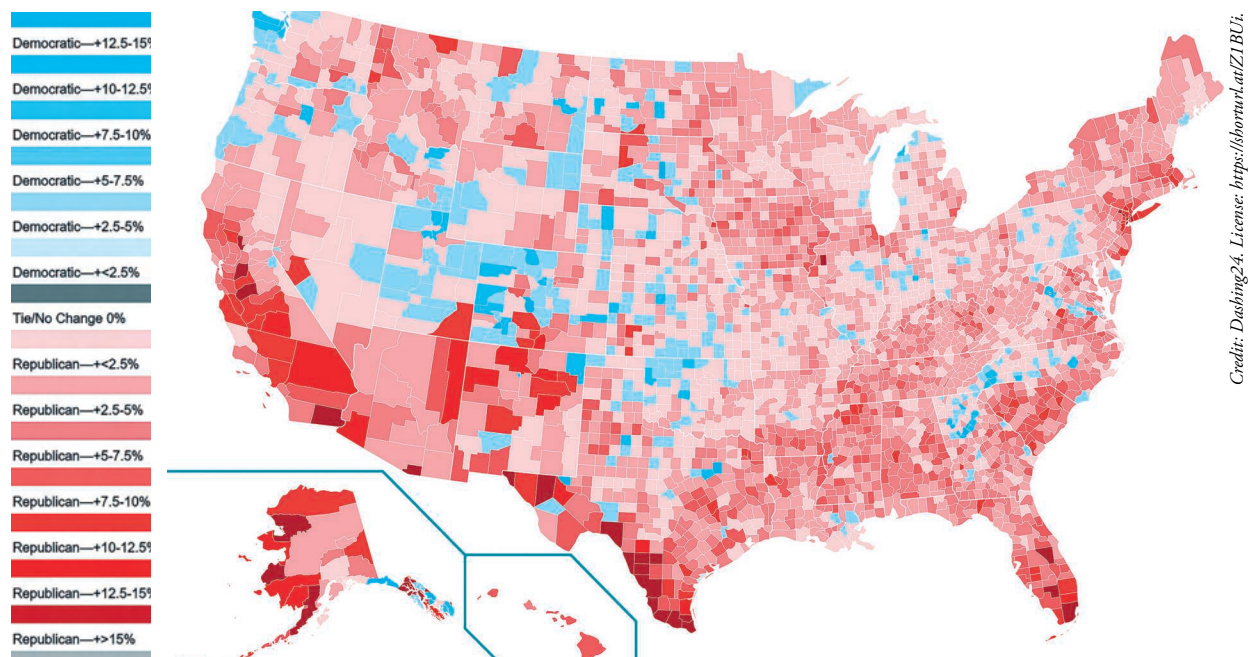
Start with Latinos, the implicit power behind the New American Majority's permanence as natural population growth and especially expanded immigration (and amnesty-with-citizenship for Latinos already illegally present in the country) grew their numbers. Liberals and especially the network of progressive Groups like United We Dream, UnidosUS (formerly National Council of La Raza), and CASA de Maryland acted on the apparent belief that the most important issue to Latino Americans was liberalizing border crossing and amnesty for illegal immigrants. This liberal stance would tie the “Latinx community” to the progressive movement of “oppressed” groups opposed to the “oppression” of the past, just like liberal civil rights reforms tied Black Americans to the Democratic Party in the 1960s. Former President Trump's intemperate remarks about various Latin American countries and communities would seal the deal, showing him to be fully on the side of the “oppressors.”

But the Groups were wrong. As the Heritage Foundation's Mike Gonzalez noted shortly after the election, Hispanic Americans are politically aligning their interests with the broader national mainstream that many if not most of them want to join or have joined. As Dan McCarthy noted in his review of Trump's success with Latinos, immigrant groups that are aligning with the national mainstream often take populist positions on new immigration. Further, border-region Latinos (like those in Texas's Rio Grande Valley) opposed the disorder the Biden administration's de facto open-border policies had brought. And Latino conser-



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Start with Latinos, the implicit power behind the New American Majority's permanence as natural population growth and especially expanded immigration (and amnesty-with-citizenship for Latinos already illegally present in the country) grew their numbers.



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vatives, who had already begun to break with their legacy Democratic allegiances, continued to shed those allegiances.

The focus on Trump’s intemperateness, which started the moment he descended the Golden Escalator in 2015 and continued through the media-orchestrated panic about an insult-comic’s derisive remarks about Puerto Rico at the Trump campaign’s Madison Square Garden rally in the final days of the election season, also missed the mark. Many Latinos are fine with crude and crass entertainment and do not share professional-class liberal sensibilities about language. Giancarlo Sopo, a Spanish-language media consultant who had worked on Trump’s 2020 campaign, posted a Twitter thread shortly after the election illustrating the content of the popular American Spanish-language entertainment news show “El Gordo y la Flaca”—“The Fat Guy and the Skinny Chick”—featuring very *PG-13-and-just-barely* clips, alongside jokes that would not fly on English-language daytime television.

Sopo’s conclusion? “Whoever told Dems Hispanics share the PC sensibilities of white liberals committed malpractice.... No one should be shocked that Hispanics don’t vote like kids at Sarah Lawrence—it’s a different culture.” Indeed, Trump’s intemperateness compared with his more strait-laced Republican predecessors in the mold of Sen. Mitt Romney (R-UT) might even have *helped* him: As Sopo

argues, “It’s easy to see now why many Hispanics didn’t feel at home in a country club GOP seen as puritanical. By and large, Hispanics aren’t socially conservative—at least not in the WASP sense.”

Latinos were not the only major constituent of the Rising American Electorate that the institutional progressive movement misread. Women were supposed to power Vice President Harris and the Democratic ticket to victory with abortion access as their foremost concern. As *New York* magazine’s Rebecca Traister wrote in a long screed against the brash crop of Gen X-and-younger Republican women: “if the women of today’s Republican Party are upending gender conventions in unprecedented fashion, they’re doing it in service of a party that has never been more openly hostile to women and their rights.” Indeed, Democratic committees supporting the Harris campaign, most notably Vote Common Good and the Lincoln Project, thought the hostility was so great that they produced advertisements featuring celebrities reminding potentially Republican-leaning women that they didn’t have to tell their husbands that they voted for Democrats.

Democrats noticed they had a problem with young men—just about half the “millennials and Gen Z” who were supposed to constitute the Rising American Electorate. So, while former President Trump (reportedly with the guidance



Latinos were not the only major constituent of the Rising American Electorate that the institutional progressive movement misread.

of his youngest son, Barron) toured bro-culture podcasts like *This Past Weekend with Theo Von*, the Barstool Sports show *Bussin' with the Boys*, and *The Joe Rogan Experience*, the biggest show of them all, the Vote Save America political committee spun out by *Pod Save America* parent Crooked Media put out a widely mocked web ad with actors saying that they were “man enough” to vote for Vice President Harris and other men should “man up” and do likewise.

But the Great War of the Sexes did not come to pass. Trump did as predicted and expanded his margin with men from eight points in 2020 to 13 points in 2024. But Harris did *not* do as predicted and rally women to her cause, as the Democratic margin with women shrank from 15 points in 2020 to eight. As comedian and cultural commentator Bridget Phetasy wrote in a post-election piece:

The Democrats realized too late that they had Bud Lighted their brand. You can't be openly hostile to men for two decades and expect to retain the male vote. And judging by Trump's gains with both genders, you also can't be incapable of defining what a woman is and expect women to believe you care about them, either.

Other groups, not exclusively those named as part of the “rising American electorate,” also shifted their allegiances. In 2020, President Joe Biden had secured a majority of Catholic voters; in 2024, his vice president lost them by a wide margin. While exit polls were unclear, precinct-level election-results data suggest former President Trump did unusually well for a Republican with Jewish voters, or at least Jewish voters who identify their Jewishness by religious observance. Muslim enclaves in Michigan swung hard toward the former president despite his support for Israel, in part perhaps a reflection on Trump's campaigning on a peacemaking platform and Vice President Harris surrounding herself with ex-Republican hawks like ex-Rep. Liz Cheney (R-WY) on the campaign trail. Even the irreligious, a strong Democratic base constituency, shifted toward the GOP.

Perhaps the most conspicuous change of the party coalitions was one of *class*. Previously, the highest income group was a comfortably Republican constituency, while lower income Americans voted for the party of Big Labor and Big Government, the Democrats. In 2024, that reversed, with exit polls showing former President Trump winning households making less than \$100,000 by three points while Vice President Harris won households making more than that sum by five. Republican pollster Patrick Ruffini, author of *Party of the People: Inside the Multiracial Populist Coalition Remaking the GOP* in 2023, saw many of his predictions borne out.

How the Left Lost

So how, then, did it all come to pass? The answer can be found in the liberal-progressive-Democratic coalition's process ideology, Everything Leftism. The Biden administration operationalized Everything Leftism throughout its government, with a series of whole-of-government initiatives on issues ranging from union organizing to environmental justice to racial equity.

But the public was less excited about the prospect of another four years of whole-of-government Everything Leftism than Big Philanthropy, the Democratic Party, and the liberal activist class—together known as “the Groups” in election postmortems. Indeed, they were so un-excited that some Everything Leftist proposals from the mouth of the



Credit: Reuters. License: <https://shorturl.at/gvGD>.

Everything Leftist positions on immigration non-enforcement and transgender coercion combined with the inflationary effects of the Everything Leftist spending packages of the Biden administration dragged Kamala Harris down.



When Democratic polling group Blueprint asked voters what had soured them on Vice President Harris's campaign, Everything Leftism was the clear reason.

Democratic candidate herself were not believed by the public, in what a Tablet magazine writer dubbed “Democrats’ Insanity Defense.”

The Trump campaign pummeled the excesses of Everything Leftism. Its most notable advertisement featured Harris, then a Senator running for president in the 2020 Democratic presidential primaries, telling an activist from the National Center for Transgender Equality Action Fund that she supported providing gender reassignment to transgender prisoners at taxpayer expense. The Biden administration’s extremely permissive border policies were another line of attack. And the inflation at least partly induced by the Biden administration’s first-year, FDR-inspired spending spree and the continued fallout from restrictive blue-state COVID lockdowns were the substratum on which the whole election was built.

When Democratic polling group Blueprint asked voters what had soured them on Vice President Harris’s campaign, Everything Leftism was the clear reason. The top three issues among swing voters who chose Trump were that Harris focused more on cultural issues like transgenderism rather than helping the middle class, that inflation was too high, and that the administration had allowed too many migrants to illegally cross the border.

Other Everything Leftism cases provided further drags on the progressive-Democratic alliance. Vice President Harris, a Californian, pointedly refused to disclose whether she intended to vote for or against the overwhelmingly popular Proposition 36 to increase criminal penalties. And degrowth-environmentalism, one of the Biden administration’s whole-of-government beneficiaries, proved highly unpopular with working-class voters. Taken together, the 2024 results show a reaction to the woke coordination of the #Resistance and whole-of-government eras.

Even Democrats and liberals concluded that the Groups had lost the election for team blue. The Big Philanthropy—

fueled voter registration network that Capital Research Center has extensively chronicled did not deliver the results its funders would have hoped. As liberal Nevada political commentator John Ralston, who had predicted a narrow victory in his state for Vice President Harris, noted in his postmortem after former President Trump carried the state: “The Democratic machine DID turn out its voters—young, Hispanics, nonpartisans who leaned left—but they didn’t do what they usually do: vote for the Democrats.”

Ezra Klein of the *New York Times* invited Michael Lind, an old-fashioned class-first social democrat, to criticize the entire structure of the liberal-nonprofit advocacy infrastructure. Klein noted that the identity politics representative groups with influence in progressive-left politics “are claiming to speak for very, very wide swaths of the electorate and persuading Democrats of things that those parts of the electorate simply don’t believe.” He specifically identified Hispanic groups’ pushing de facto open borders and Black groups pushing “defund the police” as examples. Lind affirmed, dryly remarking, “If all of the leaders of these various communities are career nonprofit people or academics funded by the Ford Foundation and other big grantors, they’re AstroTurf.”

Foundation funders, a multi-billion-dollar pillar of the American Left, had driven the left-of-center movement far from the American median. Ira Stoll, writing at the *Wall Street Journal*, noted:

On three big issues of the presidential campaign—inflation, immigration and transgenderism—charitable foundations and their grantees supported policies that wound up damaging the Democrats. The culprits include the \$25 billion Open Society Foundations, the \$16 billion Ford Foundation, and the \$12.8 billion William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

Stoll charged the Hewlett Foundation’s campaign to undo free-market capitalism, the “Economy and Society Initiative,” with exacerbating inflation, especially since the Biden administration invited Hewlett alumna Jennifer Harris into the administration. Meanwhile, Open Society Foundations and Ford funded the International Refugee Assistance Project, which advocated for many Biden administration immigration policies, among other de facto open-borders groups. Ford and Hewlett also funded the ACLU, a core advancer of transgender vanguardism in American law.

When the dust settled, one could argue that Winged Nike was driven from the Left by the actions of its own institutions, driving the Democratic Party, its supporters, and its activist cadres further and further from the “median voter” who is assumed to decide elections.

Cautions and Conclusions

But the Victory that now lies with President-elect Trump’s Republicans remains winged and ready to flee. They may find that, in the words of Lin-Manuel Miranda’s George Washington from the musical *Hamilton*, that “Winning is easy, young man, governing is harder.”

Already, their victory was less comprehensive than it could have been. Republican Senate candidates in Michigan and Wisconsin lost by three-tenths and nine-tenths of a percentage point, respectively, while poor Republican nominees in Arizona and Nevada encouraged those states to split their federal tickets. Redistricting that followed the 2020 Census, into which the Left had poured millions in resources, and re-draws following the 2022 elections hurt House Republicans. In 2016, a popular-vote lead of 1.1 percentage points handed the House Republican Conference a strong majority with 241 seats. In 2024, a popular-vote lead of approximately 3 points will yield a Republican majority so narrow it could theoretically be threatened by special elections to replace Representatives selected for jobs in the second Trump administration. School choice suffered setbacks in multiple ballot-measure campaigns.

The new Republican coalition may prove unwieldy as it comes time for President Trump to govern. Traditionally conservative Republicans in the Senate have proved less than enthusiastic over some of Trump’s administration selections. While ex-Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-FL) was forced to withdraw as Attorney General nominee over personal indiscretions, the nominations of ex-Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI) as director of national intelligence, of Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. as secretary of health and human services, and of outgoing Rep. Lori Chavez-DeRemer (R-OR), the choice of Teamsters Union boss Sean O’Brien, as secretary of labor have received push-back from Senate Republicans over policy differences. Such

coalitional selections and approaches to governance can fail in two ways. First, they can make the government’s policy incoherent. Second, if the government adopts a full-spectrum liberal policy that resembles the Bidenomics it was elected to dispatch to history with extreme prejudice, the electorate may seek others who will do the deed.

And always there is the temptation to the same hubris that made Nike fly from the Democrats. Joe Biden and his allies misread the electorate’s commission to them in 2020. While the electorate had almost surgically excised the mercurial incumbent Donald Trump from American government, it had bound the new Democratic majorities with narrow margins and a nominally moderate president in the hope of restoring an Obama-era vision of normal life after the COVID-19 pandemic. But instead, President Biden and his allies took Winged Nike landing upon them as a commission to change America on a scale equal to that of Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal, a hubris highlighted by a 2021 dinner involving President Biden and a number of liberal historians including Doris Kearns Goodwin and John Meacham.

When instead of liberal normality, continued COVID militancy, inflation, foreign crisis, and open-border disorder emerged from the Biden administration, the electorate turned to Republicans to return the country to normal on their terms. After four years of “WEIRD Elite” consolidation, the national electorate handed the federal government to the counter-elite. The WEIRD Elite, and the Biden administration that handed its government to it, failed to deliver for the “normal center” of “inoffensive, law-abiding, upwardly-mobile, middle-class culture,” which is why its attempt to hand power off to Biden’s number-two failed. Whether the second Trump administration can deliver for the normal center will determine whether President Donald Trump will be able to do what his nonconsecutive-term forebear, Gover Cleveland, could not and hand his party future success on which to build. ■

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“DEATH TO AMERICA”: 250 ANTI-ISRAEL GROUPS WANT TO DESTROY THE U.S.

By Ryan Mauro

Summary: On the Fourth of July, about 250 organizations involved with the anti-Israel protest movement revealed themselves as anti-American extremists by rejecting or condemning the holiday. Most of them publicly expressed a longing for the destruction of the United States. The groups’ public statements in response to the Fourth of July holiday show they are not well-wishing patriots. They are ideologues. In fact, most of them have openly endorsed Hamas’s barbaric terrorist attacks on Israelis on October 7, 2023. The inescapable conclusion is that the so-called pro-Palestinian network behind almost all the ongoing anti-Israel protests is an appendage of a broader anti-American movement that sees the destruction of the United States as necessary as the destruction of Israel.

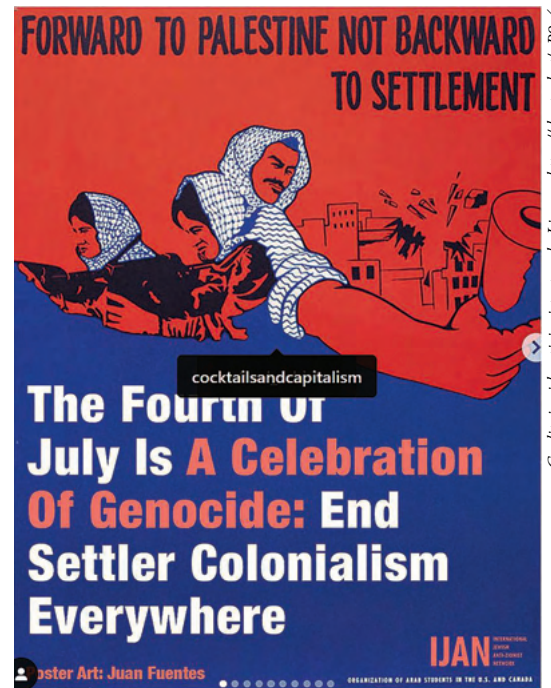
On the Fourth of July, about 250 organizations involved with the anti-Israel protest movement revealed themselves as anti-American extremists by rejecting or condemning the holiday. Most of them publicly expressed a longing for the destruction of the United States.

Many of the groups also asserted solidarity with foreign terrorist groups such as Hamas and some even endorsed anti-American violence.

A review of these social media postings, their authors and the groups who expressed approval of them discovered that almost all the major groups that are organizing the ongoing anti-Israel protests took part in what are essentially declarations of war on the United States, including the groups most responsible for launching and sustaining the “Student Intifada” on campuses across the country.

High-profile organizations authored or liked the anti-American posts, such as the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, the Women’s March, and at least three groups that were trying to torpedo President Biden’s formal nomination: March on the DNC, Swing States for Peace, and Abandon Biden 24.

The groups’ public statements in response to the Fourth of July holiday show they are not well-wishing patriots. They are ideologues. Their protests are not the result of a good



A post by the pro-Hamas Palestinian Youth Movement depicts U.S. troops as murderous and abusive, implying that the alleged casualty count of over 680,000 Iraqis is solely the result of a merciless, psychopathic American killing spree.

faith attempt to objectively analyze the Middle East situation with the intention of making a positive difference for the U.S. and everyone affected by the conflict.

Nor is their behavior representative of a principled idealism that rejects all war and violence in favor of peace, understanding, and constructive dialogue.

In fact, most of them—even the ones with words like “peace” and “anti-war” in their names—have openly endorsed Hamas’s barbaric terrorist attacks on Israelis (and non-Israelis including over 30 Americans) on October 7, 2023.

Ryan Mauro is an investigative researcher for Capital Research Center.

Of those mentioned here, none of them were seen endorsing a two-state solution where Israel lives peacefully alongside an independent Palestine in acceptance of each other's existence.

Instead they favor destroying Israel—an objective that meets the criteria for the Geneva Convention's legal definition of “genocide,” which is the very kind of atrocity they purport to be protesting.

A review of the anti-Israel organizations' posts around July 4th show they are part of an interconnected, overlapping, ideologically anti-American movement.

America Is Evil

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and its American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) enablers are, by far, the parties that are most responsible for the eruption of the nationwide campus protests.

Terrorism-finance expert Jonathan Schanzer's assessment is that they should be seen as essentially a single entity. Both are pro-Hamas. SJP even went so far as to declare itself to be a part of Hamas after the October 7 attacks.

Nine American and Israeli victims of the attacks filed a lawsuit against SJP's and AMP's involvement in Hamas's operations. It alleges that the two groups “are not merely organizing to assist Hamas's ongoing terror campaign abroad—they are intentionally extending their aid to fomenting chaos, violence, and terror in the United States.”

The plaintiffs argue:

[AMP] serves as Hamas's propaganda division in the United States. AMP was founded from the ashes of disbanded organizations created by senior Hamas officials after those organizations and related individuals were found criminally and civilly liable for providing material support to Hamas and other affiliated terrorist groups.

In 2010, AMP expanded its operation to American college campuses when it founded Defendant National Students for Justice in Palestine (“NSJP”) to control hundreds of Students for Justice in Palestine (“SJP”) chapters across the country. Through NSJP, AMP uses propaganda to intimidate, convince, and recruit uninformed, misguided, and impressionable college students to serve as foot soldiers for Hamas on campus and beyond.

SJP claims to have over 350 chapters in North America with various reports putting the number in the U.S. at around 200. Its national account has an Instagram audience of 62,000. AMP has around 15 chapters and an Instagram following of 91,000. The pre-existence of this large and fanatical network is why the “Student Intifada” was able to be so quickly organized.

The anti-American origins of these groups' activism is clearly displayed in a Fourth of July Instagram post that was published jointly with the pro-Hamas Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM) (682,000 followers); PYM's New York City chapter (43,000), PYM's DC, Maryland, and Virginia chapter (19,000), and the pro-Hamas Writers Against the War on Gaza (80,000):

THIS JULY 4TH, CALL THE U.S. WHAT IT IS:
THE ENGINE OF GLOBAL IMPERIALISM

We reject the “independence day” of a blood soaked empire...

The final slide in the post declares, “This Fourth of July we call the U.S.A. what it is: An engine of exploitative capitalism and global imperialism.”

The slides accuse the U.S. of killing over 680,000 Iraqis with an image depicting U.S. troops as murderous and abusive, implying that the alleged casualty count is solely the result of a merciless, psychopathic American killing spree. It also claims that U.S. forces looted and burned over 1 million Iraqi artifacts, books, and manuscripts.

The other slides demonize the U.S. for the Korean War, which was started by North Korea trying to conquer South Korea; the Vietnam War, which was started by the communist North Vietnamese trying to conquer South Vietnam; and the trade embargo on Cuba that was instituted to influence and avoid empowering a communist anti-American dictatorship only 90 miles away from Florida.

Most ridiculously, the post villainizes U.S. involvement in delivering humanitarian aid to starving civilians in Somalia and its narrowly targeting Al-Qaeda's Somali-murdering branch there. SJP, PYM, and Writers Against the War on Gaza, as well as the dozens of groups that expressed agreement with their post, want their audiences to believe that even *this* is an act of American evil.

What these groups are doing isn't policy analysis. They are trying to build the case that the U.S., and therefore Americans, are an inherently evil entity of the highest order, rotten to the core of our very existence.

Over 70 Anti-Israel Groups Agree

Over 70 organizations expressed approval of this anti-American post (see the Appendix).

It includes a wide range of groups associated with universities and colleges, such as Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee, which has over 64,000 followers on Instagram.

The appreciators of the post include many chapters of national organizations that support Hamas and other Iran-backed terrorist groups such as Hezbollah, the Houthis, and the Marxist-Leninist/ communist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

That list includes the Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER) Coalition; the All-African People's Revolutionary Party; Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which has about 85 chapters; the Party for Socialism and Liberation, which has about 80 chapters; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Black Alliance for Peace; Anti-Imperialist Action; American Party of Labor, and the John Brown Gun Club, a pro-PFLP militia-type group associated with anarchist and communist militants such as those identifying as Antifa.

Other groups with national coalitions who liked the post include Dissenters and the Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, which has over 60 organizational members in its coalition.

Terrorism-endorsing groups who liked the post and don't have a network of nationwide chapters include the Bronx

Antiwar Coalition, the pro-North Korea Nodutdol, which also operates Koreans for Palestinian Liberation and U.S. Koreans for Palestine; the Institute for the Critical Study of Zionism; and PAL-AWDA, a merger of the New York-based pro-Hamas groups Palestinian Assembly for Liberation and Al-Awda NY.

SJP and PYM operate through the fiscal sponsorship of the Westchester People's Action Coalition (WESPAC) Foundation. The linked Progress Unity Fund, which is linked to Chinese Communist government, does the same for the ANSWER Coalition. Black Alliance for Peace is fiscally sponsored by Community Movement Builders, a group with extensive links to anti-American militants including the Stop Cop City/Defend the Atlanta Forest alliance that has dozens of anarchist members who are being prosecuted on domestic terrorism charges.

Endorsing Anti-American Violence

In a Fourth of July post, the pro-Hamas and pro-PFLP Dream Defenders' (DD) glorified anti-American violence.

The first slide says that the holiday celebrates when a "white nationalist state was born" and that DD pledges to "recommit to struggling towards the end of this empire."

The other slides in the post justify anti-American violence. One ridicules Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolence. It grossly mischaracterizes his activism as premised on the foolish belief that oppressors' hearts will change if they see minorities suffering more.

DD condemns the U.S. for essentially being the greatest horror the world has ever known, accusing the U.S. of never having done anything positive for "our people." It casts the country as "the enemy of freedom struggles all over the world" and even blames the U.S. for the bloodshed and despair of "our people" in Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan.

Rather than celebrate the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, DD said it would instead celebrate themselves and their self-proclaimed "genius":

If we celebrate anything today, it is the genius of our people's resistance. We celebrate our people's dreams of, and organizing towards, self-determination. We celebrate all people's refusal to participate in the death cult that is American patriotism—a death cult that has never done anything good for our people, and that never will.



Credit: Ted Eyan. License: <https://shorturl.at/UNXyN>.

Justice in Palestine and Palestinian Youth Movement operate through the fiscal sponsorship of the Westchester People's Action Coalition Foundation. The linked Progress Unity Fund, which is linked to Chinese Communist government, does the same for the ANSWER Coalition.

DD has at least a dozen chapters, including its Fight Political Action Committee, and has an Instagram following of over 93,000 and another 86,000 on X. It operates through the fiscal sponsorship of Tides Advocacy and its education fund operates through Tides Center.

The post inciting anti-American violence and denouncing American patriotism as a “death cult” was liked by at least 18 organizations (see the Appendix). The most significant include:

- Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, which has 3.4 million followers on Instagram.
- Women’s March, which has 1.3 million followers on Instagram.
- Slow Factory, a group that identifies itself as a climate and human rights organization and has an Instagram following of 833,000.
- Seeding Sovereignty, a “direct action” group with 419,000 Instagram followers.
- Black Women Radicals (192,000 Instagram followers).
- New Economy Coalition, a coalition of over 150 groups that has expressed support for Hamas’s violence that has 43,000 Instagram followers.
- Ahmad Abuznaid, a co-founder and former senior official of DD who is now the executive director of U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights. U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights lists 329 organizations in its coalition and has 84,000 Instagram followers. Abuznaid has a history of speaking positively about the PFLP Marxist-Leninist terrorists backed by Iran. He also arranged trips for anti-Israel activists to meet with associates of PFLP and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist group when he was a DD leader.
- Code Pink’s South Florida chapter. Code Pink justified Hamas’s October 7, 2023, terrorist attacks.

Natives Should Replicate Palestinian “Struggle”

The pro-Hamas International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network’s Fourth of July post has art glorifying Palestinian terrorists armed with rifles and explosives above the words, “The Fourth of July is a Celebration of Genocide: End Settler Colonialism Everywhere.”

It writes:

Anti-colonialism is central to anti-Zionism. On this day—a celebration of so-called American independence—we decry all forms of colonialism past and present, including the ongoing settler colonial project that is the United States...

...We follow Palestinian and Native anti-colonial struggles to declare—from Turtle Island to Palestine, RIGHT OF RETURN IS LAND BACK.

By equating the U.S. and Israel as oppressors and Palestinians and Native Americans as freedom fighters engaged in “anti-colonial struggle,” IJAZN is essentially saying that Palestinian terrorism against Israel is honorable and, therefore, so would be indigenous terrorism against the United States.

The slides, each with the images of the violent terrorists at the top, state:

As anti-Zionists, many of whom are in North America, we not only resist and condemn the United States’ role as a partner in the genocide of Palestinians: **we condemn the United States itself...**

...As we reject the normalization of the Zionist entity, we also reject the inevitability of the U.S. nation-state as a permanent, naturalized feature of our world. Empires fall. **And they are falling...**

...As we assert our proud, unwavering anti-colonial commitment to the people of Palestine, we declare our solidarity with colonized and oppressed people within and beyond what is currently the United States...

Right of Return is Land Back. Free Palestine. Land Back. Abolition Now. From Congo to Sudan, Tigray to West Papua, Kanaky to Kashmir...may all of our resistance tug at the seams of the bloody world order as we build it anew.” [emphasis original]

This virulently anti-American post calling for the violent destruction of the U.S. and recreating of the world is liked by about 20 other groups (see the Appendix) including the Atlanta Multifaith Coalition for Palestine and two anti-Israel LGBT groups, Queers for Palestine Los Angeles and Queers Undermining Israeli Terror.



Jewish Voice for Peace hopes the U.S. is in the process of a collapse that leads it to “disintegrate” and be buried forever.

U.S. (Like Israel) Has No Right to Exist

Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) published a holiday post for its 1.3 million Instagram followers and approximately 85 chapters nationwide that is aimed at delegitimizing the U.S.

It argued that the U.S.’s right to exist is as meritless as Israel’s, a country that JVP believes and hopes is in the process of a collapse that leads it to “disintegrate” and be buried forever.

Part of the post reads:

This July 4th, we contemplate parallels between the colonization of Turtle Island (“North America”) and Palestine:

Genocide. Land theft. Ethnic cleansing. Environmental destruction. Forced displacement of people from their homes, and sequestration into isolated areas with (artificially) scarce resources. Criminalization and surveillance. Colonial control over lives, and denial of self-determination and sovereignty. Erasure of native history and culture. Ideologies (Manifest Destiny, Zionism) of entitlement to, and justification for, these atrocities...

...As @ndncollective writes, although Palestinians and people indigenous to Turtle Island “come from different nations and geographies, the struggles against settler colonialism are the same... because settler colonists share playbooks,” and “zionism, white supremacy, and imperialism... act as one to oppress and eliminate us.”

The concluding text is particularly dangerous and radicalizing because it upholds Palestinian right to “fight and organize” against Israel as a model for pro-indigenous confrontation with the United States:

[B]oth groups of native people are working toward a similar vision of liberation. In @ndncollective’s words: “Just as we fight and organize to reclaim land on Turtle Island, our Palestinian relatives fight and organize to return the land and for the land to return to the people.”

JVP would probably deny that its words are a rallying call for violence and sedition, but these words are not typos. The text leaves no wiggle room for JVP to credibly deny that it is making the moral case for violence and militant revolution.

The last slide in the post is a map of the continent showing where Native American tribes resided so JVP’s readers can “find out whose land you’re on.”

In other words, see what JVP and its comrades hope the mythical Native American “Turtle Island” will be restored from the ashes of the U.S. once it is forced to end its “colonization.”

JVP’s anti-American post of the Fourth of July was liked by over 30 organizations (see the Appendix).

Some of the most significant ones are the Native American NDN Collective (176,000 Instagram followers), the Marxism-oriented Fight for a Future (245,000 followers), the Los Angeles chapter of Queers for Palestine, the Marxist-Leninist/communist and pro-Hamas Workers World Party, the Detroit chapter of the extremist Jericho Movement, and the New Leaf Smoke Shop in Washington, DC—where the Black Panthers were headquartered. It currently has 6,000 followers but says it used to have 30,000 before they were hacked.

“American Dream Is a Scam”

Jews for Racial and Economic Justice, which has 32,000 Instagram followers, libeled American nationalism and the Fourth of July with a post that reads:

In This House We Believe: The American Dream is a Scam. Policing Originates from Runaway Slave Patrols. Capitalism Exploits. Colonialism is Evil. The Founding Fathers Were Racist. American Imperialism Must End. America Was Built on Genocide and Slavery. We Are on Stolen Indigenous Land.

The text in the sidebar states, “In this house we are anti-nationalist. Down with racial capitalism.”



Credit: Ethan Miller. License: <https://shorturl.at/4teXc>.

The South Jersey, Central Jersey, and North Jersey chapters of IfNotNow published a post that mocks the Fourth of July by referring to it as a “holiday” in quotes and that showcases their anti-Israel banner drops.

The post was liked by the New York City chapter of Showing Up for Racial Justice and the North Jersey chapter of IfNotNow, a Jewish-led anti-Israel group.

Support for Terrorists and Tyrants Fighting the United States

The Philly Palestine Coalition held a Fourth of July protest to “rally against the war machine from within!” and “Rally for Resistance! Support Palestine Not Amerikkka!”

The protest is advertised in another post with the authors listed as the Philadelphia chapter of Jewish Voice for Peace, Black Lives Matter Philly, Up Against the Occupation, and Philly Writers Against the War on Gaza.

The first slide in the post has artwork of an American flag shape filled with skulls and bombs with text vowing to “free” a long list of countries and territories from the U.S.

The list includes Hawaii and Turtle Island. Their inclusion means that the Philly Palestine Coalition seeks the secession of Hawaii as a U.S. state and an end to the U.S., Canada, Mexico and the Central American countries.

Foreign places where the Coalition is rooting for U.S. defeat is Lebanon, Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Congo, Haiti, and obviously Palestine.

That means that the “resistance” the coalition is rallying for is Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, PFLP, Hezbollah,

the Iran-allied dictatorship of Bashar Assad in Syria, the theocracy of Iran, the Houthis, the Taliban (which remains joined at the hip with Al-Qaeda), the anti-India terrorists in Kashmir who are backed by Pakistan, and the Haitian criminal gangs.

The two posts are liked by about a dozen other anti-Israel organizations (see the Appendix).

U.S. as a Terrorist Group

Ceasefire Now NJ; Drew University Alumni for Justice in Palestine; NJ District 6 for Palestine; and the South Jersey, Central Jersey, and North Jersey chapters of IfNotNow published a post that mocks the Fourth of July by referring to it as a “holiday” in quotes and that showcases their anti-Israel banner drops.

The post declares, “NO CELEBRATION UNTIL PALESTINIAN LIBERATION” and boasts of completing three banner drops, one on July 3 over New Jersey’s Garden State Parkway and two on July 4 in Jersey City. They characterized the activism as actions against “U.S. imperialist terrorism in Palestine and indigenous lands worldwide.”

The initial banner said, “Your Taxes Fund Genocide.” The first banner on the holiday (which technically was two simultaneously dropped banners) said, “15,000 children killed by your tax\$” and “Are you proud to be an American?”

The final Fourth of July banner was more explicitly anti-American. It showed an upside-down American flag with bombs covering its stripes, alongside a quote from Aaron Bushnell, who famously committed suicide via self-immolation outside the Israeli embassy to protest its military campaign in Gaza.

The quote was, “I will no longer be complicit in genocide.” The post hails Bushnell for making “the ultimate sacrifice against the US imperialist project in Palestine.”

What it doesn’t mention is that Bushnell, though he served in the U.S. Air Force, was a terrorism-supporting and murder-advocating anarcho-communist extremist with an explicitly genocidal, anti-American, anti-Semitic, anti-



The banner said, “15,000 children killed by your tax\$” and “Are you proud to be an American?”

democratic, anti-police, pro-theft, and anti-military agenda. He was a fan of Hamas, particularly of how it massacred, injured, robbed, traumatized, and kidnapped Israeli civilians at the Nova music festival on October 7, 2023.

Bushnell passionately wanted to see Israel violently destroyed. He honored terrorists who killed members of the U.S. military as having engaged in “resistance,” and he wrote that police officers and anyone who works for the Department of Defense deserve to be hated and killed.

He also reacted to someone’s online post expressing pride in their grandfather’s service in the Korean War by telling the person that the North Koreans were the good guys and that his grandfather and his brothers-in-arms were the aggressors and human rights violators.

His proposed solution was to reject democracy and politics and embrace a violent “revolution” in which “the power of the bourgeoisie will dissolve because they made the fatal blunder of profiting off of the working class.”

About a dozen organizations endorsed the post (see the Appendix) including the Newark Solidarity Coalition, Drew University Alumni for Justice in Palestine, the New Jersey chapter of Runners for Justice in Palestine, and SOMA Collective for Palestine—a coalition in South Orange and Maplewood, New Jersey, of SOMA Socialists, SOMA for Palestine, SOMA Green Party, SOMA Families for Ceasefire, and SOMA Jews for Justice.

Pledge to Fight for “Liberation” from U.S.

The pro-Hamas, Chinese Communist government-linked People’s Forum, which played a key role in instigating the seizing of Columbia University buildings by protestors, announced on June 25 that they rejected the Fourth of July by having an anti-Israel, pro-Palestine rally on the holiday.

The groups ridiculed patriotism and characterized the U.S. in a wholly demonized way:

This July 4th, join us on the right side of history! We don’t celebrate the legacy of genocide, colonialism, and slavery that July 4th symbolizes, but struggle for true LIBERATION! Together we can forge a new just future where the US no longer war mongers the world over.

An almost identical post was published on July 3.



Credit: Abbad Dinaniya. License: <https://shorturl.at/9WDJ0>.

Students for Justice in Palestine and its American Muslims for Palestine enablers are, by far, the parties that are most responsible for the eruption of the nationwide campus protests.

The posts are liked by about 50 organizations (see the Appendix), including the pro-Antifa far-left magazine CounterPunch, Labor for Palestine, Healthcare Workers for Palestine, the Jewish anti-Israel group Making Mensches, and Protect Palestine, an initiative of the Altruista organization.

Disavow Patriotism

Four Hamas-supporting organizations—the U.S. Palestinian Community Network (USPCN), the Chicago chapter of AMP, the Chicago chapter of SJP, and the Chicago Coalition for Justice in Palestine—held an anti-American and anti-Israel rally on the Fourth of July.

The March on the DNC coalition, which initially planned demonstrations to thwart the Democratic Party’s nomination of President Joe Biden (later Kamala Harris) as its presidential candidate, also authored a post with USPCN.

The post showed videos and photos from the rally. The sidebar text mocked “the so-called day of American Independence” and said, “We made it clear that we refuse to celebrate America’s violent colonial history as we all know what it truly represents.”

It includes the Frederick Douglas quote, “This Fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice. I must mourn.”

Another USPCN post about the rally described the Fourth of July as “a holiday that celebrates the settler colonial project built on genocide that is the US.” Its slides include photos showing protestors with signs like “Happy American Hypocrisy Day,” “America runs on genocide!,” and Resistance is justified when people are occupied”—

pro-terrorism slogan often used by anti-Israel activists to justify the Hamas-led October 7 attacks.

The March on the DNC Coalition collaborated with USPCN on a post that proclaimed they would not celebrate American freedom while a “genocide” is happening. The footage of the protest shows that, behind the main banner that is seen in the video that demands “Independence for Palestine,” is a sign with the genocidal proclamation, “From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will Be Free.”

At least 20 organizations liked the various posts (see Appendix).

Of particular note is the Chicago chapter of the powerful pro-Hamas Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), whose executive director publicly glorified the October 7 terrorist attacks and urged Muslims to aspire to be like the Gazan perpetrators. He and CAIR made a foolish and transparently deceptive effort to deny that he had expressed support for Hamas, predictably decrying the supposedly “out of context” video clips edited by Islamophobes.

Other endorsers were chapters of two pro-Hamas national organizations, the communist Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO) and the resurrected Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Also worth mentioning are the Queer Palestinian Empowerment Network and Muslims for Just Futures.

Reverse the U.S.’s Existence

Lakota Law (126,000 Instagram followers), Honor the Earth (65,000 Instagram followers), and Renew Earth Running published a post condemning the creation and ongoing existence of the United States and vowing to reclaim their Native American land.

The post reads:

We don’t celebrate the Fourth of July, because it is the celebration of a lie. Instead, we are reclaiming the Fourth of July as Landback Day, a day to celebrate Indigenous land being returned to Indigenous hands. It is a day to expose the violence and the lies upon which this country was founded and to redefine what Independence means. Independence means Landback. Freedom means Indigenous Sovereignty. Liberty means a commitment to organize, mobilize, educate, and stand firmly in

solidarity with Indigenous communities to reclaim everything that was stolen from us.

On this day, we don’t celebrate the violent history of genocide and enslavement that built this country, but we celebrate Indigenous peoples who were resisting ethnic cleansing and displacement back in 1776 and continue to resist today. Landback is tangible. Decolonization is happening, but we must continue to fight and organize in order to build long-lasting Indigenous sovereignty.

So on Landback Day, it is our responsibility to challenge the dominant narrative surrounding this holiday and uncover the injustices of this settler society. It is our duty to demand truth and accountability. It is our job to demand LANDBACK. Today, we honor our commitment to Indigenous Sovereignty, and we extend our wishes for a meaningful Landback Day.”

About 10 organizations liked the post (see Appendix).

Barbequing Old Glory

Florida-based chapters of Food Not Bombs, All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, and New Era Young Lords barbequed an American flag, as seen in one of the slides of the Young Lords’ post about their “4th of the Lie” cookout. It says:

“While most were celebrating the illusion of democracy we gathered in solidarity to discuss the reality of imperialism & its effect on our communities. We are not fooled but see with open eyes the injustice committed by a system that serves the interest of a few at the expense of many. Just as they stole this land from our Indigenous comrades they continue to steal from & exploit our African comrades. We stand for a free Africa! Free from exploitation, free from the shackles of colonialism! Our struggle as Borikuas, our struggle as working class people is directly connected to the African struggle. We continue that struggle alongside our comrades until liberation! Free Congo! Free Sudan! Hands off Africa!

The post was liked by at least seven groups (see the Appendix) including the Progressive Jewish Coalition of the Tampa Bay Area, the Tampa wing of the pro-Hamas Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression,

Progressive People's Action, Florida for Change, Florida International University Pride Student Union, and Antifa South Florida.

Death to America and Anti-Semitic Protests Outside Synagogues

RISE (Radical Indigenous Survivance and Empowerment) Indigenous, a group with over 154,000 Instagram followers, published a post of American flag imagery appearing on an outdated computer monitor with the words, "We will not celebrate a dying country!"

It states:

We are indoctrinated into submission and compliance through absurd lies and deceit. It begins with exploration and forced entry. It continues with genocide and extractive industry. This country is an illegitimate and dangerous exercise in mass manipulation. It begs for your compliance and validation through celebration and blind patriotism.

We will not celebrate lies and deceitful strategies that result in the psychotic delusion that any declarations or promises for peace made through colonial warfare will ever legitimize ongoing occupation, mass destruction, and willful subservience.

The post was liked by Frontline Medics, a group with 111,000 followers that labels itself with "indigenous resilience" and "community medic collective."

Another Fourth of July post by the group attacks liberals and calls for destroying the U.S. "colonial system," saying "Fuck colonization and illegitimate colonial systems! De-Colonize your 'decolonial' liberal complacency! Resist! Dismantle! Liberate!"

The post was liked by a group called Indigenous-Led Education Network that consists of a handful of groups internationally.

RISE also published a post on July 3 about the holiday that had a slide showing a protest sign that reads, "Destroying the Settler Nation State & ending transphobia is Essential!"

Another slide defends the harassment of Jews at synagogues, referring to an anti-Semitic protest outside the Adas Torah synagogue in California. The post was liked by Slow Factory and San Diego Community Care.

Disavowing Their American Identity

Here 4 the Kids, which has 80,000 Instagram followers and claims 18 regional hubs in the United States dedicated to "collective liberation and abolishing oppressive systems," spent the Fourth of July holiday encouraging its audience to completely shed their identities as Americans and abandon any sense of admiration or loyalty.

In a post titled "Breaking Up with the USA," it quoted from an article by Dr. Xochiti Vallejos, its education director:

The very virtues I'd once celebrated—freedom, justice, compassion—have been exposed to be mere lip service. The things I once believed could never be true was a façade. This country, built on the genocide of Indigenous people and the genocide and enslavement of Black people, was never about justice or liberty.

Of course a country built on that foundation would prove to be rotten to the core. The reality is that this—genocide and corruption—is who the USA has always been. She didn't change. I did.

The post was liked by the group's Mid-Atlantic DC Hub, the Cocktails and Capitalism podcast (76,000 Instagram followers), and Palestine Action SoCal, which uses a logo in the form of the red triangle, which is used to express support for Hamas's violence.

"Forget the Fourth! Free Palestine!"

A collection of groups in Minnesota made a post that told readers to "Forget the Fourth! Free Palestine!"

At least four of the six authors are part of pro-Hamas groups: Anti-War Committee Minnesota and the Minnesota University chapters of SDS, SJP, and Young Democratic Socialists of America. The remaining ones are University of Minnesota Divest Coalition and the school's Students for Climate Justice chapter.

The post was liked by at least eight groups (see Appendix), including the Minnesota Abortion Action Committee.

"F—k the 4th"

18 Million Rising, a group with about 27,000 Instagram followers that is focused on organizing Asian-Americans against Zionism and Islamophobia, reacted to the holiday succinctly: "fck the 4th. Free Palestine."

The post was liked by the Inland Empire chapter of DSA; the DC, Maryland, and Virginia chapter of Dissenters; and the New York City chapter of Asians for Palestine.

“F-ck Your 4th”

A post by Swing States for Peace, one of the groups that is attempting to prevent Biden from being officially nominated as the Democratic Party’s general election candidate, and Fed Up for Palestine has an upside-down American flag with the words, “F-ck your 4th.”

The side text reads, “We will not be celebrating genocidal colonizers. Free Palestine.”

The post is liked by about eight other organizations including Abandon Biden 24, another one of the groups trying to stop President Biden from securing this party’s nomination.

Other Anti-American Messaging

Three groups in the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia area—Americans for Liberation, Maryland to Palestine, and the DMV chapter of PYM—announced they would be sponsoring a Car Rally for Palestine on the Fourth of July, declaring “join us July 4th to tell Americans that there’s no celebration while the US funds genocide!!” Their two posts with their anti-American message were liked by about 15 groups (see the Appendix).

The pro-Hamas Within Our Lifetime held an anti-American rally on July 4 announced in a post with Healthcare Workers for Palestine, the New York City chapter of Healthcare Workers for Palestine, the Bronx Antiwar Coalition (which has endorsed the entire Iran-led Axis of Resistance and not just Hamas), No Tech for Apartheid, and Uptown for Palestine.

The text aligns the coalition with those “resisting” the U.S. in places like Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, and Kashmir, which means they are in alliance with the theocratic Iranian regime; the Iran-backed Assad dictatorship in Syria, Hezbollah, Hamas, the Houthis, and Pakistan-backed jihadist terrorists in Kashmir.

It then endorses a quote from so-called “freedom fighter” Leila Khaled, a PFLP terrorist who is best known as

being the first woman to oversee the hijacking of an airplane, that calls for “strike[s]” against the U.S anywhere and everywhere:

As Palestine resists the most intense period of the U.S.-backed genocide since 1948, Congo, Syria, Sudan, Lebanon, Yemen, Haiti, Kashmir and countries all across the world continue to resist U.S. imperialism. July 4th is not a day to be celebrated while the U.S. wraps its hands around the necks of the world in the pursuit of hegemony, resources and exploitation. As Palestinian freedom fighter Leila Khaled explains, “Any strike anywhere against US imperialism is a step towards freedom.”

The post endorsing anti-American terrorism was liked by about 20 groups (see the Appendix).

Conclusion

The inescapable conclusion of these groups’ statements is that the so-called pro-Palestinian network behind almost all the ongoing anti-Israel protests is an appendage of a broader anti-American movement that sees the destruction of the United States as necessary as the destruction of Israel.

Of course, that doesn’t mean everyone who protests Israel or considers themselves to be a supporter of Palestinians shares this movement’s ideology or is not acting with good faith and well wishes for the United States.

But protests and lobbying we’re seeing does not come out of nowhere. They are the products of this movement’s groups who have operated for years and years, often with well-paid staff to fine tune messaging and set up the infrastructure that can be activated at opportune times.

The health of our civil society, political processes, and national security require us to understand where these influence operations originate and the intentions of those who deploy them. ■

Note: Due to its length the Appendix will be posted online.

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



THINKING ABOUT FISCAL SPONSORSHIP

By Robert Stilson

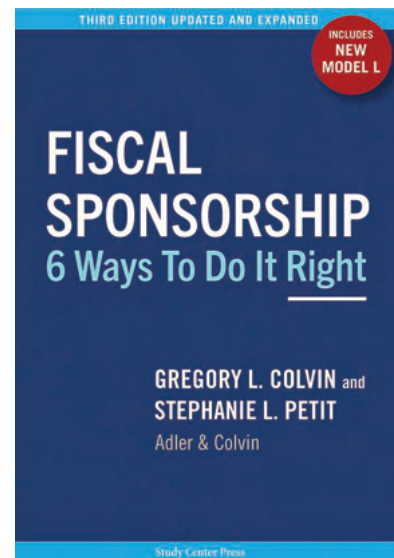
Summary: *Fiscal sponsorship is an arrangement through which a group that does not have its own tax-exempt status from the IRS can operate as a “project” of a nonprofit that does. It offers several advantages for smaller or newer organizations, allowing them to pursue their tax-exempt mission in ways they might not otherwise be able to. At the same time, there are virtually no public disclosure requirements for fiscal sponsorships. Particularly with respect to those projects that are active on political or public policy issues, fiscal sponsorship could be considered a form of “dark money.” Fiscal sponsorship reform should initially focus on enhancing transparency, which would likely involve updates to IRS Form 990.*

Fiscal sponsorship is a convenient way for new and/or small groups to reduce the time and expense required to begin pursuing their tax-exempt mission, as well as to lessen administrative burdens that they may be ill-equipped to handle on their own. Operating as a “project” of an established nonprofit is an arrangement that can make sense for many such organizations.

On the surface, fiscally sponsored projects can look and act just like independent nonprofits. Some weigh in on controversial sociopolitical issues and affect associated public policy debates. Unlike standalone nonprofits, however, fiscally sponsored projects are subject to virtually no transparency requirements to offset the tax advantages they enjoy. Fiscal sponsorship reform should focus on enhancing public disclosures without meaningfully restricting the practice, which is of significant value to the tax-exempt sector.

Purpose and Politics

Fiscal sponsorship is an arrangement through which a group that does not have its own tax-exempt status from the IRS can operate as a “project” of a nonprofit that does, such as a 501(c)(3) charity or a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization. Fiscal sponsorships are increasingly common, in part because they can provide significant advantages for smaller or newer groups that wish to operate for a tax-exempt purpose. The process of becoming fiscally sponsored is faster



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There are two primary models of fiscal sponsorship: Model A fiscal sponsorships provide more comprehensive support and management, while Model C fiscal sponsorships focus largely on grant administration. These designations originate from the book Fiscal Sponsorship: 6 Ways to Do it Right by Gregory Colvin, which is considered a seminal work on the topic.

and cheaper than applying for tax-exempt status, and the sponsoring nonprofit provides valuable administrative and financial management support to the project. By operating under the umbrella of an established nonprofit, projects can also receive grants from foundations and other major institutional grantmakers. In the case of 501(c)(3) fiscal sponsorships, donations to the project are tax-deductible.

The fiscal sponsor is responsible for exercising a degree of oversight and control over the project to ensure that it is operating properly and in accordance with its tax-exempt purpose. Any contributions or grants made to the project are technically made to the fiscal sponsor, which earmarks

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



The fiscal sponsor exercises a degree of oversight and control over the project to ensure that it is in accordance with its tax-exempt purpose.

and disburses the money for the project's activities. Fiscal sponsors generally charge a fee for their services, which commonly ranges between 5 and 10 percent of the project's revenue. The contractual nature of the relationship means that the specifics of any given fiscal sponsorship can vary, though there are two primary models. Model A fiscal sponsorships provide more comprehensive support and management, while Model C fiscal sponsorships focus largely on grant administration. These designations originate from the book *Fiscal Sponsorship: 6 Ways to Do it Right* by Gregory Colvin, which is considered a seminal work on the topic.

Many sources date the first fiscal sponsorship to 1959, established by the nonprofit now known as TSNE (then known as Massachusetts Health Research Institute and later as Third Sector New England), which continues to sponsor dozens of projects today. There are currently hundreds or perhaps thousands of active fiscal sponsors in the United States. As of 2024, the national Fiscal Sponsor Directory maintained by the San Francisco Study Center contains 376 fiscal sponsors that collectively house 20,566 projects. Notably, just 33 large fiscal sponsors account for two-thirds of all projects in the directory, and approximately 4,000 projects (exclusively of the Model C variety) are housed at the nonprofit Fractured Atlas alone.

Most fiscal sponsors will only accept projects that align with their own mission, and one of the early groups to apply an ideological lens to this evaluation was the Tides Foundation. Today, it exists as part of a nexus of related Tides entities that form one of the largest and most important left-of-center funding and fiscal sponsorship networks in the United States. The combined revenues of the various Tides nonprofits in 2022 were just under \$1 billion.

The Tides Foundation was established in 1976 by Drummond Pike, who at the time was serving as executive director of the Shalan Foundation. It took on its first fiscally sponsored project in 1977. A few years later, in the shadow of Ronald Reagan's landslide victory in the 1980 presidential election, left-wing Hollywood activist Norman Lear set up People for the American Way as a Tides Foundation project. It would later spin off as an independent nonprofit and

become notorious for its successful attacks on conservative Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork in 1987. The Tides Foundation itself became independent in 1981, and in 1989 it internally separated its grantmaking activities from its fiscal sponsorship program. In 1996, it transferred its fiscal sponsorship program to a new affiliated 501(c)(3) charity called the Tides Center.

According to a history published by the group in 2001, Tides housed approximately 50 fiscally sponsored projects in 1988, which had grown to 350 by 2000. As of 2024, the Tides Center—which offers comprehensive Model A fiscal sponsorships for a fee that ranges from 6 to 9 percent of the project's revenue—claims to house at least 130 projects. The Tides Foundation separately offers the more limited Model C sponsorship option, for which it charges a 5 percent fee. The affiliated Tides Advocacy also claims to have “a network of over 90 fiscally sponsored 501(c)(4) projects and funds,” which are legally permitted to engage in more explicitly political activities.

Today, Tides is well-known for sponsoring numerous activist groups that stake out left-of-center positions on controversial sociopolitical issues. Examples include Fair and Just Prosecution, a Tides Center project that supports a soft-on-crime justice system; The Lawyering Project, a Tides Center project that opposes abortion restrictions; and Voices for Progress, a Tides Advocacy project that is active on virtually the entire spectrum of left-progressive issues. Flip the Vote is a Tides Advocacy project that claims to have raised over \$18 million since 2020 and whose goal for 2024 was “to win Democratic control of all three branches of the fed-



Credit: Francisco Martinez. License: <https://shorturl.at/pelxM>.

The Tides Foundation was established in 1976 by Drummond Pike, who at the time was serving as executive director of the Shalan Foundation. It took on its first fiscally sponsored project in 1977.

eral government while simultaneously guarding against the worst-case scenario of unified GOP control.”

Some Tides projects espouse deeply radical beliefs. Dream Defenders, whose 501(c)(3) arm is sponsored by the Tides Center and whose 501(c)(4) arm is sponsored by Tides Advocacy, describes itself as a “revolutionary” organization that wants to replace what it calls the “capitalist police state” with a “liberatory socialist vision for the country and the world.” According to the group’s manifesto, this would entail “a world without prisons, policing, surveillance and punishment.” Dream Defenders was one of at least five different Tides projects that endorsed the Socialism 2024 conference held in Chicago, which featured sessions with titles such as “Lenin and the Politics of Rehearsal,” “What is Gay Communism?” and “We Lie to Cops: Lessons from Incarcerated Radicals.”

Dream Defenders also featured prominently in the Capital Research Center’s recent report *Marching Toward Violence: The Domestic Anti-Israeli Protest Movement*. It was one of six different groups profiled in the report that were fiscally sponsored by either the Tides Center or Tides Advocacy. In fact, over two dozen of the 150+ listed groups operated under a fiscal sponsorship arrangement. At least three were sponsored by the Alliance for Global Justice—including Samidoun, which was recently sanctioned by the governments of the United States and Canada as “a sham charity that serves as an international fundraiser for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist organization.” Several others were sponsored by the WESPAC Foundation, including Students for Justice in Palestine, which the report described as the group “most responsible by far for the current anti-Israel protest movement.”

Pop-Ups and Perpetuity

Countless nonprofits engage in political or public policy activism on controversial matters, and some do so from radical perspectives. But fiscal sponsorship raises some unique issues that are not present in the case of standalone tax-exempt organizations—issues that could be exploited by those who might wish to shield the precise details of their operations from scrutiny.

A quid pro quo underlies the entire nonprofit sector in the United States. The tax code incentivizes what Americans consider to be socially worthy activities in exchange for substantial transparency requirements, which are meant to ensure that tax-exempt entities are properly pursuing those purposes. Fiscal sponsorship throws a wrench into this bargain because projects are not required to file the compre-



Countless nonprofits engage in political or public policy activism on controversial matters, and some do so from radical perspectives.

hensive annual disclosures required of ordinary nonprofits. Intentionally or otherwise, fiscal sponsorship can allow groups to avoid such disclosures while still reaping many of the benefits of tax exemption. Particularly with respect to those fiscally sponsored projects that are active in politics or on public policy issues, this could be considered a form of “dark money.”

To illustrate this, consider the nonprofit network managed by Arabella Advisors, a consulting firm based in Washington, DC, that has collectively housed hundreds of fiscally sponsored projects. Many of these projects promote left-of-center perspectives on issues of political importance such as abortion, gun control, immigration, and climate change. One notable example is Demand Justice, which “popped up” seemingly out of nowhere in early 2018 to attack then-president Donald Trump’s judicial nominees (Brett Kavanaugh in particular) while also pushing for major structural changes to the Supreme Court. Despite Demand Justice’s national profile and the political relevance of its activities, virtually no public information was available about the group because it was a fiscally sponsored project of Arabella’s Sixteen Thirty Fund.

Demand Justice eventually obtained its own 501(c)(4) tax-exempt status from the IRS in 2021, but in this respect it was somewhat unusual. According to the National Network of Fiscal Sponsors, which is itself fiscally sponsored by the nonprofit TSNE, transitioning to become an independent nonprofit “is becoming the exception rather than the rule” among projects. The rate of project retention reportedly exceeds 50 percent at many large fiscal sponsors, with some retaining 80 to 90 percent of their projects. The upshot is that these groups can operate indefinitely with the outward appearance and many of the benefits of tax-exemption, but without being subject to any of the corresponding transparency requirements.

This leads to the question of whether there is a particular point at which fiscally sponsored projects should be expected to apply for their own tax-exempt status. An Arabella Advisors white paper on the fiscal sponsorship “life cycle” suggests not, arguing that many projects “find that fiscal sponsorship is a productive long-term solution” and urging

projects to carefully weigh “whether the benefits of independence outweigh the costs.” Of course, it is to Arabella’s financial advantage to maintain long-term fiscal sponsorships. In 2023, the four Arabella-managed nonprofit “fiscal sponsor clients” listed on the firm’s website—the New Venture Fund, the Windward Fund, the Sixteen Thirty Fund, and the Hopewell Fund—paid Arabella (or in the New Venture Fund’s case, a presumably affiliated entity called Arabella Intermediate Holdings LLC) over \$46.3 million in combined fees. However, it is unclear exactly what portion of this was specifically for services related to fiscal sponsorship.

Broadly speaking, there are at least two ways of thinking about a project’s proper “lifespan” as such: time and money. In other words, should a fiscal sponsorship’s continuation begin to raise eyebrows after a certain number of years or above a particular budgetary threshold? That is a difficult question to answer with specificity, but its importance can be illustrated through examining two projects that were formerly housed at the embattled far-left nonprofit Alliance for Global Justice. Both projects recently switched to new 501(c)(3) fiscal sponsors instead of obtaining their own independent tax-exempt status from the IRS. Like the Alliance for Global Justice, these new fiscal sponsors—The People’s Forum and the Common Counsel Foundation—were featured in the Capital Research Center’s recent report *Marching Toward Violence: The Domestic Anti-Israeli Protest Movement*.

The first of these projects is the Venceremos Brigade, which was established back in 1969 as a way for sympathetic American radicals to travel to Cuba and demonstrate their solidarity with Cuba’s totalitarian communist government. It continues to facilitate similar trips today, with the 50th anniversary contingent in 2019 numbering over 150 *brigadistas*. The Venceremos Brigade was fiscally sponsored by the Alliance for Global Justice until 2024, when it switched its sponsorship to the People’s Forum. It is worth asking: Should a group that has existed for more than half a century and that is active on an extremely controversial political issue involving support for an adversary of the United States be able to continue avoiding standard nonprofit transparency requirements while simultaneously accepting tax-deductible contributions via its fiscal sponsor?

The second example involves the Movement for Black Lives. Like the similarly named Black Lives Global Network Foundation, the Movement for Black Lives was operating as a fiscally sponsored project when it benefited from a massive financial windfall during the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020. Unlike its counterpart, however, the Movement for Black Lives did not begin the process of transitioning to an independent nonprofit. Instead, around the beginning of 2021 it switched its sponsorship from



The Venceremos Brigade was fiscally sponsored by the Alliance for Global Justice until 2024, when it switched its sponsorship to the People’s Forum.

the Alliance for Global Justice to the Common Counsel Foundation. Tax filings covering that period reveal that the Alliance for Global Justice transferred \$30,666,918 to the Movement for Black Lives, at the Common Counsel Foundation’s street address. As of late 2024, the Movement for Black Lives remains a project of the Common Counsel Foundation, while continuing to promote a far-left activist agenda on issues of relevance to virtually every American. Again, it is worth asking: Why should a group that evidently has at least \$30 million at its disposal be able to avoid the same level of transparency required of far smaller nonprofits simply by remaining under a fiscal sponsorship arrangement?

The Form 990 Black Hole

To understand the lack of transparency surrounding fiscal sponsorship, it is necessary to understand IRS Form 990. This is an annual return that most nonprofits are required to file with the IRS, and it provides considerable detail about the filing nonprofit’s financials, leadership, activities, and more. It is generally the most comprehensive source of information about a given tax-exempt organization’s operations and budget. Most nonprofits file the standard Form 990 (or a simpler variation called Form 990-EZ), while private foundations file the substantively different Form 990-PF. Although they are released on a somewhat delayed timetable, Form 990s are available to the public.

Form 990 typically contains almost no information about fiscal sponsorship. Sponsors are not required to report on their fiscal sponsorship activities or disclose any details about

their projects, while the projects themselves do not file their own forms because they do not have their own tax-exempt status. Some nonprofits occasionally provide limited information about their fiscal sponsorship activities on Form 990, while others (such as Tides) list their projects online, but such ad hoc disclosures are neither required, comprehensive, nor particularly detailed.

This opacity can also extend to grantmakers, which might only report grants as having been made to a fiscal sponsor, without disclosing if the money was earmarked for a specific project. For example, in 2022 the Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation reported making numerous grants to major left-of-center fiscal sponsors such as the Hopewell Fund, the New Venture Fund, the Tides Center, and NEO Philanthropy on its Form 990-PF. Yet all these grants—and most others the foundation made that year—were simply described as having been made for “project support.” From its annual disclosures,

it is impossible to determine whether the Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation designated any of this money for a specific fiscally sponsored project.

Contrast this with the Hewlett Foundation’s Form 990-PF from that same year, in which the foundation specified exactly which projects its grants were earmarked to support at each of those same fiscal sponsors. For example, it reported funding the Hopewell Fund’s Resources for Abortion Delivery project, the New Venture Fund’s Communities for Just Schools Fund project, the Tides Center’s Lawyering Project, and NEO Philanthropy’s Abortion Access Front project.

Many large private foundations provide a level of grant detail similar to Hewlett, but not all. Nondisclosure of grants to fiscally sponsored projects appears relatively more common at those nonprofits that file the standard Form

Various Grants Reported on Form 990s

One of seven grants to the Hopewell Fund reported by the Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation in 2022.

HOPEWELL FUND 1828 L STREET NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036		PC	PROJECT SUPPORT	3,498,149
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Grants to the Hopewell Fund reported by the Hewlett Foundation in 2022.

HOPEWELL FUND 1201 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NW SUITE 3 WASHINGTON, DC 20036		PC	FOR RAD INNOVATION FUND	1,500,000
HOPEWELL FUND 1201 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NW SUITE 3 WASHINGTON, DC 20036		PC	FOR SUPPORT OF THE RESOURCES FOR ABORTION DELIVERY'S PROJECT	500,000

Grant reported to Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs by Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors in 2022.

(953) SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ENTREPRENEURS INC SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ENTREPRENEURS CALABASAS, CA 91302	95-4116679	501(C)(3)	410,000	0		GENERAL
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Grant reported to Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs by Borealis Philanthropy in 2022.

(247) SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ENTREPRENEURS 23532 CALABASAS RD CALABASAS, CA 91302	95-4116679	501 C (3)	1,544,200	0		TO SUPPORT THE WORK OF FISCALLY SPONSORED PROJECTS
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Grant reported to Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs by the San Francisco Foundation in 2023.

(1304) SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ENTREPRENEURS 23564 CALABASAS ROAD SUITE 201 CALABASAS, CA 91302	95-4116679	501(C)(3)	35,000	0		ADVISED - FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT OF INTERRUPTING CRIMINALIZATION. ADVISED - FOR AN UNRESTRICTED GRANT TO THE CAIRN PROJECT.
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990 and its corresponding Schedule I, wherein domestic grants made by the filing nonprofit are to be itemized. Reporting practices vary considerably. For example, in 2022 Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors simply reported that it gave money to the fiscal sponsor Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs for unspecified “general” purposes.

Compare that to the disclosures filed by Borealis Philanthropy that year, which explained that the group’s grant(s) to Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs were “to support the work of fiscally sponsored projects,” without identifying which projects.

Finally, compare those two examples with the Form 990 filed by the San Francisco Foundation in 2023, which is a near-exemplar of grantmaking transparency. Its Schedule I details precisely which fiscally sponsored projects that its grants to Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs supported.

Elsewhere, the San Francisco Foundation specified that its grants to the New Venture Fund supported projects such as the Trusted Elections Fund and All Above All, its grants to the Hopewell Fund supported Galvanize USA, and its grants to NEO Philanthropy helped fund the We Testify. It’s not perfect—the share of grant money allocated to each project is not specified, for instance—but this level of grants disclosure on Form 990 makes fiscal sponsorship funding considerably less “dark.”

Potential Reforms

So what should be done about all this? A balance could be struck. On the one hand, fiscal sponsorship is a common and legitimate arrangement that can provide important benefits to small and/or new tax-exempt ventures. At the same time, some issues—particularly with respect to transparency—clearly need to be addressed. Accordingly, the best course of action might simply be to focus on implementing some new nonprofit disclosure requirements specifically targeting fiscal sponsorship. This would likely involve updates to Form 990.

Depending on its activities, a nonprofit may be required to attach any number of supplementary schedules to its Form 990. It would be straightforward to create a new schedule for fiscal sponsorship activities—perhaps called “Schedule S,” which is conveniently the very next unused letter (after Schedule R) in the current version of the form. Such a schedule could require the filing nonprofit to provide basic information about its sponsorship activities, such as how many projects it sponsored during the reporting year and the amount of money it spent doing so.

In addition, a hypothetical Schedule S could feature a table (perhaps similar in design to the one currently used for Schedule I) wherein the filing nonprofit would be required to list all its fiscally sponsored projects by name. This table could also include columns for each project’s top-line budget information (such as revenue, expenses, and assets), the name of an individual designated as the project’s principal officer, the date when the fiscal sponsorship began and (if applicable during the filing year) ended, and a yes/no attestation as to whether the project had applied for its own tax-exempt status from the IRS.

On the grantmaking side, the IRS should instruct all nonprofits that make grants to support a fiscally sponsored project housed at another nonprofit to specifically disclose that fact in the grant purpose columns of Schedule I and Part XIV of Form 990 and Form 990-PF, respectively. The goal would be for all grantmakers to adopt the disclosure practices of funders that already report their grants in this way.

None of these changes would involve data that would be particularly burdensome for the filing nonprofit to collect and report, and neither would they entail any new restrictions to hinder the use of fiscal sponsorship. Yet adopting them would provide a great deal of valuable information to both the IRS and the general public. It would dramatically reduce current ambiguities as to which nonprofits are sponsoring which projects, the finances of those projects, and their organizational sources of funding.

Beyond new disclosures on Form 990, an argument could be made that there should be a threshold—perhaps a budgetary one—above which a project presumptively should apply for its own tax-exempt status and assume the transparency obligations required of standalone nonprofits. Such a requirement would arguably be in keeping with the spirit of nonprofit tax-exemption in the United States. Of course, a one-size-fits-all standard such as this would bring with it its own set of problems. It is also important to maintain a certain deference to the judgments that organizations make about what operational structure best suits their needs. Overregulation is often more harmful than under-regulation, and it’s generally better to err on the less-prescriptive side of any regulatory debate.

Whether or not it ultimately proves to be the only step, the first step in fiscal sponsorship reform should simply aim at bringing a measure of transparency to what is presently a rather “dark” corner of the tax-exempt sector. ■

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

The background of the entire page is a dark, grainy image showing the silhouettes of several people in a meeting or conference room. They are gathered around a table, with some standing and some sitting. The lighting is dramatic, with strong shadows and highlights, creating a sense of mystery and intrigue. The overall color palette is dark, with shades of blue, grey, and black, accented by a red horizontal band across the middle.

BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

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

Hayden R. Ludwig

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

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



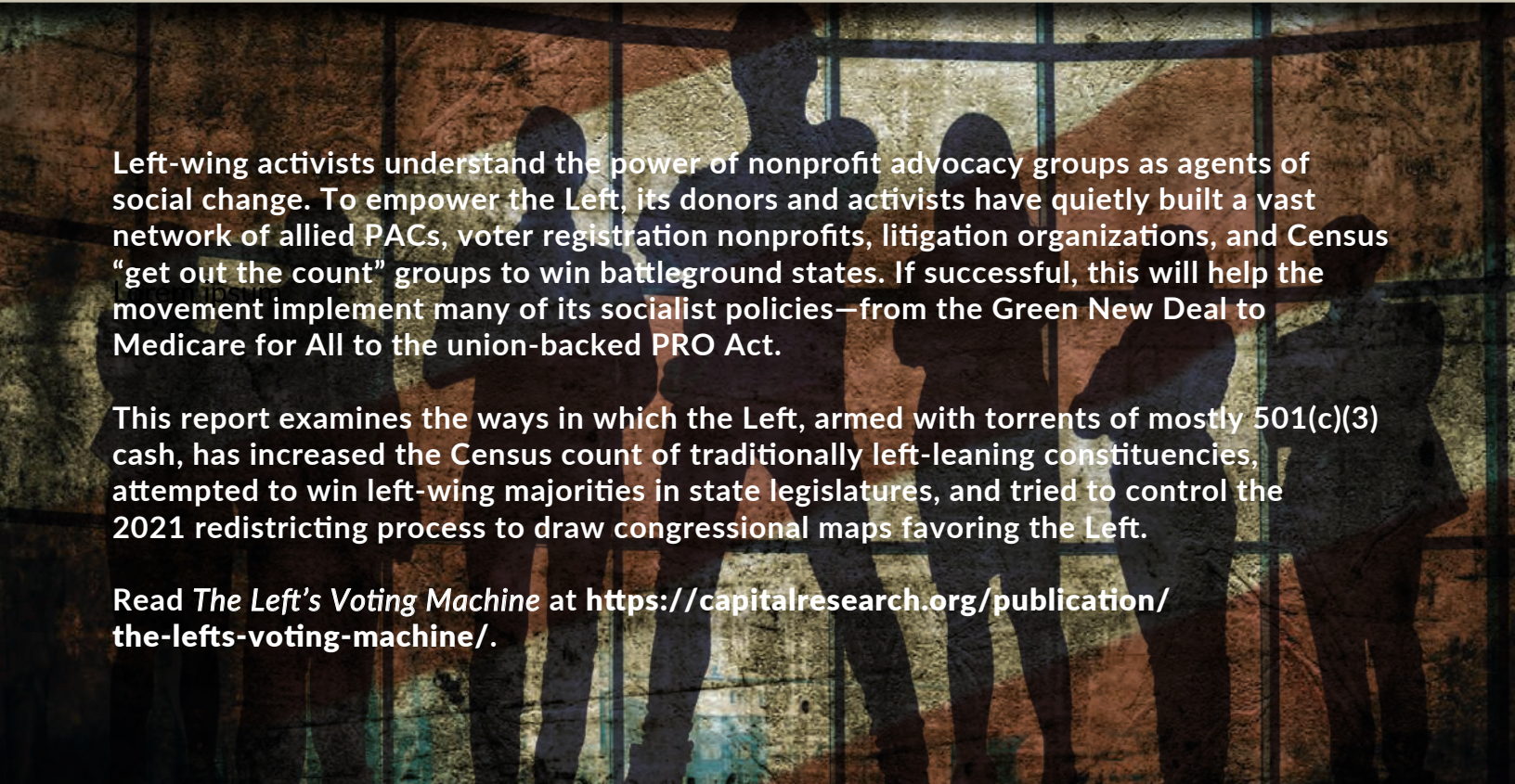
CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
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THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



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

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

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

The rise of Everything Leftism within Big Labor has been fitful. In the early 20th century, liberals (most prominently the Screen Actors Guild's Ronald Reagan, who turned his fight into a conservative political career) fought Communist efforts to take over labor unions and Hollywood studio productions. Reagan and his allies were aided by the strategic inconstancy of the Communist faction's Soviet masters.

By the 1960s, foreign-backed Reds were replaced by domestic radicals. The United Auto Workers funded the formation of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). After the radical group's fall, ex-SDSers like Paul Booth who rose within the the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), whose Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) was closely tied to the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), burrowed in or were brought into the leadership class of American labor organizations.

After the Berlin Wall's collapse took down organized labor's center, John Sweeney, a card-carrying DSA radical, would come to take Kirkland and Meany's old office. Little about organized labor's ideological orientation has changed since he took office in 1996 except actions to further codify the Everything Leftist alliance. In the 2000s, the SEIU was closely involved in the creation of the Democracy Alliance, even housing the liberal donor collective's headquarters for a time. By 2013, the AFL-CIO federation had proposed formally admitting environmentalist, identity politics, and other "progressive" groups like the Sierra Club, the National Council of La Raza (now UnidosUS), and MomsRising.

While formal admission never came, coalition politics keep Big Labor tightly within the Everything Leftist faction. Activist staff flow freely between labor organizations and other liberal-coalition groups, including at the highest levels. And Big Labor uses its power over workers' pension funds to participate in the left-wing "environmental, social, and governance" (ESG) activist-investing campaign. These proposals often seek to aid union organizing, but they also can aid broader Everything Leftism, such as a Teamsters resolution against Amazon that demanded a "just transition" report on progress toward and the effects of switching to environmentalist-supported weather-dependent energy.

When activist energy on the left pushes radical policy, as with the Black Lives Matter movement's call to "defund the police" or with Palestinian-interests activists demanding to "Globalize the Intifada," one can expect to find Big Labor somewhere nearby supporting the extremist movements.

The Old Left and the Reds

Early American labor unionism had a radical streak. Around the turn of the 20th century, Socialists like Eugene Debs and radicals like Big Bill Haywood joined together (briefly) to form the Industrial Workers of the World, a radical organization that would unite the working class into "one big union."

That early radicalism collapsed after the U.S. entry into World War I. The war years' patriotism and jingoism, the Woodrow Wilson administration's notorious disregard for civil liberties, and the desire for "normalcy" promoted by the Jazz Age Republicans who succeeded Wilson's capital-P Progressive Democrats ultimately broke the IWW and early socialist movements. Haywood was sent into a Soviet exile, and Debs was forcibly retired from politics by a conviction for campaigning against the military draft.

But the Jazz Age Republicans would not define the next half-century because the stock market crash of 1929 on their watch, resulting in mass unemployment and economic devastation. Among the consequences of the crash was that the 1930s would be the high-water mark of American Communism. The Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and its cadres would waste the first half of the "red decade" following a strategy of "dual unionism," seeking to supplant the progressive-liberal American Federation of Labor with a Communist Trade Union Unity League.

But a change in strategic direction from Moscow and a split in domestic Big Labor would later open the door for serious capital-R Red infiltration in mainstream labor unionism. By the mid-1930s, the Soviet Union looked out on a hostile strategic situation. Germany under the Weimar Republic had cooperated militarily with the Soviets, as both states were international semi-pariahs after the Treaty of Versailles and Russian Revolution. But in 1933, the Nazis discarded the Weimar Republic constitution, began to seize control of all state organs, and initiated the coordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of all non-state associations under Nazi control.

The new Nazi regime sought confrontation with so-called Jewish Bolshevism and a Soviet Russia that the Nazis contended sought to export it. As a result of Germany's change of regimes, the Communist International (Comintern), the Moscow-directed international network of Communist parties, changed policy from combat with the mainstream center-left to a "Popular Front" under which Communist parties (including the CPUSA) would make common cause with major center-left factions including mainstream trade unions in the name of opposing fascism and Nazism.



During the late 1930s, a number of major CIO unions were Communist-influenced or Communist-dominated.

The newly freed CPUSA cadres took advantage of a split in American organized labor that emerged at the same time as the “Popular Front” strategy. In the mid-1930s, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) split from the AFL in a dispute over the proper manner of organizing workers under the new National Labor Relations Act. The CIO and its unions—which advocated broad, class-based “industrial unionism”—proved ripe for Popular Front Communist infiltration as the CIO leadership sought to recruit organizers ready to start work immediately and on the cheap. Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, scholars of the history of American Communism, characterized the situation: “Communists were not the only radicals recruited by the CIO, but they were among the most numerous.”

During the late 1930s, a number of major CIO unions were Communist-influenced or Communist-dominated. Klehr and Haynes identify the United Auto Workers, then expanding its ranks with its “sit-down strike” campaign against the Detroit automakers, as divided between Communist and non-Communist factions. The United Electrical Workers had Communists in the union leadership. The Transport Workers Union was Communist-dominated, and other unions, perhaps most notably the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, were led by Communist-aligned cadres. Klehr and Haynes contend that “about 40 percent of the CIO’s unions had significant Communist connections by the end of the 1930s,” though few union members joined or sympathized with the Communist Party.

The Communist mobilization in the labor union movement collided with the reality of the Communist Party in August 1939. The CPUSA, unlike many radical factions that would rise in future decades, was directed in spirit and practice by a foreign power, the Soviet Union. Consistently throughout the existence of the USSR, the CPUSA followed its foreign policy. U.S. government surveillance material declassified after the end of the Cold War would show extensive formal contacts between the CPUSA and Soviet intelligence services.

In August 1939, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany (through Foreign Ministers Vyacheslav Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop) concluded a treaty of non-aggression with secret protocols carving up Eastern Europe

into spheres of influence and occupation. The Popular Front against Nazism and fascism ended. When Nazi Germany invaded Poland provoking war with the United Kingdom and France, the CPUSA denounced the Western Allies and their “imperialist war.” Liberals, who had joined the Popular Front to oppose Hitler, quit Communist-aligned groups like the National Lawyers Guild and League for American Writers en masse.

But the CIO-Communist alignment was less immediately affected. Klehr and Haynes argued that the CIO, led by Franklin Roosevelt critic John Lewis of the United Mine Workers, was sympathetic to the CPUSA’s position of war neutrality and the Communists’ support for strikes in war industries.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and another flip-flop in Soviet foreign policy did not break the CIO-Communist alignment either. After the U.S. entered the European War in December 1941, the CIO’s political chief, Sidney Hillman, welcomed Communists into the union’s new “political action committee,” the CIO-PAC, which pushed strongly for President Roosevelt’s third re-election in 1944.

The end of the war in 1945, and the end of the U.S.-Soviet alliance, proved to be the critical point in American Communism’s relationship with mainstream labor unionism. The 1946 strike wave and economic dislocation caused by the military demobilization brought Congressional Republicans the party’s first taste of federal power since the 1932 elections at the 1946 midterms. Those Republicans, with the aid of union-skeptical Democrats, passed the Taft-Hartley Act regulating labor union conduct within the parameters set by the New Deal Democrats’ Wagner Act.

The Taft-Hartley Act had two effects on Big Labor’s tacit alliance with the postwar Communists. First, the law itself contained a provision requiring union officers who wished to have recourse to the National Labor Relations Board to sign affidavits that they were not Communists. This provision split the CIO, with non-communist unionists (among them Walter Reuther of the UAW) proposing that the federation comply with the rule to prevent a break in federal legal protection of its member organizations.



Credit: Warren Leffler. License: <https://shorturl.at/bAQVz>

By the 1960s, foreign-backed Reds were replaced by domestic radicals. The United Auto Workers funded the formation of Students for a Democratic Society.

The second effect was hardening the CIO's alliance with the Democratic Party of then-President Harry Truman, who had cynically vetoed the act and vowed to support its repeal if re-elected in 1948. But Truman was not a favorite of Moscow because of his anti-Communist instincts. On the direction of the Soviets, the CPUSA broke the wartime Popular Front and backed the Progressive Party candidacy of former Vice President Henry Wallace, which led CIO leaders like Philip Murray who had previously made common cause with Reds to oppose their continued influence in the labor movement.

Wallace's campaign proved a strategic fiasco for Moscow and its domestic allies. Truman won re-election despite Wallace pulling 2.37 percent of the popular vote. Democrats retook Congress, but Taft-Hartley supporters retained a cross-party majority, so the law was not repealed. Truman led the beginning of the American Cold War policy opposing Communism, and domestic Communism was driven into the shadows.

Labor and the New Left

The collapse of American Communism was not the end of American leftist radicalism, and the labor union movement would negotiate a complex dance with the "New Left" from its beginning through its height. Organized labor midwived the activist faction that rose to prominence in the 1960s, but the two factions—and new and rising factions on the radical left—would come into conflict by the turn of the decade.

In the early 1960s, Big Labor was at its post-New Deal political zenith, with President John F. Kennedy in office and the United Auto Workers, led by ardent social democrat Walter Reuther, providing muscle and money for all sorts of left-liberal initiatives. His most prominent non-economic liberal campaign might have been support for Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil-rights struggle, but another lesser-known political decision would have major ramifications for the left-of-center coalition of the 1960s and 1970s.



The most notable Students for a Democratic Society alumnus to ascend the ranks of Big Labor would be Paul Booth, one of the drafters of the Port Huron Statement.

The connections between Reuther's UAW and the New Left were rooted in family. Sharon Jeffrey, a member of the National Executive Committee of Students for a Democratic Society, was the daughter of Democratic Party official and Reuther aide Millie Jeffrey. The UAW provided early funding to SDS, and when the radical student organization was looking for a place to hold its 1962 convention, there was an obvious choice: The United Auto Workers union retreat center at Port Huron, Michigan. From that meeting would emerge the Port Huron Statement, the manifesto that is credited with spurring the "student movement" of leftist activism.

The over 20,000-word document was in part a response to the Sharon Statement issued by the conservative Young Americans for Freedom (a much more readable manifesto at a mere 368 words), but would become the lodestar for a New Left more focused on social-democratic political economy, accession to Communist expansionism abroad, and identity-based politics than the mainstream left-liberalism of the early Cold War period. It even presaged "intersectionality" analysis, with longtime leftist journalist Kirkpatrick Sale writing in a 1973 history of SDS that "what gave [the Port Huron Statement] its particular strength was its radical sense that all of these problems were *interconnected*...and that social ills in one area were intimately linked to those in another."

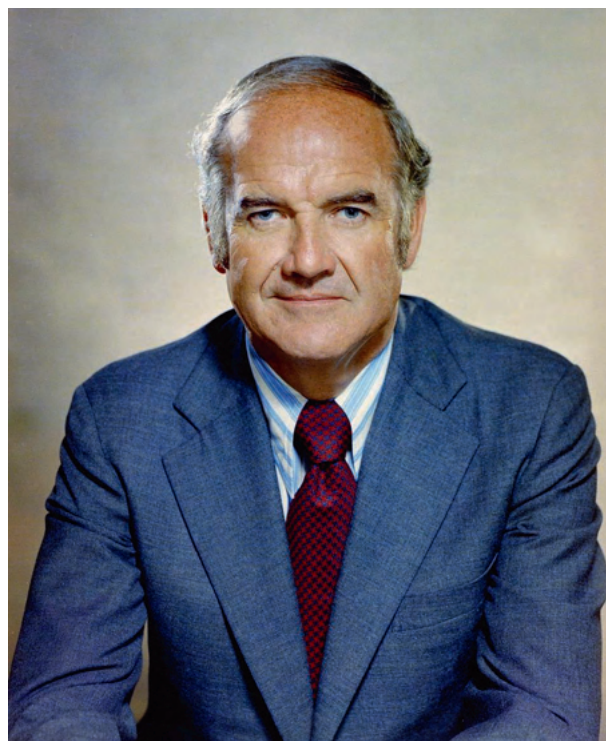
The UAW and SDS remained aligned in the immediate period following the Port Huron Statement. In 1963, SDS was preparing the Economic Research and Action Project, a program to organize and educate the unemployed and urban poor along the lines of the Civil Rights Movement ongoing at the same time. UAW provided \$5,000 (approximately \$50,000 adjusted for inflation) toward these campaigns.

But the UAW and SDS would not be closely allied for much longer. SDS grew increasingly radical over the course of the 1960s, especially after the deployment of U.S. troops to Vietnam in 1965 and the use of involuntary draftees in combat roles. While the organization's ancestor, the Student League for Industrial Democracy (LID), and its backers in the United Auto Workers had been opponents of international Communism even if they supported domestic socialism, SDS became increasingly open to open Communists. Beginning in 1965, SDS permitted open

Communists to join, leading the democratic-socialist LID to mutually terminate its association with SDS.

As SDS was taken over by Communist factions and then ultimately dissolved amid infighting among various Communist factions, the group's formal links with mainstream organized labor also dissolved. But its legacy would affect organized labor for the next half-century, as (early) SDS alumni rose to prominence as professional union organizers, union officials, union-aligned politicians, and activist academics.

The most notable SDS alumnus to ascend the ranks of Big Labor would be Paul Booth, one of the drafters of the Port Huron Statement. He was elected vice president of SDS at its 1962 meeting at the UAW retreat center and later made the group's national secretary until his ouster from SDS leadership with the radical takeover of SDS in 1966.



Credit: Louis Fuhian Buchrach Jr. License: <https://shorturl.at/GlatF3>.

Sen. Henry Jackson's candidacy stalled, and the ultimate victor in the presidential primaries and other nominating contests was Sen. George McGovern (shown), a favorite of the New Left, anti-Vietnam War activists, and the growing social-liberal movements.

Knowing a good left-wing activist when it saw one, the United Packinghouse Workers of America (a predecessor union of the United Food and Commercial Workers) picked Booth up as its research director. Booth, who married fellow left-wing activist Heather Booth, helped create the Citizens Action Program, a Chicago-based and Illinois-focused left-of-center campaign group that helped unseat a Republican Illinois governor in 1972. Heather would found the activist and operative-training center Midwest Academy in 1973, and Paul moved to the Illinois state-level council of AFSCME in 1974. In 1988, he was elevated to the union's national office, rising to the role of chief aide to AFSCME national presidents Gerald McEntee and Lee Saunders.

In his role with AFSCME, Booth worked closely with the Democratic Party, most notably serving on Hillary Clinton's 2016 party platform committee, and united organized labor with the institutional progressive movement. One liberal group's remembrance of Booth specifically mentioned his work supporting a "host of other progressive institutions—from the Economic Policy Institute and Jobs with Justice to the National Employment Law Project, the Restaurant Opportunity [*sic*] Center, and the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy."

Hesitation: The 1968 New York Teachers Strike and the 1972 Presidential Election

Following the rise of the Students for a Democratic Society and the New Left, dissension arose within the labor union movement over how closely Big Labor should align with the increasingly radical American left. These came to a head in two major fights between labor organizations and other left-wing factions: the 1968 New York City teachers' strike, which pitted the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) against the Ford Foundation and civil-rights activists, and the 1972 presidential election, which saw the AFL-CIO refuse to endorse Democratic Party candidate George McGovern, who enjoyed the backing of social-liberal and pacifist groups.

New York City in 1968 was led by liberal intellectual and nominal Republican (from a time when "Republican in Name Only" meant something) Mayor John Lindsay. Lindsay had commissioned McGeorge Bundy, a Kennedy-Johnson administration official who had taken over the Ford Foundation in 1966, with leading an advisory panel on decentralizing the city's school system in response to complaints from Black and Puerto Rican activists. The activists argued the city's centralized school bureaucracy



The strikes were marred by anti-Semitic writings and slogans issued by Black nationalist activists who opposed the strike.

was shortchanging their kids and that the largely white-dominated school system denied them sovereignty over their children's education.

Mayor Lindsay and UFT president Al Shanker were personal enemies. A *Commentary* retrospective on the 50th anniversary of the strike described Lindsay as calling Shanker an "evil man" and viewing the union boss as a "power broker" out for his union's own, rather than the public's, interest. Shanker (who was Jewish) reportedly viewed Lindsay as "the embodiment of every upper-crust Protestant, reeking of moral sanctimony and a whiff of genteel anti-Semitism."

Backed by Ford Foundation funding, the New York City school system trialed decentralized neighborhood governance of schools in three sub-units. The most prominent in the disputes to come was Ocean Hill-Brownsville, at the time a nearly exclusively Black and Puerto Rican neighborhood in Brooklyn. The fight scrambled the ideological lines with which a 21st century observer is familiar: Black nationalists aligned with Malcolm X asserted the power of parents to influence school curriculums while demanding the power to select new, Black teachers. Meanwhile, UFT trade unionists defended the race-blind selection system of the Board of Examiners and their own power as a (relatively new) government worker union, with powers above and beyond those of other ostensibly private associations lobbying the government.

Tension built throughout the 1967–1968 school year, coming to a head after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in Tennessee in early April. Amid a climate of increasing militancy by Black activists and activist teachers, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board terminated 19 teachers, who were all UFT members and included 18 white teachers, many of whom were Jewish. Shanker demanded the UFT members be reinstated and vowed to call a strike. A city examiner ruled the firings improper, and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board rejected his reinstatement order.

The stage was set for a citywide strike. All told the UFT would call three separate walkouts between September 9 and November 17, 1968. Mayor Lindsay proved ineffectual in resolving the impasse between the board and the union, and

the strikes (especially the third and longest stoppage) were marred by anti-Semitic writings and slogans issued by Black nationalist activists who opposed the strike.

Ultimately, Shanker and the UFT won. The fired teachers were reinstated. The Ford Foundation-backed decentralization experiment was superseded by a UFT-backed state policy that subordinated “community districts” to the city-wide Board of Education. Reflecting on the strike’s effects on New York City for *Commentary*, Vincent Cannato and Jerald Podair wrote, “Ocean Hill-Brownsville was a perfect example of the failures of Lindsay and modern liberalism: Promise a lot and deliver little to nothing, while exacerbating deep-seated tensions.”

The effect of the strike on union power relative to the aspirations of Great Society liberalism were even clearer. Cannato and Podair continued:

For John Lindsay and McGeorge Bundy were correct in many of their criticisms. The city’s education bureaucracy was sclerotic and self-serving ... black parents were also correct that their children were not getting the quality education they deserved and that parents should demand more voice in their children’s education.

The UFT was also correct that the due-process rights of its members were being ignored under community control and that white, mostly Jewish, teachers were being scapegoated for the failures of urban schools—often in anti-Semitic and anti-white language. But Ocean Hill-Brownsville showed the ultimate power of Shanker and the UFT, a power that would only grow. Today, teachers’ unions around the country are the backbone of the Democratic Party and contemporary liberalism.

Private-sector unionism would suffer its own unpleasant collision with the New Left in 1972. George Meany, the longtime head of the AFL-CIO and a Cold Warrior by disposition, had backed what was effectively a shadow campaign supporting Sen. Henry “Scoop” Jackson (D-WA), a union-friendly Cold War hawk, for the Democratic presidential nomination. But Jackson’s candidacy stalled, and the ultimate victor in the presidential primaries and other nominating contests was Sen. George McGovern (D-SD), a favorite of the New Left, anti-Vietnam War activists, and the growing social-liberal movements.

In response to McGovern’s nomination and despite Meany’s (and his lieutenant and eventual successor Lane Kirkland’s) loathing of incumbent President Richard

Nixon, the AFL-CIO denied McGovern its endorsement. But this act of independence from the rising Everything Leftism would not set a trend. It was, as Reagan administration official Max Green wrote in the Heritage Foundation’s now-defunct house journal *Policy Review* in 1984, “labor’s Last Hurrah, the last time it stood alone in defiance of liberal opinion.”

Alliance for Labor Action and Coalition Politics

Walter Reuther—the left-liberal head of the United Auto Workers and probably America’s second-most-prominent labor union official of the 1960s after the AFL-CIO’s George Meany—had longstanding gripes with his nominal superior. The two clashed over organizing strategies, political commitments, and personal ambitions. By 1968, the UAW and the AFL-CIO had broken up, with the autoworkers’ union joining a strange bedfellow, the mobbed-up and relatively Republican International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to form the Alliance for Labor Action.

Evidence of ALA’s positioning comes not only from Reuther’s participation but also from the praise the new alignment received in remarks by Sen. McGovern in July 1969. McGovern told the Senate:

I am pleased that the resources of the two largest unions in the Nation will be joined to help in the fight against hunger and malnutrition, to build houses for the very poor using modern techniques, to bring dignity to people living in our big city ghettos, and to halt the drift toward militarism and sacrocanct [*sic*] defense budgets.

Mr. President [of the Senate], perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the ALA so far has been to make clear to the entire country that significant leaders of the trade union movement today are not going to blindly swallow the views of the military establishment.

The ALA would not live up to Sen. McGovern’s left-wing dreams, in part because Reuther’s death in a 1970 plane crash took the impetus out of the new organization. But before Reuther’s passing, he would add another left-wing campaign to his expansive roster of supported causes: environmentalism, in the form of UAW contributions to the organization of the first Earth Day in April 1970. The environmentalist magazine *Grist* quoted Denis Hayes, one of the organizers of the first Earth Day, as saying:

Without the UAW, the first Earth Day would have likely flopped! ... The UAW was by far the largest contributor to the first Earth Day, and its support went beyond the merely financial. It printed and mailed all our materials at its expense — even those critical of pollution-belching cars. Its organizers turned out workers in every city where it has a presence. And, of course, Walter then endorsed the Clear Air Act that the Big Four were doing their damndest to kill or gut.

By 1971, the UAW had suspended its financial contributions to the ALA as part of a broader effort to downsize its social activist spending amid financial distress, and the alliance itself dissolved in 1972. The UAW would rejoin the AFL-CIO in 1981 after Lane Kirkland replaced Meany as the federation's head.

Two structural shifts, more than any personal choice by union bosses, drove tighter alignment between union leaderships and the rest of the organized professional left. First, an increasing share of the labor movement was comprised of government workers, who in a post-1968 environment were much more comfortably aligned with the progressive coalition than Al Shanker was amid Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Second, foreign competition, inflation, and a rising southern United States were breaking down Big Business semi-monopolies that could collude with Big Labor to deliver ever-increasing benefits that made workers' union dues more of a yield-generating investment than a simple tax.

Throughout the Long Decline, those returns shrank as national and international competition returned, the social consensus that underpinned the “Three Bigs” coordination model of the New Deal and Great Society eroded, and the statist regulatory regime that had midwived Big Labor cracked under political pressure from the rising consumer class, while the power of the government worker unions rose. This made Big Labor more dependent on the Big Government that its coalition allies in the progressive movement demanded and more inclined to Everything Leftist politics in general.

Max Green argued that by the late 1970s there would be “no more going it alone, no more fights with potential allies, no more sitting out elections” for the largest labor organizations, with the result that “this new perspective has led to a partisan political strategy, with labor, as Walter Reuther wanted, becoming part of a larger, liberal-left movement for economic, political, and social change.” The AFL-CIO reversed policy to align with the left wing of the Civil Rights Movement in support of affirmative action and racial quotas. By 1979, the AFL-CIO had explicitly endorsed the controversial Equal Rights Amendment, a key demand of feminist activists, and agreed not to hold meetings in states that did not ratify the proposed constitutional change.

The Rise of the SEIU

Among the many problems afflicting Big Labor as the Long Decline began was organizing; namely turning workers into dues-paying union members, especially in the growing service industries and the historically union-hostile states in the West and South that were reaping the benefits of post-1960s economic development. Labor's private-sector left had held a keen awareness of the usefulness of continued organizing for at least a decade; among the Alliance for Labor Action's goals was mass union organizing. The brief UAW-Teamsters alliance claimed, “Only as the millions of unorganized workers are brought into union membership will they win the benefits and enjoy the protection they and their families need.”

ALA was almost completely unsuccessful during its short lifetime. But the hope it inspired in labor union officials and staff cadres would long outlive its creator and the alliance itself. From the 1980s through the 2000s, the union that would prove most committed to both union organizing and political Everything Leftism would be the Service Employees International Union, led by allies-turned-rivals John Sweeney and Andy Stern.



Credit: Molly Theobald. License: <https://shorturl.at/Gppl>.

(Vice President Jeff Schooler, IAM Local 1671 with AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and President Dave Jenkins, IAM Local 1671) Over the 1980s and early 1990s, Sweeney almost doubled the SEIU's membership to approximately 1.1 million. Some of this growth came from increasingly militant organizing in the private sector.

Sweeney took office as the SEIU's president in 1980, as the Long Decline was beginning to take hold. He would support a major organizing effort through the decade in Los Angeles and other major California cities branded as "Justice for Janitors." The campaign was led in part by a woman whose life has epitomized Everything Leftism: Cecile Richards, the daughter of Texas Democratic politician Ann Richards. After her work with the SEIU's janitorial organizing campaign, Cecile would rise to high positions in liberal activism, most notably working as head of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. She also worked as a senior staffer for Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and as president of America Votes, a Democratic get-out-the-vote coalition.

Another of Sweeney's Everything Leftist allies was ex-SDS organizer Wade Rathke, whose ACORN community organizing and voter-activation group would align closely with Sweeney's (and later Stern's) union until ACORN broke apart amid scandal in 2009. In addition to ACORN, Rathke headed United Labor Unions Local 100, which was incorporated into the SEIU during Sweeney's presidency, an affiliation that lasted until the ACORN scandals in the late-2000s.

Over the 1980s and early 1990s, Sweeney almost doubled the SEIU's membership to approximately 1.1 million. Some of this growth came from increasingly militant organizing in the private sector.

Sweeney, Stern, and their left-wing activist cadres developed a new style of union organizing campaigns modeled on Justice for Janitors and ACORN's activism known as the "corporate campaign." Shifting away from shopfloor recruiting with an eye toward winning government-supervised elections to secure recognition as bargaining representatives, corporate campaigns—now organized labor's standard tactic—target *employers*, inflicting reputational damage unless they agree to negotiate with a union. Vincent Vernuccio and Trey Kovacs, two right-of-center labor policy wonks, explain:

The union's goal is counter-intuitive. In effect, it aims to organize the employer, not the employees, by exerting public pressure on the employer to become a de facto partner in forcing union representation on employees. The most ambitious corporate campaigns try to pressure multiple companies to agree to the wholesale unionization of entire industries city or statewide. By using a corporate campaign it's easier for a union to organize all the hotels in a city, a nationwide restaurant chain, a statewide consortium of hospitals, or the



Credit: Andy Stern. License: <https://bit.ly/3ZNCb2s>.

Andy Stern would expand the merge-and-absorb growth tactic, employing it within SEIU to much controversy to reorganize local unions into "mega-locals" whose leaders owed allegiance to him rather than to union members.

janitorial staff in a city's downtown office buildings, far easier, that is, than by going door-to-door persuading workers at individual job sites to join the union.

These corporate campaigns often feature Everything Leftist messaging on racial and gender issues and other hot-button topics that businesses wish to avoid, in addition to more traditional forms of intimidation and leftist economic demands.

While Sweeney, Stern, and their allies claimed great success in organizing and pointed to SEIU's growth, a substantial portion of that growth came from the SEIU absorbing unions into itself and expanding into the government sector. Major labor unions, most notably District 1199, the powerful New York State hospital workers' union, were incorporated into SEIU, beefing up the army Sweeney and Stern would command.

In 1996, Sweeney left SEIU after winning election to take over the AFL-CIO, and Stern took the helm at SEIU. Sweeney's election to George Meany's old seat signaled the end of what remained of labor's centrist wing, with the card-carrying Democratic Socialists of America member taking the most prominent union office. However, it must be noted, as Max Green did in his 1996 monograph

Epitaph for American Labor, that Sweeney beat interim AFL-CIO president Thomas R. Donahue, who was in many ways an Everything Leftist cut from the same cloth as Sweeney. Green quotes Donahue as saying, “We need to be—just as John [Sweeney] has said—the force that drives the Democratic Party to the left,” characterizing Sweeney’s election as the culmination of two decades of leftward drift by the union federation.

Sweeney took office at the AFL-CIO with a bold vision of expanded organizing and partnership with progressive organizations to revitalize Big Labor to its mid-century heights. His tenure would prove mostly unsuccessful (in part due to Stern picking a massive fight within the labor movement), and his legacy would be a labor union movement both smaller and more politically dependent on broad-spectrum progressivism even than the one he inherited.

Stern’s Obama Gambit

Andy Stern succeeded Sweeney as leader of the SEIU after a brief internal power struggle. He would expand the merge-and-absorb growth tactic, employing it within SEIU to much controversy to reorganize local unions into “mega-locals” whose leaders owed allegiance to him rather than to union members.

Like Sweeney, Stern was a committed progressive with a big ego and a stated desire to commit labor unionism to broad-spectrum organizing. The House of Labor’s chief federation would prove not to be big enough for both men. After left-wing institutions including Sweeney’s AFL-CIO failed to unseat President George W. Bush in 2004, Stern made his move.

Stern announced the formation of a new splinter union federation alongside the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and left Sweeney’s AFL-CIO to create Change to Win. At the time, there was much commentary that Stern wanted his new federation—which would be joined by the newly merged Unite Here and the United Food and Commercial Workers, among other unions—to focus on organizing *instead* of politics.

But Change to Win was about organizing *through* politics. Stern joined the SEIU, always the dominant force throughout Change to Win’s ascendancy, to the Democratic Party at the hip. The SEIU supported the election of Democratic governors who instituted “dues skim” schemes under which home health aides paid by Medicaid would be considered “employees” subject to unionization by SEIU.



Credit: Molly Theobald. License: <https://bit.ly/3VPPN33>.

Despite its scale, Andy Stern’s gambit would not pay off. President Obama and the Democratic congressional supermajorities that he ushered into power in 2009 chose not to make the Employee Free Choice Act their priority.

At the federal level, SEIU and Stern were key allies of Barack Obama’s 2008 presidential campaign, spending over \$60 million by Stern’s own statements to secure the 44th president’s election. The union’s principal goal was the passage of the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA), legislation that would have instituted several policies to ease union organizing, most notably compelling union recognition by majority signatures on union cards (known as “card check”). Stern received considerable face time with senior administration officials and President Obama himself early in the Obama administration, being one of the most frequent outside visitors to the White House. Patrick Gaspard, an alumnus of 1199SEIU’s political operation, became a senior aide to President Obama.

Despite its scale, Stern’s gambit would not pay off. President Obama and the Democratic congressional supermajorities that he ushered into power in 2009 chose not to make EFCA their priority. Instead they chose to use their filibuster-proof majority in the Senate between the seating of Sen. Al Franken (D-MN) and the election of Sen. Scott Brown (R-MA) to enact the Obamacare health-insurance regulation-and-subsidy package that SEIU and most of Big Labor backed despite reservations about its “Cadillac Tax” on high-value health care plans.

Meanwhile, Change to Win, Stern's would-be rival to the AFL-CIO, came apart following the very messy divorce between the former UNITE needle-trades unions and the HERE hotel, restaurant, and casino unions that had merged to form Unite Here. Bruce Raynor, the leader of the UNITE faction who was described as "a child of the '60s left" by left-wing labor journalist Harold Myerson, headed the merged union in a duumvirate with HERE faction leader and fellow 1960s radical John Wilhelm that was set to conclude in 2009. As the power-sharing agreement was set to end, Raynor and Wilhelm went to war with each other, and Stern took Raynor's side, offering to incorporate Unite Here into SEIU.

Stern won a Pyrrhic semi-victory when Raynor disaffiliated his faction from Unite Here to form a new SEIU division called Workers United, but the now-Workers United and the rump Unite Here would fight one another over control of Amalgamated Bank for years following. While SEIU would win that fight, it came at a cost for Stern, who had to step down as SEIU leader and could not pass the torch to his protégé Anna Burger. And Change to Win saw multiple unions re-defect back to the AFL-CIO.

By the retirement of Stern's successor, Mary Kay Henry in 2024, Change to Win had effectively dissolved, reorganizing itself as the Strategic Organizing Center, with only the SEIU, the tiny United Farm Workers, and the AFL-CIO-affiliated Communications Workers of America as its member organizations. Even the Teamsters left the alliance with the end of James P. Hoffa's term in office, as a new Teamsters regime de-aligned with Everything Leftism, at least at the national level.

Stern's gambit to take over the House of Labor had conclusively failed. Rather than gaining independence from the Democratic Party and liberal movement, the SEIU had become even more closely wedded with its coalition allies.

Labor's New Coalition

Sweeney's tenure at the AFL-CIO ended with his retirement in 2009. He was succeeded by Richard Trumka, his number two at the AFL-CIO. Trumka was a former militant leader of the United Mine Workers union and the man whose legal difficulties led the AFL-CIO to drop a Jimmy Hoffa-era rule requiring any AFL-CIO officer who pleaded the Fifth to resign his office. Like his would-be rival Stern, Trumka was an ally and backer of President Obama, and like Stern,

Trumka pushed the unsuccessful EFCA "card check" bill but had to settle for Obamacare instead.

Facing continued decline in Big Labor's ranks, Trumka and the AFL-CIO looked to change strategy. By 2013, Trumka had essentially thrown up his hands, and proposed making the Everything Leftism-Big Labor alliance formal. Telling *USA Today* that "we are in crisis," Trumka teased formal partnerships up to and perhaps including formal membership in the AFL-CIO federation for a number of left-wing advocacy groups.

Formal links between Big Labor and the contemporary left-wing activist network would be nothing new. Stern's SEIU had helped incubate the Democracy Alliance liberal donor network and was its first institutional member, even hosting the group's offices within SEIU headquarters in Washington, DC, for a time. (The AFL-CIO was also an early member of the Democracy Alliance.) Amalgamated Bank, the SEIU-affiliated financial institution that was the focus of the Unite Here divorce proceedings, became the banker to major Democratic Party campaigns and committees, including the Democratic National Committee.

But Trumka's proposal was something different, as media reports from the time made clear. The *New York Times* reporting on the move, bylined by the paper's long-time, union-sympathizing labor-issues reporter Steven Greenhouse, described:

Mr. Trumka says he believes that if unions are having a hard time increasing their ranks, they can at least restore their clout by building a broad coalition to advance a worker-friendly political and economic agenda. He has called for inviting millions of nonunion workers into the labor movement even if their own workplaces are not unionized. Not stopping there, he has proposed making progressive groups—like the NAACP; the Sierra Club; the National Council of La Raza [later renamed UnidosUS], a Hispanic civil rights group; and MomsRising, an advocacy group for women's and family issues—either formal partners or affiliates of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

The formal marriage did not come to pass. But while some building trades unions balked at formal linkages with environmentalists like the Sierra Club, ideology and policy were not the principal reasons that the marriage was called off: *The Wall Street Journal* reported that it was power within the House of Labor that derailed it before the altar.

The objections emerged after AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka said last month that he wanted to “create full partnerships with other progressive groups” that would be “part of the structure” of the federation. That triggered concern that groups Mr. Trumka mentioned, such as the NAACP, the Sierra Club and the Hispanic civil-rights group National Council of La Raza, would receive full membership and governing power, according to labor officials familiar with negotiations on the issue.

That Trumka would even propose such an entanglement shows the power of a new coalition that upholds what remains of Big Labor. The union movement today is no longer a movement of factory workers, construction men, and transportation drivers working in private industry, at least by numbers. Instead, it is increasingly a movement of education workers, public administrators, and health and social care workers, who are far more likely to be employed by governments and more likely to be liberal in their social views than the Teamsters and longshoremen of old. According to the UnionStats database compiled by academics Barry T. Hirsch, David A. Macpherson, and William E. Even, the economic sectors with the highest union membership numbers in 2023 were elementary and secondary education; “justice, public order, and safety activities”; and hospitals.

White-collar workers with less money than prestige is a tell for aggressive leftist sentiment in America’s WEIRD elite. So it should not be surprising that as the United Auto Workers’ membership profile shifts from car-factory laborers to broke graduate students who fancy themselves the smartest people in the world, radicalism once again rises in the union. That

is why the UAW was among the first unions to demand Israel agree to an armistice with Hamas following the attacks on October 7, 2023. The UAW has become a creature a radical, graduate-student-bull-session form of Everything Leftism at that, more than its old head Walter Reuther’s materialist socialism.

Conclusion

American labor radicalism has come a long way from Soviet agents in the Congress of Industrial Organizations through the UAW-funded Students for a Democratic Society to today’s SEIU purple-shirted demonstrators and red-shirted UAW anti-anti-Hamasniks. As Big Labor has declined, what independence the labor movement had from the progressive Left has diminished to the point where, with rare divergences, it effectively has ceased to exist.

The causes of the Long Decline are many, and the causes of Big Labor’s leftism are also many, ranging from financial incentive structures of union officials to the structure of collective bargaining. But the effect is clear: Organized labor will not align with conservatives. It has never done so. It would not do so.

This fact holds internationally, where most major union federations, regardless of collective bargaining system or national political spectrum, align with the Left or the radical Left. In this, there is no evidence of American exceptionalism. Big Labor is what it has always been: an engine of the progressive movement and left-wing activism. ■

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