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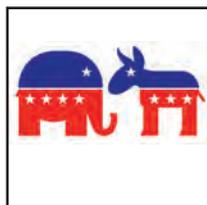


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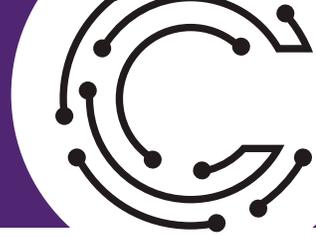


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SPECIAL REPORT

Which Party is the Party of the 1 Percent?

By Michael Barone



THE “TRUMP EFFECT”

How the Southern Poverty Law Center mobilizes schoolteachers to radicalize children to perpetrate hate

By Tina Trent

Summary: *The serial fabulists and exaggerators of the Southern Poverty Law Center are determined to portray Donald Trump and his supporters as cancers on the body politic. The Capital Research Center’s last report on the SPLC (Organization Trends, October 2012) observed that although the group “began with an admirable purpose,” it long ago “transformed into a machine for raising money and launching left-wing political attacks.”*

Unlike the rest of the Left, which is currently obsessed with finding Russian influences everywhere, the disciplined, prolific fabulists of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) have stayed admirably on-message. Founder Morris Dees and his minions laboring behind the thick walls of their “poverty palace” in Montgomery, Alabama, continue to push the line that the greatest threat to America is white men.

And the most dangerous of all the Caucasian males, according to the SPLC, is the 45th president of the United States, Donald Trump. In two recent reports titled “The Trump Effect,” the SPLC claims that Trump’s presence on the American scene has sparked thousands of cases of “prejudice,” “bullying,” and hate crimes in the nation’s schools.

According to the SPLC, an alarming array of social ills afflicting schoolchildren, from bullying to poor grades to tummy aches to suicidal thoughts, may now be attributed to the election of Trump. Trump is allegedly such an all-powerful, yet intimate, influence that he is inducing nausea and crying fits, not only in elementary school students, but also among their teachers.

Obviously, the real explanation for mass election-related hysteria among six-year olds lies entirely in the behavior of the teacher in the front of the classroom. And the solution ought to be simple: such educators should be instructed to leave their politics at home and stop frightening the children they are supposed to be instructing.



Credit: Bill Littman, 2011. License: <https://goo.gl/iKzAya>.

But we live in a world where many teachers view their classrooms as petri dishes for social engineering. They believe it is their job to shape their students into social justice activists like themselves. The SPLC’s Teaching Tolerance education project provides such teachers with lesson plans, professional development materials, and a nationwide peer group of like-minded activist educators.

The SPLC created the phony data in the two “Trump Effect” reports by inviting such teachers to fill out open-ended, subjective questionnaires about the effect of the election on their students. Even among this self-selected

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group of radical educators, only a tiny fraction filled out the survey. One survey was conducted during the primaries in March and the other in November, post-election.

Despite a miniscule sampling and an unscientific method of collecting data, the SPLC claims its survey results prove the election of Donald Trump is tearing schools and communities apart. In addition to the self-reporting by leftist educators, included in the report are election-related “hate-incidents” as further proof of the thesis that Trump is single-handedly causing a rise in prejudice-related violence. Such incidents, the group says, were reported directly to the organization or found in news sites online, though the information provided about confirmation methods and the details of the alleged incidents themselves are far too vague to fact-check.

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According to the SPLC, an alarming array of social ills afflicting schoolchildren, from bullying to poor grades to tummy aches to suicidal thoughts, may now be attributed to the election of Trump.

Despite the unverifiable data and the fact that virtually all high-profile bias crimes reported in the media to date have been exposed as hoaxes (except those committed by opponents of Trump), some have seized upon the reports as proof that Trump’s election is causing a scientifically quantifiable rise in prejudice and bias incidents against minorities, especially in schools.

This is what the SPLC does best: fabricate claims of “rising tides” of prejudice that divide Americans, for profit.

LYING FOR DOLLARS

The conclusions drawn from this supposed “Trump effect” are as unverifiable as the other reports of “rising tides of hate” that are the SPLC’s long-time *modus operandi* and meal ticket. In the mid-1990s, for example, it exploited a seeming increase in church fires to claim black churches throughout the South were being intentionally burned in a “tidal wave” of racist hatemongering. In 1996, President Clinton convened a task force and Congress passed the bipartisan Church Arson Prevention Act to investigate the



Southern Poverty Law Center. Montgomery, Alabama. Credit: Nameofuser25 at English Wikipedia, 2007. License: <https://goo.gl/SYO9AG>.

church burnings.

Intensive federal investigations eventually proved that almost none of the fires were related to race. Many turned out to be accidents. Of the churches incinerated by arsonists, most had white congregations, and of arsonists caught, almost all were thieves, vandals, or self-proclaimed Satanists who did not choose their targets by race. Some of the most widely publicized racial arson cases turned out to be frauds committed by the churches’ own members or by others seeking to cash in on insurance payouts or on the donations pouring in from goodhearted Americans responding to the invented crisis.

Nonetheless, for years the SPLC has persisted in fundraising off the claim that racist white nightriders were again threatening churchgoing blacks throughout the South, as if nothing in race relations had changed in society since the 1930s. Similar campaigns alleging “rising tides” of organized hate groups, hate crimes, and white supremacy among conservative political activists have repeatedly filled the SPLC’s coffers.

The SPLC doesn’t need more money. At last check, the fabulously wealthy 501(c)(3) nonprofit had one third of a billion dollars (\$338 million) in assets, as well as investments in Bermuda and the Cayman Islands.

SPLC founder and chief trial lawyer Morris Dees’ financial improprieties have been documented again and again, by critics from the left and right sides of the spectrum. But it would be a mistake to view his racial fear campaigns as merely a way to grow rich. The political stakes are higher

and more complex. The SPLC’s ultimate goal is smearing Republicans as bigots, in order to coalesce political power on the Left. Along with its fellow “opposition research” organizations (even those in conflict with Dees) and the Democratic Party, the SPLC labors to sustain the illusion America is perpetually threatened by “haters” who also happen to be Republicans, conservatives, rural Southerners, Christians, or some combination thereof.

The real rewards for sustaining this narrative are twofold: election victories, and control over the priorities and budgets of the many public bureaucracies dealing with bias and hate.

FROM KLANSMEN TO KINDERGARTENERS

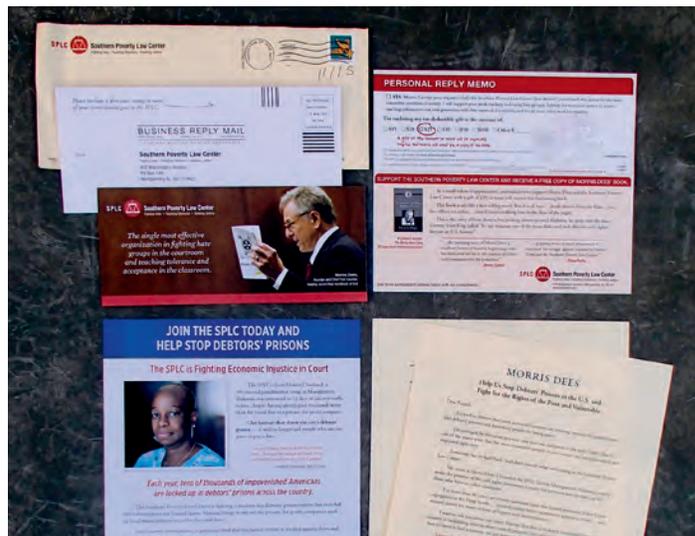
Throughout the 1990s, the most profitable and influential “anti-hate” activism was in the legal arena. The Chicken Littles of the SPLC habitually warned of violent “hate crimes” infecting communities nationwide. Grandstanding politicians responded with presidential task forces, congressional hearings, and a vast expansion of hate crime investigation and prosecution units at every level of government, from the Department of Justice to small-town police forces.

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The SPLC doesn’t need any more money. At last check, the fabulously wealthy 501(c)(3) nonprofit had one third of a billion dollars in assets, as well as investments in Bermuda and the Cayman Islands.

Despite the relatively few crimes that could be wedged into even the most sweeping definitions of “hate crime,” and the petty nature of the vast majority of these crimes, hate crime units were generously funded and became permanent fixtures.

Yet the “tidal wave” of hate crimes predicted never materialized. Nor have the criminal justice organs of government been entirely comfortable with nonprofit organizations that style themselves as bias warriors. Focusing on the enforcement of hate crime laws has not always advanced the SPLC agenda. For example:



SPLC mailing. Credit: Judith E. Bell, 2014.

License: <https://goo.gl/L2AJre>.

- No evidence has been found of any type of racial conspiracy to commit crimes against minorities.
- As is amply demonstrated by researchers such as Colin Flaherty, individual black offenders and gangs of offenders are responsible for scores of horrendous crimes that clearly include racial animus. As those crimes receive coverage in the media, the public grows increasingly impatient with the obvious anti-white biases in the enforcement of bias-crime laws.
- Multiple hate-crime hoaxes are also taxing public sentiment.
- In a nation where police investigated more than a million violent crimes—including 15,000 murders and 90,000 rapes in 2016—the investment of resources to investigate a few hundred “hate crimes” that consist mostly of vandalism and simple assault (including name-calling) also raises questions.

Mission dissonance between the justice system and SPLC’s activists also runs deep. Law enforcement itself is anathema to leftists. Obviously, it is difficult simultaneously to demonize police and also to advocate working with them to solve “bias crimes,” just as it is difficult to advocate for prison abolitionism while working to put people behind bars.

Even after 20 years of law enforcement vigorously pursuing hate-crime investigations, no evidence has emerged to support the SPLC’s contention that “a rising tide” of organized hate groups pose a criminal threat in America, unless one counts Islamic terrorists, which the

SPLC, ever sensitive to its coalition partners' politics, would never do.

But the absence of actual hate crimes against minorities has never stopped the SPLC from claiming white-supremacist hate infects every nook and cranny of the American landscape. These people have always had another part of government from which to hang their white-supremacist hunting hats: the education bureaucracy. And unlike the justice system, where evidence is required no matter how much the system is slanted in one's favor, the education bureaucracy has no such prerequisite. Schools are thus more amenable arenas than courts for SPLC activism.

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Light on evidence, deceptive in focus, and alarmist in language, they attempt to pathologize a new president and his supporters, equating their politics with fascism.

The “Trump Effect” reports are just the latest version of what the SPLC has done throughout its existence: manufacture smear jobs presented as scientific research on yet another “rising tide of prejudice.” Light on any evidence, deceptive in focus, and alarmist in language, the SPLC attempts to pathologize a new president and his supporters, equating their politics with fascism and violence.

But the reports also reveal something new: the degree to which the SPLC and its model of smear jobs have gained footholds in K–12 schools. This time the “rising tide of (white) prejudice” the SPLC claims to have identified is located in the minds and hearts of schoolchildren as young as kindergarteners, and this focus helps the SPLC gain more access to schools in order to “cure” the “hate” problem. That these children's own teachers are reporting them to an organization as unsavory and divisive as the SPLC is truly alarming.

A TALE OF TWO SURVEYS

On Nov. 29, 2016, SPLC officials staged a press conference that was more like a show trial to unveil the group's “Trump Effect” reports. Joining SPLC president Richard Cohen were Wade Henderson (Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights); Brenda Abdelall (Muslim Advocates); Janet Murguia (National Council of La Raza); and Randi Weingarten of the American Federation of Teachers

(AFT), a union that vigorously supported Hillary Clinton's campaign for president.

The National Press Club event was the usual drama in three parts: first, a parade of professional civil rights activists took to the stage to denounce Trump as a racist, misogynistic, homophobic, Islamophobic, immigrant-phobic hater. Then they unveiled the “Trump Effect” reports, luridly illustrated with pixelated, close-up photographs of Trump's mouth. In the reports, anonymous teachers blame Trump for real and purported events ranging from swastikas spray-painted on buildings by unknown vandals, to nightmares and the crying spells of young children, to students being so upset by the election they were unable to study for exams. Then SPLC officials demanded that Trump publicly confess his crimes.

“Mr. Trump claims he's surprised his election has unleashed a barrage of hate across the country,” Cohen said. “But he shouldn't be. It's a predictable result of the campaign he waged. Rather than feign surprise, Mr. Trump should take responsibility for what's occurring, forcefully reject hate and bigotry, reach out to the communities he's injured, and follow his words with actions to heal the wounds his words have opened.”

After convicting Trump of ideological crimes great, small, and micro-aggressive, SPLC officials delivered the guilty verdict and moved to sentencing. They commanded Trump to “immediately, and forcefully, publicly denounce racism and bigotry, and to call on Americans to stop all acts of hate.”

But what were these hateful acts Cohen was talking about? He wasn't referring to the serious crime that occurred Nov. 10, when a white Chicago motorist was pulled from his car by a gang of black criminals who held him down, punched and kicked him while shouting “You voted Trump,” “Beat his ass,” and “Don't vote Trump” before dragging him from the side of his car over several blocks in traffic.

No, Cohen was citing the highly processed product of the two surveys of leftist schoolteachers conducted by the SPLC through its Teaching Tolerance project. As we've seen, the survey responses were elicited only from educators who subscribe to the *Teaching Tolerance* newsletter or follow the social media of a few other hard-left education nonprofits that partner with the SPLC, including Facing History and Ourselves, Teaching for Change, Not in Our Schools, Rethinking Schools, and AFT.

The questions posed to teachers did not reference Trump. What would eventually be the “Trump Effect” reports began as a survey asking teachers generally about the impact of the primary contest on their classrooms and school “climate” and asking how teachers were teaching the

election.

Of course, it is possible that the plan all along was to focus on Trump.



The SPLC provides teachers with lesson plans, anti-bullying and anti-bias exercises, petitions, pledges, and other emotionally coercive busywork designed to address students' purported intolerance.

Founded in 1991, Teaching Tolerance is the SPLC's educational project. The *Teaching Tolerance* newsletter goes to more than 400,000 educators in nearly every school in America, the SPLC boasts.

The SPLC provides teachers with lesson plans, anti-bullying and anti-bias exercises, petitions, pledges, and other emotionally coercive busywork designed to address students' purported intolerance. Students are also encouraged to become Teaching Tolerance activists and educate fellow classmates. Materials urge teachers to seek bias and prejudice in their white students' every word and deed. Meanwhile, minority students and their teachers are encouraged to view all minorities as victims of an ever-present, all-encompassing, dangerous culture of white supremacy.

Abetted by legions of easily flattered, social-justice-warrior schoolteachers, the SPLC turns classrooms into indoctrination hubs while profiting from them, as the group heavily promotes Teaching Tolerance in fundraising appeals. This is the pool of teachers with whom the "Trump Effect" surveys were conducted.

Out of the 400,000 individuals and institutions that receive Teaching Tolerance materials, 2,000 participated in the first "Trump Effect" survey, while 10,000 participated in the second survey (with an unknown number participating in both). And again, the first survey of schoolteachers, from which the "Trump Effect" meme was developed, did not mention any presidential candidate by name. The title, "The Trump Effect: The Impact of the Presidential Campaign on our Nation's Schools," was created only after the survey had been conducted. SPLC staffers said they dramatically changed focus because "out of 5,000 total comments, more than 1,000 mentioned Donald Trump," while under 200

mentioned Ted Cruz, Bernie Sanders, or Hillary Clinton.

This is how the SPLC interpreted the written responses it received:

- More than two-thirds of the teachers reported that students—mainly immigrants, children of immigrants, and Muslims—have expressed concerns or fears about what might happen to them or their families after the election.
- More than half have seen an increase in uncivil political discourse.
- More than one-third have observed an increase in anti-Muslim or anti-immigrant sentiment.
- More than 40 percent are hesitant to teach about the election.

In 2014 there were about 3.5 million full-time equivalent teachers employed in K–12 classrooms. In other words, at the height of presidential primary season, merely 2,000 teachers out of 3.5 million participated in first the survey. (And of the 2,000 teachers, some may be other classroom professionals such as librarians, administrators, English as a Second Language or other teacher aides and paraprofessionals.) The respondents all self-selected by subscribing to or reading the SPLC's leftist agitprop:

- Approximately 1,333 K–12 educators (or 0.00038% of respondents) reported that students were concerned about what will happen to their families (presumably though not explicitly if a Republican were elected).
- Approximately 1,000 K–12 educators (or 0.00028% of respondents) perceived "an increase in uncivil political discourse" in their schools.
- Approximately 664 K–12 educators (or 0.00019% of respondents) perceived "an increase in anti-Muslim or anti-immigrant sentiment."
- Approximately 800 K–12 educators (or 0.00023% of respondents) reported being "hesitant to teach about the election," though the rationale for their hesitancy is not detailed.

There are no actual data that show any increase in school bullying in 2016. Nonetheless, the SPLC claims that "Teachers have noted an increase in bullying, harassment and intimidation of students whose races, religions or

nationalities have been the verbal targets of candidates on the campaign trail.”

Despite its flimsy data, the SPLC scored a home run with the “Trump Effect.” The first report was soon cited as evidence Trump was fomenting a “tidal wave of hate” among schoolchildren. On the campaign trail, Hillary Clinton warned: “Parents and teachers are already worrying about what they call the ‘Trump Effect.’ They report that bullying and harassment are on the rise in our schools, especially targeting students of color, Muslims, and immigrants.”

“
Built on a foundation of nothing more than the subjective impressions of 0.0057 percent of K–12 educators, the “Trump Effect” was soon being cited as scientific fact throughout the educational establishment.

A day later, the influential “political accountability” blog, PolitiFact defended Clinton’s use of the report. While acknowledging the survey was both unscientific and anecdotal, the fact-checkers accepted it as truth because “experts in bullying” concurred with the findings. “Their sense of current trends in schools supports Clinton’s point. We rate her claim Mostly True,” PolitiFact asserted. (For more on this organization of so-called fact-checkers that explicitly treats guesses as facts, see the “Deception & Misdirection” article in the January 2017 issue of *Capital Research*.)

Built on a foundation of nothing more than the subjective impressions of 0.0057% of K–12 educators, the “Trump Effect” was soon being cited as scientific fact in news reports and by experts throughout the educational establishment.

After the election, the SPLC immediately followed up with a second “Trump Effect” survey and report. Perhaps because of the publicity attending the first report, this time 10,000 educators and others submitted responses totaling 25,000 comments.

The SPLC dubiously claims the overwhelmingly negative effect of Trump’s election on schoolchildren is everywhere. But the evidence presented is entirely beside the point. With their invention of the Trump Effect, these propagandists have achieved their actual goal: creating a potent organizing tool. Whether it reflects reality is irrelevant.

SAMPLE TEACHER COMMENTS

According to many of the responding teachers, Trump’s candidacy had an immediate, unambiguous effect on students, all of it profoundly negative. Here is a sampling of teachers’ responses, given here anonymously as in the reports:

- “White males have been overheard saying, ‘screw women’s rights, fag lover liberal, build the wall, lock her up.’ The rebel flag is draped on the truck of a popular student, and the p-word has been used very casually, citing Trump as the excuse.” — HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, MICHIGAN
- “In a 24-hour period, I completed two suicide assessments and two threat of violence assessments for middle school students. This was last week, one week after the election ... students were threatening violence against African Americans. Students were suicidal and without hope. Fights, disrespect have increased as well.” — MIDDLE SCHOOL COUNSELOR, FLORIDA
- “A kindergartener asked me ‘Why did the bully win?’ Other kids who have been awarded student of the month and considered great examples for our school hid in a classroom after school and drew pokemon fireballs attacking the man. This is a serious issue that we have not clearly addressed. We need help and we must claim our districts and other districts ‘sanctuary districts.’” — ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER, ARIZONA
- “I teach at a charter school in [an inner city]. The student makeup is 99 percent black and Latino children, with the majority qualifying for free or reduced price lunch. The climate in the school itself has been fine, because almost all of the students are people of color. However students have been emotionally distraught, especially the day after the election. Many came to school sobbing, fearing for their future and their families, worried about their relatives being deported. Many expressed sadness that they didn’t realize how messed up the country was until that day, and that they either hated America or now understood why their friends said they hated America.” — MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHER, NEW JERSEY
- “We have had many students fighting, especially between the Latino and African-American population, as well as many more boys feeling superior to girls. I have had one male student grab a female student’s crotch and tell her that it’s legal for him to

do that to her now. We have not had as many hate crimes in our school as others, but that is likely because we have a VERY small white population. One of my students from last year who is Muslim has not worn her hijab since the election. She is one of three Muslim students in our school.” — ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER, MINNESOTA

- “When I attended a Veteran’s Day service on Thursday, some of those same students were in the ROTC group here. I saw a distinct parallel to Hitler Youth. I am no longer able to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. I am compelled to turn away when it comes on over the loud speaker and am repulsed by ‘liberty and justice for all.’” — HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, VIRGINIA

It is difficult to read these comments—they number in the thousands—without concluding that many schools are essentially laboratories where leftist educators are guided less by the mission to impart knowledge than by a desire to engage students in endless efforts to divide society along lines of sex, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

NO DISSENT FROM TOLERANCE

There were only a few educators who reported that the election had little impact on their schools. The SPLC was even able to find so-called evidence of election-related conflict when teachers themselves could not find such conflict. When the schools concerned were overwhelmingly white, the SPLC construed the absence of conflict as proof of white students’ ignorance of the wider world.

“These students are isolated, with little exposure to students who are frightened by the election results, and few opportunities to see the world from their perspective,” according to the report. “Teachers at these schools report that their students have accepted (or welcomed) the results and have moved on.”

The Center provides the following examples:

- “Truly, it hasn’t had a huge impact. Because I talk about these things in class, I have been able to see what little impact there is. Colleagues haven’t seen anything.” — MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHER, UTAH
- “If we stop trying to find problems and focus on the future, our country would be a better, more tolerant place to live. I explained to my students how lucky we are to live in the greatest country in the world, a place where we can have a peaceful transition of power; and if you do not agree with the re-

sults, we get to do it again in four years.” — HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, FLORIDA

- “I don’t think the election has had a big impact on our school climate. It is a 6–8 middle school in a wealthy suburb. We have mostly white students with a decent size Asian population. It seems that there was support for both sides in our community, but the students seem to be taking the results fairly.” — MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHER, OHIO

- “Absolutely nothing; if anything, this survey is creating more hatred than the election results.” — HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, RHODE ISLAND

Other schools, the SPLC claims, avoided conflict by “establishing inclusive welcoming communities,” having “response programs in place,” and by sponsoring “talking circles, student-led groups, leadership clubs, character programs and proactive staff,” all programs the Center promotes in schools.

HEROES OF TOLERANCE

The SPLC reports praise teachers who profess extreme anti-parent, anti-conservative views and who bring those attitudes to the classroom. They praise teachers who view themselves as embattled freedom-fighters who must struggle against uncaring, unfeeling administrators, ignorant fellow teachers, and hateful parents.

- “I have thrown caution into the wind and have spoken out against certain candidates which I have NEVER done,” wrote a Michigan high school teacher, “but I feel it’s my duty to speak out against ignorance!”
- “I am teaching off the hook before anyone ‘catches’ me and puts me in a Common Core box; we are reading Howard Zinn, Anne Frank, Haig Bosmajian, Jane Yolen, Ayn Rand, George Orwell and survivors’ testimonies from the Holocaust and the genocides around the world. ... I am making it as real and as connected to my students as I can. I feel like I am teaching for our lives.”

THE THERAPEUTIC TOLERANCE POST-APOCALYPSE ACTION PLAN

On the morning after election night, Tommy Chang, Boston Public Schools superintendent, sent out an impassioned letter addressed to the “Boston Public Schools Family.” Unable, as a public official, to explicitly denounce

Donald Trump, he nonetheless managed to treat the election results like a deadly public disaster. “It is important today to be strong for our students and each other,” he wrote, adding that the schools’ “Behavioral Health Department is available to support students who may be having a difficult time processing any fears or concerns ... the Employee Assistance Program is available to support City of Boston employees’ well-being.”

In addition to referring all students and city employees to mental health professionals, he urged the entire school district to begin collective healing with the help of the SPLC, which had pre-emptively created an array of post-election exercises with titles like “The First Hundred Days,” and “The Day After.” Both Chang’s letter and the “First Hundred Days” exercises feature self-evaluations with ominous-yet-inane questions. Chang recommended Bostonians contemplate, “How will I interact with others based on what I know about their feelings?” The “First Hundred Days” exercise is written in the voice of an adolescent whose reaction to the outcome of a class president race includes wishing to spit on the winner, but in the end, through self-evaluation “in the text” and “in my head,” the narrator commits to getting along with her “stupid” classmates.

In “The Day After,” the SPLC gets more to the point: “Prepare yourself,” the worksheet warns, “to engage in difficult conversations surrounding the various topics—racism, civil rights, immigration and so forth—that the election has raised.”

Superintendents in places like New York City and Los Angeles issued similar letters. The SPLC offered more exercises: “Our Classroom Values”; “Our Classroom Priorities”; a “Speak up for Civility Pledge” that could be printed out and signed. In the second “Trump Effect” report, the group praised Chang for having the vision to link to its therapeutic resources.

But this lip service paid to empathy and healing was overshadowed by the report’s primary message: Adults and students who voted for Trump or supported him had committed unforgivable actions of hatred. The veneer of “tolerance” was mere click-bait, or cover for public officials like Chang as he abused his authority by referring to his pro-Trump employees as Nazis, Klansmen, and advocates for slavery and genocide. The section of the report appearing directly below praise for Chang starts: “Take care of the wounded.”

“Many students,” it continues, “especially immigrant, LGBT, Muslim and African-American students—are profoundly upset and worried by the election results. Their anxiety is warranted; many have been targeted in and out

of school by individuals who think Trump’s election has licensed hatred and bigotry.”

Have they? What is a public official doing recommending such defamatory material through official channels, in the name of tolerance, no less?

Claiming to provide lesson plans for tolerance is the way the SPLC gets into schools. Once in, the mask quickly comes off; the civility pledges and classroom empathy exercises are merely a ploy.

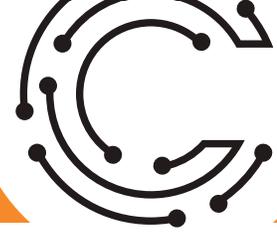
A few weeks before the election the U.S. Department of Education announced grants of \$6.5 million to fund four Regional Equity Assistance Centers. The money would, in part, “provide resources and training to combat issues such as hate crimes, implicit bias, racial prejudice, and bullying.” Region 1 would be served by the SPLC under the umbrella of the Mid-Atlantic Equity Consortium Inc. So, taxpayers are now effectively funding agitprop data-gathering that accuses anyone who supported Trump of committing crimes against humanity, and the SPLC will continue this work until your tax dollars run out.

CONCLUSION

With the invention of the “Trump Effect,” the SPLC has finally bypassed the criminal justice system and its insistence on actually investigating the validity of reports of hate. They are liberated from the burden of proving that a “hate incident,” or even any fleeting hint of micro-aggression (let alone a crime), actually occurred. SPLC researchers and their education partners now use the excuse of researching the Trump Effect to bring their politics into classrooms in the name of conducting research on students “traumatized” by Trump’s victory.

The “Trump Effect” reports do not merely represent a new low in leftist political bias masquerading as opposition research on hate groups: They mark a frightening step in the psychological manipulation of even very young children in classroom settings to achieve the political ambitions of radical leftists. The act of researching the Trump Effect itself is an instance of political activism imposed on captive schoolchildren by the SPLC. ■

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



IF OBAMACARE IS HURTING YOU, THERE ARE ALTERNATIVES

By Kevin Boyd

Summary: Controversy continues to swirl around Obamacare and its problems. The scariest issue: the skyrocketing costs many Americans will face this year. But there are real alternatives, including some private-sector efforts that harken back to the mutual aid societies that once flourished in the U.S.

The Affordable Care Act, aka Obamacare, has transformed American healthcare. Some of these changes have benefitted some Americans, but the Act's vast expansion of the welfare state has stuck many other Americans with the bill. Recently, news broke that Obamacare premiums are set to increase by 22 percent. That is a significant burden for many families. Concerns continue to grow that Obamacare is not affordable for middle class families.

Obamacare includes an "individual mandate" that requires most Americans to have health insurance or pay a penalty. The amount of the penalty is 2.5% of the total household adjusted gross income. That can be a big chunk of change, yet for many Americans paying the penalty could be a better deal than purchasing the high-end insurance Obamacare demands.

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If you decide it's cheaper to take the Obamacare penalty, you have two choices. You can hope you don't get sick or you can buy short-term health insurance.

If you decide it's cheaper in the end to take the Obamacare penalty, you have two choices. You can hope you don't get sick or you can buy short-term health insurance. Short-term health insurance is the closest thing out there to pre-Obamacare health insurance. For example, short-term health insurance provides no coverage for pre-existing conditions, and it also does not cover as much as Obamacare-compliant health insurance plans do. For



Knights and Ladies of Security pin button, created between 1896 and 1919. Mutual aid was a foundation of social welfare in the United States until the early 20th Century. Early societies not only shared material resources, but often advanced social values related to self-reliance and moral character. Credit: Junkyardsparkle, 2016. License: <https://goo.gl/pOiG11>.

example, many short-term plans may not cover things such as preventative care, mental health services, and maternity care. Short-term plans also require patients to enroll again every time a plan expires. Finally, you're still liable to pay the ACA's individual mandate.

Even with Obamacare, doctors are working to find ways to provide affordable care to their patients. Many of these same doctors are working to deliver care without dealing with the bureaucracies that insurance companies working under government mandates have set up.

For example, "cash clinics" have exploded over the past few years. These medical clinics take only cash and/or credit

Kevin Boyd is a writer in Washington, D.C.

cards but do not accept or submit insurance claims, and they do not work with any health insurance companies (although patients can try asking their own insurance company to reimburse them for expenses incurred at cash clinics). Unlike most healthcare providers, cash clinics are upfront with their pricing. And since they have to compete with more conventional clinics, cash clinics have an incentive to keep costs down.

Cash clinics may be an adequate option for everything except emergency care. But buying short-term insurance still doesn't prevent you from being whacked by Obamacare's fines. Is there a solution for those who want to completely opt out of Obamacare?



Liberty Healthshare logo. <https://goo.gl/gnR0mF>.

HEALTH SHARES

Over the past few years, so-called “health shares” have become popular. They are run by religious organizations. The most popular one is called Liberty HealthShare, run by Gospel Light Mennonite Church Medical Aid Plan, Inc. With health-sharing, members pay monthly “contributions” that go into their “share box,” and when a member submits an eligible bill, it is paid out of multiple members’ share boxes. In other words, health-sharing functions more or less like a conventional insurance program, but it technically is not insurance.

For example, unlike a typical Obamacare health insurance program, Liberty HealthShare can not only turn down applicants because of health conditions, it can also turn down applicants if they do not agree with Liberty HealthShare’s shared values. Here are some principles on the group’s Statement of Shared Beliefs that Liberty HealthShare requires their members to agree with:

- We believe that our personal rights and liberties originate from God and are bestowed on us by God, and are not concessions granted to us by govern-



Liberty Healthcare promo. <https://goo.gl/cNTDys>.

ments or men.

- We believe every individual has a fundamental religious right to worship the God of the Bible in his or her own way.
- We believe it is our biblical and ethical obligation to assist our fellow man when they are in need according to our available resources and opportunity.
- We believe it is our spiritual duty to God and our ethical duty to others to maintain a healthy lifestyle and avoid foods, behaviors, or habits that produce sickness or disease.
- We believe it is our fundamental right of conscience to direct our own healthcare, in consultation with physicians, family or other valued advisors, free from government dictates, restraints, and oversight.

If Liberty HealthShare applicants are overweight or suffer from manageable pre-existing conditions, they will be asked to agree to enroll in Health Trac. In exchange for paying an additional fee, Health Trac enrollees work with a coach to make lifestyle choices such as changing diets and setting realistic goals. Participants are required to contact their coach at least once a month, but they have access to their coach at their convenience. Finally, once the health goals are achieved, the participant can leave the program.

Most importantly, members of Liberty HealthShare and other religion-based organizations do not have to pay Obamacare fines. Yet that has not stopped some state regulators from trying to outlaw them.

The concept of health sharing is not much different from the “mutual aid” societies that existed before the welfare state. In exchange for monthly dues, the organization would cover medical expenses and other benefits. It would also

help members find a job if they became unemployed, and it would discipline members who neglected their families and other responsibilities.

Many of these societies had local lodges that had formal meetings. Members—who were often poorly educated—were taught at the meetings to balance books, keep minutes, and do other tasks required to hold meetings. The gatherings and the education received at them gave members self-respect in a society where they often had no power. Most importantly, they gave their members a

sense of community. Health sharing networks like Liberty HealthShare try to do the same.

In short, persons who do not want to participate in Obamacare can find ways to opt-out of the system even before it is fully repealed. Many of these opt-outs could lay the foundation for an entirely new healthcare system.

Read previous articles from the *Doing Good* series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/doing-good/.

GOVERNMENT

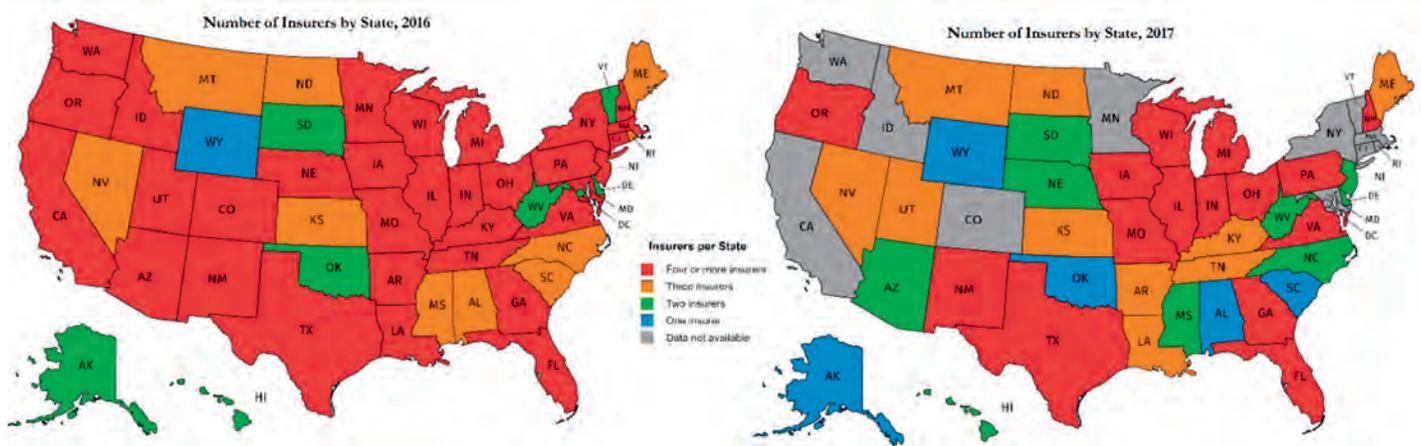
The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, commonly known as Obamacare, has been criticized since before it became law, when then-Speaker Nancy Pelosi claimed, “we have to pass the bill so that you can find out what’s in it.” That was back in March 2010. Six years later, Obamacare has turned out to be the disaster that critics of statism expected.

In 2016, most states were home to four or more insurance companies within the healthcare exchange. But many insurers across the country have dropped out of the exchanges for 2017, as the nearby map graphically indicates. While 32 states in 2016 had four or more insurers participating in their exchanges, that number collapsed to 15 states in 2017.

In 2016, Wyoming was the only state to have just one insurance company participate in the Obamacare exchange. In 2017, Alabama, Alaska, Oklahoma, and South Carolina

will join Wyoming in having just one insurer participate in the state’s exchange. So much for “if you like your doctor, you can keep your doctor.”

Not only have options dwindled, prices have skyrocketed. The map nearby shows the percentage change in monthly premium prices for the second lowest cost silver-level plan in each state. For the lucky few living in Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Rhode Island, prices are dropping by 5 percent at most. Somewhat fortunate are the residents of the states in purple, who will see their premiums increase by less than 10 percent. In the remaining 32 states and the District of Columbia, prices will be rising by 10 percent or more. In five states, premiums will be increasing by over 50 percent: Alabama (71 percent), Arizona (145 percent), Minnesota (55 percent), Oklahoma (67 percent), and Pennsylvania (51 percent).





SHARPTON AND THE UNIONS

Trading political favors and fighting for bigger government

By Carl F. Horowitz

Summary: As we reported in the October 2015 Labor Watch, the Reverend Al Sharpton has been, for more than three decades, a key figure in extremist politics and in hoaxes that have had a major impact on American politics. He has become one of the most influential people in the country, with close ties to New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio and to President Obama, and to the nation's top labor unions. In this follow-up report, frequent Capital Research Center contributor Carl F. Horowitz goes inside a conference that brought Sharpton's organization together with union officials.

In this country, labor unions are the principal engine of egalitarian economics and its most potent political vehicle, the Democratic Party. And as the party platform heavily overlaps with black-identity politics, union leaders have become prominent supporters of "civil rights" demagogue Al Sharpton and his New York City-based nonprofit group, National Action Network (NAN).

The union-"civil rights" bond was in clear evidence earlier this year at Manhattan's Sheraton Times Square Hotel in the form of a discussion panel, "The State of American Labor Unions Today," one of nearly 30 held during the NAN annual convention. The speakers gave



Justice For All DC Rally And March, 2014. Photo: Stephen Melkisetian. License: <https://goo.gl/EbSw6e>.



AFGE with Joan Fitz-Gerald, 2008. Photo: Kate Rosenbarger. License: <https://goo.gl/LcxH4a>.

the overwhelmingly black audience of about 100 people ammunition for more union organizing, government programs, and "anti-racist" activism.

Organized labor and black civil rights long have marched hand in hand, literally as well as figuratively. Al Sharpton knows this. And he knows many labor leaders across the nation on a first-name basis. That's why one of the panels of the latest NAN extravaganza consisted of partisan union officials and their allies. Black Americans have a greater tendency to be unionized than other persons. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 13.6 percent of all U.S. black workers in 2015 belonged to a labor union. The respective percentages for whites, Asians, and Hispanics were 10.8 percent, 9.8 percent and 9.4 percent.

The principal speaker on the panel was J. David Cox, national president of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE). Cox, whose Washington, D.C.-based union represents roughly 675,000 federal and

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In this country, labor unions are the principal engine of egalitarian economics and its most potent political vehicle, the Democratic Party.

District of Columbia government workers, expressed the belief that most social problems in this country could be solved with large increases in union membership. Unions, he argued, drive human progress more than any one type of institution. Moreover, they are natural allies of racial minorities and women. Cox stridently denounced the recent challenge by Rebecca Friedrichs and her co-plaintiff teachers to the public-sector union practice of forcing nonmember workers to pay partial dues (“agency fees”). (A victory by Rebecca Friedrichs would likely have crippled government-employee unions. Justice Antonin Scalia had been widely expected to provide the fifth vote in favor of Friedrichs, but he died in February 2016. In March,



Demonstration at Fort. Gordon-March 2016. Photo: Vyzzion Photography. License: <https://goo.gl/E0ZweQ>.

the Supreme Court deadlocked at 4-4, effectively letting stand a federal appeals court dismissal of the case. The new president, Donald Trump, has pledged to fill the Supreme Court vacancy with someone whose views are similar to Scalia’s, so the Court may have another opportunity to examine the issues in the case.)

Cox’s combativeness was reflected in the comments of others on the NAN panel. Jill Furillo, executive director of the New York State Nurses Association, spoke of her organization’s successful campaign to prevent hospital closings, singling out National Action Network for praise



Striking Verizon workers outside of a Verizon Wireless store near Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, 2016. Photo: Paul Weaver. License: <https://goo.gl/tfe2ij>.

in siding with union workers. She declared: “We must be advocates for communities.” Brianne Gorod, chief counsel for the hard-Left Washington, D.C.-based nonprofit legal group, the Constitutional Accountability Center, echoed union positions on economic issues. “It’s time to give America a raise,” Gorod said. “People need a raise, whether or not they belong to a union.” Like Cox, she expressed relief over the Supreme Court non-ruling in *Friedrichs* and anger over the plaintiffs even being given legal standing.

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The interests of public-sector labor chieftains and National Action Network are, for all intents and purposes, identical.

There was more. Henry Garrido, executive director of the New York City-based American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 37, bellowed: “There is an open war on labor in this country.” As an example, he cited the recent passage by the State of West Virginia of a Right to Work law designed to protect private-sector workers from making mandatory dues or other payments to unions. The Right to Work idea, the AFSCME leader added, was originated decades ago by a “white racist.” Garrido also skewered the widely loathed (by unions) Wisconsin public-sector reform law of 2011, claiming, without attribution, that it has led to drastic cuts in wages and benefits, and a doubling of fatal workplace accidents. Shane Harris, a black San Diego pastor and head of the National Action Network chapter in that city, offered loud if not necessarily persuasive commentary, arguing that

unions should be seen as human rights organizations, and not simply labor organizations. Unions, emphasized Harris, are a reflection of a struggle for justice in every aspect of life and thus require everyone's full support.

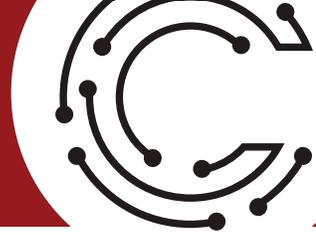
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Thanks to union support, Reverend Al and his allies are more equipped than ever to launch misleading campaigns against white “racists.”

The panel might have produced even more fireworks had a pair of invited speakers shown up. The would-be attendees were Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and George Gresham, president of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 1199, the latter now representing more than 400,000 workers in New York City and elsewhere in mainly northeast states. These are two of the most powerful union leaders in the country. The AFT, more than any labor organization, supported Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign of 2008. And it worked overtime to get her elected in 2016. SEIU Local 1199 also provided crucial help on behalf of the Obama White House in securing congressional passage of the Affordable Care Act of 2010 (“Obamacare”).

The interests of public-sector labor chieftains and National Action Network are, for all intents and purposes, identical. That's why the AFGE, AFSCME, AFT, SEIU and New York State Nurses Association each helped bankroll the NAN convention this April. And, no coincidence, that's why NAN set up a labor issues panel for top representatives of these very organizations. Unions, especially public-sector unions, are moving ever further leftward, especially on racial issues. Al Sharpton knows who his friends are. Thanks to union support, Reverend Al and his allies are more equipped than ever to launch misleading campaigns against white “racists.” All to the benefit of the National Action Network and its political allies. ■

Read previous articles from the *Labor Watch* series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/labor-watch/.



THE RHODE ISLAND COMMUNITY FOUNDATION AT THE CENTURY MARK

By Kevin Mooney

Summary: *The Rhode Island Community Foundation, which turned 100 years old last year, is a massive hub of activity in a tiny state. The problem is its grant-making focuses on causes dear to the Left, in betrayal of its founders' intentions.*

Ask Rhode Islanders what they are most proud of and they will tell you that the smallest state in the Union occupies a special place in America's history. Rhode Island was the first colony to declare its independence from the British crown, but the last state to ratify the U.S. Constitution. In fact, Rhode Island boycotted the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and refused to ratify the U.S. Constitution until after the Bill of Rights was added.

Nicknamed the Ocean State because of its many bays and inlets that let in the Atlantic Ocean, Rhode Island (full name: the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations) has a story to tell about the way that laudable charitable efforts have been converted over time to finance left-of-center crusades. As it turns out, the policies advocated in these crusades are often at odds with the convictions of the state's citizens today and with the benefactors who originally endowed the foundation. (See the extensive writings of Capital Research Center's senior fellow Martin Morse Wooster on the betrayal of "donor intent." The fourth edition of his seminal book, *The Great Philanthropists and the Problem of 'Donor Intent,'* will be published by CRC later this year.)

Unfortunately, the betrayal of donor intent in favor of radical politics is an all-too-familiar story for Americans devoted to constitutionally limited government who struggle to resist a well-funded network of left-wing organizations. But it's a story that the Ocean State is well-positioned to tell through the Rhode Island Community Foundation (which also does business simply as the Rhode Island Foundation) now that it has passed the 100-year mark.

On June 13, 1916, a small group of prominent citizens gathered at the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Building to establish the Rhode Island Community Foundation.



The Rhode Island Foundation (rear of the building). Credit: Matt, 2008. License: <https://goo.gl/HsA61s>.

According to the foundation, "It was modeled after the first community foundation established in Cleveland two years earlier. 'There is a growing belief that the charitable problems of each generation can better be, and should be, solved by the best minds of each generation,' the founders wrote."

The key player at this meeting was Jesse H. Metcalf, a wealthy industrialist from Providence who would later be elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican representing Rhode Island from 1924 to 1937. Metcalf's initial donation of \$10,000 gave life to the foundation in 1916 as a small charitable trust.

But today, with \$792 million in assets, the foundation bills itself as Rhode Island's largest grantmaker, awarding more than \$40 million a year, according to its annual reports. In 2015 it gave away \$41.5 million in grants and took in \$43 million in donations. Last year, in honor of its 100th anniversary, the foundation gave Centennial Community

Kevin Mooney, a frequent CRC contributor, is an investigative reporter for The Daily Signal.

Grants to fund community-building activities in every city and town in the state. The foundation is also leading a \$10 million campaign to preserve Roger Williams Park, a lush and spacious city park named after the colony's founder that covers more than 400 acres in Providence.

So far, so good. Metcalf would be pleased.

But not all of the foundation's donations have been funneled in the direction of benign, charitable causes. Recent IRS filings show the philanthropy has directed much of its funding to left-of-center organizations, with a particular emphasis on green groups that support so-called sustainable development exercises connected with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the United Nations. The foundation has also made substantial contributions to organizations some Ocean State residents describe as "anti-capitalist" and "anti-free market," and has a penchant for supporting outfits devoted to the dubious abstraction known as social justice.

Judging from the Foreword in a booklet the foundation circulated at the time of its inception to describe its charitable mission, the Rhode Island citizens who gathered with Metcalf at the Hospital Trust Co. a century ago seem like they would have been more inclined to support ideologically neutral community development programs than the left-wing causes that have burrowed into the foundation today. The Foreword reads in part:

Many persons conscious of their obligations to the community and state, desire to make gifts, large or small for the public advantage, during their lifetime, or by means of devise or request by will. They often find difficulty, however, in selecting objects for their generosity which are enduring in their nature and which they may be assured will permanently receive safe, economical and intelligent management. To aid such persons the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company has prepared a plan to be known as the Rhode Island Foundation, under which it will become a trustee of such funds as may be placed in its charge with this purpose in view, and which it offers for consideration....

The trustees described the foundation's mission as one rooted in the "upbuilding of Rhode Island—the strengthening of philanthropy, the relief of distress, and the conserving of resources, which might otherwise be dissipated."

But the trustees also made clear that the foundation "will have a varied field for its helpful activities" and that it "may



Tea party float. Credit: H.C. Williams, 2009. License: <https://goo.gl/6vFR8M>.

aid permanent enterprises of a charitable or humanitarian character" and provide emergency funds in time of need.

Challenges and needs change over time. So, it was certainly reasonable to provide the foundation with something in the way of latitude going forward. But it's also evident from this document that the foundation was conceived and organized in apolitical terms with an eye toward the broad public interest as opposed to narrow special interests.

RHODE ISLAND POLITICS

Since the Great Depression, Rhode Island has been a reliably Democratic state—Hillary Clinton won 54.4 percent of the state's popular vote versus Donald Trump's 38.9 percent. But there is at least one important caveat: As of April 2016, most voters were unaffiliated with either major political party, according to the voter database in the secretary of state's office. There are 380,000 unaffiliated voters, 295,000 Democrats, and 78,000 Republicans.

A 2012 analysis of Rhode Island politics by Micah Cohen declared "Rhode Island is the most elastic state, a large swatch of its electorate are persuadable voters unaligned with either political party" (*New York Times*, Oct. 18, 2012).

Today, Rhode Island also plays host to a growing Tea Party movement that draws from a broad cross-section of concerned citizens opposed to big government schemes. Clearly, not everyone in Rhode Island concurs with the public policy orientation of the liberal organizations that receive generous sums of money from the foundation.

Hundreds of Ocean State Tea Party activists have turned

out in force each year on Tax Day at the Rhode Island State House in Providence to protest higher taxes. Another top priority of the RI Tea Party is to galvanize citizen opposition to a “sustainable development,” “smart growth” plan known as RhodeMap Rhode Island.

HUD provided the initial funding for RhodeMap RI through a Sustainable Communities Regional Planning Grant in 2011. In this effort HUD has partnered with the EPA and the U.S. Department of Transportation. The Rhode Island Division of Planning is responsible for administering RhodeMap RI, which it describes as a statewide strategy to bolster the economy and meet “current and future housing needs” while planning for “future growth through the development of integrated plans and guidance consistent with existing strategies for transportation, land use and environmental protection.”

But within this nebulous jargon about “sustainable development,” Tea Party critics of RhodeMap RI see too large of an opening for big government and centralized planning. Mark Zaccaria, a former chairman of the state Republican Committee, says these concerns are well-grounded, given the “fine print” attached to the HUD grants.

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The ultimate goal is to have something like 75 percent of our land mass go back to wilderness and to pack the population into certain areas with restrictions on the kind of housing that is permitted.

“The ultimate goal is to have something like 75 percent of our land mass go back to wilderness and to pack the population into certain areas with restrictions on the kind of housing that is permitted,” Zaccaria told The Daily Signal, the news site of the Heritage Foundation. “There’s also a certain emphasis on public transportation, which means personal, individual transportation means like automobiles are now considered a bad thing, and you’re going to see taxes and regulations on automobiles.”

Since the foundation is “populated with liberals” who support centralized planning under the guise of “sustainable development,” Zaccaria suspects that any group committed

to advancing this political agenda will find it is eligible for financial support. And in truth, Earthjustice, EcoRI News, the Climate Action Network, the Environment Council of Rhode Island, the Environmental Justice League of Rhode Island, and Grow Smart Rhode Island have each received tens of thousands of dollars in donations from the foundation in recent years, according to IRS filings.

In 2013, Earthjustice received \$10,000, EcoRI News received more than \$30,000, the Environment Council of Rhode Island received more than \$29,000, the Environmental Justice League of Rhode Island received more than \$70,000, and Grow Smart Rhode Island received \$112,000. In 2014, the Environment Council of RI received more than \$140,000 and Grow Smart received more than \$114,000.

The contributions to Grow Smart RI cry out for special scrutiny, because that nonprofit has emerged as a high-profile supporter of RhodeMap RI. Grow Smart is built around a coalition of business leaders, religious leaders, university presidents, builders, realtors, historic preservationists, environmentalists, affordable housing experts, and municipal planners who all have a vested interest in “sustainable and equitable economic growth.”

WHAT IS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

So what exactly is meant by “sustainable development”? Why are the grantmakers inside the Rhode Island Community Foundation and the political figures in the Rhode Island General Assembly so keen on the idea? And what are the ramifications for communities in Rhode Island that adopt “smart growth” plans within the framework of sustainable development?

Bonner Cohen, a senior fellow with the National Center for Public Policy Research, has some insights. The concept of sustainable development, he explains, was first introduced as part of “Agenda 21,” the 800-page global warming blueprint adopted at the U.N. Conference on Environmental Development at Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. But the blueprint dances around a specific definition.

“The lack of any clear understanding of what is and is not sustainable bestows a huge amount of discretionary power in the hands of regulators and other government officials acting in accord with a term whose meaning is withheld from the public,” Cohen warns. He adds:

Smart growth is a sub-set of sustainable develop-

ment. The former is primarily concerned with land use and transportation in urban, suburban, exurban, and, more recently, rural areas. Sustainable development covers a broad spectrum of issues, including, smart growth, agriculture, energy, building codes and building materials, “sustainable” manufacture of products sold in retail outlets, “green” chemicals, etc.

Mike Puyana, president of the Rhode Island Tea Party, has expressed concern that the “smart growth” schemes that the foundation continues to fund are designed to “push people out of rural areas and into more highly concentrated, densely packed urbanized communities.”

He has good cause for concern, because that kind of coerced urbanization is precisely what former Governor Lincoln Chafee’s “Land Use 2025” plan envisioned and what his successor continues to pursue. The portion of the document that deals with urbanization should most concern Rhode Islanders:

This pattern of lowdensity, largelot, singleuse and scattered sprawl development unnecessarily consumes vast natural resources, requires redundant taxpayer investments in facilities and infrastructure and is not sustainable. Land Use 2025 established an Urban Services Boundary (USB) that covers areas of the state with existing infrastructure resources and traditional population centers. It also built on the concept of growth centers—areas within and outside the USB that can be the target of denser development at rural, suburban and urban scales....”

In the name of “sustainable development” and its close cousin “smart growth,” Chafee’s government favored “a more efficient pattern of land use” built around “growth centers” as an alternative to “sprawl.”

This vision has carried over into the administration of Governor Gina Raimondo (D). But as the Rhode Island Tea Party makes clear, not everyone is on board with centralized planning from Providence and Washington, D.C. Unfortunately for Puyana and other Tea Party supporters, the foundation’s big-government policy preferences do not end with RhodeMap RI.

COVERT LEFTIST GRANTS

Other left-leaning recipients of the foundation’s largess include Planned Parenthood branches in Rhode Island and Massachusetts; Direct Action for Rights and Equality, an anti-capitalist “social justice” group; the Economic Progress Institute, a Rhode Island-based progressive research group;

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The foundation is adept at couching its donations in the language of community service that camouflages any political overtones.

and the Rhode Island Coalition Against Gun Violence, which seeks new gun controls.

While each of these grant recipients pursues overt policy goals, the foundation is adept at couching its donations in the language of community service that camouflages any political overtones. In a June 2015 press release that discussed a \$250,000 grant program, Neil Steinberg, the foundation’s president and CEO, said, “Supporting the development of a comprehensive primary care system that promotes healthy lives is a core strategic initiative for us. These grants will further our ongoing efforts to make quality health care more accessible and affordable across the state.”

Who can object to that?

But what does it mean in practice? Well, Planned Parenthood of Southern New England received \$50,000 from the foundation as part of this particular grant program to “expand its services in Providence to include certain forms of primary care to better serve the community.” Tax records from 2014 show Planned Parenthood of Southern New England received more than \$65,000 from the foundation that year.

Another clearly left-wing grantee is Direct Action for Rights and Equality, which is based in Providence and claims to advocate on behalf of “poor and working class families, people of color, oppressed nationalities including immigrants regardless of documentation status, women, LGBTQ community members and youth.” Direct Action also “fights against” capitalism, which it describes as “oppression of the poor and working class by the rich and ruling class.” In 2013, Direct Action received \$23,500 from the foundation, which apparently does not count as part of the rich and ruling class, even though it enjoys assets of upwards of a billion dollars and its president receives annual compensation over \$500,000.

Yet another grantee fighting hard for a left-wing political agenda is the Economic Progress Institute, which testified

on behalf of legislation for a carbon tax, a higher minimum wage, increased unemployment benefits, penalties on employers for “wage theft,” and drivers’ licenses for illegal aliens. It received more than \$65,000 from the foundation in 2013 and more than \$105,000 in 2014.

A CONDUIT FOR TAXPAYER-FUNDED LEFTISM

While everyone in Rhode Island is entitled to their own political beliefs, Tea Party activists argue that tax dollars shouldn’t be used to advocate for policy choices that run counter to many taxpayers’ convictions. But government records show the Rhode Island Community Foundation has received roughly \$600,000 from the state’s Office of the Health Insurance Commissioner since 2013, causing Puyana, the Tea Party group president, to complain that the foundation is a conduit for taxpayer-funded leftism.

“The Rhode Island Foundation is getting hundreds of thousands of dollars in taxpayer money, and that includes my money, and the money of other taxpayers, which are going to support groups and causes that I would never voluntarily donate my money to and that many other taxpayers would never voluntarily donate their money to. Many of us agree that this money is going to support an agenda we don’t think is in Rhode Island’s best interests,” he says.

“Take a good, hard look at the groups the foundation is funding, and you will see it is a who’s who list of every loony left entity that is out there.”

After The Daily Signal ran a news story in January 2016 calling attention to the connection between the foundation and taxpayer funds, a spokesman for the foundation told local media outlets that the foundation did not actually benefit from taxpayer funding and was instead just a “pass-through” agent. The \$600,000 figure that can be pulled up on the RI government’s transparency site were grants made out to an entity called the Rhode Island Chronic Care Sustainability Initiative, the spokesman explained, and the foundation simply served as a fiscal agent.

This explanation was acceptable to WPRI reporter Ted Nesi, who tweeted out the foundation’s spin, and to other local media, but not to Justin Katz, the lead researcher for the Rhode Island Center for Freedom and Prosperity, a free-market think tank.

If the foundation were simply a “pass-through,” it should be simple to find a nonprofit other than the foundation which received the money. But as Katz points out in a blog post, a

GuideStar search of listings for the Rhode Island Chronic Care Sustainability Initiative (CSI-RI) produces no results and neither does a search of the secretary of state’s corporate database.

Moreover, a fact sheet available through the state Office of the Health Insurance Commissioner describes the initiative as a program, not an organization, administered by the Rhode Island Community Foundation. Katz also asked for and received documents related to the grants from the state health commissioner’s office to the foundation.

“A review of the 75-page Access to Public Records Act (APRA) response does not leave the reader with the impression that the Rhode Island Foundation is simply a pass-through entity processing payments for some other organization,” Katz wrote.

“The official contract and invoice language acknowledges that the foundation is the sole fiduciary for the CSI-RI, but that fact is presented as a reason that the Foundation should be awarded a no bid contract.”

The language of the agreement demonstrates that the foundation was hired on behalf of CSI-RI to complete a series of tasks, Katz concludes. Furthermore, these tasks are described as “RIF Activities” for which the foundation is invoicing the state.

So it’s clear the foundation is benefiting from taxpayer funds in some form.

What should Rhode Island taxpayers who object to RhodeMap RI and other left-wing initiatives make of the spin from the foundation?

“Watching progressives, like those who run the Rhode Island Foundation, operate raises the question of whether they’re knowingly manipulating the system or truly can’t see that what they’re doing is unfair and wrong,” Katz says. “One gets the sense that they’re sincere, but that they’re operating under the same rules as a theocracy. They think their beliefs are objectively correct and that their actions are true charity that is legitimately imposed on taxpayers.”

Katz continued:

“Of course, the standard is completely different for those who start from conflicting assumptions. That which they see as charity is treated as if it is nakedly political, and often an outright attempt to undermine people’s rights.”



Welcome to Rhode Island. Credit: Taber Andrew Bain, 2004.
License: <https://goo.gl/CfXeL6>.

GETTING COZY WITH GOV. RAIMONDO?

The Rhode Island Community Foundation provided partial funding for a \$1.3 million study from the Brookings Institution, a left-leaning think tank in Washington D.C. which some free-market critics see as an extension of RhodeMap RI.

The foundation and its team appear at the top of a list of “major stakeholders” consulted for the report entitled, “Rhode Island Innovates,” which was released in January last year. The report identifies seven industries worthy of private and public investment to spur economic growth in the Ocean State, namely, biomedical innovation; information technology software, cyberphysical systems, and data analytics; defense shipbuilding and maritime; advanced business services; design, food, and custom manufacturing; transportation, distribution, and logistics; and arts, education, hospitality, and tourism. But here’s the kicker: Brookings recommends public and private spending in those areas totaling, and possibly exceeding, \$100 million.

Mike Stenhouse, CEO of the RI Center for Freedom and Prosperity, describes the Brookings plan as “trickle-down socialism.” The governor, the Rhode Island Community Foundation, and Brookings have conspired to create a “big-government set of recommendations” that will only lay more burdens on the state’s already beleaguered taxpayer’s, Stenhouse warned in an op-ed for the *Providence Journal*.

“Rhode Islanders do not want more of the same special interest deals that have dragged down our economy for

decades,” Stenhouse wrote.

“We do not want state government controlling major industries via a complex system of socialized tax giveaways. Conversely, we need broad market-based reforms that put every family and business owner on a level and more competitive playing field, both in-state and regionally, with a better chance to improve the quality of their lives. This is the philosophical difference between a big-government and a free-enterprise approach.”

Chris Barnett, a spokesman for the Rhode Island Community Foundation, has defended his organization’s support for left-of-center outfits that attract Tea Party-type critics. “In a state with one million people, we’re sure even someone who finds fault with one of our investments still benefits from our work in many ways,” he has reassured the media.

Stenhouse, the Center’s CEO, does credit the foundation for many of the efforts built around its centennial celebration, such as the restoration of the Roger Williams Park. But he also sees the Left operating at any unfair financial advantage, thanks in no small part to the foundation.

“It is a conflict of interest to push public policy when you are receiving public funds,” Stenhouse says. “It is difficult for a free-market think tank like ours to sustain itself in Rhode Island, and we work very hard at development and it’s dispiriting to see left-wing groups automatically qualify for large grants from the foundation.”

THE GASPEE AFFAIR

Political activists who pine for a return to constitutional government in Rhode Island invoke the “Gaspee Affair,” which served as a catalyst for the American Revolution. The HMS *Gaspee* was a British customs schooner involved in anti-smuggling operations. After the *Gaspee* ran aground in shallow water on June 9, 1772, a group known as the “Sons of Liberty” attacked the ship and set fire to it. The burning of the *Gaspee* took place near the city of Warwick at what is now known as Gaspee Point. The episode didn’t go over well with the British, who wanted the “Sons of Liberty” to stand trial in England. No arrests were made, but the threat to send Americans to trial in England sparked protests throughout the colonies.

Today, two new 501(c)(4) organizations seek to honor that legacy. One is the Gaspee Project, which is open to average citizens, and the other is the Gaspee Business Network, focused on business owners. The Gaspee Project is closely



Political activists who pine for a return to constitutional government in Rhode Island invoke the “Gaspee Affair,” which served as a catalyst for the American Revolution.

aligned with the Property Rights Activists of Rhode Island, an anti-*Agenda 21* group, and the Beachhead Organization, a group of volunteers ready to respond quickly to sudden events.

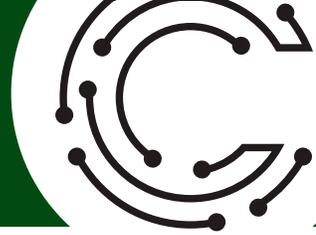
“The Rhode Island Tea Party is augmented by all these groups,” says Zaccaria, the former GOP chair who is now a candidate for the state House of Representatives.

Many of us who are connected to the Gaspee groups and the property rights group are also connected to the Republican Party, the Libertarian Party, the Rhode Island Sportsmen’s Federation, and groups such as Common Cause and Operation Clean Government. As a practical matter, this means any center-right group has a core group of as many as 200 people who all know each other from each such outing.

Can modern revolutionaries level the playing field with the well-funded network of left-wing groups that benefit from the Rhode Island Community Foundation’s largess? For starters, Stenhouse would like to see the “tight, cozy” relationship between the foundation, the governor, and the Brookings Institution attract greater scrutiny, because it raises questions about the proper role of a nonprofit charitable organization.

If Stenhouse and company can exert enough pressure to push the foundation back in the direction of its original mission as outlined in June 1916, then perhaps the smallest state in the Union can spark another revolution. ■

Read previous articles from the *Foundation Watch* series online at www.CapitalResearch.org/category/foundation-watch/.



WE WON'T ALWAYS HAVE PARIS

The climate treaty reveals global elites' dishonesty, extremism, and lack of intelligence
By Dr. Steven J. Allen

The Paris climate treaty gives us a window into the thinking of the politicians and bureaucrats who cobbled it together.

It's a treaty, committing the world's governments to decisive action, supposedly against climate change. It's also not a treaty, so that President Obama can bind the United States to it with the stroke of his pen. It's binding on the new president, Donald Trump, and on future presidents because it's a treaty, although it's not. It is the law of the land, because the U.S. Senate somehow approved it by a two-thirds vote without ever actually voting on it, and even though most Senators have been and are against it. That's because it's merely an extension of an old treaty that the Senate ratified specifically on the ground that it couldn't be thus extended and represents a commitment that the Senate declared unanimously must not be made.

The decisive action promised in the treaty that is not a treaty consists of governments, most of them run by dictators and thieves, promising, on an honor system, to take steps of their own choosing, including steps that are impossible, to change future weather patterns, and then coming up with ways by which they can measure their own progress and hold themselves accountable by their own standards for the promises they have made, on penalty of no punishment if they break their word.

But that's OK, because the fact that the treaty imposes no penalties for breaking it means that it has no real effect, and, therefore, it's not a treaty and doesn't have to be ratified by the U.S. Senate.

It doesn't really have much to do with climate change or with the extreme weather that was predicted from a degree of climate change that hasn't actually happened but at some point might start happening in the past. Mainly, it's about taking money from taxpayers and consumers and businesspeople and electricity ratepayers and giving it to crony capitalists, and taking money from people in relatively successful countries and giving that money to rich people in poor countries, to the benefit of members of governing elites who support the Paris deal for the good of humanity and not at all because they expect to line their pockets with it.



Secretary Kerry Delivers a Major Address at COP21 Climate Change Conference in Paris, December 9, 2015. State Department photo.

The Paris climate treaty, or the Paris climate agreement, or whatever it is, is intended by President Barack Obama to be his ultimate legacy, thrust on the world through a partnership between Obama and the Communist Chinese, the world's worst polluters and worst human-rights violators, who really *really* want to be good this time.

If you think the Paris deal is a work of utter imbecility, well, you just don't care about the fate of the planet. Got it?

THE SENATE SAYS NO

The Paris treaty is the result of a process that goes back to a conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. At that conference, called the Earth Summit, negotiators worked out a vague plan that they said they hoped would "stabilize greenhouse gas [GHG] concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic [that is, manmade] interference with the climate system." To that stated purpose, they formalized the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

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The UNFCCC set no national limits on human-caused GHG emissions and no mechanisms for enforcing any mandates for GHG reductions. Rather, it set up a framework for negotiating “protocols” with binding limits. In effect, it was a treaty to make treaties.

The treaty didn’t do anything other than lay the foundation for future treaties. It had no effect on its own. To ensure that there would be no misunderstanding, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee made its position clear, reporting:

On the Climate Change Convention, the Foreign Relations Committee . . . noted that decisions by the parties to adopt targets . . . and timetables for limiting emissions would have [to be] submitted to the Senate for advice and consent. It noted further: that a decision by the executive branch to reinterpret the Convention to apply legally binding targets and timetables for reducing emissions of greenhouse gases to the United States would alter the “shared understanding” of the Convention between the Senate and the executive branch and would therefore require the Senate’s advice and consent.

As further insurance against any attempt to pass off the Rio treaty as ratification of a climate regime, the Senate considered the Byrd-Hagel resolution in July 1997. The measure was sponsored by Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), the Senate’s senior Democrat and former Majority Leader, and Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), who would later be President Obama’s secretary of defense. The Byrd-Hagel resolution expressed “the sense of the Senate” regarding the then-upcoming conference related to the UNFCCC, to be held in Kyoto, Japan.

The resolution declared that—

the United States should not be a signatory to any protocol to, or other agreement regarding, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of 1992, at negotiations in Kyoto in December 1997, or thereafter, which would . . . mandate new commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for the Annex I Parties [that is, the relatively successful “developed” countries], unless the protocol or other agreement also mandates new specific scheduled commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for Developing Country Parties [poor countries] within the same compliance period . . .

The resolution also provided that the U.S. should not be a



United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali opened the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development on 3 June 1992. United Nations photo. License: <https://goo.gl/8HNPny>.

signatory to any protocol/agreement that “would result in serious harm to the economy of the United States.”

Another provision of the Byrd-Hagel resolution laid down specific requirements related to the ratification process.

[A]ny such protocol or other agreement which would require the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification should be accompanied by a detailed explanation of any legislation or regulatory actions that may be required to implement the protocol or other agreement and should also be accompanied by an analysis of the detailed financial costs and other impacts on the economy of the United States which would be incurred by the implementation of the protocol or other agreement.

The Byrd-Hagel resolution passed 95 to zero.

Given the 95-to-nothing vote, one might think that the Senate’s advice was pretty clear. The protocol negotiated in Kyoto definitely failed the Senate’s test outlined in the resolution—for example, by imposing legally binding GHG reductions on “developed” countries but not “developing” countries.

Nevertheless, in December 1997, the Clinton administration, represented by Vice President Al Gore, signed the Kyoto Protocol. But President Clinton accepted

the Constitutional requirement that a treaty, to take effect, required a two-thirds vote of the Senate. There was no effort by that president to declare the Kyoto Protocol ratified without a Senate vote.

Sure to lose a ratification vote, President Clinton never submitted that treaty to the Senate, and his successor, President George W. Bush, expressly opposed the treaty, although he failed to withdraw the United States as a signatory. Without the participation of the United States, the Kyoto Protocol entered into force in 2005. Like his predecessors, President Obama declined to submit it to the Senate, not even early in his presidency when Democrats held 60 of 100 seats in the Senate.

In retrospect, following the Constitution was seen by many environmentalists as a mistake on Bill Clinton's part. It was a mistake that Barack Obama did not intend to repeat. He would not let the Constitutional process for treaty ratification stand in his way. And he would not allow the American people to mess things up by, say, electing Donald Trump.

For help, the President turned to the Chinese Communists.

OBAMA + HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS = SUCCESS

How was it possible for the Paris treaty to go into effect in less than a year after it was finalized in December 2015—three years ahead of schedule and faster than any comparable multinational treaty in history? Critical was the pro-treaty alliance of the Obama administration and the Chinese Communists.

On the U.S. side, the Paris deal commits the U.S. to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide 26% to 28% below 2005 levels by 2025. In addition, President Obama promised \$3 billion over four years for the Green Climate Fund, supposedly to benefit the poorer, “developing” countries.

China's Communists promised to reduce emissions starting in 2030, with 20 percent of the nation's electricity coming from non-carbon-based sources by that year. Targeted emissions *relative to the size of the economy* would be reduced by 60-65 percent from the 2005 level (which means the emissions numbers would actually go up until 2030). China pledged only to cause things to happen that, most likely, were going to happen anyway. As noted by Oren Cass of the Manhattan Institute, the U.S. government's Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory had already projected that China's targeted emissions would peak around 2030, and, according to a Bloomberg analysis, the reduction by 2030

relative to the size of the economy is less than what was expected without the Paris treaty.

Lined up together, the U.S. and China could jointly put pressure on the rest of the world.

LIKE A FLASH

After the Paris treaty was finalized, it was approved in a blur. Negotiations were completed on December 12, 2015, and the treaty was opened for signatures on April 22, Earth Day 2016. United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced on October 5 that the agreement had met the threshold (55 countries with 55 percent of the targeted emissions) and would take effect November 4.



In retrospect, following the Constitution was seen by many environmentalists as a mistake on Bill Clinton's part. It was a mistake that Barack Obama did not intend to repeat.

One reason for the rush was that any country that failed to give final approval in time would be shut out of the early process for making rules under the treaty. To participate, they had to be parties before the Conference of Parties, November 7-18, 2016, in Marrakech, Morocco.

More importantly, though, participants in the treaty process understood the need to finish the work before a new president could intervene.

At ThinkProgress, a website closely affiliated with Hillary Clinton's campaign, Natasha Geiling wrote:

The possibility of a Trump presidency actually helped spur countries to ratify the agreement on an accelerated timeline, and the agreement officially went into effect on November 4. The agreement itself includes a clause for withdrawal that requires countries to wait three years after the agreement goes into effect to pull out—from that point, it takes a country a full year to officially leave the agreement. That would mean that, technically, the Paris agreement looks to be Trump-proof, at least through his first term.

A Marrakech participant, Simon Donner, a University of

British Columbia geography professor and environmentalist activist, said, “The [Paris] agreement was in a way designed to be Congress-proof, and now there’s a real push here in Marrakech to put the plan in place in a way that makes it really Trump-proof, so that there’s agreement from other countries that they’re going to take action regardless of what happens in the United States.”

TRUMP: NO WAY

Even if Hillary Clinton were to be elected president, there was reason to hurry, to have the treaty finalized and in force before she took office. That was to give her political cover. With the treaty solidly in place, she would be able to blame Paris commitments for virtually any environmental law or regulation. (“Sorry, coal miners in Pennsylvania, but my hands are tied!”) Federal judges, most of them appointed by Obama or one of the Clintons, and bureaucrats, who are overwhelmingly left-wing and do not answer to the democratic process, would in the Clinton 45 administration enforce all manner of restrictions under the cover of Paris and, if Republicans controlled Congress, would make Congress irrelevant to the process.

On the other hand, in the unlikely (!) event that Donald Trump were elected, it would be necessary to erect obstacles in his path.

In May 2016, Trump addressed energy issues and pledged to dump the Paris treaty. “President Obama entered the United States into the Paris climate accords unilaterally and without the permission of Congress,” said Trump. “This agreement gives foreign bureaucrats control over how much our energy [costs] and how much we use right here in America. So foreign bureaucrats are going to be controlling what we’re using and what we’re doing on our land in our country. No way. No way.”

Said Trump: “We’re going to cancel the zParis climate agreement and stop—unbelievable!—and stop all payments of the United States tax dollars to U.N. Global Warming programs.”

The Paris treaty is ineffectual against the “developing” countries that are increasing their carbon emissions, but it could be a useful tool against a U.S. government led by Donald Trump. The axis of environmentalist groups, bureaucrats, and left-wing judges could use the treaty to thwart Trump, even with Republicans in charge of Congress.

Writing last February, the Competitive Enterprise Institute’s Marlo Lewis (a contributor to Capital Research Center



Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon; Christiana Figueres; Laurent Fabius, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France; and François Hollande, President of France, celebrate after the historic adoption of Paris Agreement on climate change, December 12, 2015. United Nations photo. License: <https://goo.gl/j6J95D>.

publications) warned that the treaty is designed to advance three political objectives:

1. Deter the next president, future Congresses, and even courts from overturning the Environmental Protection Agency’s (EPA) so-called Clean Power Plan (CPP) and other climate regulations, including some not yet proposed, by rebranding those policies as “promises” America has made to the world.
2. Pressure future U.S. policy makers to make increasingly “ambitious” emission-reduction pledges—known as Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs)—every five years starting in 2020, implement those pledges via ever-more stringent regulations, and pony up untold billions in “climate finance”—foreign aid to subsidize “green energy” ventures in developing countries.
3. Make U.S. energy and climate policy increasingly unaccountable to Congress and to the American people, and increasingly beholden to the demands of foreign leaders, multilateral bureaucrats, international pressure groups, and their media allies.

Anne Usher at *Politico*, writing before the election:

Formally speaking, Trump can’t just wave a wand and pull the United States out of the Paris agreement; to leave it officially would require the United States to first wait three years, and then give a one-year notice—effectively putting a withdrawal beyond the next presidential election. Nor could Trump



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry delivers remarks at the 22nd UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of Parties (COP22) in Marrakech, Morocco, on November 16, 2016. State Department photo/Public Domain. <https://go.gl/00G5DZ>.

hope to renegotiate the international climate accord, which was reached by more than 170 countries after nearly 25 years' worth of backroom meetings and formal negotiations. A President Trump would not be able to herd all those diplomats back to the table.

RULES FOR SOME

Keep in mind that the Paris treaty goes directly against the U.S. Senate's Byrd-Hagel resolution of 1997 because of its disproportionate impact on the United States. Largely due to fracking and the increased use of natural gas (which produces less carbon dioxide than equivalent amounts of coal and oil), the U.S. has reduced its artificial carbon dioxide emissions by 13 percent since 2005. While U.S. numbers have gone down, China had a 69 percent increase, and India a 53 percent increase.

India's promise under the Paris treaty was to reduce targeted emissions by 33-35 percent by 2030 compared to 2005, relative to the size of the economy. That promise, even if kept, means that India's targeted emissions might keep going up forever. As with China, India's promise is no more than what was expected to happen, Paris or no Paris. But that didn't stop the Indian government from claiming that, to follow through, it needs \$2.5 trillion from the rest of the world, almost \$2,000 per Indian, an amount almost 25 percent larger than India's economy.

That highlights the reason that the "developing" countries

rushed to sign onto the Paris treaty, and why leaders of those countries proclaim an unshakeable belief in catastrophic manmade Global Warming. There's money to be made, particularly for the elites who will share the bounty.

“*The Paris treaty is ineffectual against the “developing” countries that are increasing their carbon emissions, but it could be a useful tool against a U.S. government led by Donald Trump.*”

The stated rationale for international “climate finance” is that the world's better-off countries attained their wealth largely by exploiting the environment to the detriment of the earth and especially to the detriment of poorer countries. Because of Global Warming, we simply cannot allow the poorer countries to do the same thing we did—so, in fairness, they must be compensated for the harm we have done to them and for the economic growth they must forgo. Also, if “developed” countries push non-carbon sources of energy on “developing” countries, money will flow into the non-carbon energy sector (wind, solar, biofuels, et al.), benefiting both the ruling classes of poorer countries and those who invest in or make their living from non-carbon energy.

Under the Paris treaty the poorer countries were promised more than \$100 billion a year. It was a win-win for everyone except the people paying for it or losing their jobs because of it or being trapped in poverty because of it.

EFFECT AND COST

According to the Heritage Foundation, a greenhouse gas/climate model by the National Center for Atmospheric Research indicates that, if the U.S. eliminated all artificial carbon dioxide emissions, the effect on global temperatures would be less than two-tenths of a degree on the Celsius scale. Eliminating all artificial carbon dioxide emissions throughout the industrialized world would have an effect of less than four-tenths of a degree.

Indeed, if the U.S. were to abide by the Paris treaty in the manner—if it were to be bound by the promises made by President Obama in connection with the treaty—it would cost the U.S. many thousands of jobs. The Heritage Foundation used the National Energy Modeling System 2015, a computer model created by the U.S. Department

of Energy, to project that the Paris treaty would mean, by the year 2035, a loss of nearly 400,000 jobs (including more than 200,000 in manufacturing), a hike of 13-20 percent in household electricity prices, a loss of \$2.5 trillion in the national economy, and an income loss of more than \$20,000 for a typical family of four.

And how much Global Warming would be prevented by the Paris treaty? MIT's Joint Program on the Science and Politics of Global Change calculated the difference in temperature, even if all the world's countries keep the promises they made under the treaty: two-tenths of a degree Celsius. Other calculations put the figure at between one-tenth and two-tenths.

It's not really about the temperature, of course.

When, at an event in April 2015, Todd Stern, President Obama's chief negotiator on the climate change issue, asked Sam Kutesa, president of the U.N. General Assembly, what it would take to get a Paris agreement, Kutesa replied: "Money."

The cost, as reported by Andrew Follett in the *Daily Caller*: perhaps \$12.1 trillion over the next 25 years. When energy efficiency measures are included, the cost could be \$16.5 trillion by 2030, according to projections from the International Energy Agency.

Those numbers represent spending on Global Warming that is greater than the combined income of the world's billion poorest people.

And that cost may be underestimated: English columnist James Delingpole estimates the size of the "climate change industry" at \$1.5 trillion *a year*.

TREATY/NON-TREATY

How do you solve a problem like the Constitution?

"The Obama administration is working to forge a sweeping international climate change agreement to compel nations to cut their planet-warming fossil fuel emissions, but without ratification from Congress," Coral Davenport reported in the *New York Times* in August 2014.

...under the Constitution, a president may enter into a legally binding treaty only if it is approved by a two-thirds majority of the Senate. To sidestep that requirement, President Obama's climate negotiators are devising what they call a "politically binding" deal that would "name and shame" countries into

cutting their emissions....

"There's a strong understanding of the difficulties of the U.S. situation, and a willingness to work with the U.S. to get out of the impasse," said Laurence Tubiana, the French ambassador for climate change to the United Nations. "There is an implicit understanding that this not require ratification by the Senate."

American negotiators are instead homing in on a hybrid agreement—a proposal to blend legally binding conditions from an existing 1992 treaty with new voluntary pledges. The mix would create a deal that would update the treaty, and thus, negotiators say, not require a new vote of ratification....

"There's some legal and political magic to this," said Jake Schmidt, an expert in global climate negotiations with the Natural Resources Defense Council, and advocacy group. "They're trying to move this as far as possible without having to reach the 67-vote threshold" in the Senate.

"Magic"—as in "magic trick."

Long before the prospect of Donald Trump as president, the Obama administration recognized Republicans in Congress as a roadblock to a climate regime.

Mr. Obama holds his crosstown adversaries in contempt. Former Obama Defense Secretary Leon Panetta once noted that President Obama saw Republicans in Congress as "people that simply won't—don't wanna do the right thing for the country." So, given his views on the Constitution, why would he let them have a chance to get in his way?

Jonathan S. Tobin wrote in *Commentary* (November 30, 2015):

Why will a pact that will have such a far-reaching impact on the American economy and that will create a vast new federal entitlement not be submitted to Congress for approval? Did someone amend the Constitution while we were dozing and allow the president to conclude treaties on his own without having to submit them, as the Constitution mandates, for the advice and consent of the Senate?

The answer to that question is so painfully obvious that few feel the need to mention it. As Secretary of State John Kerry noted in his testimony to Congress

about the Iran nuclear deal—another treaty that the administration chose not to consider a treaty—it’s just too hard to get 67 votes for something the White House and the foreign policy establishment supports. So rather than do the hard political work of persuading Congress of the wisdom of a pact the president supports, Obama chooses to ignore the Constitution and commit the United States to deals that will impact the lives of ordinary Americans without bespeaking the permission of their representatives and Senators as the Founding Fathers insisted he must....

If a climate treaty that is not called a treaty, but which will place the U.S. under these kinds of onerous obligations is put into effect without even the fig leaf of an approval process, then we will have truly taken a step toward a kind of presidential government that is utterly alien to the model of representative democracy that is the foundation of the American constitutional system.

At such moments, it’s apt to remember that the Article II, Section 2, Clause 2 of the Constitution specifically states that the power of the president to make treaties is specifically limited to those that have the support of two-thirds of the Senate. Moreover, as Alexander Hamilton stated in the Federalist Papers [essays explaining the proposed Constitution], the reason for this provision is that to give to presidents that are no more than “elective magistrates” the “entire power of making treaties” would be to give them the status of a “hereditary monarch.”

Regarding the power to make treaties, Hamilton also wrote, “The history of human conduct does not warrant that exalted opinion of human virtue which would make it wise in a nation to commit interests of so delicate and momentous a kind, as those which concern its intercourse with the rest of the world, to the sole disposal of a magistrate created and circumstanced as would be a President of the United States.... the joint possession of the power in question, by the President and Senate, would afford a greater prospect of security, than the separate possession of it by either of them.”

Former UN Ambassador John Bolton and former George W. Bush Justice Department official John Yoo wrote in a December 1, 2015 *Los Angeles Times* op-ed:

The Obama administration has made contradictory statements about whether a Paris agreement will be binding. Treaties are the most formal international

pacts the U.S. makes. But last month, Secretary of State John F. Kerry said that any deal was “definitively not going to be a treaty.” State Department officials backtracked the next day: “The U.S. is pressing for an agreement that contains both legally binding and non-legally binding provisions.” In the summer, officials said they would negotiate a “politically binding deal.” ...

[Because a climate treaty would be dead on arrival in the U.S. Senate] Obama may try to thread the needle with an executive agreement, which does not involve Senate consent. The U.S. has made roughly 1,100 treaties in its history, but it has made about 18,500 executive agreements—17,300 of them since 1939. While attractive to all presidents, executive agreements rest uneasily under the Constitution, which authorizes treaties only. Nevertheless, in *U.S. vs. Belmont*, the Supreme Court blessed President Franklin Roosevelt’s executive agreement to recognize the Soviet Union. “An international compact, as this was, is not always a treaty which requires the participation of the Senate,” wrote Justice George Sutherland, although he did not explain the difference.

If the Paris treaty is not a treaty, any U.S. obligations under the agreement will cease at noon on January 20, 2017 unless extended by the new president.

And if it *is* a treaty, President Trump may be able to abrogate it as President Bush did with the Antiballistic Missile Treaty in 2002. (A president cannot make a treaty without two-thirds of the Senate, but can unmake one unilaterally.)

President Obama and his State Department think they have ways around this problem. For example, an agreement can be effectively binding if it’s extremely difficult for a new president to extricate himself or herself. Take the Iran nuclear deal: It lifted international sanctions, opening the floodgates for the world’s businesses such as Boeing to line up deals with Iran to such an extent that the re-imposition of sanctions may not be possible. President Trump, an opponent of the Iran deal, may find that, as a practical matter, the deal or major parts of it can’t be undone.

An international agreement might also be considered “politically binding” if the punishment for failing to comply is sufficient to intimidate a country into compliance. Certainly, the U.S. government in the past eight years has been so weak that one can imagine the government complying meekly rather than face sanctions.

Indeed, the threat of anti-U.S. sanctions is in the air. Nicolas Sarkozy, the former president of France who was seeking to return to office, suggested that a carbon tax be imposed on U.S. goods by other countries, “if the United States doesn’t apply environmental rules that we are imposing on our companies.”

“A carbon tariff against the United States is an option for us,” said Rodolfo Lacy Tamayo, Mexico’s under secretary for environmental policy and planning.

Said Dirk Forrister, president and CEO of the International Emissions Trading Organization: “There is no need to start a trade war over climate change. But it might happen.”

However, the Chinese climate negotiator, Liu Zhenmin, walked away from the idea of a carbon trade war, saying that “Addressing climate change should not be an obstacle for promoting trade.”

Another way an agreement can be made “politically binding” is if Congress passes laws in accord with the agreement, such that those laws probably can’t be undone any time soon. Among the impediments to undoing a law is the filibuster, by which 40 U.S. Senators out of 100 can block repeal.

A variation of this technique involves bureaucrats teaming up with advocacy groups and judges to override the will of the people as expressed through their elected officials. Under the technique known as “sue and settle,” interest groups sue friendly bureaucrats to “force” them to do things they want to do but for which they have questionable legal authority. The bureaucrats roll over, declining to defend themselves; then, friendly judges issue orders requiring them to do the things they wanted to do all along.

If bureaucrats, activists, and judges deem that, say, certain environmental regulations are necessary in order for the U.S. to meet its international commitments, they can effectively “ratify” a treaty without going through the Senate.

INEFFECTIVE, SO RATIFICATION NOT NEEDED

In November 2015, French President François Hollande declared that if the Paris treaty “is not legally binding, there is no agreement.” Yet the treaty’s very non-bindingness works to the legal advantage of treaty supporters who claim that it is not a treaty.

One way around the Constitutional requirement for a two-thirds vote in the Senate is to present the treaty as not a treaty

because it is not binding at all. At a previous conference to set up an international climate regime, in Copenhagen in 2009, multiple developing countries refused to accept anything that would bind them in a way that prevents economic development.

Claiming that certain aspects of the Paris treaty can be legally binding even if it’s not a treaty, Todd Stern, the Obama administration’s special envoy for climate change, said, “We support an agreement that’s legally binding in many respects, including the elements of accountability of the agreement, the requirement to put forward a target, to do it with information that clarifies it, the obligation to report and be reviewed on your inventories and the actions you’re taking in order to meet your target. Any number of rules and so forth—so a whole number of elements that are legally binding, but not the target itself.” The argument is that, because the Paris treaty merely requires the disclosure of information and the fulfillment of other minor obligations, it doesn’t rise to the level of commitment that makes it a treaty which the Senate must approve.

UNREAL

In November 2015, as negotiators were finalizing the deal, Oren Cass of the Manhattan Institute wrote in *Politico*:

“This year, in Paris, has to be the year that the world finally reaches an agreement to protect the one planet that we’ve got while we still can,” said U.S. President Barack Obama on his recent trip to Alaska. Miguel Cañete, the EU’s chief negotiator, has warned there is “no Plan B—nothing to follow. This is not just ongoing UN discussions. Paris is final.”

But the more seriously you take the need to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions, the angrier you should be about the plan for Paris. With so much political capital and so many legacies staked to achieving an “agreement” — any agreement — negotiators have opted to pursue one worth less than...well, certainly less than the cost of a two-week summit in a glamorous European capital....

Conventional wisdom holds that negotiators are hashing out a fair allocation of the deep emissions cuts all countries would need to make to limit warming. That image bears little resemblance to reality.

In fact, emissions reductions are barely on the table at all. Instead, the talks are rigged to ensure an agreement is reached regardless of how little action

countries plan to take. The developing world, projected to account for four-fifths of all carbon-dioxide emissions this century, will earn applause for what amounts to a promise to stay on their pre-existing trajectory of emissions-intensive growth.

As noted, under the negotiating framework for Paris, each participating country was required to submit a plan for reducing emissions, called an “Intended Nationally Determined Contribution” (INDC). Oren Cass:

Beyond that, it’s nearly impossible even to evaluate or compare [the plans from different countries]. Developing countries actually blocked a requirement that the plans use a common format and metrics, so an INDC need not even mention emissions levels. Or a country can propose to reduce emissions off a self-defined “business-as-usual” trajectory, essentially deciding how much it wants to emit and then declaring it an “improvement” from the alternative.

To prevent such submissions from being challenged, a group of developing countries led by China and India has rejected “any obligatory review mechanism for increasing individual efforts of developing countries.” And lest pressure nevertheless build on the intransigent, no developing country except Mexico submitted an INDC by the initial deadline of March 31 [2015]—and most either submitted no plan or submitted one only as the final September 30 cut-off approached.

After all this, the final submissions are not enforceable, and carry no consequences beyond “shame” for noncompliance—a fact bizarrely taken for granted by all involved.

Steven Groves and Nicolas Loris of the Heritage Foundation:

even Secretary of State John Kerry admitted during the negotiations last December that, “If all the industrial nations went down to zero emissions—remember what I just said, all the industrial emissions went down to zero emissions—it wouldn’t be enough, not when more than 65 percent of the world’s carbon pollution comes from the developing world.”

The commitments the developing world made during the Paris negotiations cannot be trusted as meaningful carbon dioxide cuts. Nor should they be. The cost of allowing third-world poverty to persist—

and the role that energy development can play in alleviating that poverty—is far clearer, more threatening, and more easily solvable than the vague and unsubstantiated risks posed by carbon emissions.

The pledges are not taken seriously by serious people. Indeed, many “developing” countries—the countries most likely to have large increases in targeted emissions in the decades to come—aren’t even able to make a good guess about what the future holds for them. They are reduced to outsourcing the guesses that they are obliged to make under the Paris treaty.

“

Under the technique known as “sue and settle,” interest groups sue friendly bureaucrats to “force” them to do things they want to do but for which they have questionable legal authority.

Even for people who believe strongly in the tangled web of theories underlying fears of catastrophic manmade Global Warming, the Paris treaty seems ridiculous. The U.K. newspaper *The Guardian* on December 12, 2015, noted the skepticism about the just-finalized Paris deal that was expressed by James Hansen, one of the leading advocates of Global Warming theory. (In this excerpt, Hansen mentions the “2C warming target,” a reference to claims by Global Warming theorists that limiting targeted emissions to a certain level would halt Global Warming at two degrees Celsius above the levels of the Little Ice Age, which ended about two centuries ago.)

Mere mention of the Paris climate talks is enough to make James Hansen grumpy. The former NASA scientist, considered the father of global awareness of climate change, is a soft-spoken, almost diffident Iowan. But when he talks about the gathering of nearly 200 nations, his demeanour changes.

“It’s a fraud really, a fake,” he says, rubbing his head. “It’s just bull***t for them to say: ‘We’ll have a 2C warming target and then try to do a little better every five years.’ It’s just worthless words. There is no action, just promises. As long as fossil fuels appear to be the cheapest fuels out there, they will be continued to be burned.”

The talks, intended to reach a new global deal on cutting carbon emissions beyond 2020, have spent much time and energy on two major issues: whether the world should aim to contain the temperature rise to 1.5C or 2C above preindustrial levels, and how much funding should be doled out by wealthy countries to developing nations that risk being swamped by rising seas and bashed by escalating extreme weather events.

But, according to Hansen, the international jamboree is pointless unless greenhouse gas emissions are taxed across the board. He argues that only this will force down emissions quickly enough to avoid the worst ravages of climate change. Hansen, 74, has just returned from Paris where he again called for a price to be placed on each tonne of carbon from major emitters (he's suggested a "fee"—because "taxes scare people off"—of \$15 a tonne that would rise \$10 a year and bring in \$600 [billion] in the US alone).

A carbon tax would have to be high in order to have a significant effect, given the calculations of those who support Global Warming theory. Jonathan Grant, director of climate change at the consulting firm PwC UK, said a "carbon price" of \$40 per ton would be needed to reach that "2C" goal of which Hansen spoke.

ESCAPE CLAUSES

Given the efforts by President Obama and the Chinese to "Trump-proof" the Paris treaty, can Trump get the U.S. out of it? As noted above, proponents of the Paris treaty designed it specifically so that, once it took effect, no U.S. president could get out of the treaty for four years, the length of an entire presidential term.

Actually, there are several paths to extricate the country.

One, President Trump could simply ignore the unratified treaty. But that would give treaty supporters an opportunity to make the legal case that ratification isn't needed or that, as an outgrowth of the 1992 Rio treaty, the Paris treaty has already been ratified—nonsense arguments, but ones that would find favor among environmentalist activists, bureaucrats, and many judges.

Two, President Trump could submit the Paris treaty to the U.S. Senate for a vote. All or almost all of the 52 Republicans in the Senate would vote against it, and some vulnerable Democrats would probably join them. (In the 2018 Senate races, eight currently Republican seats are at risk, compared

to 25 currently Democrat seats, and 10 of those Democrat seats are in states carried in 2016 by Trump. In 2016, Republicans won every Senate race conducted in a state that Trump won.) Submitted to the Senate, the treaty wouldn't win a simple majority, much less the two-thirds majority needed for approval.

Three, President Trump could initiate the process for withdrawing from the Paris treaty, although that would take four years.

Four, as outlined by two Heritage Foundation scholars—Steven Groves, a member of the Trump transition "landing team" for the State Department, and Nicolas Loris—the new president could withdraw, in one year, from the underlying Rio treaty.

In 1992, United Nations member states attended the Conference on Environment and Development. More commonly known as the Rio Earth Summit, the meeting led to the signing of the framework convention.... Article 25 of the framework convention says that any party can withdraw from the convention three years after the framework has entered into force by submitting a written notice to the depositary. The depositary is the secretary-general of the United Nations.

Doing this would withdraw the U.S. from any protocol to which it is a party (including Paris) and would enter into force one year after the depositary receives the notification of withdrawal. In this manner, the U.S. could be out of both the Paris Agreement and the framework convention as early as Jan. 20, 2018.

A NEW WORLD ORDER

Sometimes, supporters of deals like the Paris climate treaty give us a peek behind the curtain—an insight into the real purposes of such deals and the motives of many of the people behind them. What they really want is expensive energy, and the restructuring of the world economic system that would result from expensive energy.

Take the concept of cap-and-trade. The Paris treaty is supposed to encourage countries to impose systems that would limit artificial emissions of carbon dioxide—whether through a "carbon tax," which would be ratcheted up over time, or a cap-and-trade system, under which permits for carbon dioxide emissions are bought and sold, with the total allowance gradually ratcheted down. Even though the Paris

treaty isn't enforceable, it would give ruling elites an excuse to impose such measures under the pretext that Paris made them do it.

Van Jones, the Obama administration's first "green jobs czar" and now a CNN commentator, was one of those who saw the energy agenda as a means for radical societal transformation. He declared in February 2009, "We want to move from suicidal gray capitalism to something eco-capitalism [sic] where at least we're not fast-tracking the destruction of the whole planet. Will that be enough? No, it won't be enough. We want to go beyond the systems of exploitation and oppression altogether ...the green economy will start off as a small subset, and we are going to push it and push it and push it until it becomes the engine for transforming the whole society."

Margot Wallstrom, who was the environmental minister of the European Union, said that the Kyoto protocol, the predecessor to the Paris treaty, was "about [the] economy, about leveling the playing field for big businesses worldwide." Jacques Chirac, when he was president of France, called Kyoto "the first component of an authentic global governance." During a visit to Japan to discuss Global Warming, German Chancellor Angela Merkel said, "The question is ...what kind of measure do we use to create a just world?"

“

Proponents of the Paris treaty designed it specifically so that, once it took effect, no U.S. president could get out of the treaty for four years, the length of an entire presidential term.

Christiana Figueres, then the executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, declared at a press conference in 2015: "This is probably the most difficult task we have ever given ourselves, which is to intentionally transform the economic development model, for the first time in human history."

It should not come as a surprise that the Left is using the Global Warming issue to transform the world. Senator Al Gore made that prospect clear during an appearance on ABC News just prior to the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, which set up the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change



Secretary Kerry Speaks at the UN-Sponsored "Caring for Climate" Event at COP21 in Paris, December 8, 2015. State Department photo/Public Domain.

(which led, in turn, to the Paris treaty). Said Gore: "The task of saving the earth's environment is going to become the central organizing principle in the post-Cold War world."

Carbon dioxide is an odorless, invisible gas, harmless to humans at many times the normal levels. It makes up 1/2500th of the earth's atmosphere. It is critical to the existence of complex life on earth. The breath exhaled by humans has 100 times as much carbon dioxide as the surrounding air. Since the Little Ice Age ended roughly 160 years ago, the increase in carbon dioxide, relative to the atmosphere as a whole, is the rough equivalent of adding a tablespoon of water into a 35-gallon bathtub.

To members of the political movement underlying the Paris treaty, the supposed threat of carbon dioxide is the excuse they needed to restrict all sorts of human endeavors. Fred Singer, professor emeritus of environmental sciences at the University of Virginia, said, "Control of CO₂ [carbon dioxide] means, essentially, control of energy, and that means control of economies." MIT atmospheric physicist Richard Lindzen noted that "Controlling carbon is a bureaucrat's dream. If you control carbon, you control life."

CLOWNS TO THE LEFT OF ME

This is what passes for logic in the so-called international community: The idea that the world's governments—including dictatorships that run slave-labor camps, subjugate women and religious minorities, and torture and execute homosexuals and members of disfavored ethnic groups—will cut off their countries' access to affordable energy and



UK Lead the Way at the Rio Earth Summit. Photo: R Shah/Stop Climate Chaos. License: <https://goo.gl/95QaxQ>.

modern technology and otherwise impoverish their people, out of a reluctance to be “named and shamed” over carbon dioxide emissions. Seriously.

Racing against the clock—trying to lock down a deal before the American people could have their say in the 2016 election—the Obama administration, the Chinese Communists, and gaggles of dictators and kleptocrats pursuing the get-rich-quick scheme of carbon reparations, joined hands with the cartoonish bureaucrats of the United Nations and the European Union. Together, they delivered unto the world the Paris Climate Treaty, which is a joke.

We’ll see who has the last laugh. ■

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



WHICH PARTY IS THE PARTY OF THE 1 PERCENT?

...and other elite questions

By Michael Barone

Which of America's two political parties is the party of the rich? Many people would say it's the Republicans. The caricature, common in the 1930s, is that the GOP is the party of the plutocrat in the Monopoly game, complete with top hat and tails. A Pew Research poll found 62 percent of Americans believe the Republicans favor the rich.¹ But the data tell a different story.

First, the story is mixed where votes are concerned. Exit polls in recent presidential and congressional elections have shown that both parties receive substantial support from voters who make over \$100,000 annually. And the stereotype falls apart when political contributions are examined: Democrats seem to come out ahead of Republicans in raising money from the richest precincts of the nation.

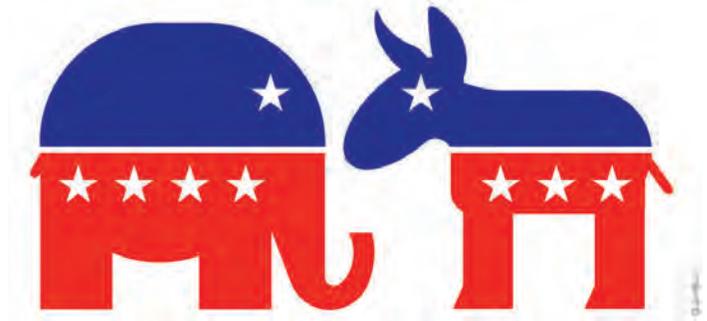
To shed more light on this question, the Capital Research Center (CRC) has conducted a new analysis of political contributions from the most affluent parts of the country during the 2013–14 campaign cycle (the most recent cycle with complete data).

The highlights of CRC's research are in this essay, and their complete data are available at <https://CapitalResearch.org/article/party-one-percent/>.

WHAT THIS STUDY MEASURES

The data on political giving are so vast and can be dissected in so many ways that no one study can ever be exhaustive. This particular study emphasizes, not who or what are the most powerful political donors in our system (think of the eternal arguments about the relative powers and influence of unions, corporations, and PACs) but rather, which party's candidates receive the most contributions from America's wealthy elites who live in the poshest locales.

In this study of rich donors, CRC has focused on donations by individuals (not by groups) that are given to individual candidates of the two major political parties, not to party committees or to other political actors like super PACs or unions. It's reasonable to focus on the individuals who donate and receive these funds, given how many politicians



Republican Elephant & Democratic Donkey. Credit: DonkeyHotey, 2011. License: <https://goo.gl/OJc7r5>

and pundits imply that wealthy Americans regularly “buy” elections for the political party that's supposedly biased toward the rich. But even if the parameters of this study were far broader, there's little reason to believe the outcomes would significantly change. For example, federal spending by Super PACs in this same cycle skewed \$196.8 million “for Democrats/against Republicans,” versus \$139.9 million “for Republicans/against Democrats,” according to the Center for Responsive Politics.²

In this analysis, CRC relied on data that combined giving to candidates running in local, state, and federal elections; the data were originally compiled by the National Institute of Money in State Politics, a center-left group that operates the website FollowTheMoney.org.

POLITICAL GIVING BY “THE 1 PERCENT”

As journalists and scholars have shown in recent years, affluent Americans are concentrated in certain neighborhoods to a considerable extent—indeed, to a

Michael Barone, the longtime co-author of The Almanac of American Politics, is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and senior political analyst for the Washington Examiner.



Brookline house, Brookline, Massachusetts. Screenshot, Google maps, 2017. License: <https://goo.gl/0CfggZ>.

greater extent than in the past. Bill Bishop in his 2008 book *The Big Sort* illustrated how people with similar levels of education, income and wealth, and cultural attitudes have increasingly clustered in places filled with others of similar characteristics. The social scientist Charles Murray in his 2012 book *Coming Apart* showed how those at the very top of these scales are clustered in zip codes that he christened, “SuperZips.”

“
Democrats have an even greater advantage when you track contributions made by persons living in famous upscale neighborhoods like Chicago’s North Shore, Boston’s Brookline, the Philadelphia Main Line, and Manhattan’s Upper East Side.

CRC’s study asks to which party do such people—who are much more likely than the ordinary voter to be able to afford sizeable discretionary spending—contribute their money?

The overall answer is that more money from the top 300 SuperZips in 2013–14 went to Democrats than Republicans, by a significant but not overwhelming margin, if you set aside those contributions over \$1 million made by wealthy individuals to their own campaigns. (The largest

self-funder in the cycle was Republican Bruce Rauner, who was elected governor of Illinois, but six of the ten largest self-funders in the cycle were Democrats. Seven of the ten failed to win election.)

This Democratic funding advantage is different from the picture of all contributions across the country made by persons from all levels of income. Nationally, a total of \$2,137 million was contributed to candidates in the 2013–14 cycle (smaller digits are omitted as trivial and distracting, and the numbers rounded off). Of that, \$1,139 million was contributed to Republicans, \$880 million to Democrats, and the remainder to others. In other words, Republicans received 53 percent of contributions; Democrats, 41 percent. If we count only contributions to the two major parties, Republicans had a 56 percent to 44 percent lead. That’s a financial advantage for Republicans—indeed a slightly larger advantage than either party enjoyed in actual votes in the presidential and congressional elections of the last 30 years—but it’s not an overwhelming advantage. Both parties had substantial resources to pay for their candidates’ campaigns, and of course money given directly to candidates isn’t the only money that’s helping candidates win.

But when we shift our focus to the 300 zip codes across America that rank as the highest 1.4 percent of socioeconomic status, using the formula for SuperZips created by Charles Murray,³ the picture is different. Among all contributions, Republicans still had an advantage by \$192 million to \$175 million. But when we set aside self-funders’ million-dollar-plus contributions to their own campaigns (which by law are unlimited), the Democrats are ahead by \$160 million to \$129 million. In percentage terms, Democrats come out ahead in the SuperZip money race by 55 percent to 45 percent.

Democrats have an even greater advantage when one focuses on the contributions—again, aside from those of million-dollar-plus self-funders—made by the lucky persons who live in neighborhoods and towns that have long been notably elite. These are the 14 locales Charles Murray identified as famously elite since at least 1960, including Chicago’s North Shore, Boston’s Brookline, the Philadelphia Main Line, Manhattan’s Upper East Side, and the like.⁴ From these elegant precincts, Democrats raised twice as much money as Republicans—\$82 million to \$41 million.

The Democrats’ fundraising advantage in affluent communities is not uniform across the country. There are metropolitan areas—Chicago, Dallas, Houston, and Atlanta, for example—where Republicans raise more than Democrats from the most affluent zip codes. In contrast,



Manhattan's Upper East Side, New York, NY. Credit: MD111, 2007. License: <https://goo.gl/y5tCss>.

Democrats have an enormous advantage in what Charles Murray calls the Big Four metro areas—New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

The Big Four contain almost one-sixth of the nation's population and a larger proportion of its SuperZips, many clustered together, as Murray notes, so that residents can drive—or be driven—miles without leaving one. Murray observes that “it is difficult to hold a nationally influential job in politics, public policy, finance, business, academia, information technology, or the media and not live in the areas surrounding” those four metropolises.

“

Democrats have an enormous advantage in the most culturally elite cities—New York, L.A., San Francisco, and D.C. The wealthy in San Francisco decide which conservatives to permaban from Twitter, and in D.C., what loopholes will be written into the next tax law and whether the Keystone pipeline will be built.

THE POWER OF THE BIG FOUR

Rich oil and gas businessmen in places like, say, Dallas, may have a major influence on who's the next president

of ExxonMobil. But the rich folks in the Big Four make decisions that affect every American. The wealthy in San Francisco decide which conservatives to permaban from Twitter; in Los Angeles, what shows will appear on TV next season; in New York, what will lead in the evening news broadcasts; in D.C., what loopholes will be written into the next tax law and whether the Keystone pipeline will be built.

When examining the Big Four metropolitan-area zip codes, CRC broadens its analysis from the top 1.4 percent to the top 5 percent in socio-economic status. Among this elite, we find the Democrats raising \$179 million and the Republicans \$93 million. The numbers are even more skewed if we narrow that universe down to the core county or city in each metro area, and omit million-dollar-plus self-funders; that leaves Democrats garnering \$96 million, compared to a mere \$30 million for Republicans. In percentage terms, Democrats are receiving 66 percent (in the broader metro areas) and 76 percent (in the core areas) of the money contributed to partisan campaigns in these locales—an overwhelming advantage.

OUT-OF-STATE GIVING

Some observers may argue that partisan contributions are not a fair measure of the party preferences of persons living in elite neighborhoods, because many affluent contributors may simply be donating for pragmatic reasons to state and local officials of the dominant party, which in many metro areas, and the Big Four in particular, is overwhelmingly likely to be Democratic. Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, for example, has said he made many of his local donations just to help his business, not because he agreed with the pols who received the money.

Luckily, the dataset CRC is using allows us to eliminate this phenomenon by looking only at contributions given to out-of-state candidates, a category which also simplifies the analysis by excluding self-funding candidates' contributions to their own campaigns. Here are the total out-of-state contributions in the categories we have already examined. These numbers reinforce the fact that America's elite across the nation have powerful sympathies toward the Democratic Party. And the more elite their neighborhood is in America's most powerful cities, the more strongly they lean Democrat.

- Top 300 zip codes nationwide (representing the top 1.4 percent of socio-economic status):

Democrats \$71 million
Republicans \$47 million
(60 percent Democratic)

- Big Four metropolitan areas' zip codes in top 5 percent by socio-economic status:

Democrats \$77 million
Republicans \$42 million
(65 percent Democratic)

- Big Four central-city zip codes in top 5 percent of socio-economic status:

Democrats \$48 million
Republicans \$21 million
(70 percent Democratic)

CONCLUSION

These data are powerful evidence that affluent Americans in the most elite locales contribute significantly more money to Democrats than Republicans. The data also show that Democrats raise a notable chunk of their campaign money in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Democratic candidates and party officials attending affluent contributors' fundraisers evidently have to spend a lot of time in airliners or private jets flying coast to coast across the country, while Republican candidates and party officials have to make significantly more fundraising stops, staggered across the giant landmass of America between the two coasts.

Half a century ago, many liberal commentators argued that Democrats, as the party whose policies allegedly represented the interests of lower-income Americans, had an unfair disadvantage in raising money for campaigns, because they couldn't compete with Republicans for access to the checkbooks of the wealthy. The data presented here make clear that that argument, regardless of whether it was valid then, has no validity today.

These figures also show that both parties are capable of raising substantial and roughly similar sums of money. The Democrats' advantage in the 2013–14 cycle may owe something to the fact that their party held the White House and a Senate majority in those years, and that the potential support the Republicans could enjoy from their majority in the House of Representatives was diminished by that chamber's fractiousness. But if the goal is to ensure that

each major party has the capacity to raise enough money to be seriously competitive with the other, it seems no change in current laws or arrangements is required.

Though perhaps a change in rhetoric is needed: the retirement of the meme that the Republicans are the party of the rich. If either party is the party of the rich, it is the Democrats. ■

(ENDNOTES)

1 Pew Research Center, "Most Americans Say Government Doesn't Do Enough to Help Middle Class: GOP seen as favoring the rich over middle class, poor; mixed views on which class the Democratic Party favors," Feb. 4, 2016, available at <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/02/04/most-americans-say-government-doesnt-do-enough-to-help-middle-class>.

2 <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/summ.php?cycle=2014&disp=O&type=S&chrt=P>. The same group reports that \$182.4 million was spent by liberal Super PACs, while only \$151.1 million was spent by conservative Super PACs in this cycle (it reports \$11.6 million in spending by "other" groups) <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/summ.php?cycle=2014&disp=O&type=S&chrt=V>.

3 Murray looked at the top 5 percent of zip codes in his dataset. To make the analysis more manageable, CRC narrowed its focus to the top 300 zip codes, which compose the nation's top 1.4 percent.

4 See Murray's Table 3.1 in *Coming Apart* for the list of locales; the online data for this study provides the precise zip codes.

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–**Marva Collins**, founder of Westside Preparatory School, Chicago

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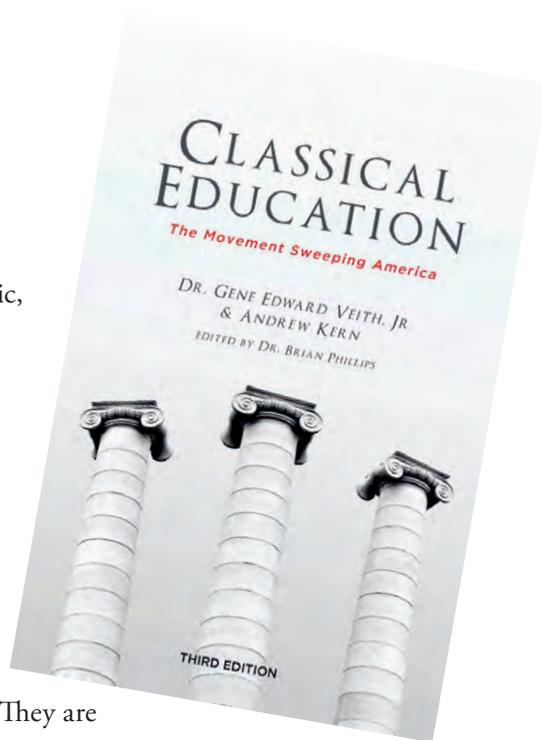
–**Matt Bianco**, director of education, Classical Conversations



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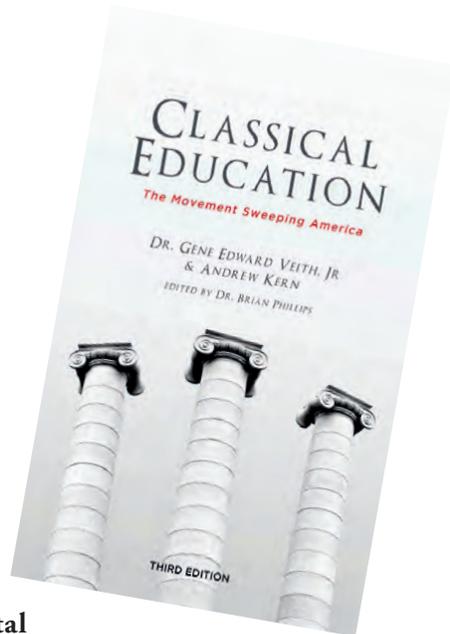
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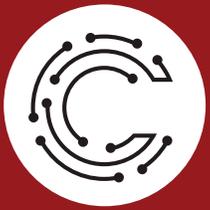
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