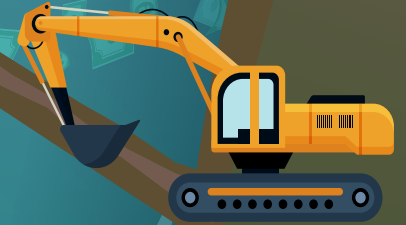




## THE DOGE FILES: TARGETING FRAUD AND WASTE

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DOGE



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## COMMENTARY

### Phony Partisan “Charities” Overplayed Their Hand in 2024

By Parker Thayer

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

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

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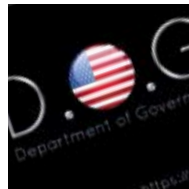
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Volume 10, Issue 2



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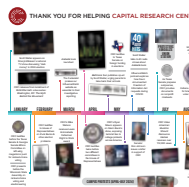
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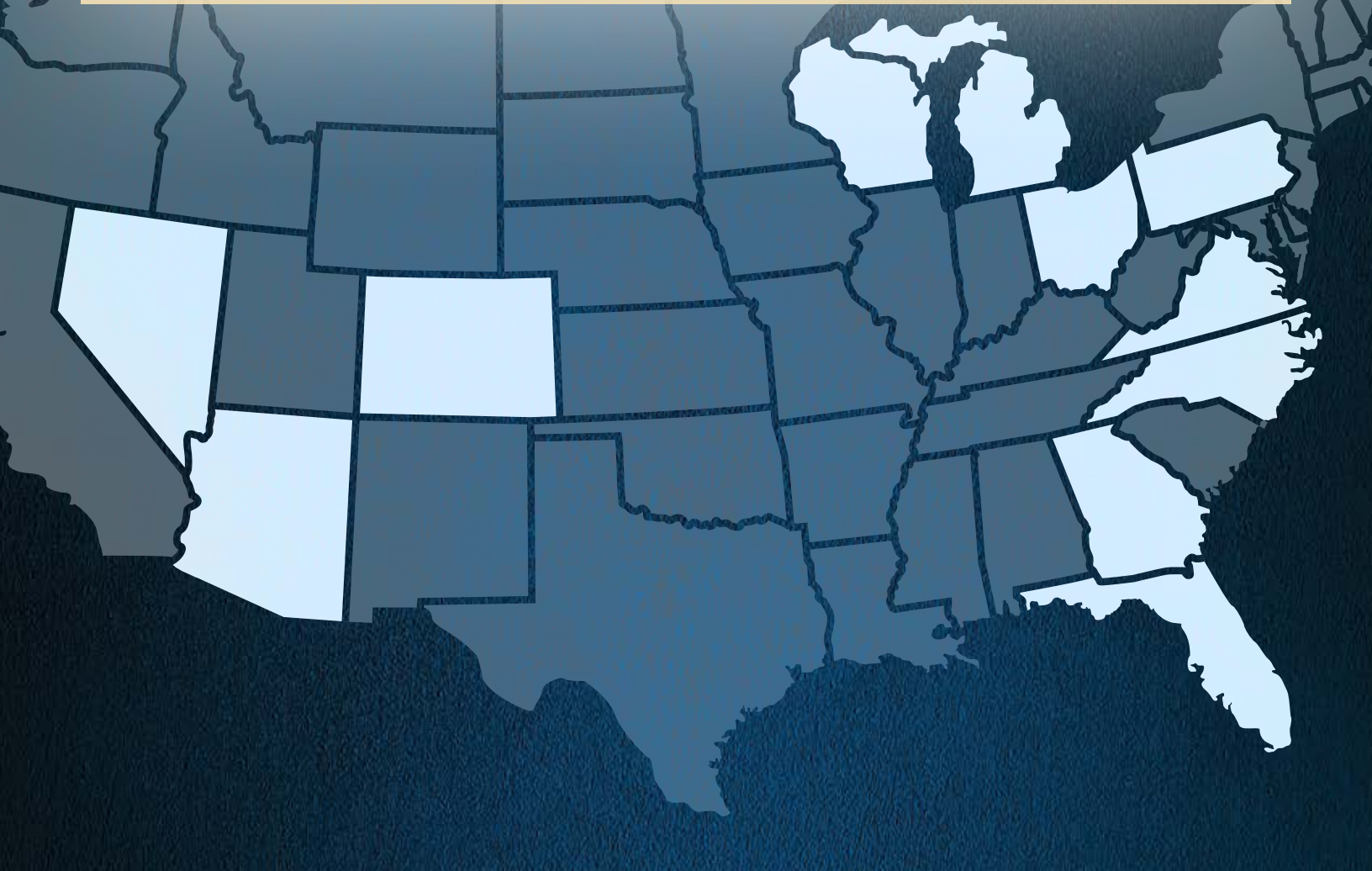


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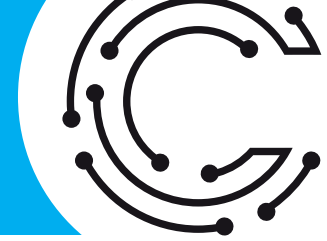
Parker Thayer's exposé reveals the shocking true story of the Everybody Votes campaign—the largest and most corrupt “charitable” voter registration effort in American history—that may have decided the 2020 presidential election and could decide 2024. The Everybody Votes campaign used the guise of civic-minded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



# HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

BY PARKER THAYER

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



## PHONY PARTISAN “CHARITIES” OVERPLAYED THEIR HAND IN 2024

By Parker Thayer

It’s not your imagination; get-out-the-vote ads *were* more obnoxious this year. Thousands of people were shocked to receive intimidating letters claiming their voting history was being monitored, “nonpartisan” mail-in ballot request forms bearing Michelle Obama’s face, misleading text messages telling them they had already voted, and remember-to-vote postcards designed to look like lottery tickets. Most people had never seen tactics like these before, but they were everywhere in 2024.

Why?

The short answer is that sagging polls made the left’s get-out-the-vote (GOTV) machine desperate, and it dug deep in its bag of tricks to find ways to win. The full answer requires a peek under the hood of the left’s vote machine to discover the hubris of identity politics and Democratic donors.

Most of the obnoxious ads came from voter registration “charities” legally required to be nonpartisan. Despite the law, it’s been an open secret for years—decades—that groups like Voter Participation Center, Everybody Votes Campaign, and State Voices exist almost exclusively to help Democrats win by “organizing” the “New American Majority,” a made-up cocktail of all demographic groups that just so happen to favor Democrats. Hundreds of groups use this model, and a \$1 billion industry thrived in the shadows, thanks to the neglect of the IRS and the media.

The industry enjoyed tremendous success in 2020, registering millions of swing-state voters to defeat Trump while attracting more donors than ever before, but after 2020, everything began to collapse. The industry’s success led to unprecedented scrutiny from journalists, Republican legislators, think-tank leaders, and even law enforcement. For the first time, voter registration groups were hiring PR staff. Meanwhile, actual members of the “New American Majority” were leaving the Democratic Party.

It started as a trickle.



Credit: David E. Lucas. License: Public domain.

In November 2023, George Soros canceled a \$67 million pledge to Latino get-out-the-vote groups after “Democrats [saw] Latinos peel away from the party.” In January 2024, an interview with the leader of the Everybody Votes Campaign, the industry’s biggest player, revealed that Everybody Votes, which had registered around 850,000 voters annually and 5.1 million total from 2017-22, had only registered 400,000 more by the start of 2024. The interview also showed EVC was struggling to circumvent newly passed election integrity laws because “keeping up with those laws is time-consuming, it’s expensive ... partners, and even funders, are getting worried that this work is too risky.”

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*Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher at CRC.*



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*In November 2023, George Soros canceled a \$67 million  
pledge to Latino get-out-the-vote groups.*

In April 2024, the trickle of desertions from the would-be “Majority” became a flood when a memo from Democratic strategist Aaron Strauss “sparked a furious debate in Democratic circles about whether to narrow the focus of voter registration efforts to avoid signing up likely Republicans.” The memo advised Democratic megadonors to abandon “nonpartisan” voter registration because most unregistered voters were now Republicans. “Indeed, if we were to blindly register nonvoters and get them on the rolls, we would be distinctly aiding Trump’s quest for a personal dictatorship,” Strauss declared.

The memo was poorly received. Partisan donors were loath to give up their favorite tax-exempt toy, and the registration industrial complex wanted the money, so the grift continued. In 2024, AllByApril, a donor coalition led by eBay founder Pierre Omidyar, doubled down, ensuring checks to voter registration groups were delivered by April to maximize election impact. The campaign raised \$150+ million and was joined by 174 donors. Perhaps *some* donors quietly cut back, but it seems like Strauss’s warning was ignored.

As registrations became harder to collect, desperation mounted. Multiple vendors to Everybody Votes were caught fraudulently inflating their numbers. Voter Participation Center was caught filtering its Facebook ads to avoid Republicans. Finally, the creepy “we’ll know if you voted” ads were deployed, alienating the “charitable” GOTV industry’s possible allies. Now the industry finds itself alone against hundreds of disgruntled donors and a Republican trifecta that it accidentally helped create, while legislation to revoke the tax-exempt status of partisan “charities” is in vogue like never before.

It’s poetic justice. ■

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*This article first appeared in RealClearPolitics on  
November 21, 2024.*

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## ENDING THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY

By Kali Fontanilla

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**Summary:** Like most large, complex, and bloated federal agencies, the U.S. Department of Education isn't a simple black and white issue of good versus bad. The department played an important role in desegregation. More recently, *No Child Left Behind* and *Common Core* have been disastrous to education. In the end, dismantling or dramatically shrinking the Department of Education will be messy.

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Did I think I'd spend a few hours debating leftists about the Department of Education (ED) on TikTok? No—but hey, I guess there are worse ways to waste time.

Suddenly, the Department of Education is in the national spotlight because President-elect Donald Trump has vowed to work toward dismantling it. As usual, anything Trump proposes—good or bad—receives immediate and strong disapproval from most of the mainstream media, accompanied by fear-mongering campaigns about worst-case scenarios tied to his proposed reforms. Hence, my endless TikTok debates.

Despite all the drama, I'm grateful we're having these conversations. When I was a public school teacher meeting with parents, I always approached those meetings with an "assumption of positive intent." I believed every parent I met wanted the best for their child and loved them deeply. I'm choosing to extend that same assumption to the Left's sudden, forceful defense of the Department of Education. I believe they care about our nation's children just as much as I do, and their concerns about dismantling the ED stem from a genuine fear that it could harm our kids.

Like most large, complex, and bloated federal agencies, this isn't a simple black and white issue of good versus bad. There is a lot of gray to unpack, and if we truly care about our nation's children, we need to examine it all: the good, the bad, and the ugly.



Credit: Raul654. License: <https://shorturl.at/283v4>

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*The No Child Left Behind Act was signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2002, marking a significant expansion of the federal government's role in public education.*

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## Background on the Department of Education

First, let's look into a bit of history. Education in the United States was originally intended to be controlled solely by local and state governments. Our Founding Fathers firmly believed in a decentralized government. Power would be distributed among the states and local communities rather than concentrated at the federal level. They were weary of government overreach in all areas and feared it could lead to tyranny. These men were focused on giving themselves less power over the people rather than more. Imagine that.

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

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*It's imperative to note that public education was not a main focus during the founding era.*

It's imperative to note that public education was not a main focus during the founding era. The Founders emphasized education as a means to grow an informed citizenry capable of sustaining a democratic republic. But they deliberately left the responsibility of organizing and funding schools to individual states and communities.

For example, Thomas Jefferson proposed a public education system in Virginia to ensure that citizens were literate and informed. However, this was not a mission to be completed by the federal government but rather a state-level proposal. Similarly, John Adams also pushed for universal education and again framed it as a community responsibility rather than a federal mandate.

The Founders undeniably valued the importance of an educated population. James Madison famously wrote, "A well-instructed people alone can be a permanently free people." Likewise, George Washington, in his Farewell Address of 1796, stated: "Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened."

There was an emphasis on education as vital to the republic. Still, I want to emphasize again that the Founders envisioned this as a responsibility managed by states and local communities, not the federal government.

This decentralized approach to education persisted throughout most of American history, with states maintaining primary control over their public schools, academic standards, curricula, and funding until the mid-20th century, when national priorities began to shift. The most notable drivers of increased federal oversight included the push for civil rights, heightened economic competition during the Cold War, the need to ensure access to education for students with special needs, and the expansion of federal programs to fund higher education. These priorities significantly expanded the federal government's role in education and ultimately led to the establishment of a powerful, well-funded, Cabinet-level Department of Education, which describes itself in grand and sweeping terms:

The US Department of Education is the agency of the federal government that establishes policy for, administers, and coordinates most federal assistance to education. It assists the president in executing his education policies for the nation and implementing laws enacted by Congress.

Before this time of centralization and reform, what became the Department of Education aligned with our Founder's vision of limited federal oversight of education. It had humble origins as a small federal agency established by President Andrew Johnson in 1867. Its primary purpose was to collect statistics and information about the health of the nation's schools. It was even demoted the next year to an Office of Education, keeping the office at arm's length from state-run schools, like a distant uncle who calls once a year to check on his nieces and nephews.

So for most of U.S. history, really before around the 1980s, the forerunners of the Department of Education were small and decentralized. Furthermore, other countries don't have a strong and centralized education department, yet their students do just fine, like our neighbors to the north, Canada. So there's no need to freak out about the possibility that the incoming Trump Administration will make some changes. But before we look at the changes, let's review how we got to where we are today.

## **The Good: Desegregation and Special Education**

As is usually the case at the beginning of government expansion, the origins at least were noble. The public schools in the South had been segregated for nearly 100 years. Under Jim Crow laws, black children were separated from white children and, because of this, were educated in inferior public schools. The Supreme Court's support of "separate but equal" policies in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) further ingrained segregation. However, these schools were far from equal—African American schools received fewer resources, were underfunded, and employed underpaid and often poorly trained teachers.





## *Why do students with special needs receive several more years of free education than their peers without disabilities?*

The tide began to turn with the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, which declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional. The Court ruled that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal,” clarifying that segregation violated the 14th Amendment.

Despite this ruling, resistance in the South was strong. Pro-segregation advocates employed numerous tactics to delay or prevent integration, such as closing public schools, establishing private “segregation academies,” and passing laws designed to undermine compliance.

This is where the federal government stepped in. It played a critical role by providing guidance and assistance to school districts on how to develop desegregation plans. More effectively, the federal government used financial incentives by withholding federal funds from districts that refused to integrate. This approach proved to be the most effective, as many reluctant districts ultimately complied to avoid losing financial resources. Let’s face it. Money talks when it comes to our public schools.



*License: Public domain.*

*Federal marshals escorting Ruby Bridges out of school after the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, which declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional.*

Along with the mission to integrate our nation’s schools, the federal education offices played a pivotal role in securing free public education for students with special needs through the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Originally titled the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, this landmark legislation passed in 1975. It governs how special education services are provided in America and marked a turning point in guaranteeing that students with disabilities receive a “free appropriate public education” (FAPE).

Before 1975, it was not a national standard for students with disabilities to have access to free public education, let alone specialized services. Under IDEA, students with special needs are entitled to free education from age 3 to 21, offering even more years of public education than their peers without disabilities.

Early in my teaching career, I had the privilege of working as a long-term substitute teacher in a post-high school special needs program for students age 18–21. In this program, students were taught valuable life skills, such as holding a regular job at a pizza shop. Since the students were all over 18, taking field trips was easier, so we were frequently outside the classroom. We took public transportation to their jobs, went on nature outings, attended a weekly dance where students from similar programs gathered, and even participated in a few college classes—all funded by public education tax dollars.

This position was one of my favorite teaching experiences. I am not criticizing the program in any way. I saw firsthand how it benefitted the students. However, it does raise a few questions. Why do students with special needs receive several more years of free education than their peers without disabilities? And why such an emphasis on practical life skills for these students, while general education students miss out on similar opportunities? Wouldn’t all students, special needs or not, benefit from programs that focus on life skills and workforce readiness?

Despite my minor concerns about equality in special needs programs, the Department of Education has proven to be the ultimate compliance authority in ensuring states implement these programs effectively. Their responsibilities include setting policies and guidelines for states and

districts, monitoring adherence, providing grants to fund special needs programs, requiring annual reports, investigating complaints, and enforcing corrective actions. The department has evolved from a distant overseer to a watchful parent, carefully supervising every aspect of these programs.

This is where the Left and many on the Right voice their concerns about dismantling the Department of Education. What would happen to the education of students with special needs? Would their programs be neglected—or worse—erased entirely?

No doubt, the Department of Education's major roles in integrating schools and overseeing special education programs contributed to its promotion to Cabinet-level status in 1979. Under President Jimmy Carter, along with strong support from the National Education Association (NEA), the department finally gained the powerful position it holds today.

Interestingly, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) opposed the ED's elevation to Cabinet-level status, viewing it as a boost to their rival, the NEA. Randi Weingarten, the current AFT president, recently acknowledged in an MSNBC interview: "I don't—I mean, my members don't actually care about whether they have [the] bureaucracy of the Department of Education or not. In fact, Al Shanker and the AFT in the 1970s were opposed to the creation!"

## The Bad: No Child Left Behind

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2002, marking a significant expansion of the federal government's role in public education. When people complain about the Department of Education, it's acts like NCLB that often fuel this criticism. Imagine a toddler trying to "help" clean up, only to make the task more difficult and create an even bigger mess—that's how critics view the ED's interventions in public education.

With strong backing from the ED, NCLB reforms required schools to administer annual standardized tests in reading and math for students in grades 3–8 and once in high school. However, these tests weren't just about reporting how students were performing; they came with major consequences for schools that failed to meet certain benchmarks. Consequences included loss of funding, forced restructuring, and, in severe cases, conversion into a charter school.

This created a high-pressure environment for both teachers and students. Instead of focusing on ensuring students had a

strong grasp of the year's math and English concepts or tailoring lessons to meet individual needs, teachers felt intense pressure to "teach to the test." Students were inundated with packets of practice tests for math and English, spending weeks drilling for the exams. As a result, other subjects—such as history, physical education, and art—were often neglected, particularly in elementary schools.

With the unrealistic goal of achieving 100 percent proficiency in reading and math by 2014, schools were set up for failure, and fail they did. NCLB was disastrous, but that was just the beginning.

## The Ugly: Common Core

Then came Common Core. At the time, I was a bright-eyed and eager early 20-something in my first year of a Master of Education and Teaching Credential program at the University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC). Santa Cruz can be described glibly as the city where the 1960s hippies went to retire. Very liberal. As part of my Master's program, we participated in privilege walks, where we were separated based on "privilege" after answering 12 or so questions. We attended LGBTQ panels that focused on supporting and counseling students questioning their gender and sexuality. The overarching narrative in our training emphasized the "white supremacist systems" that, we were told, permeate our public schools.

The year was 2009, and there were rumblings of a possible switch to nationwide standards for math and English. Previously, each state had its own set of standards for these subjects. While inconsistent, most states and teachers were satisfied with this system. States could tailor their standards



*Then came Common Core. The year was 2009, and there were rumblings of a possible switch to nationwide standards for math and English.*

Credit: Steve Rhoads. License: <https://shorturl.at/2Omji>.



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*Now, almost 15 years later, we can see the “grade report” for the shift to Common Core, and it’s not a good one.*

to the specific needs of their students, often creating detailed and extensive guidelines that made it easier for teachers to know precisely what to teach during the school year and to assess whether students met those standards. All that autonomy ended with Common Core.

Funded by Bill Gates, heralded by President Obama, and enthusiastically endorsed by the Department of Education, Common Core became a reality during my time at UCSC. And despite UCSC being a predominantly pro-Obama campus, we were all against it! Even when I leaned further left politically, I’ve always had a healthy distaste for federal overreach (which used to be a hallmark of liberalism), and so did my classmates and professors.

While the ED did not directly create the standards (this task fell to the National Governors Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers), it played a critical role in ensuring their adoption by nearly all states. The ED promoted Common Core through federal initiatives, primarily by offering financial incentives. States received grants for adopting Common Core-aligned curriculum materials and for implementing assessments designed to measure the success of the standards.

Although adopting Common Core was technically voluntary, the connection between adoption and access to millions in federal funding made it almost mandatory. Just as with earlier efforts to integrate schools, money talks.

Now, almost 15 years later, we can see the “grade report” for the shift to Common Core, and it’s not a good one. A 2015 study showed “declines in math performance across the board, and either flatlining or decline in reading scores,” as well as declines in college preparation for seniors in math and reading. Many states have since revised or replaced the standards, acknowledging that they have not delivered on their promise to improve student outcomes.

It’s important to remember that without the ED’s top-down, federal centralization, Common Core would have been nearly impossible to implement nationwide. Maybe a handful of states would’ve tried it, and their regional failure would’ve been a lesson to other states to avoid it. But with the ED as powerful as it is today, the catastrophe was national.

## Ending the Department of Education?

Dismantling the Department of Education will be messy. It would require an act of Congress, possibly by repealing the Department of Education Organization Act of 1979. If it were to pass, which is unlikely given the current stagnation in Congress, many of the ED’s responsibilities, such as overseeing standards and school accountability measures, would return to the states.

The department’s funding would also be redistributed to the states, at least in theory. Unlike the current system, this funding would not have specific allocations enforced by the federal government, allowing states to direct the money into their educational programs as they see fit.

Programs like Pell Grants and federal student loans wouldn’t disappear automatically. Still, they would likely be transferred to another agency, such as the Department of the Treasury, or perhaps a new agency created specifically for these programs. Civil rights enforcement in education would probably be shifted to another department as well. Of course, progressives will fear-monger and falsely claim all these programs and funds are going to disappear if the ED is reorganized.

What’s more likely than the abolition of the ED is a shrinking of the department. This can be done, to some degree, without congressional action. The incoming Trump administration can use a combination of informal budget cuts, such as directing his secretary of education to cut spending and not use all the funds allocated to the department by the budget, and reorganization, such as firing unnecessary federal education bureaucrats. Executive orders can do most of this relatively quickly, although the next administration could reverse those decisions just as quickly. Still, these temporary actions can become permanent by demonstrating their effectiveness. If Congress sees that a leaner and defanged ED is still getting the job done, or even improving results, by deferring to the states, they may be persuaded to make some of these changes long-lasting through legislation.

Shrinking ED would undoubtedly be a complex and controversial process, and we would likely see significant media outcry along the way, which we are already witnessing with just the possibility of change. However, it is possible to have a thriving educational system without a formal Cabinet-level department of education. Canada does it. We did it before 1979. We can do it again. The only question is, does the political will exist to do it. ■

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

# CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER LABOR WATCH

## EXPOSING TEACHERS UNIONS

### ARMING PARENT ADVOCATES WITH FACTS



#### Combatting Corruption

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

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#### Exposing Extremism

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

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



#### Supporting Students

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

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

### CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER SENIOR FELLOW

#### KALI FONTANILLA

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





## THE DOGE FILES: TARGETING FRAUD AND WASTE

By Ken Braun, Robert Stilson, and Parker Thayer

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**Summary:** *The DOGE Files is an ongoing Capital Research Center project to document some of the most egregious examples of the federal government's careless use of tax dollars. This article looks specifically at grants to nonprofits from the Environmental Protection Agency and the Departments of Agriculture, Energy, Labor, and Housing and Urban Development.*

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At the end of 2024, the Capital Research Center (CRC) embarked on a massive project to comb through billions of dollars of federal spending records to identify the wasteful, ludicrous, and downright awful nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) receiving massive grants from the U.S. government. We hope to inform the public how their money is used and to identify waste that legislators and federal officials can eliminate. We also hope to inform the new Department of Government Efficiency, a presidential commission officially established by President Donald Trump, in its efforts to tame federal leviathan.

This article includes some of the initial reports of the DOGE Files, highlighting some of the most obvious problems with federal grants to the nonprofit sector. These and other reports are posted on [TheDOGEFiles.org](https://TheDOGEFiles.org). More are coming.

### DOGE and Department of Agriculture's "Climate Smart" Grants

One of the many things wrapped in the voluminous packaging of the so-called Inflation Reduction Act was \$19.5 billion for "climate smart agriculture." What exactly that means is hard to say, but the Department of Agriculture has committed over \$1 billion in federal grant money to nonprofits funding it. What does "climate smart" mean, how many nonprofits are getting this funding, and is it being used effectively?

**The National Fish and Wildlife Foundation.** A review of all federal grants mentioning "climate smart" shows that the largest grant of this program was a \$95.4 million pledge



*This article includes some of the initial reports of the DOGE Files, highlighting some of the most obvious problems with federal grants to the nonprofit sector. These and other reports are posted on the [TheDOGEFiles.org](https://TheDOGEFiles.org).*

to the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation (NFWF) for climate smart corn and soybeans. NFWF used the money to create the Farmers for Soil Health (FSH) project, managed by a partnership of NFWF, National Corn Growers Association, United Soybean Board, and National Pork Board. The irony of including "National Pork Board" in a government funded project should not be lost on anyone. What did the money actually go to?

Well, the top grantee of the Farmers for Soil Health project in 2023 was the Conservation Technology Information Center (CITC), which received \$2.5 million. CITC advises farmers on how to use "cover crops," usually grasses or legumes that are grown to improve soil quality and prevent

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*Ken Braun is CRC's senior investigative researcher and authors profiles for [InfluenceWatch.org](https://InfluenceWatch.org) and the *Capital Research* magazine. Robert Stilson is a research specialist at CRC who runs several of CRC's specialized projects, including a series on federal grants and nonprofits. Parker Thayer is an investigative researcher at CRC.*

## What is the Farmers for Soil Health Climate Smart Commodities Partnership project?

The Farmers for Soil Health (FSH) collaboration, with the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation (NFWF) serving as their designated administrative lead, was selected by USDA to receive a \$95 million Climate Smart Commodities award. The project includes four strategies:

1. FSH will support and expand technical assistance, enrollment and education programs in targeted states through grants associated with this project.
2. FSH has established a new financial assistance program to incentivize cover crop adoption on over 1.3 million acres of crop fields in corn and soybean production. Participating farmers will plant cover crops for three years and receive Transition Incentive Payments (TIPs) totaling \$50 per new acre of cover crops planted.
  - Year 1 = \$25/acre
  - Year 2 = \$15/acre
  - Year 3 = \$10/acreSigning Incentive Payments (SIPs) of \$2 per acre are available for up to 600,000 acres of existing cover crops. NFWF will make the annual financial payments to participating farmers with funding separate from the grant.
3. FSH has created and launched an enrollment platform, through our technology partner DTN, as described above. This includes nationwide cover crop Measurement, Reporting and Verification (MRV) system.
4. FSH will create a public marketplace platform to connect farmers to buyers of climate-smart commodities and opportunities for premiums and incentives.

Source: Farmers for Soil Health, <https://farmersforsoilhealth.com/enrollment/>.

erosion, not for harvesting—a practice that experts say provides questionable environmental benefits at best while greatly reducing farmland productivity and thus raising food prices. On top of that, planting cover crops means forgoing a whole season of revenue from cash crops such as corn and soybeans.

So why would farmers want to do it?

Well, the CTIC grant description says that it hopes to enroll 200 farmers into Farmers for Soil Health by providing them with “dedicated, full-time Soil Health Specialists” who can “work one-on-one with farmers and their advisors.” Yet as of September 2023 CTIC reported employing only six individuals. A quick visit to the enrollment webpage shows what the Farmers for Soil Health *actually* does.

CITC essentially received a \$2.5 million grant to act as a salesman for NFWF to entice farmers to enroll in a government-sponsored program in which NFWF pays them up to \$50 an acre to not grow anything useful on their fields for up to three years. Apparently, the way to farm “climate smart” is to not farm at all. (Notably, this program should not be confused with letting farmland lie fallow as part of a planned crop rotation to replenish the soil with nutrients and water. Such planning usually takes farmland out of production for only one growing season.)

No data are available on the effectiveness of NFWF’s program or its grantees, except for a lone report from October 2024 that indicated 238 farmers enrolled in Farmers for Soil Health in its first year, registering 78,000 acres of new or existing cover crops. At the blistering pace of 78,000 acres per year, Farmers for Soil Health is on track to meet its stated goal of 1 million acres over five years in roughly 13 years. That’s a minimum of eight years behind schedule assuming that every single one of the 78,000 acres was new cover crop land and not previously existing cover crop land, which can also be enrolled in the subsidy program for \$2 an acre.

USASpending.gov records show that as of January 2025 roughly \$5.8 million has actually been “outlayed” to NFWF, with the remaining \$90 million still in federal coffers, potentially able to be reclaimed or impounded by the government.

Basic math shows that, given \$5.8 million of outlayed funds and assuming 78,000 acres of cover crops enrolled in the first year, the project has been spending just over \$75 per enrolled acre. That’s three times more than the \$25 per acre payment provided to farmers for brand new cover crop land and over 30 times more than the \$2 per acre payments for pre-existing cover crop land. Where has the extra \$50 per acre gone? Are NFWF and grantees like CITC spending two-thirds of their grant funds on overhead and labor? How

much of the 78,000 enrolled acreage was preexisting cover crop land receiving just \$2 instead of \$25?

The numbers just don't add up, and it seems like the majority of the money never reaches the farmers.

**Many More of the Same.** The fiasco of NFWF's Farmers for Soil Health is the biggest of the "climate smart grants" but far from the only one. Data obtained from USASpending.gov by Capital Research Center for the DOGE Files project show that the Biden Administration pledged 173 different new grants totaling \$1.4 billion using the words "climate smart" or "climate-smart" in the description. The other 172 grants are very similar to the NFWF grant.

The second largest grant (\$95 million) to the Iowa Soybean Association, a 501(c)(5) agricultural nonprofit, was used to create the Soil and Water Outcomes Fund that also aims to enroll farmers in a program that pays them for farming soybeans in ways the Soil and Water Outcomes Fund deems desirable, namely using cover crops and no-till farming. Meanwhile, the third largest grant (\$90 million) to the US Cotton Trust likewise subsidizes cover crops for cotton farmers. In fact, numerous grants in the high-eight-figures create nonprofit-run programs for climate smart production, or non-production, of virtually every crop and livestock that exists. An \$85 million grant to the California Dairy Research Foundation funds "DairyPlus+" paying farmers to use vermifiltration, or feeding manure to worms, and other technologies meant to reduce methane emissions, otherwise known as cow farts.

An \$85 million grant to the USA Rice Federation created the Rice Stewardship Partnership for Climate-Smart Commodities, which paid farmers for eco-friendly rice. A \$69.9 million grant to the National Sorghum Producers Association created the sorghum Resource Conserving Group, which pays farmers to plant cover crops in sorghum fields. All told, individual groups subsidizing "climate smart" almonds, berries, bison, coffee, corn, cotton, dairy, fruits, pork, poultry, rice, sorghum, timber, vegetables, wool, and hay received one or more grants larger than \$10 million. It seems like America's taxpayers are unwittingly paying for farmers to not produce half of the contents of an average grocery store in the name of sketchy climate science.

**DEI Requirements.** As with many other grants distributed by the Biden Administration, restrictions on the "climate smart commodities" funds necessitate that grant allocation should prioritize "disadvantaged" or "underserved" communities in some way, a gift to the American human resources and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) industries. These restrictions essentially required every grantee to

hire DEI-focused staff and consultants. A Department of Agriculture Q&A webpage makes it very clear that "Equity/Environmental Justice (EJ)/Minority Serving Institutions (MSI) Reach" was one of the selection criteria for applicants. The department is explicit that the selection committee examined how applicants would benefit "underserved communities" and how many "underserved producers" would be enrolled when making decisions. In other words, the Department of Agriculture made race a mandatory consideration of the entire program, placing the whole program at odds with recent Supreme Court rulings and more recent executive orders.

**How Much Can be Reclaimed?** There is simply no obvious reason the Climate Smart Commodities program should continue to exist. Paying farmers not to farm is a controversial and counterintuitive policy *as is*, but paying DEI-focused interest groups and nongovernmental organizations to pay farmers not to farm because of vague and unattainable "climate smart" goals is lunacy. The most recent available data indicate that over \$1 billion of the allocated funding has not been outlaid, meaning the checks have not yet been cut. Any administration with an interest in saving the taxpayers money, reducing food prices, and bolstering American agriculture would do well to claw back every possible penny of the Climate Smart Commodities grants.

## The Department of Energy's Anti-Energy Grants Should Be in the DOGE Crosshairs

*If I had asked people what they wanted, they would have said faster horses.*

—allegedly (but probably not) Henry Ford.

The Ford Motor Company's electric vehicle (EV) division regularly loses as much per sale as most Americans are willing to pay for *any* type of vehicle. While Ford's leadership should be blamed, the federal government has also been an eager co-conspirator. If the so-called Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) succeeds in its eponymous mission, an underappreciated benefit could be improved private-sector efficiency at firms such as Ford.

In a late October report on Ford's EV woes, energy journalist Robert Bryce wrote that "the storied automaker lost \$58,391" for every electric vehicle it sold during the third quarter of 2024. Bryce has also reported that Ford bled out \$64,731 per EV sale during all of 2023, up from \$34,000 lost per EV sold in 2022. While still generally profitable overall because Americans remain loyal buyers of Ford's fos-



Credit: Alexander-93. License: <https://shutterstock.com/vp/wgl>.

*The Ford Motor Company's electric vehicle (EV) division regularly loses as much per sale as most Americans are willing to pay for any type of vehicle.*

sil-fueled trucks and SUVs, Bryce has tabulated that the EV division's red ink since 2022 has flowed past \$10 billion.

Why has Ford been so determined to waste \$10 billion making products customers don't want to pay for?

Just one giveaway from the ill-named Inflation Reduction Act of 2022 is a program to encourage production of EV batteries. It's estimated 10-year price tag exceeds \$200 billion, and Bryce wrote in June 2023 that Ford alone had already received \$9.2 billion from the program to build three EV battery factories.

Blow a few billion here and there, and it can add up to real money!

Ford's EV challenges are not unique. A November report from the Associated Press reported American EV sales were slowing, and that was before anticipated threats from the incoming Trump administration to remove \$7,500 per vehicle purchase credits on cars that cost about \$8,000 more than traditional internal combustion vehicles. When Germany recently removed its EV credits, reported the Associated Press, sales plummeted.

The EV and electrification subsidies in the Inflation Reduction Act are just two examples of targets that should be in the DOGE crosshairs.

#### **Anti-Energy Grants from . . . the Department of Energy?**

Last December the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) began spending a \$6 million solar energy grant from the Department of Energy. The EDF opposes the use of hydrocarbon fuels and has even cheered on the closure of carbon-free

nuclear energy plants. This means that a recipient of a \$6 million grant from the U.S. Department of Energy is opposed to 92 percent of the energy used in the United States.

As the kids say these days, "You had ONE job!"

While the EDF is one of the nation's most prominent anti-energy nonprofits, it isn't even the most egregious example of those receiving multi-million-dollar gifts from U.S. taxpayers.

In October 2023, the Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI) began spending a \$2.4 million grant from the State Department to fund energy projects in low-income nations.

In and of itself, helping less fortunate nations climb out of energy poverty is a good thing, but should it remain a priority for a government that has run up the largest debt in the history of money?

If this foreign aid is deemed a highest and best use of the money, then should the loot go to the radical climate alarmists at RMI who oppose all of the reliable energy options, including nuclear?

Similarly, in June 2023, RMI began work on a \$5.1 million grant from the Department of Transportation, even though the radical nonprofit has opposed almost all the fuels used to power American transportation.

In October 2021, RMI received a \$339,899 Department of Energy grant for "ESTIMATING CHARGING INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS IN STATES COMMITTED TO MEDIUM- AND HEAVY-DUTY TRUCK ELECTRIFICATION."

It seems unlikely RMI spent this money wisely because in the Great American EV charging station boondoggle of the early 2020s, almost nobody spent smartly. A \$7.5 billion appropriation for EV charging stations in 2021 was one of the Biden administration's first legislative accomplishments. By May 2024, *Autoweek* reported the program was "moving very, very slowly," which was the kind way of saying "only eight chargers have been put in place."

Imagine the justified outrage if the Department of Energy paid \$7.5 billion to build eight gasoline pumps.

Similarly, in June 2024 Grid Alternatives began working on a \$1.5 million Department of Energy grant to "UNLOCK EQUITY AT PUBLIC ELECTRIC VEHICLE CHARGING."

In addition to opposing all forms of reliable energy—including nuclear—Grid Alternatives was a promoter of the Green New Deal. The neo-socialist plot for the American



economy was so radical that even San Francisco Democrat and former U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi derisively dismissed it as “the green dream, or whatever they call it, nobody knows what it is.”

And that \$1.5 million is a mere rounding error in the recent pile of federal loot that has been landing on Grid Alternatives. In May 2024, the nonprofit began receiving payments on a pair of solar energy grants from the Environmental Protection Agency that will collectively be worth *more than \$312 million*.

**Subsidizing Inefficient Energy.** Grants to unreliable energy and electric vehicles that have flowed from American taxpayers during just the Biden administration are all government inefficiency that should be on the DOGE chopping block.

“A typical 1,000-megawatt nuclear facility in the United States needs a little more than 1 square mile to operate,” claims the Department of Energy, while “wind farms require 360 times more land area to produce the same amount of electricity and solar photovoltaic plants require 75 times more space.”

Similarly a 2021 report from *Bloomberg News* reports that a “200-megawatt wind farm, for instance, might require spreading turbines over 19 square miles” while a “natural gas power plant with that same generating capacity could fit onto a single city block.”

For these relatively trivial trickles of electricity, wind turbines and solar panels have been implicated in the mass killing of eagles, bats, other raptors, and even whales. Remember when there was an American environmental movement that actually cared about preserving the land, eagles, and whales?

The federal government’s EV waste is also linked to its mad fixation on weather-dependent energy. Despite tens of billions of federal subsidy dollars annually shoveled into environment-gobbling wind and solar schemes, those two sources combined still produce just 14 percent of total U.S. electricity. So if you’re driving an EV in America, then it is likely running on carbon-emitting natural gas (43.1 percent of U.S. electricity production in 2023) or coal (16.2 percent).

Carbon-free nuclear power plants produced 18.2 percent of U.S. electricity in 2023. But deployment of more of these has been artificially restricted for five decades—in large measure due to pressure from the same anti-energy groups that have recently received hundreds of millions in federal grants.

How’s THAT for government inefficiency?

**Just the Beginning.** There’s a lot more where that came from.

Federal spending for Fiscal Year 2024 was just less than \$6.8 *trillion* or *more than \$80,000 spent per household of four*. If it had been stand-alone nation, just the \$1.8 *trillion* added to the American federal deficit in FY 2024 would have been one of the world’s 15 largest economies.

Yet inflation-adjusted federal spending in FY 2019 was less than \$5.5 trillion. Merely limiting annual spending increases to no more than the rate of inflation for five years would have wiped out most of that \$1.8 trillion FY 2024 deficit.

Cutting spending that has been larded on since then is the low-hanging fruit that should be easy picking for DOGE. Grants to anti-energy groups promoting EVs and weather-dependent energy should be just the beginning.

## Environmental Protection Agency: Low-Quality Energy for the LIDACs and \$21.8 Billion in Waste

*The question is no longer whether solar energy works. We know it works. The only question is how to cut costs. . . . The Department of Energy believes that photovoltaic cells can be competitive with conventional energy sources, perhaps as early as 1990.*

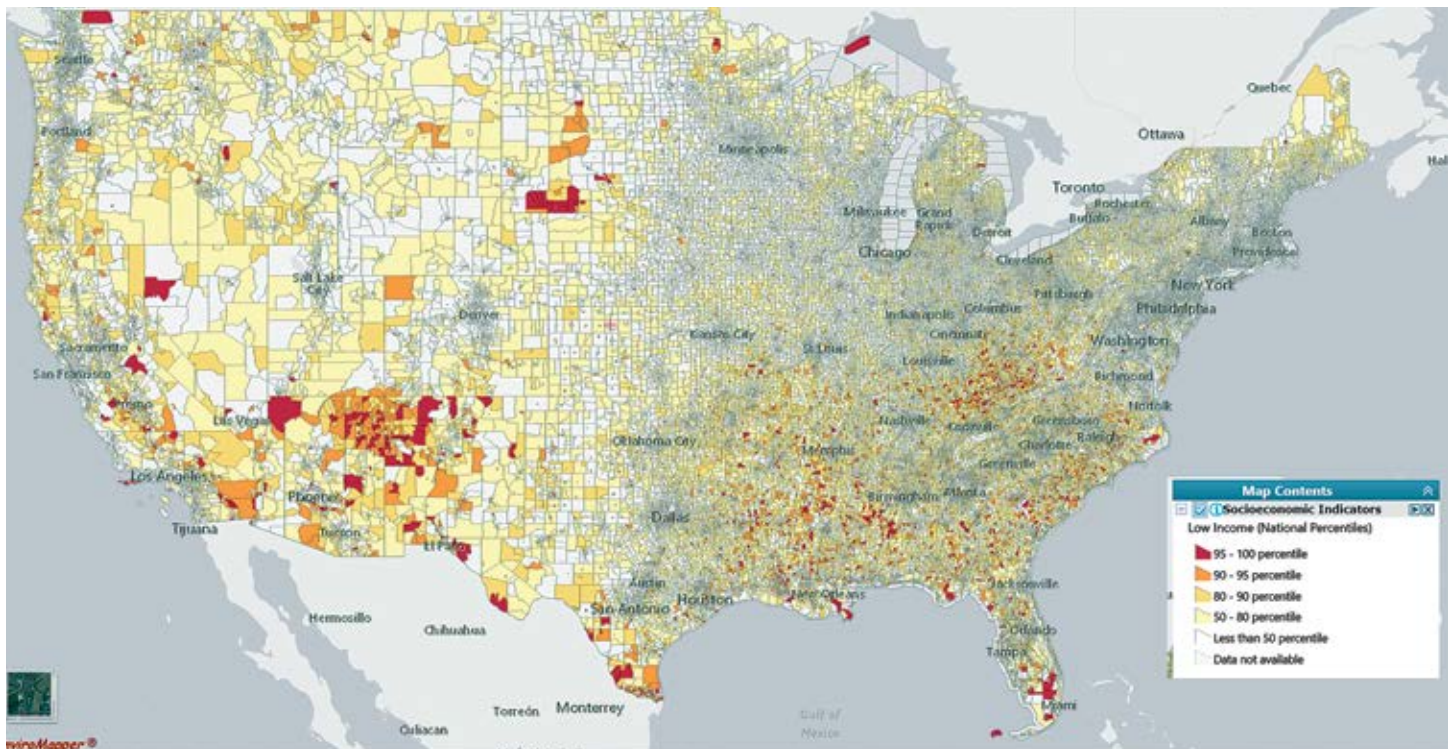
—President Jimmy Carter (May 1978)

As president, Jimmy Carter attached solar panels to the roof of the White House, but the bright “green” energy future he anticipated never arrived. After his presidency he honed



License: Public domain.

*As president, Jimmy Carter attached solar panels to the roof of the White House, but the bright “green” energy future he anticipated never arrived.*



Credit: EPA. License: <https://shorturl.at/b8zi>.

*Percent of individuals whose household income was below twice the poverty level for the past 12 months.*

another legacy building homes for impoverished Americans. Carter lived long enough to witness the collision of those visions: The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has approved at least \$21.8 billion in grants with 2024 start dates to encourage “LIDAC” Americans to rely on low-quality energy.

“LIDAC” is an acronym sometimes used by federal grant describers who don’t want to keep writing “low-income and disadvantaged communities,” a dozen syllables of official word salad that means “impoverished.”

Trimming the fat from federal spending, regulations (and maybe even babble-speak acronyms) is the work of President-elect Donald Trump’s so-called Department of Government Efficiency, or “DOGE.” It’ll be a tough job because literally every budget item has a constituency, and nothing is labeled “waste, fraud and abuse.” But for examples of relatively painless cuts that few will miss, not even the LIDACs, the DOGErs should examine how the EPA is frittering away \$21.8 billion.

Who knows, maybe they can still claw some of it back?

A stash that big is enough to have written a \$600 check to everyone in America living below the poverty line. A

one-time payout of \$2,400 to a household of four would be significant for just about every American family, let alone the most destitute among us.

So, what did the government do instead?

**Paying for Electric Vehicles Rather Than Electric Bills.**

By definition, many LIDACs struggle to pay grocery bills and other basic necessities. They’re battling just to make car payments, rather than pay for pricey electric vehicles (EVs). A March 2024 Gallup survey revealed just 33 percent of self-reported EV owners are from households with incomes of less than \$100,000.

Similarly, they’re not prioritizing boutique, weather-restricted energy systems. No state has more LIDACs than California, where 4.5 million are living below the poverty line and state websites boast of the “most ambitious” weather-dependent power deployment goals in America.

Not coincidentally, the Golden State also has the highest electricity prices in the continental U.S., *almost triple* what is paid in neighboring Arizona and Nevada. There’s a joke about this: What did Californians use to light their homes before they had candles? Answer: Electricity!

But while LIDACs nationwide don't really need "credit unions to build and scale green lending programs," that's exactly what a nonprofit named "Inclusiv" says it will do with a \$1.9 billion grant awarded in 2024.

Including Inclusiv, these "green" financing projects for LIDACs racked up more than \$19.4 billion in EPA grant awards during 2024.

A nearly \$7 billion grant was awarded to the Climate United Fund to create financing for greenhouse gas reduction projects in "AMERICAN COMMUNITIES, PARTICULARLY LOW-INCOME AND DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES."

The Climate United "About Us" page explains their mission to "remove financial barriers to clean technologies." The Climate United website is filled with photos of solar panels and electric vehicle charging stations. That's probably not too exciting if you're a LIDAC who can't afford eggs.

A similarly worded, \$5 billion grant was approved for the Coalition for Green Capital (CGC). The CGC website claims the group's mission is to "accelerate the deployment of clean energy technology" with a "targeted focus" on the LIDACs. The top of the CGC main page features an animated image of otherwise lush green hills covered with solar panels, wind turbines, and "A National Green Bank" to fund all that clutter. (Yea nature!)

The Opportunity Finance Network accepted a \$2.3 billion LIDAC "clean" energy finance grant. The announcement of the grant has a photo of a rooftop solar installation.

Power Forward Communities received a \$2 billion LIDAC grant last year. The nonprofit claims the loot will be used to "drive the decarbonization of homes that the climate demands" and "transform the marketplace for heat pumps, heat pump water heaters, induction stoves, solar panels, home battery systems, EV chargers, and wiring and weatherization upgrades that support them."

The gas stoves they're hoping to take away from the poor are preferred by wealthy homeowners, chefs and foodies. And electric vehicles are so undesired by everyone that since 2022 Ford has reportedly lost a cumulative \$10 billion on its EV program.

Divided equally among Ford's 89,000 American employees, the \$10 billion flushed away on EVs since 2022 could have been paid as bonus checks that exceeded \$112,000. Instead, during the last quarter, Ford reported a \$58,000 loss for each EV it sold.

One of Power Forward's main coalition partners is Rewiring America. Rewiring was born as a fiscally sponsored project of the Windward Fund, which is turn managed by Arabella Advisors. Arabella was described in a 2021 *New York Times* report as a "dark money" network that "has funneled hundreds of millions of dollars through a daisy chain of groups supporting Democrats and progressive causes."

The main page of the Rewiring website claims "going electric" is the goal, by which they mean "replacing appliances that use fossil fuels (coal, oil, and gas) with ones that use electricity." But the Department of Energy reports that 60 percent of American electricity in 2023 was fueled with ... *coal, natural gas, and oil.*

So, the federal government has forked over \$2 billion to a coalition co-created by deeply partisan left-wing hacks who know less about electricity than a cat that has bitten into a live lamp cord.

More of these so-called "clean" energy financing grants for LIDACs were awarded in 2024 to the Justice Climate Fund (\$940 million) and the Native CDFI Network (\$400 million.)

If you're waiting for the LIDACs to get lower electricity bills out of all this, then take a number and take a seat. It'll be a while.

**Covering the Earth with Solar Panels.** Another \$2.3 billion in EPA loot shipped out in 2024 was meant to finance solar panels for the LIDACs.

The biggest winner was Grid Alternatives, a strident anti-energy nonprofit that opposes oil, natural gas, coal, and even nuclear energy. This positions them against 88 percent of all fuels used to power everything Americans need, from light bulbs to heavy industry.

Grid Alternatives really means "Civilization Alternatives." In May 2024, the group received two grants of \$249.8 million and \$62.5 million. Both grant descriptions explain the funding is supposed to permit LIDACs to "BENEFIT FROM RESIDENTIAL-SERVING DISTRIBUTED SOLAR ENERGY AND STORAGE PROJECTS."



*If you're waiting for the LIDACs to get lower electricity bills then take a seat. It'll be a while.*

Similar language was used in two separate grants totaling \$124.9 million sent to the aforementioned Coalition for Green Capital. (Last year was a good year for CGC, as these are in addition to the \$5 billion grant previously mentioned.)

That solar energy for LIDAC's grant language was also used for \$249.3 million awarded to Inclusive Prosperity Capital. The nonprofit claims some of its "funding partners" are the Sierra Club Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Kresge Foundation, and McKnight Foundation. Each is a left-wing funder of climate alarmists.

The Sierra Club's website boasts that it is "unequivocally opposed to nuclear energy," putting the group on the bad side of our only source of scalable, safe, and reliable carbon-free electricity. Many of Inclusive Prosperity Capital's other listed donor partners—such as MacArthur—are also major funders of the anti-nuclear movement.

Growth Opportunity Partners is one of eight EPA grantees in 2024 that received solar power grants totaling at least \$150 million. The other seven were Groundswell Inc, Hope Enterprises Corporation (two grants of \$93.7 million and \$62.5 million), Clean Energy Fund of Texas, Nevada Clean Energy Fund, the Capital Good Fund, the Solar Energy and Loan Fund of St. Lucie County, and Oweesta Corp.

Growth Opportunity Partners, like many that have been awarded EPA grants, has a photo of a massive solar project adorning the top of its main webpage. It's not clear why so-called environmental groups believe it is optimal to portray their products as crowding out so much green space—also known as "the environment"—but it is at least (though perhaps not intentionally) honest. The U.S. Department of Energy reports that solar energy systems need 75 times more land than a nuclear reactor to produce the same amount of carbon-free energy. (Natural gas power stations produce about half the carbon emissions of coal and use roughly the same land as nuclear.)

Smaller LIDAC grants of this type were awarded to the Indiana Community Action Association (\$117.5 million), Center for Rural Affairs (\$62.5 million), and the Midwest Tribal Energy Resources Association (\$62.3 million.)

**Hello Darkness, My Old Friend.** The Department of Energy lists the average capacity factor of American solar energy systems at 24.6 percent. The capacity factor is a measure of the amount of time an energy system is working at its full, rated capacity. American nuclear reactors top the list at 92.7 percent. Solar energy is the worst.

This is not surprising, as the Earth is always spinning, plunging all of us into darkness for some large fraction of our day. And the average capacity factor is just that: If you're in sunny, often cloudless Arizona, it might be higher than 24.6 percent. If you're in a rainy, cloudy place, it will be lower than average.

Portland, Oregon, is reliably ranked by multiple sources as one of the five cloudiest cities in the United States, sharing the distinction with such champions of darkness as Seattle and Anchorage, Alaska. Yet last year the Bonneville Environmental Foundation of Portland received three grants of \$56.5 million, \$43.7 million, and \$30.3 million. Each of the three grant descriptions say the loot is to be used to help LIDACs "BENEFIT FROM RESIDENTIAL-SERVING DISTRIBUTED SOLAR ENERGY AND STORAGE PROJECTS."

Long before he tore Jimmy Carter's silly solar panels off the White House, Ronald Reagan was the host of GE Theater and received complimentary home appliances so that he could show them off during the commercial breaks in his weekly broadcasts. He was once asked by a friend if there was any GE product that he didn't own and Reagan replied: "Well, I don't really need a nuclear submarine . . . *but I have one now!*"

The Bonneville Environmental website explains that it is also responsible for financing the EPA's solar energy programs for LIDACs in Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana. Those three sparsely populated states put together are home to roughly 500,000 fewer residents than Oregon.

So, there's a lot fewer LIDACs to serve. But those three states also have a lot more land and scenery to spoil with solar panels that are needed by nobody, least of all the LIDACs, who need the money for just about everything else.

## DOGE and the Department of Labor

The so-called Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) is an announced advisory committee to be led by entrepreneurs Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy, which plans to focus on (among other things) government spending and waste. That is a laudable objective. One area in which the federal government spends a tremendous amount of money is grants to nonprofits. An analysis of these grants from USASpending.gov provides examples of some of the things that DOGE may wish to examine.

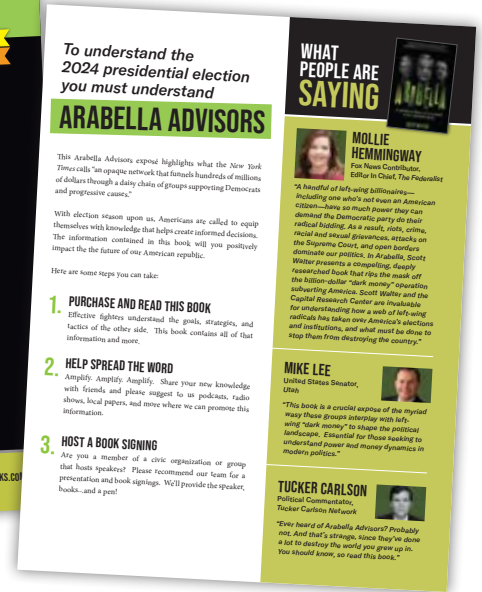
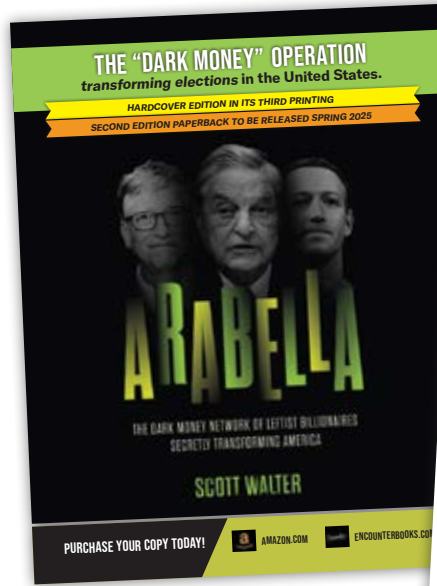
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# CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER 2024 YEAR IN REVIEW

## ARABELLA

Since the book was published in April, it's been featured in over 90 outlets—with reviews in multiple online publications and interviews on local and syndicated TV and radio spots. After three printings of the hard cover edition (a total of 11,000), Encounter Books plans to release a revised and expanded paperback version well ahead of schedule.



# OVER 4,400 HITS



In 2024, CRC scored over 4,400 media hits in major publications—a substantial increase from last year. The media paid great attention to the Arabella book and our important research on the violent pro-Hamas campus protests.



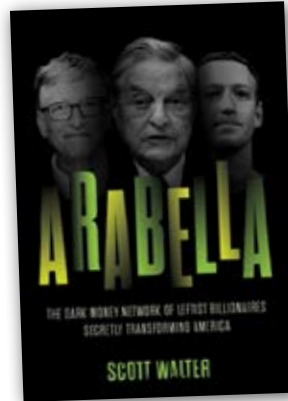


# THANK YOU FOR HELPING CAPITAL RESISTANCE



Scott Walter appears on Sharyl Attkisson's national TV show discussing "dark money" in 2024 election

Arabella book launched



CRC testifies to Texas Senate on foreign funding in elections



Scott Walter talks to 40 radio shows about Arabella book



CRC releases final installment of BLM Aftermath video series: *Washington, DC: The Myth Behind the Movement*



The Federalist praises our InfluenceWatch website as essential to their investigative reporting

Baltimore Sun publishes op-ed by Scott Walter, urging parents to take back their schools



InfluenceWatch podcast explores how Fauci circumvented Freedom of Information Act requests during COVID

## JANUARY

## FEBRUARY

## MARCH

## APRIL

## MAY

## JUNE



CRC testifies before the Texas Senate & Georgia Senate Ethics Committee on left-wing megadonor push for ranked-choice voting

CRC testifies to House of Representatives on Zuck Bucks & other election problems



CRC's Mike Watson receives Lewis & Annabelle Fetterman Right to Work award



CRC testifies twice before two different committees in the House of Representatives

CRC's Ryan Mauro appears on Glenn Beck's show, exposing terrorist ties to college protests across America



Senator Ron Johnson issues a letter in support of CRC

CRC presents before the Wisconsin State Assembly on ranked-choice voting and electioneering

## CAMPUS PROTESTS (APRIL-JULY 2024)

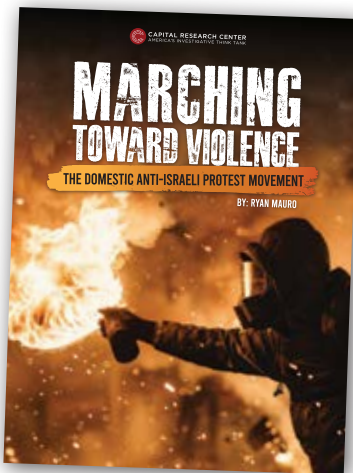


# RESEARCH CENTER ACHIEVE THESE MILESTONES!



**PROTESTERS VANDALIZE UNION STATION**

*Marching Toward Violence* report released, documenting non-profit support for terrorism



MSN covers Parker Thayer's research exposing billionaires aiming to resist the Trump Administration



CRC testifies before House of Representatives on violent pro-Hamas protests in Washington



As Texas Senate prepares subpoenas, CRC provides documents on nonprofit misdeeds



Indiana attorney general asks CRC for briefing on ActBlue abuses & voter registration manipulation

*Wall Street Journal* features Parker Thayer's research into Soros's election involvement



RealClearPolitics showcases election analysis by CRC's Ken Braun

**JULY**

**AUGUST**

**SEPTEMBER**

**OCTOBER**

**NOVEMBER**

**DECEMBER**

CRC Video *American Muslims Should Denounce Hamas* receives over 112,000 views



Ohio Senate praises InfluenceWatch and its ironclad research



USA Today spotlights CRC's call to forbid charities from registering voters



InfluenceWatch podcast explores ways CRC helped strengthen election integrity



Kristen Eastlick presents before the Wisconsin State National Task Force to Combat Anti-Semitism



CRC begins to play a prominent role in Department of Government Efficiency efforts

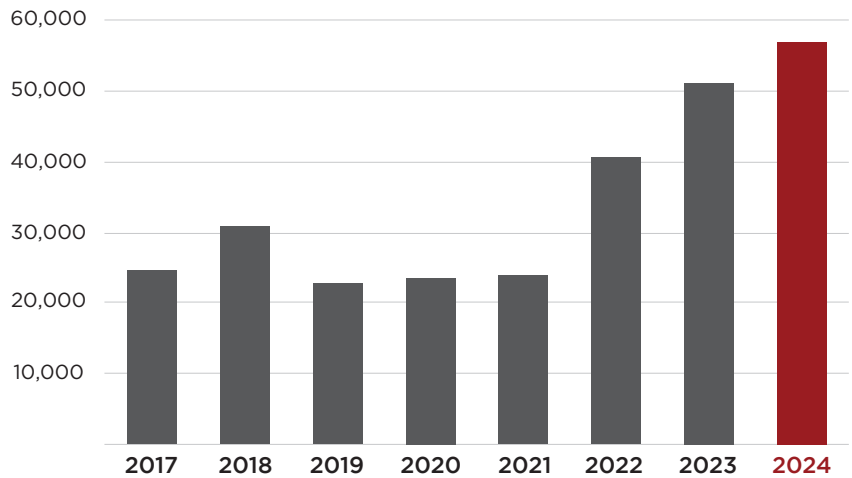
**ELECTION**



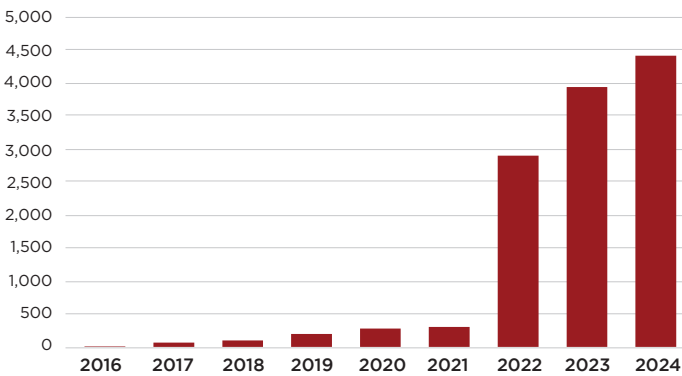
## Record-Breaking Year

2024 was a record-breaking year for the Capital Research Center on many fronts. CRC has increased its reach, amplifying its ironclad research further than ever before. Each week CRC investigations assist state and local policy makers and help federal lawmakers make informed decisions that improve the lives of all Americans.

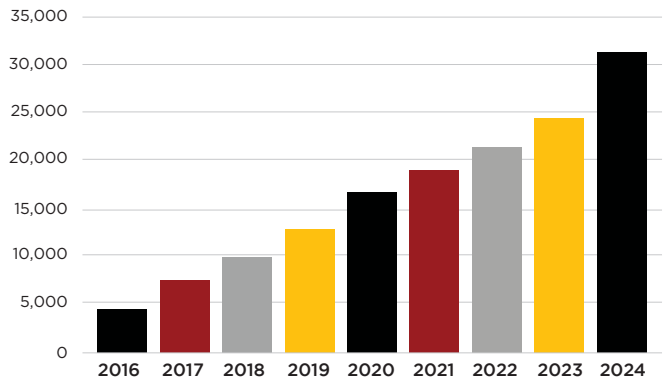
## InfluenceWatch Podcast Downloads per Year



## Media Hits/Major Outlets



## CRC E-Newsletter Subscribers



## The Changing Landscape of Journalism: New Left-Wing Efforts and Conservative Responses

In 2024, CRC continued its series focused on how philanthropy is changing the way Americans receive their news.



Ryan Mauro released his latest major research project, where he tracked the ways in which over 150 groups involved in the disruptive anti-Israel protests on college campuses and elsewhere are “pro-terrorism.” These groups support Hamas and/or the October 7 terrorist attacks, and are now pushing violence properly described as domestic terrorism.







Credit: Hadyona Sviatlana. License: Shutterstock.

*As with many other grants distributed by the Biden Administration, restrictions essentially required every grantee to hire DEI-focused staff and consultants.*

While government efficiency should hopefully be a bipartisan aim, DOGE is specifically associated with the incoming second Trump Administration. Accordingly—and for both recentness and simplicity—this analysis focuses on grants with performance periods that began during the Biden Administration. It pays particular attention to grants that conservative Americans might find ideologically objectionable, as well as those whose usefulness or effectiveness has been questioned or appears questionable. The amounts given refer to the total “obligated amount” according to USASpending.gov, which does not necessarily correspond to the total “outlayed amount” at any given time.

The following are some examples of federal grants made to nonprofits by the U.S. Department of Labor.

**Unions and Affiliated Groups.** Perhaps unsurprisingly, unions and affiliated charities receive substantial funding from the Department of Labor. For example, the Amalgamated Transit Union was awarded \$8 million in 2024 under the registered apprenticeship program, while Communications Workers of America Local 7603 was awarded nearly \$2 million in 2023 for job training. In 2022, the department awarded over \$5.6 million to a 501(c)(3) affiliate of New York State United Teachers—a state teachers union federation affiliated with both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. The Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO was awarded \$500,000 in 2024, while the AFL-CIO’s Working for America Institute was awarded \$713,892 in 2023.

One program that funds multiple union-associated groups is the Susan Hardwood Training Grant Program, which has a budget of approximately \$12.78 million. It provides grants to nonprofits to conduct training on workplace safety and related topics. The program’s actual effectiveness has been questioned, and the department proposed eliminating it from the budget during the first Trump Administration. Union-affiliated nonprofits that have recently received grants under the Harwood program include the AFSCME Training and Education Institute, the District 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund (also an AFSCME affiliate), and the New Jersey State AFL-CIO Community Services Agency.

The most notable union-affiliated nonprofit funded by the Department of Labor is the Solidarity Center (officially the American Center for International Labor Solidarity). It was awarded over \$60.2 million worth of cooperative agreements and “other financial assistance” from the department for performance periods beginning from December 2021 through December 2024. Founded in 1997, the Solidarity Center describes itself as an “international worker rights organization partnering directly with workers and their unions, and supporting their struggle for respect, fair wages, better workplaces and a voice in the global economy.” It is legally affiliated with the AFL-CIO, the largest federation of labor unions in the country, and AFL-CIO president Elizabeth Shuler is the Solidarity Center’s board chair.

The Solidarity Center’s website features much of the left-wing rhetoric common to the institutional Big Labor with which it is affiliated, but that is distinctly at odds with the views of conservative Americans. It operates through what it calls “an analysis and practice of equality, radical inclusion and intersectionality that is explicitly feminist, anti-racist, pro-equality, pro-worker, pro-migrant and class conscious.” It aims to use organized labor to “build a global climate justice movement” and to design “a fair or just transition to a more equitable and sustainable economy.” The Solidarity Center credits its longtime executive director Shawna Bader-Blau with driving the group’s “collective transformation” toward efforts that “more strongly reflect the values of social justice unionism, equality and inclusion, and grassroots democracy.”

Despite being a Big Labor institution, the Solidarity Center is almost exclusively funded by the American taxpayer. Government grants accounted for 99 percent of the group’s total revenue of nearly \$72.9 million in 2023. This includes not only funds from the Department of Labor, but also major grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the National Endowment for

Democracy (which is itself funded by the U.S. Department of State). The Solidarity Center’s federal funding jumped significantly during the Biden Administration.

**Activist Groups.** In recent years the Department of Labor has also routed millions of dollars under various grantmaking initiatives to nonprofits that would most accurately be characterized as left-wing activist groups. In some cases, these groups have expressed open hostility to the incoming Trump Administration and the policy priorities it presumably intends to pursue. Some of their views are quite radical.

For example, in 2024 the department awarded \$6 million to NextGen Climate America Inc. (which does business as NextGen Policy) for public-sector apprenticeship and pre-apprenticeship programs. NextGen Policy is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that fights for what it calls “progressive policy change to address environmental, social, racial, and economic inequities in California through justice-centered legislative advocacy, grassroots partnerships, and democratic civic engagement.” In the aftermath of the 2024 presidential election, NextGen Policy’s executive director Arnold Sowell Jr. put out a statement on behalf of NextGen California—possibly referring to an affiliated 501(c)(4) called NextGen California Action—in which he declared that the group was “incredibly disheartened” by Trump’s victory and that “clearly, this was not the outcome we hoped for.”

Also in 2024 the department awarded \$4 million to UnidosUS, a major left-of-center public policy activist group which has received significant multi-million dollar grants from several federal departments. UnidosUS describes itself as “the nation’s largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization,” though in practice its activities have a distinct political bent. It blames “conservatives” for exploiting the controversy over critical race theory to further “their concerted efforts to undermine social justice for communities of color,” and it similarly argues that American immigration laws are rooted squarely in racism rather than economic or security considerations. UnidosUS favors strict gun control, supports abortion, and has criticized what it calls “the ravages of racialized policing practices” while signing on to a letter denigrating school resource officers as instruments of the “criminalization, discrimination, and mental and physical harm of our students.” UnidosUS also has a 501(c)

*Despite being a Big Labor institution, the Solidarity Center is almost exclusively funded by the American taxpayer.*

(4) sister organization called the UnidosUS Action Fund, with the purpose of furthering the group’s “legislative and electoral efforts.” In 2024, UnidosUS Action Fund endorsed Kamala Harris for president, after having backed Joe Biden in 2020.

The Department of Labor awarded yet another 2024 grant for \$750,000 to a transgender advocacy group called the TransLatin@ Coalition, which in 2023 was also awarded \$600,000 from the Department of Justice and another \$600,000 from the Department of Health and Human Services. The TransLatin@ Coalition’s nearly 100-page Trans Policy Agenda 2024 aims to achieve what it calls “a radical shift in the approach to Trans Liberation.” The agenda defies easy characterization, and readers are encouraged to browse it for themselves. Among numerous other things, it calls for ensuring access to “puberty blockers, [hormone replacement therapy], and in rare cases, gender affirming surgery” for “trans and gender expansive youth,” the decriminalization of various offenses which it calls “survival crimes,” and expansive abortion access in part because “carrying a child creates bodily changes that can cause dysphoria and prohibit trans men from ‘passing.’” It supports abolishing U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and calls the total abolition of police an “ideal” outcome, though one it admits is presently unrealistic.

In 2023, the department awarded \$1 million to the COPAL Education Fund, whose 501(c)(4) affiliate promotes a broad left-of-center legislative agenda and has announced its opposition to “the dangerous proposals put forth by President-elect Donald Trump.” That same year the department awarded \$714,518 to Ada Developers Academy, which works “to prepare women and gender expansive adults to be software developers while advocating for inclusive and equitable work environments” and which aims “to be anti-racist, inclusive, and equitable, with a focus on the impacts of intersectional diversity.” In 2024 the department entered into a \$249,900 cooperative agreement with the Center for Law and Social Policy, which believes that “poverty in America is inextricably tied to systemic racism.”

Left-of-center activist groups also receive funding through the Department of Labor’s Susan Harwood Training Grant Program, referenced above. One such group is the 501(c)(3) National Day Laborer Organizing Network, which was awarded \$807,624 in Harwood grants from 2021 through 2024. The National Day Laborer Organizing Network, which consists of nearly 70 activist groups, regularly attacks Republican politicians in the most vicious terms. The group characterized the August 2023 Republican presidential primary debate—which featured DOGE co-leader Vivek Ramaswamy—as a “fascist rally.” When Donald Trump



*CASA is an all-round left-wing activist group whose agenda promotes a full spectrum of “robust progressive policies.”*

selected J.D. Vance as his running mate, the group’s general counsel wrote a blog post calling Vance “reprehensible,” a “menace,” and a “Trump-certified white nationalist,” among other offensive things. After the 2024 elections, the National Day Laborer Organizing Network posted an announcement on its website homepage soliciting funds “to support litigation and organizing efforts against Donald Trump[’s] Xenophobic agenda.”

The nonprofit group CASA received over \$1.05 million from the Department of Labor between 2022 and 2024, including \$480,000 under the Susan Harwood program. CASA is an all-round left-wing activist group whose agenda promotes a full spectrum of “robust progressive policies.” Other left-of center groups that have received funding through the Susan Harwood program include Restaurant Opportunities Centers (ROC) United, which was awarded \$320,000 under the program for 2023–2024, plus an additional \$250,000 through the department’s Women’s Bureau. The Brazilian Worker Center was awarded \$775,837 in Susan Harwood grants for performance periods starting between September 2021 and September 2024. The Legal Aid Justice Center was awarded \$639,429 over that same time period, while the New Jersey Work Environment Council (affiliated with the BlueGreen Alliance) was awarded \$359,000. A full list of 2024 Susan Harwood grant recipients is available online.

**Senior Community Service Employment Program.** Most of the Department of Labor’s largest nonprofit grantees receive their funding through the Senior Community Service Employment Program (SCSEP), which has an annual budget of \$405 million. The SCSEP subsidizes part-time employment for elderly Americans with family incomes below 125 percent of the federal poverty level. The goal is to transition program participants into unsubsidized jobs once they have developed their skills and experience. It’s certainly not a bad idea, but its effectiveness has been questioned. During the first Trump Administration the department proposed eliminating it from every budget request it made. In FY 2020, for example, the department wrote that “SCSEP has a goal of transitioning half of participants into unsubsidized employment within the first quarter after exiting the program, but has struggled to achieve even this modest goal. Further, these placement rates exclude the nearly

one half of program participants who do not complete the program.” DOGE may want to further investigate this program’s efficacy.

The grant numbers involved are certainly large. For instance, more than \$190.8 million worth of SCSEP grants were awarded to the AARP Foundation (a 501(c)(3) affiliate of the well-known senior citizens’ advocacy group) for performance periods set to begin between July 2021 and October 2024—well over \$40 million annually. Another major SCSEP grantee, the Center for Workforce Inclusion (formerly known as Senior Service America), was awarded \$189.5 million over that same period. Though the SCSEP represents by far the largest share, the Center for Workforce Inclusion is funded through multiple federal programs. Combined, government grants accounted for over 99 percent of its annual revenue in 2023. Another nonprofit called the National Council on Aging was awarded nearly \$141.5 million under the SCSEP from 2021 through 2024, and government grants have accounted for between approximately 77 and 93 percent of its recent annual revenues. Other major SCSEP grantees include the National Caucus and Center on Black Aging, Goodwill Industries International, Easter Seals, and SER-Jobs for Progress National. A full list of recent SCSEP grantees is available online.

To those who study nonprofit sociopolitical activism, one SCSEP grantee stands out as particularly interesting: the National Urban League. The Department of Labor has awarded it a remarkable \$80.3 million worth of grants with performance periods set to begin between July 2021 and October 2024. Nearly \$56 million of this was through the SCSEP. The Department of Labor is also not the National Urban League’s only source of federal funding, and in 2023 government grants accounted for 40 percent of its total revenue of \$83.4 million.

With a network consisting of many dozens of local affiliates and a history stretching back more than a century, the National Urban League is one of the most well-known civil rights organizations in the country. However, it also takes decidedly left-of-center positions on a wide range of political and public policy issues. It has characterized law enforcement and criminal justice as “a system that has clear links to slavery, Black Codes, and Jim Crow laws [which] now looks like targeted policing, brutality, and mass incarceration.” It praised president Biden’s recent federal death row commutations. It has described voter ID laws as “racially-targeted voter suppression tactics” and attacked objections to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies as “white supremacist.” It has urged the passage of new gun control legislation such as a federal assault weapons ban and called the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* “horrifying.” It called

President Biden’s initiatives during his first 100 days in office “one of the most successful starts to an Administration and Congress in recent memory.”

Indeed, some of the National Urban League’s actions appear to come very close to crossing—if not crossing outright—the legal line prohibiting 501(c)(3) charities from engaging in political campaign intervention. The group’s president and CEO Marc Morial was a featured speaker at the 2024 Democratic National Convention, and a presidential candidate comparison published by the group features dramatically different portrayals of the Democratic and Republican tickets. On the one hand, Biden is described as “a vocal advocate for civil rights” and Harris’s career is said to reflect “a steadfast commitment to advancing civil rights and equity.” On the other hand, Trump is said to have “often been criticized for undermining civil rights and social justice efforts” and whose “advocacy and rhetoric has often been criticized as racist.” The group wrote that Trump’s “reputation for enabling racist ideologies” has been “cemented.” It certainly seems difficult to square the National Urban League’s candidate comparison with IRS instructions mandating that 501(c)(3) voter guides “must refrain from judging the candidates or their positions.”

**Further Thoughts.** These are some examples of grants to nonprofits that DOGE may be interested in examining at the Department of Labor, though this short list is certainly far from exhaustive. For instance, the department sends tens of millions of dollars annually to the International Labor Organization (a United Nations agency). This funding increased significantly during the Biden Administration, and it may be worth scrutinizing.

More broadly, the amount of money that the department has routed to left-of-center interests and activist groups—whose ideological and political views appear so diametrically opposed to the priorities of the Trump Administration and the values of the voters who elected it—deserves attention. Americans are free use their own money to privately support any nonprofit that they wish, in accordance with their own beliefs. It is a rather different situation when that funding comes from tax dollars, however.

Finally, with respect to the federal grants flowing to labor unions and affiliated/associated nonprofits (many of which advocate for public policies that favor organized labor), it is worth remembering that only 10 percent of American workers are union members. In 1983, it was over 20 percent. For private-sector workers, the union membership rate today hovers somewhere around 6 percent. Perhaps the department’s grantmaking could better reflect the reality that working Americans have overwhelmingly chosen not to unionize.

## DOGE and the Department of Housing and Urban Development

This analysis focuses on grants with performance periods that began during the Biden Administration. It pays particular attention to grants that conservative Americans might find ideologically objectionable, as well as grants with questionable usefulness or effectiveness. The amounts given refer to the total “obligated amount” according to USASpending.gov, which does not necessarily correspond to the total “out-layed amount” at any given time.

The following are some examples of federal grants made to nonprofits by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

**UnidosUS and the National Urban League.** First, it is worth noting that UnidosUS and the National Urban League, two significant HUD grantees, also received substantial funding from the Department of Labor. Both are major national left-of-center advocacy nonprofits, and both are also major grantees across multiple federal departments. According to their most recent IRS Form 990 tax filings (from 2023), government grants accounted for approximately 20 percent of UnidosUS’s \$55 million total revenue and approximately 40 percent of the National Urban League’s \$83.4 million.

HUD awarded over \$12.3 million worth of housing counseling grants to UnidosUS, with performance periods set to begin between April 2021 and October 2024. While the group’s stated goal of promoting homeownership is certainly a worthy one, UnidosUS also takes distinctly left-of-center stances on numerous controversial political and public policy issues. It supports abortion and gun control and has been highly critical of law enforcement—even signing on to a letter from the ACLU that disparaged school resource officers as instruments of “the criminalization, discrimination, and mental and physical harm of our students.” UnidosUS has also accused “conservatives” of manipulating the debate over critical race theory as part of “their concerted efforts to undermine social justice for communities of color.”

Immigration policy is a priority for UnidosUS, and the group has published material arguing that American immigration laws are rooted in racism rather than economic or security concerns. President Joe Biden was scheduled to speak on that issue (among others) at the group’s annual conference in July 2024, before being forced to cancel after contracting COVID-19. When Biden withdrew from the presidential race just days later,



*It is worth remembering that only 10 percent of American workers are union members.*

the affiliated 501(c)(4) UnidosUS Action Fund—which endorsed him in 2020—immediately threw its support behind the Kamala Harris campaign.

Over the same April 2021 to October 2024 time period, HUD awarded over \$10.4 million to the National Urban League, most of which was also for housing counseling purposes. Like UnidosUS, the National Urban League’s work to promote homeownership is a worthy objective. But also like UnidosUS, the National Urban League takes numerous left-of-center political and public policy stances, such as on gun control and abortion. It has criticized law enforcement and the criminal justice system as having “clear links to slavery, Black Codes, and Jim Crow laws [which] now looks like targeted policing, brutality, and mass incarceration,” and it called voter ID laws “racially-targeted voter suppression tactics.”

Politically, the National Urban League was very supportive of President Biden. A statement released by the group on inauguration day 2025 praised the outgoing Biden Administration as the “most equity-focused presidential administration in U.S. history” and attacked the incoming Trump Administration as “the modern era’s most aggressive effort to erase racial progress and reinforce white advantage.”

Housing was a focal point for the group’s president and CEO Marc Morial during the runup to the 2024 presidential election. At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, he attacked Trump for having allegedly engaged in past discriminatory housing practices and declared that “Kamala Harris has a plan to build more housing, keep rent prices fair, and help more people own homes.” On the group’s website, Morial wrote that “I had the opportunity to bring [the National Urban League’s] advocacy for fair, safe, and affordable housing to the Democratic National Convention.” Before his speech, Morial gave an interview in which he explained that his purpose was to create “a contrast between what a Harris presidency would mean for housing, and the record of Donald Trump.” As an aside, this raises a question about where exactly all of this falls along the line strictly prohibiting 501(c)(3) charities like the National Urban League from intervening in political campaigns.

**The AIDS Healthcare Foundation.** Perhaps the most notable single award that HUD made to a nonprofit in 2024 was a \$10 million cooperative agreement with the

California-based AIDS Healthcare Foundation under the tenant education and outreach program. The department’s website explained that the foundation and its co-applicant Massachusetts Alliance of HUD Tenants “will sub-award and subcontract the available funding over the next two years to approximately 30 eligible tenant advocacy organizations . . . with the goal of building the capacity of tenants as active partners in the preservation of affordable rental housing for low-income residents.” The money “can be used for training tenant organizers and technical assistance to tenant organizations, as well as legal services to establish and operate tenant organizations.”

The AIDS Healthcare Foundation is “the largest provider of HIV/AIDS medical care in the world,” according to its website, serving over two million patients globally. At the same time, it has become a highly controversial entity in both the medical community and California politics—due in no small part to the polarizing nature of its powerful “ex-Trotskyite” founder and president Michael Weinstein, whom Politico characterized as “one of the state’s most elusive personalities.”

In 2023, the AIDS Healthcare Foundation’s revenues were an astonishing \$2.29 billion, with only \$41.8 million of this reported as having come from government grants. However,



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*Perhaps the most notable single award that the Department of Housing and Urban Development made to a nonprofit in 2024 was a \$10 million cooperative agreement with the California-based AIDS Healthcare Foundation under the tenant education and outreach program.*



*The AIDS Healthcare Foundation spent well over \$40 million pushing the 2024 rent control measure (known as Proposition 33), after having reportedly spent a combined \$64 million on the 2018 and 2020 rent control measures.*

this substantially underrepresents how much money the group brings in thanks to the federal government. Under a legal framework known as the 340B Drug Pricing Program, certain health care providers (such as the AIDS Healthcare Foundation) can purchase discounted medications directly from manufacturers, but bill insurance for the full price when they distribute the medications to patients—pocketing the difference. “That money,” according to a 2017 *New York Times* report, “subsidizes [the AIDS Healthcare Foundation’s] expansion and advocacy as well as the group’s political activities.”

Those political activities notably include housing, where “Weinstein has cast himself as an anti-MAGA progressive savior who can singlehandedly reshape the rental economy through the ballot box,” according to Politico. Specifically, this has entailed vast sums spent on three separate efforts to expand rent control in California via ballot measure in 2018, 2020, and 2024—all of which voters roundly rejected. The AIDS Healthcare Foundation spent well over \$40 million pushing the 2024 measure (known as Proposition 33), after having reportedly spent a combined \$64 million on the 2018 and 2020 measures. It also runs a major advocacy campaign called Housing is a Human Right to push for what it calls “equitable housing legislation and policies,” though the group’s activist future is in doubt after California voters narrowly approved Proposition 34 in 2024. Assuming it survives legal challenges, Proposition 34 would ultimately require the AIDS Healthcare Foundation to spend at least 98 percent of its 340B revenue on direct patient care.

Relatedly, the AIDS Healthcare Foundation is also a major low-income rental housing operator—and a controversial one. Numerous complaints have been made about conditions at its properties, according to a 2023 *Los Angeles Times* investigation. The report observed how the health care charity had simultaneously “transformed itself into one of the nation’s most prolific funders of tenants’ rights campaigns and one of Skid Row’s biggest landlords,” having spent over \$240 million on low-cost rental properties in Los Angeles and elsewhere. *Reason* magazine noted the irony of a \$10 million HUD grant to make the foundation “responsible for awarding taxpayer dollars to tenant advocacy groups to fight

against the kinds of living conditions that are reportedly widespread at AHF’s own properties.”

**Legal Aid Groups.** Legal aid charities also receive grants from HUD. This money is often related to the Fair Housing Act and alleged housing discrimination, and it can include funds to help with investigation and enforcement. Many of these groups do good work, and civil legal aid is a genuine public need. That said, some HUD grantees also evidence rather strong political and/or ideological biases that would suggest a mission that goes considerably beyond simply providing charitable legal assistance.

For example, from 2021 through 2024 the department awarded over \$2 million in grants and cooperative agreements to California Rural Legal Assistance, a self-described “radical” organization whose mission is “to dismantle unjust systems through community lawyering,” according to a statement it released after the 2024 election. From 2021 through 2023 HUD also awarded \$1.88 million to Legal Aid Chicago, which argues that systemic racism has created “a world that is often complacent and, therefore, complicit in the suppression of [our clients’] advancement.” From 2022 through 2023, HUD awarded \$1.2 million to Brooklyn Legal Services, which despite being a separate nonprofit is controlled by Legal Services NYC and is listed as one of its local borough offices. Legal Services NYC uses the law “as a tool for social change,” challenging what it calls “systemic injustices that trap people in poverty”—for instance, by defending New York City’s controversial rent stabilization laws.

In 2023, HUD awarded \$1.275 million to Bay Area Legal Aid, which the previous year published a land acknowledgement declaring its offices to be on Native American land that was “stolen” and “never ceded” to the United States, which it accused of inflicting “generational harms.” In furtherance of efforts to “decolonize,” it suggested that individuals find ways to “contribute to the reparation of Indigenous sovereignty and the repatriation of Indigenous land.” In 2023, Bay Area Legal Aid received 93 percent of its over \$29 million total revenue from government grants. It is truly remarkable for a group utterly dependent on taxpayer dollars to openly question the very legitimacy of its benefactor’s sovereignty.



Credit: NCRC. License: <https://shorturl.at/bGk5Q>.

(Left to right) Lisa Johnson and Belinda Fadlelmola from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development present the National Community Reinvestment Coalition’s Oliver Keeton and Sabrina Terry with a symbolic “big check.”

From 2021 through 2023, HUD awarded approximately \$2.25 million to the Chicago Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights, for Fair Housing Act-related enforcement initiatives. Although it provides some legal aid in certain cases, the Chicago Lawyers’ Committee also operates as a legal advocacy group. According to its website, the group works “to dismantle systemic racism and economic oppression so all people have an equal chance to succeed.” It is one of eight independent local affiliates of the national Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which itself is major left-of-center activist group. Before she was controversially confirmed in 2021 as assistant attorney general for the civil rights division in the Biden Administration’s Justice Department, Kristen Clarke was president and executive director of the national Lawyers’ Committee. In that capacity, she wrote an op-ed for *Newsweek* entitled “I Prosecuted Police Killings. Defund the Police – But Be Strategic.” She later distanced herself from that position.

**Other Groups.** HUD has recently given substantial sums to other groups that have adopted left-of-center positions on political and public policy issues.

From April 2021 through October 2024, the department awarded nearly \$7.6 million in grants to the National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC), most of

which was for housing counseling purposes. In 2023, government grants accounted for about 17 percent of the group’s total revenue. The NCRC operates in accordance with what it calls its Just Economy Pledge, launched in 2021. Criticizing what it labeled the “tale of White Christian European arrival, endurance and triumph” in the United States, the pledge condemns American society as hopelessly and systemically racist and favors a distinctly socialist public policy shift for the country. Illustrative Just Economy proposals include “government programs to fully eliminate food and housing insecurity and to meet other basic needs”; a guaranteed “minimum basic income, regardless of employment”; the abolition of bail and court fees; and unspecified initiatives to “demilitarize and drive racism out of policing and law enforcement.” In 2024, HUD personnel presented the NCRC with a giant novelty grant check at the group’s annual Just Economy Conference.

From May 2021 through September 2024, HUD awarded over \$7.1 million to the National Fair Housing Alliance, which claims to be “the only national organization dedicated solely to ending discrimination in housing.” After the 2024 elections, the National Fair Housing Alliance released a statement claiming that “under former President Trump’s leadership from 2017 to 2021, we witnessed a concerted and harmful effort to dismantle many of the key protections put in place to ensure fair and equal access to housing opportunities.” Although the group professed a hope to work with the second Trump Administration, it also warned that “we stand ready to confront any efforts to turn back the clock and undermine the progress we have made.” It is interesting to contrast the group’s 2020 press release responding to Biden’s nomination of Marcia Fudge for secretary of Housing and Urban Development, which was full of praise and featured a litany of public policy recommendations to undo “the profound harms done by the Trump administration,” with a corresponding press release from 2024 responding to Trump’s nomination of Scott Turner, which struck a much warier tone and warned that “we stand ready to defend any attempt to weaken existing fair housing and civil rights protections.”

Finally, HUD awarded a full \$77 million worth of grants and cooperative agreements to the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) for performance periods that began from June 2021 through December 2024. Housing is a major issue for the LISC, and according to its website the group has helped finance the creation of over 489,000 affordable homes and apartments since 1979. The LISC “integrate[s] climate adaptation strategies into all aspects” of its work to promote what it calls “a greener economy” and

“climate resilience.” It is also a leading member of Power Forward Communities, a nonprofit coalition that received \$2 billion from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) through the Inflation Reduction Act. The LISC explains that this money will fund “affordable residential decarbonization throughout the country, with a focus on low-income and disadvantaged communities.” Elsewhere, the LISC has stated that it believes poverty, inequity, and injustice “are largely rooted in this country’s historic and systemic racism, as well as in other forms of discrimination,” and that “every aspect of our work” is implemented through “the lenses of equity and anti-racism.”

**Final Thoughts.** These are some examples of HUD grants to nonprofits that DOGE may be interested in examining, but this short list is certainly far from exhaustive. Continuing a theme that was also evident in the Capital Research Center’s examination of the Department of Labor, it is notable how much federal grant money flows to nonprofits that could accurately be characterized as activist groups with distinctly left-of-center ideological and/or political views that appear almost totally at odds with the priorities of the Trump Administration and the values of the voters who elected it—

often explicitly so. It is one thing for Americans to privately support such groups with their own money—indeed, this is a crucial pillar of civil society. It is quite another thing for those groups to be supported by tax dollars.

Another related theme evident in the Department of Labor analysis, even more pronounced at HUD, was that grants were made for seemingly worthwhile (at least on paper) purposes—such as promoting homeownership and combating housing discrimination—but to groups that evidence profound ideological biases. If such programs are worth retaining because they are found to be valuable and effective—an evaluation DOGE should properly undertake across the entire government—perhaps some less controversial and more traditionally “charitable” nonprofits might be found to carry them out. ■

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





# BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

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

Hayden R. Ludwig

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

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



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

*A project of Capital Research Center*



# CLIMATE DOLLARS

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

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

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



## OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR ENERGY

By InfluenceWatch

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**Summary:** *More than 700 nonprofits and other advocacy groups in the United States oppose the use of carbon-free nuclear energy. Many of these are environmental groups, whose opposition makes little sense since nuclear power plants produce no carbon dioxide or other greenhouse gas emissions. These groups include the World Wildlife Fund, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Sierra Club, and the League of Conservation Voters.*

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More than 700 nonprofits and other advocacy groups in the United States oppose the use of carbon-free nuclear energy. A July 2024 analysis from the Capital Research Center estimated the minimum total annual revenue of American nonprofits opposing nuclear energy to be \$2.5 billion. Some of the largest nonprofits opposing nuclear energy, as measured by the revenue reported in January 2025 filings with the IRS are the World Wildlife Fund, the World Resources Institute (WRI), the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), the Sierra Club, the Rocky Mountain Institute, Grid Alternatives, and the League of Conservation Voters (LCV).

Some of the largest known contributors to the anti-nuclear-energy groups have included Bloomberg Philanthropies, the Foundation for the Carolinas (FFTC)/Fred Stanback, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Gordon E. and Betty I. Moore Foundation the Sixteen Thirty Fund (1630 Fund)/Arabella Advisors, and the Tides Foundation.

Nuclear power plants produce no carbon dioxide or other greenhouse gas emissions, and from 1990 until 2021 accounted for 20 percent of American electricity production—the largest source of zero-carbon electricity in the United States. An October 2018 proposal from the Nature Conservancy noted that zero-carbon nuclear plants produced 7.8 percent of total world energy output and recommended reducing carbon emissions by increasing nuclear capacity to 33 percent of total world energy output. The U.S. Department of Energy has concluded that “nuclear energy produces more electricity on less land than



Credit: Jason Winter. License: Shutterstock

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*More than 700 nonprofits and other advocacy groups in the United States oppose the use of carbon-free nuclear energy.*

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any other clean-air source” and that it would require “more than 3 million solar panels to produce the same amount of power as a typical commercial reactor or more than 430 wind turbines.”

### Background on U.S. Nuclear Energy

Nuclear power plants account for 20 percent of American electricity production—the largest source of zero-carbon electricity in the United States. An October 2018 proposal from the Nature Conservancy noted that zero-carbon nuclear plants produced 7.8 percent of total world energy output and recommended reducing carbon emissions by

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*InfluenceWatch (InfluenceWatch.org) is an ongoing project of the Capital Research Center.*

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## *Nuclear power plants account for 20 percent of American electricity production—the largest source of zero-carbon electricity in the United States.*

increasing nuclear capacity to 33 percent of total world energy output. France obtained 63 percent of its electricity from nuclear fuel in 2022. From 1989 through 2016, more than 75 percent of French electricity came from nuclear.

A March 2021 analysis posted on the U.S. Department of Energy's webpage concluded that "nuclear energy produces more electricity on less land than any other clean-air source." "To put that in perspective," claimed the Department of Energy report, "you would need more than 3 million solar panels to produce the same amount of power as a typical commercial reactor or more than 430 wind turbines (capacity factor not included)."

An April 2021 analysis from Bloomberg News estimated that a "conventional 1-gigawatt reactor operating on 1,000 acres produces the same amount of energy as a wind farm spanning 100,000 acres." Land use of 1,000 acres is equivalent to 1.56 square miles, while 100,000 acres is equal to 156 square miles, or 18 square miles larger than the land area within the city borders of Detroit, Michigan.

A 2020 analysis from Our World in Data reported that nuclear energy "results in 99.9 percent fewer deaths than brown coal; 99.8 percent fewer than coal; 99.7 percent fewer than oil; and 97.6 percent fewer than gas," making it "just as safe" as wind and solar power production.

Uranium is currently the most widely used fuel in nuclear reactors. According to the U.S. Department of Energy, it is "a common metal found in rocks all over the world."

A 2009 analysis of nuclear fuel supplies posted by *Scientific American* estimated that the "economically accessible uranium resources" known to the U.S. Nuclear Energy Agency (NEA) at that time would have been enough to run all the nuclear reactors on Earth for "more than 200 years at current rates of consumption." The report also predicted that "exploration and improvements in extraction technology are likely to at least double this estimate over time."

"Two technologies could greatly extend the uranium supply itself," concluded the *Scientific American* analysis.

Neither is economical now, but both could be in the future if the price of uranium increases substantially. First, the extraction of uranium from seawater would make available 4.5 billion metric tons of uranium—a 60,000-year supply at present rates. Second, fuel-recycling fast-breeder reactors, which generate more fuel than they consume, would use less than 1 percent of the uranium needed for current LWRs [light water nuclear reactors]. Breeder reactors could match today's nuclear output for 30,000 years using only the NEA-estimated supplies.

A 2021 U.S. Department of Energy tutorial on nuclear power production reported that nuclear energy "produces minimal waste" and that all of the spent nuclear fuel "produced by the U.S. nuclear energy industry over the last 60 years could fit on a football field at a depth of less than 10 yards!" The tutorial also noted that nuclear waste "can also be reprocessed and recycled, although the United States does not currently do this" and that "some advanced reactors designs being developed could operate on used fuel."

## **Group Petitions Against Nuclear Energy**

Nonprofits and other groups opposed to the use of nuclear energy have jointly endorsed open letters and other statements expressing their position.

**Letter to U.S. Senate Regarding Build Back Better Act (December 2021).** In December 2021, more than 100 groups co-signed an open letter opposing the nuclear power production tax credits offered in H.R. 5376, the House of Representatives draft of the Build Back Better Act. The groups identified nuclear power as a one of several "unproven and unnecessary technologies" and "harmful energy sources" that "would extend demand for fossil fuels."

The letter urged the Senate to remove nuclear power from the list of energy sources eligible for the tax credits. The co-signers included the Asian Pacific Environmental Network, Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, the Gulf Coast Center for Law & Policy, Center for Economic Democracy, the New Economy Coalition, UPROSE, GreenFaith, Just Transition Alliance, MADRE, Nevada Nuclear Waste Task Force, Gender And Radiation Impact Project, Oil & Gas Action Network, Women's Environment and Development Organization, Citizens Awareness Network, the Eco-Justice Collaborative, the Ecological Options Network, Florida



Credit: Sergey Pamiraton. License: Shutterstock.

*The World Wildlife Fund reported total revenue of \$373 million for the year ending June 2023.*

Rising, Flint Rising, the Romero Institute, the Native Movement, and the Sane Energy Project.

**Opposition to EU Defining Nuclear as Sustainable Energy (2021).** A proposal by the European Commission to allow nuclear energy to count as a “sustainable” energy option within its “net zero” goals was opposed by both the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP).

In April 2021 the WWF registered its opposition to a final draft of proposed rules regarding what the European Union would consider “green taxonomy” energy investments. The WWF statement declared that “fossil fuels and nuclear power are unsustainable” and that the final rules needed “to make clear that gas and nuclear will not be part of the green taxonomy once and for all.”

In July 2022, CDP issued a news release that opposed a decision by the parliament of the European Union to allow nuclear energy to be counted as acceptable within the EU’s net-zero carbon emissions taxonomy. The CDP news release said the EU decision “risks the integrity of the EU’s sustainable finance action plan, its obligations under the Paris Agreement and will severely hinder Europe’s efforts to adhere to its own European Climate Law, which sets a legally binding target of net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050.”

**Letter to President Joseph R. Biden (April 2021).** An April 2021 letter to President Biden from more than 250 nonprofits and other groups asked the administration to promote weather-dependent wind and solar power systems and “end the fossil fuel era.” The letter also advised the president to “Phase out nuclear energy as an inherently dirty, dangerous and costly energy source.” Signatories included the Center for Biological Diversity, the California Teachers Association, Polar Bears International, the Center for Environmental Health, Health Care for All, the Resource Renewal Institute, the Bank Information Center and the Alliance for Affordable Energy.

**Petition for Renewable Energy Standard (May 2021).** In May 2021, 715 groups and businesses co-signed a letter to the leadership of the U.S. House and Senate that referred to nuclear energy as a “dirty” form of energy production and a “significant” source of pollution. The letter asked federal lawmakers to reduce carbon emissions by creating a “renewable electricity standard” that promoted production of weather-dependent power sources such as wind turbines and solar panels.

Co-signers included representatives from the Center for Biological Diversity, Greenpeace, the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, Oil Change International, the Center for Popular Democracy, the Environmental Working Group, the NAACP, Riverkeeper, Waterkeeper Alliance, 350.org (plus many state and local affiliates such as 350 Philadelphia), Free Press Action, and the Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League.

**American Nuclear Infrastructure Act of 2020 (November 2020).** More than 100 co-signatories endorsed a November 2020 letter to the U.S. Senate that expressed opposition to the American Nuclear Infrastructure Act of 2020 (S. 4897). The letter stated that nuclear power “amplifies and expands the dangers of climate change” and denounced it as an example of “false solutions to the climate crisis that perpetuate our reliance on dirty energy industries.”

Co-signers included representatives from the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, the League of Conservation Voters, Public Citizen, Beyond Extreme Energy, the Institute for Policy Studies, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Friends of the Earth, Food and Water Watch, and Clean Water Action.

**Legislation to Address the Urgent Threat of Climate Change (January 2019).** More than 600 co-signing organizations endorsed a January 2019 open letter to Congress

titled “Legislation to Address the Urgent Threat of Climate Change.” The signatories declared their support for new laws to bring about “100 percent decarbonization” of the transportation sector but denounced nuclear power as an example of “dirty energy” that should not be included in any legislation promoting the use of “renewable energy.”

Co-signers included representatives from the League of Women Voters, CODEPINK, CREDO, Extinction Rebellion (XR), GRID Alternatives, Hip Hop Caucus, Rainforest Action Network, Sunrise Movement, the Sustainable Economies Law Center, and Surfrider Foundation.

## Largest Anti-Nuclear Nonprofits

A July 2024 analysis from the Capital Research Center examined more than 200 nonprofits that opposed nuclear energy and conservatively estimated that the total combined annual revenue of the American opponents of nuclear power exceeded \$2.5 billion.

The report was an update from a 2023 tabulation that used conservative assumptions. Where a group had two legally distinct advocacy and educational nonprofits (e.g., the League of Conservation Voters and the League of Conservation Voters Education Fund), the estimate counted only one group, never both. Similarly, when a prominent national group was allied with multiple legally distinct state and local affiliates (e.g., the Michigan League of Conservation Voters) the state and local revenue was not counted toward the \$2.3 billion total. In addition, all grants made by the six largest revenue nonprofits were excluded from the total, regardless of whether or not the grants were made to other nonprofits with known positions against the use of nuclear energy.

Without deducting grants paid out, the most recently available IRS reports (as of January 2025) showed 10 anti-nuclear nonprofits with revenue exceeding \$60 million.

**World Wildlife Fund.** The WWF reported total revenue of \$373 million for the year ending June 2023.

In April 2021, the WWF registered its opposition to a final draft of proposed rules regarding what the European Union would consider “green taxonomy” energy investments. The WWF statement declared that “fossil fuels and nuclear power are unsustainable” and that the final rules needed “to make clear that gas and nuclear will not be part of the green taxonomy once and for all.” In March 2020, as recommen-



Credit: Tracey Adams. License: <https://shorturl.at/rvu2Ao>.

*In a June 2021 blog post, Natural Resources Defense Council senior scientist Mohit Chhabra (not shown) stated his organization had “been working for years to retire the aging Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant” in California.*

dations were being made regarding the final draft, the WWF praised recommendations provided to the EU that “would rightfully put an end to polluting fossil fuels, nuclear and bioenergy being greenwashed.”

**World Resources Institute.** The World Resources Institute reported total revenue of \$358 million for the year ending September 2023.

In 2018, WRI hosted an awards ceremony honoring two activists credited with blocking the construction of a nuclear power plant in South Africa. A WRI news release praised the pair for a “victory that protected South Africa from an unprecedented expansion of the nuclear industry.”

**Environmental Defense Fund.** EDF reported total revenue of \$247 million for the year ending September 2023.

In 2017, EDF advocated for the shutdown of a nuclear energy plant in New York. In 2016, EDF promoted the shutdown of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant in California. Environmental Progress has accused EDF of “hypocrisy” because EDF advocated for taxpayer subsidies for wind and solar energy but opposed similar assistance for nuclear energy.

**California Teachers Association.** For the year ending August 2023, the California Teachers Association (CTA) reported collecting total revenue of \$221 million.

The CTA was a cosigner on an April 2021 letter to President Biden asking the administration to promote weather-dependent wind and solar power systems and

“end the fossil fuel era.” The letter also advised the president to “phase out nuclear energy as an inherently dirty, dangerous and costly energy source.”

**Natural Resources Defense Council.** The NRDC reported total revenue of \$193 million for the year ending June 2023.

NRDC has repeatedly supported the shutdown of nuclear power plants. Environmental Progress accused NRDC of “hypocrisy” because NRDC advocated for taxpayer subsidies for wind and solar energy but opposed similar assistance for nuclear energy.

In a June 2021 blog post, NRDC senior scientist Mohit Chhabra stated his organization had “been working for years to retire the aging Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant” in California. During 2017 and 2018, NRDC staffers also argued for shutting down nuclear energy facilities in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

In April 2021, the NRDC celebrated the closing of the Indian Point nuclear power plant in New York. NRDC claimed that New York’s renewable energy sources would be able to make up for the loss of power provided by Indian Point with solar and wind energy. Afterward, the *New York Times* reported that more fossil fuels were burned in New York to make up for the closure of Indian Point and that Indian Point had been producing more power than all the wind turbines and solar panels in New York combined.

**Sierra Club.** The Sierra Club reported total revenue of \$173 million for the year ending December 2023.

The Sierra Club website has stated that nuclear power is “a uniquely dangerous energy technology for humanity” and that the “Sierra Club remains unequivocally opposed to nuclear energy.” The statement invited opponents of nuclear energy to join the Sierra Club’s Nuclear Free Campaign Grassroots Network, which redirected them to a website for the Network.

**Rocky Mountain Institute.** The Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI) reported total revenue of \$139 million for the year ending June 2023.

In a 2011 report for RMI, the group’s founder, Amory Lovins, asserted that nuclear power is “costly and dangerous and a poor alternative to renewable energy sources.” Lovins reiterated his criticisms of nuclear power in a July 2017 report for RMI. In a February 2022 report on solutions to an energy shortage in Europe, an RMI researcher recommended that policymakers not look “backward to domestic

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*The Sierra Club website has stated that nuclear power is “a uniquely dangerous energy technology for humanity.”*”

fossil or large-scale nuclear,” criticized French and Dutch investments in nuclear energy, and proposed that all of Europe should instead invest heavily in alternative sources such as weather-dependent wind.

**League of Conservation Voters.** The League of Conservation Voters reported total revenue of \$67.5 million for the year ending December 2023.

The League of Conservation Voters was one of more than 100 co-signatories on a November 2020 letter to the U.S. Senate that expressed opposition to S. 4897, the “American Nuclear Infrastructure Act of 2020.” The letter stated that nuclear power “amplifies and expands the dangers of climate change” and denounced it as an example of “false solutions to the climate crisis that perpetuate our reliance on dirty energy industries.” The letter was signed by Matthew Davis, who was identified as the legislative director for the LCV.

**Southern Environmental Law Center.** The Southern Environmental Law Center (SELC) reported total revenue of \$62.8 million for the year ending March 2024.

SELC has repeatedly criticized and opposed nuclear power generation and promoted instead weather-dependent wind and solar energy systems. Examples of SELC’s anti-nuclear advocacy have occurred in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.

## Grid Alternatives

GRID Alternatives reported total revenue of \$63.3 million for the year ending December 2023.

GRID Alternatives was one of more than 600 co-signing organizations on a January 2019 open letter to Congress titled “Legislation to Address the Urgent Threat of Climate Change.” The signatories declared their support for new laws to bring about “100 percent decarbonization” of the transportation sector but denounced nuclear power as an example of “dirty energy” that should not be included in any legislation promoting the use of “renewable energy.”

## Major Donors to Nuclear Energy Opponents


Large left-leaning donor foundations have been some of the major supporters of groups that oppose the use of nuclear energy.

**Bloomberg Philanthropies.** From 2020 through 2023, Bloomberg Philanthropies (also known as the Bloomberg Family Foundation) gave at least \$80 million in grants to nonprofit groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy. Recipients during the period included the Sierra Club Foundation, the NRDC, the Rocky Mountain Institute, the World Resources Institute, the World Wildlife Fund, the Hip Hop Caucus, 350.org, the Environmental Integrity Project and Earthworks. The tabulation was made using Foundation Search records as posted through August 2023. (Foundation Search is a database that compiles philanthropic giving from the IRS 990 forms submitted by 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) donor nonprofits).

Bloomberg Philanthropies is a giving vehicle for left-leaning billionaire Michael Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York City and a former candidate for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination.

**Fred Stanback (Foundation for the Carolinas).** From 2020 through 2023, the FFTC gave at least \$80 million in grants to nonprofit groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy. The tabulation was made using FoundationSearch records as posted through August 2023.

FFTC is a donor-advised fund that manages funds for 2,700 separate charitable individuals, families and organizations. One of FFTC's largest known account holders has been North Carolina billionaire Fred Stanback. Stanback was characterized in an April 2018 *Knoxville News* report as a "known proponent of anti-humanist environmentalism . . . the belief that protecting the environment hinges on population control." Thirty-nine percent of FFTC's donations from 1999 to 2017 (\$825 million) were given to organizations favoring the Stanback policy agenda: left-leaning environmentalism, abortion, population control, or immigration restrictionism.

 *Fred Stanback was characterized in an April 2018 Knoxville News report as a "known proponent of anti-humanist environmentalism."*

Stanback's total commitment to his FFTC account through all years is not known, but the *Los Angeles Times* reported a single \$397 million donation from Stanback to FFTC in 2014. A September 2020 report from the *Washington Free Beacon* revealed that just one of the anti-nuclear nonprofits, the Southern Environmental Law Center, had received more than \$200 million from Stanback, through FFTC, during the preceding two decades. Stanback has regularly been thanked for six and seven-figure annual donations in annual reports and other public documents put out by the Sierra Club Foundation, the National Parks Conservation Association, the Rocky Mountain Institute, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Environmental Working Group, the Center for Biological Diversity, and the Waterkeeper Alliance. Annual reports from some of these groups, such as RMI, have also credited Stanback's son and daughter-in-law with comparable-sized donations.

During the 2020–2023 period, FFTC donations to left-leaning groups that opposed nuclear energy exceeded \$80 million and included the Southern Environmental Law Center, the Rocky Mountain Institute, the NRDC, the League of Conservation Voters Education Fund, the Environmental Working Group, the Southern Alliance for Clean Energy, North Carolina Waste Awareness and Reduction Network (NC-WARN), the Dogwood Alliance, the Waterkeeper Alliance, the Sierra Club Foundation, the Center for Biological Diversity, the Rachel Carson Council, the Environmental Defense Fund, Greenpeace, the Rainforest Action Network, and the Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League.

**MacArthur Foundation.** From 2020 through 2023, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (MacArthur Foundation) gave at least \$60 million in grants to nonprofit groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy. Recipients included the Environmental Defense Fund, the Sierra Club Foundation, the League of Conservation Voters Education Fund, the World Resources Institute, Earthworks, the Rocky Mountain Institute, the CDP North America, the NRDC, the U.S. Climate Action Network (US-CAN), and Voices for a Sustainable Future (a project of the Labor Network for Sustainability). The tabulation was made using FoundationSearch records as posted through August 2023.

**Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation.** From 2020 through 2023, the Gordon E. and Betty I. Moore Foundation gave at least \$45 million in grants to nonprofit groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy. Recipients included the World Wildlife Fund, the World Resources Institute, the NRDC, Friends of the Earth, and the Environmental





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From 2020 through 2023, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (MacArthur Foundation) gave at least \$60 million in grants to nonprofit groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy.

Defense Fund. The tabulation was made using FoundationSearch records as posted through August 2023.

Gordon Moore is the founder of Intel.

**Sixteen Thirty Fund (1630 Fund).** From 2020 through 2023 the Sixteen Thirty Fund (1630 Fund) gave at least \$29 million in grants to groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy. Recipients included the League of Conservation Voters, the Environmental Defense Action Fund, the NRDC Action Fund, the Center for Popular Democracy Action Fund, the League of Women Voters, the Sunrise PAC (a political committee aligned with the Sunrise Movement), People’s Action, and the People’s Action Institute. The tabulation was made using FoundationSearch records as posted through August 2023.

Sixteen Thirty is part of a group of left-of-center lobbying and advocacy organizations administered by Arabella Advisors. In 2020, Arabella’s nonprofit network boasted total revenues exceeding \$1.67 billion and total expenditures of \$1.26 billion and paid out \$896 million in grants largely to other left-leaning and politically active nonprofits. Identifying specific contributions to specific donors within the Arabella network is challenging. According to Foundation Search records, Sixteen Thirty received at least \$141.7 million in support from public foundations during the 2020–2023 period, of which \$113.5 million came from the New Venture Fund—another nonprofit run through Arabella. FoundationSearch

records show that New Venture received more than \$1.4 billion in support from public foundations during the period, with at least \$333 million of that coming from donor-advised funds that do not generally publicly identify the names of contributors. A November 2021 profile in *The Atlantic* identified Arabella as a “massive progressive dark-money group you’ve never heard of” and Sixteen Thirty as “the indisputable heavyweight of Democratic dark money” which funneled “roughly \$61 million of effectively untraceable money to progressive causes,” making it the “second-largest super-PAC donor in 2020.” Similarly, a May 2021 *New York Times* analysis identified Sixteen Thirty as one of the “leading dark money spenders on the Left.”

**Tides Foundation.** From 2020 through 2023 the Tides Foundation gave at least \$27 million in grants to groups that have opposed the use of nuclear energy. Recipients included the NRDC, the World Wildlife Fund, the Sierra Club Foundation, the NAACP, Public Citizen, Public Citizen Foundation, Amazon Watch, People’s Action, the People’s Action Institute, the Center for Popular Democracy, the NRDC Action Fund, Green America, Dream Corps, the Rocky Mountain Institute, the Movement Strategy Center, and the Sunrise Movement Education Fund. The tabulation was made using Foundation Search records as posted through August 2023.

The Tides Foundation is a center-left grantmaker and a pass-through funder to left-leaning nonprofits. Foundation Search records show that the Tides Foundation received more than \$351.5 million in support from public foundations during the 2020–2023 period, with \$40 million coming from the Tides Center (another nonprofit aligned with the Tides Foundation), and an additional \$133 million from four donor-advised funds that do not generally publicly identify the names of contributors.

## Conclusion

Among nonprofits, the opposition to nuclear energy is broad and well-funded by large left-leaning foundations. Yet if they—as most of them do—truly seek a zero-carbon economy, nuclear energy is the only viable option for the foreseeable future. ■

*This article is adapted from “Opposition to Nuclear Energy” on InfluenceWatch.org.*

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



# THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

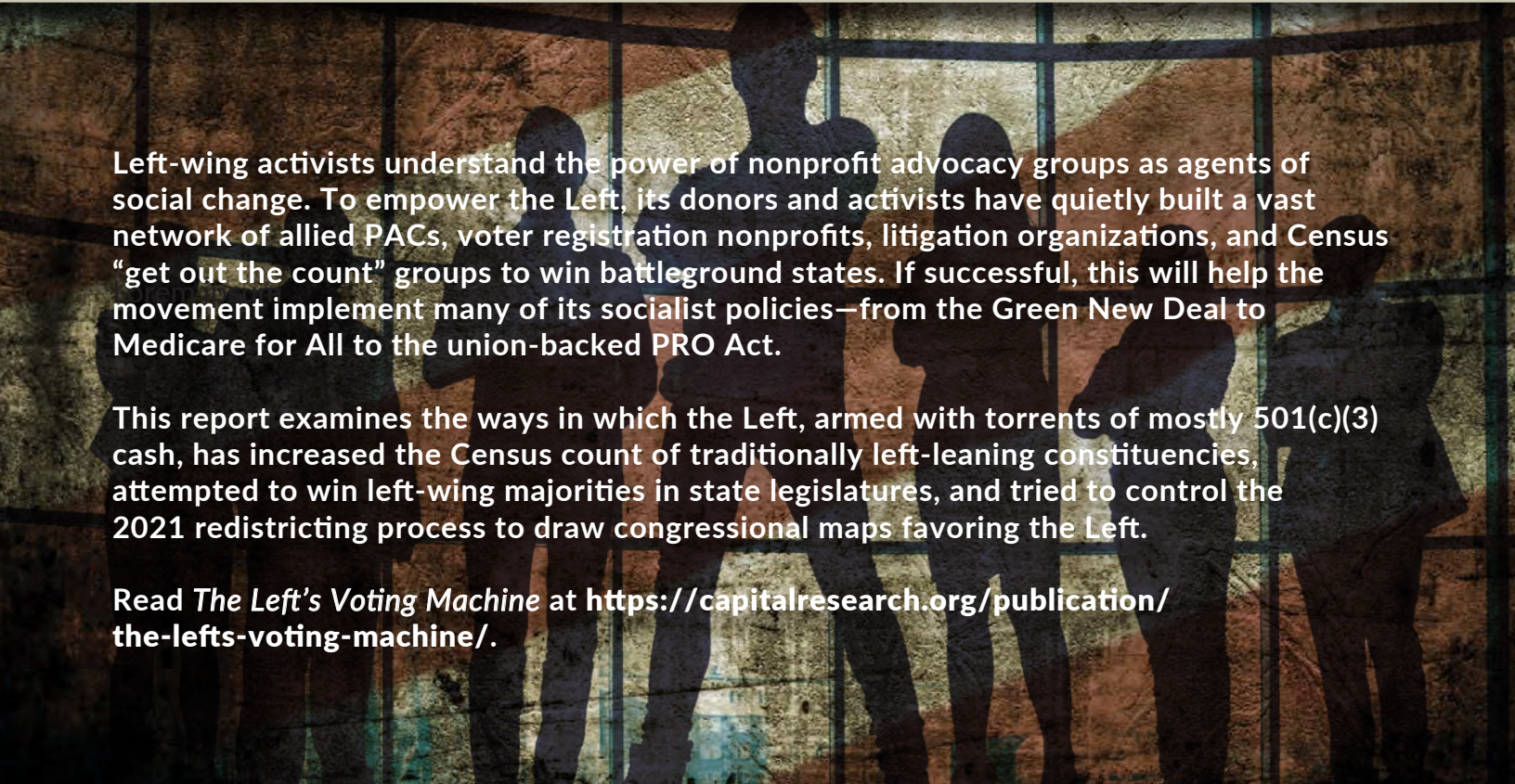


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Left-wing activists understand the power of nonprofit advocacy groups as agents of social change. To empower the Left, its donors and activists have quietly built a vast network of allied PACs, voter registration nonprofits, litigation organizations, 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/>.



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

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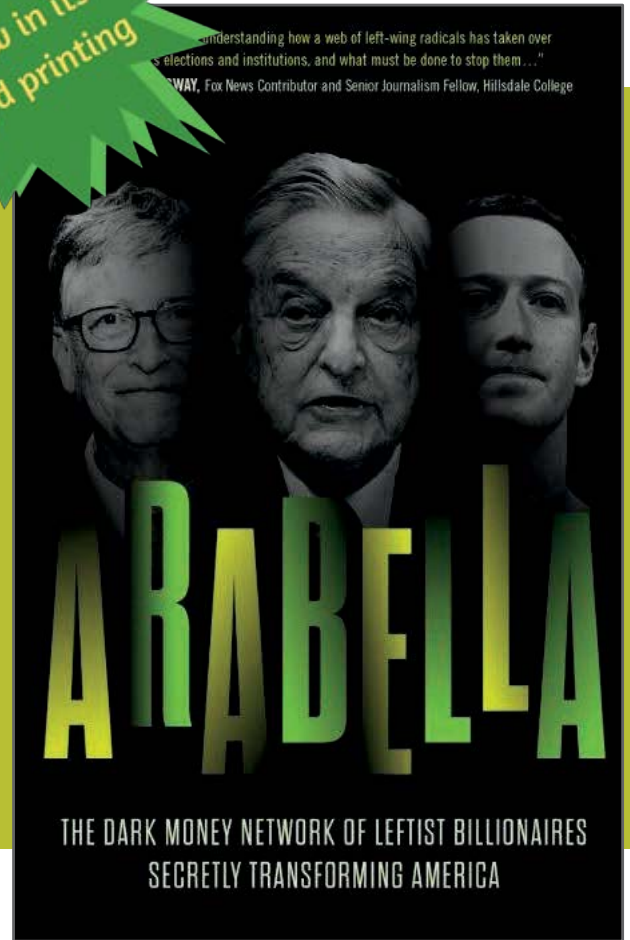
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“A handful of left-wing billionaires—including one who’s not even an American citizen—have so much power they can demand the

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.”



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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.”



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