

Who Decides? The Price of Family Values in America. PAGE 7

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of the abortion
industrial complex

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soul of the Packard
Foundation



BY SCOTT WALTER

REVISED AND EXPANDED EDITION AVAILABLE NOW!

THE DARK MONEY NETWORK OF LEFTIST BILLIONAIRES TRANSFORMING AMERICA

While figures like George Soros, Bill Gates, and Mark Zuckerberg are known for their hefty political donations, few Americans have heard of Arabella Advisors. More powerful than these standalone billionaires, Arabella is a secretive "dark money" operation that channels megadonor cash into leftist political causes via pop-up groups designed to look like innocent grassroots outfits. A staggering quantity of money flows through Arabella. In the 2022 cycle, the firm's fundraising rose to \$3 billion.

This book reveals the major role Arabella has played in battles over Supreme Court nominations, abortion, women's sports, school discipline, environmental policies, fake local news outlets, "Zuck Bucks" that manipulate election offices, and much more. Its money and influence aimed at transforming America explains why even left-leaning media are alarmed. An "opaque network," writes The New York Times, that funnels "hundreds of millions of dollars through a daisy chain of groups supporting Democrats and progressive causes."

This revised and expanded edition significantly updates Arabella's story, charting its heavy engagement in the 2024 election, its continued ties to foreign funders, and its leadership in opposing the Trump administration. A substantial postscript provides new evidence proving Arabella champions government of the billionaires, by the billionaires, and for the billionaires.

For bulk purchases, to book as a podcast guest, to host a book signing, or to recommend a speaking opportunity, contact:

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DO YOU NEED A PODCAST GUEST OR INTERVIEW SUBJECT?

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

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

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

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OPEN SOCIETY, CLOSED EYES: THE \$80 MILLION SOROS PIPELINE TO EXTREMISM

BY RYAN MAURO, INVESTIGATIVE RESEARCHER, CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER AND
SCOTT WALTER, CONTRIBUTING RESEARCHER, WRITER AND EDITOR, CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER

NEED ADDITIONAL COPIES?

Please contact Julie Taylor at jtaylor@capitalresearch.org or call (202) 464-2043.

After these reports were produced, Arabella Advisors announced it was ceasing operations and that the nonprofit network it ran was being reorganized and rebranded under new names and management. Please follow the Capital Research Center for updates.

About the authors



Kali Fontanilla Kali is serving as CRC's Senior fellow, particularly focusing on topics related to K-12 public education. She founded the Exodus Institute, a fully accredited K-12 grade online school that seeks to redefine education in the 21st century by joining technology with traditional values. She has been featured in newspapers across the country including the *Epoch Times*, *Associated Press*, and *Boston Globe*.



Neil Hrab is an independent communications advisor/freelance writer—and a life-long admirer and student of the American philanthropic tradition, particularly the ongoing debate over how to best preserve donor intent.

He has also written speeches for CEOs, senior executives and elected officials. Neil lives in Toronto, Canada.



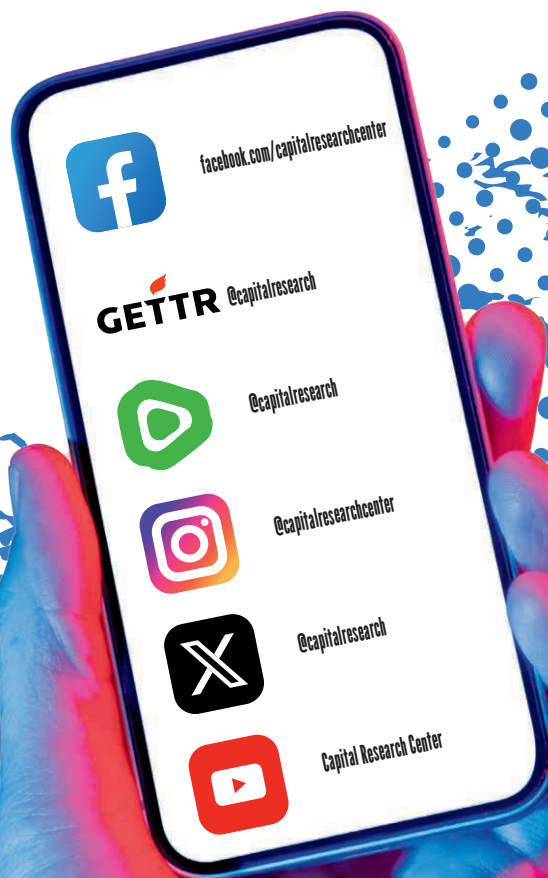
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Capital Research Center's 2025 Year In Review

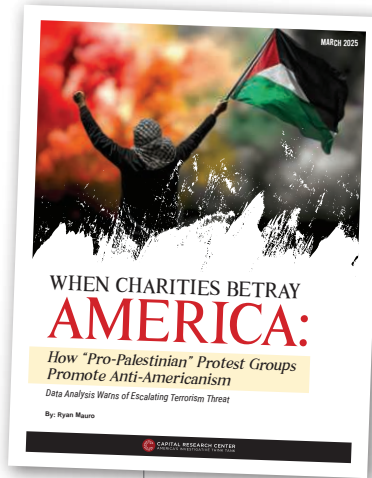


DOGE FILES

Launched as 2025 began, CRC's DOGE Files website—written by Parker Thayer, Robert Stilson, Michael Watson, and Ken Braun—combed through billions of dollars in federal spending records to expose egregious examples of taxpayer-funded grants to wasteful, ideological, or absurd NGOs. Throughout 2025, the project worked with DOGE personnel and other key officials to target waste, fraud, and abuse.

SPECIAL REPORT: WHEN CHARITIES BETRAY AMERICA

documents the turn by pro-Palestinian “charities” to anti-police and anti-American radicalism.



SCOTT WALTER TESTIFIES BEFORE CONGRESS

U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (DOGE) Topic: “Public Funds, Private Agendas: NGOs Gone Wild.”

JANUARY

FEBRUARY

MARCH

APRIL

MAY

JUNE



'DEATH TO AMERICA' SPECIAL REPORT SERIES BEGINS

(Part 1 released; full series continues through May 2025) Multi-part report documenting ~500 pro-Palestine groups and activists endorsing anti-U.S. violence and disavowing American identity (e.g., SJP, Dream Defenders, PFLP ties).

PARKER THAYER TESTIFIES BEFORE MICHIGAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Michigan House Election Integrity Committee Topic: Partisan Voter Registration Groups



SCOTT WALTER TESTIFIES BEFORE CONGRESS

U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Federal Courts, Oversight, Agency Action, and Federal Rights Topic: “Enter the Dragon—China and the Left’s Lawfare Against American Energy Dominance.”

the Giving Review

THE GIVING REVIEW

continues its long-standing role as an independent voice on U.S. philanthropy, with growing engagement from journalists seeking an informed and balanced perspective.



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SCOTT WALTER TESTIFIES BEFORE CONGRESS

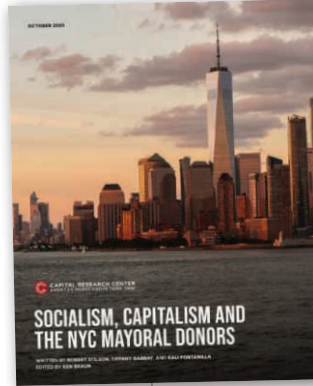
U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Oversight Topic: **“How Leftist Nonprofit Networks Exploit Federal Tax Dollars to Advance a Radical Agenda.”** Scott testified three times in 2025.



The Gates Foundation decides to halt grants to nonprofit funds administered by Arabella Advisors, marking a significant funding pullback amid scrutiny from CRC’s investigations and related media coverage. This decision was publicly reported in late August 2025.

NYC MAYORAL ELECTION REPORT: “SOCIALISM, CAPITALISM AND THE NYC MAYORAL DONORS.”

The report examines the donor dynamics in the 2025 New York City mayoral race, highlighting candidates Zohran Mamdani, Andrew Cuomo, and others.



Arabella Advisors dissolves and rebrands, transferring operations to new entities like Sunflower Services and effectively shuttering the original firm after GOP-led probes and exposés based on CRC’s work.

ALEC ACADEMY BRIEFING on Commerce, Insurance, and Economic Development with legislators from multiple states.

JULY

AUGUST

SEPTEMBER

OCTOBER

NOVEMBER

DECEMBER

ALEC ACADEMY BRIEFING

on Election Integrity Issues with legislators from multiple states.

BRIEFING TO NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATORS

At Young Americans for Liberty Hazlitt Coalition meeting.

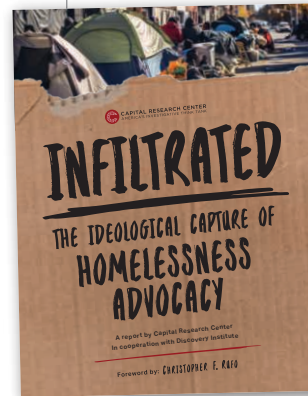


SOROS TERROR FUNDING REPORT

(by Ryan Mauro) Details \$80M+ from Open Society Foundations (2016–2025) to 50+ groups tied to extremism/violence (e.g., Al-Haq/PFLP, Sunrise Movement, Dream Defenders).

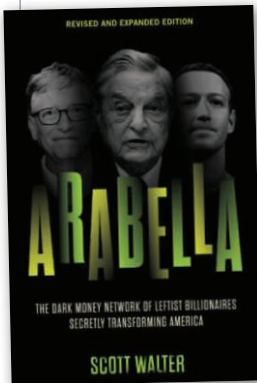
BRIEFING TO ARIZONA LEGISLATORS

As part of a DC fly-in organized by the Arizona Free Enterprise Club.



“INFILTRATED: THE IDEOLOGICAL CAPTURE OF HOMELESSNESS ADVOCACY” SPECIAL REPORT

Examines 759 nonprofits aligned with radical ideologies (anti-police, anti-capitalist, pro-terror groups) with \$9.1B revenue, including \$2.9B in government grants.



Release of CRC’s book *Arabella: The Dark Money Network of Leftist Billionaires Secretly Transforming America*, which exposed Arabella Advisors’ operations and funding networks.

ADDITIONAL, ONGOING CONTRIBUTIONS

- Regular consultations with Hill staff (especially House Ways and Means and House Natural Resources Oversight) using CRC research to vet witnesses and prepare for hearings.
- Briefings provided to key federal entities: DOGE staffers, White House Domestic Policy Council, Office of Management and Budget leaders, Department of Treasury.
- Increased outreach to state legislators through customized briefings.



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MARCHING TOWARD VIOLENCE

THE DOMESTIC ANTI-ISRAELI PROTEST MOVEMENT

BY: RYAN MAURO

“Over 150 groups involved in the disruptive anti-Israel protests on college campuses and elsewhere in the United States are “pro-terrorism.” The vast majority support Hamas and/or the October 7 terrorist attacks. The movement contains militant elements pushing it toward a wider, more severe campaign focused on property destruction and violence properly described as domestic terrorism.”

Read the full study on [CapitalResearch.org](https://www.CapitalResearch.org).

The Newman's Own Foundation: Can litigation restore donor intent?

Paul Newman created the Newman's Own Foundation (NOF) primarily to help children and promote largely unobjectionable causes. That's not what it did after he died, claimed his daughters—two of whom who decided to sue their father's foundation, hoping to restore what they believe was his real intent.

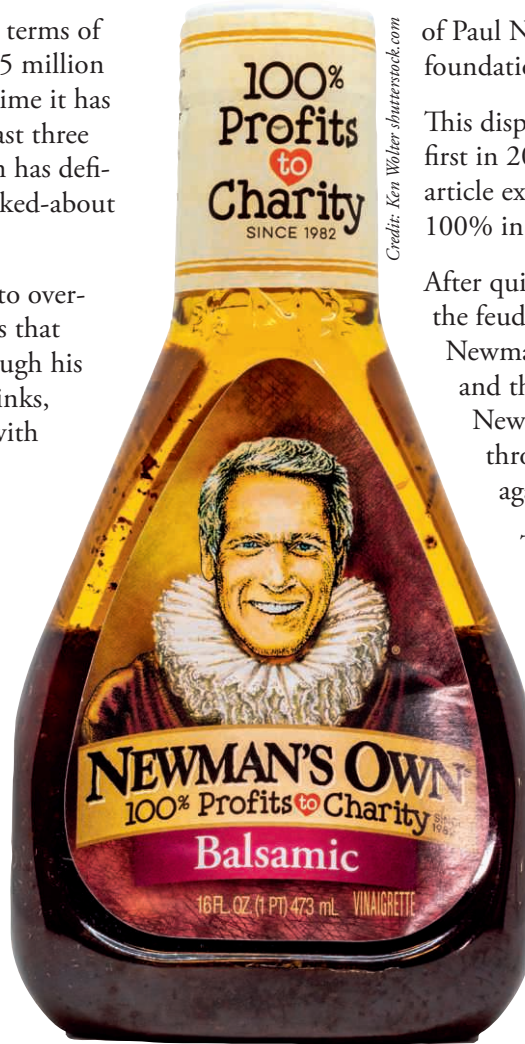
By Neil Hrab

It does not rank particularly highly in terms of its net assets under management (\$215 million at the end of 2024), or the length of time it has operated. But for approximately the last three years, the Newman's Own Foundation has definitely ranked among the US' most talked-about tax-exempt foundations.

Founded in 2005, NOF's function is to oversee the operations of the food business that movie star Paul Newman created through his "Newman's Own" brand of sauces, drinks, salad dressings, etc.—and to, in line with Newman's vision, distribute 100% of the profits flowing from that brand in support of children's charities. NOF owns the Newman Own's brand and associated food business.

Since its founding in 1982, the "Newman's Own" food brand has generated more than \$600 million worth of contributions to organizations serving children or supporting other causes. It will forever be to Paul Newman's credit as a humanitarian that this Hollywood icon, rather than monetize his world-famous image solely for his own private financial benefit, would instead harness the value of that unique asset to generate more than a half-billion dollars in philanthropic activity.

As impressive as this figure is, these days, NOF is better known in many circles for something other than its charitable efforts. The foundation is at the center of a complicated dispute over its alleged organizational drift in recent years. The disagreement pits several



Newman's Own salad dressing, part of the food brand created by Paul Newman, whose profits were dedicated to charitable giving.

of Paul Newman's daughters on one side, and the foundation's board and management on the other.

This dispute emerged into public consciousness first in 2015, when *Vanity Fair* published a long article exploring whether NOF was operating truly 100% in alignment with its founder's vision.

After quietly simmering for several years, in 2022, the feud escalated. In August of that year, two of Newman's daughters (Elinor T. "Nell" Newman and the late Susan Kendall Newman—Paul Newman being father to five daughters through his two marriages) initiated a lawsuit against NOF in Connecticut.

That lawsuit was later refiled in November 2022, with a third plaintiff named Cynthia Rowland added. Rowland is a veteran San Francisco-based business lawyer with deep expertise in the philanthropic sector, appointed by Newman's daughters as sole trustee of a trust set up by Paul Newman to oversee ongoing matters related to his estate. This included the protection of his image and related intellectual property, which he had gifted to NOF for use on the packaging of its food products.

This lawsuit ended quietly in March 2025, with both sides agreeing to an as-of-yet undisclosed settlement. The court filings in the case are now part of the public record, and these

include documentation of how Paul Newman and several close advisors together laid the basis for NOF in the years leading up to his 2008 passing—all likely to be of enduring interest to those observers who are watching developments in the case from a "donor's intent" perspective.

“Mismanagement” and “questionable practices”

In their November 2022 complaint, the Newman sisters and Cynthia Rowland contend the following:

Over the years, however, Newman’s Own Foundation lost its way and strayed from its mission to preserve and honor Paul Newman’s legacy. The years since Mr. Newman’s death consist of a long and consistent pattern of disregard, by those in control, of Mr. Newman’s specific intentions and direction, coupled with mismanagement, scandal, and questionable practices.

The claims of “mismanagement, scandal and questionable practices” run for several paragraphs, and include:

- The departure in 2019 of former NOF CEO Robert Forrester (who had previously been a long-term legal and business advisor to Paul Newman), after a pattern of sexual harassment was alleged. Filings in the 2022 case noted that Forrester was allowed to continue on as a board director for some time after leaving the CEO job, and that a study of the allegations paid for by the board was never made public;
- Allegations that, as CEO, Forrester had further demonstrated a pattern of pressuring charities applying for NOF grants to purchase advisory services from a business he controlled—which the complaint notes, “if true, would appear to be a clear conflict of interest;” and
- Allegations that, as CEO, Forrester had “also consistently travelled First Class, often accompanied by his wife, staying in expensive hotels and having their trips fully funded by NOF.” The complaint further alleged that “Forrester also employed a personal driver, paid for by NOF.”

The lawsuit reiterated the Newman sisters’ previous claims that, contrary to their understanding of their father’s plans to keep them involved with NOF, including in terms of directing a portion of its grant money, they were squeezed out of any substantive role or connection with the foundation soon after his passing. (These allegations, in which Bob Forrester and other advisors figure prominently, had been key to the 2015 *Vanity Fair* piece mentioned above, and formed a substantial part of the 2022 litigation.)

Also at issue in the Connecticut courtroom was the plaintiffs’ claim that NOF was deliberately ignoring Newman’s expressed wish that the foundation ensure his likeness only



Credit: JHVEPhoto at Shutterstock.com

Paul Newman designed a foundation to carry forward his charitable aims, trusting future stewards to honor them—trust that ultimately unraveled in a Connecticut courtroom.

be used to promote high-quality food products. Instead, the complaint alleged, NOF had entered into an agreement to sell a gimmicky-looking “Newman’s Own” cleaning brush with Newman’s picture on the packaging.

As a remedy, the lawsuit’s demands included financial damages (which the plaintiffs planned to donate), an injunction against non-food-related use of Paul Newman’s likeness, and a request for the judge to direct NOF to more rigorously and scrupulously incorporate the expressed input of Newman’s daughters in a very specific aspect of its annual grant-making, per the terms of Paul Newman’s will.

Round One to the plaintiffs

On June 28, 2024, following nearly two years of courtroom maneuvers, the Hon. Sheila Ozalis announced her decision regarding the plaintiffs’ request for an injunction on NOF’s use of Paul Newman’s likeness to promote non-food products.

In her 24 page memo, Ozalis granted a temporary injunction forbidding further use of Paul Newman’s likeness on non-food products. She made several very pointed references to how NOF had structured its defense in the case, noting with some apparent surprise that two individuals very familiar with the matters under discussion—Bob Forrester and Brian Murphy (Murphy being another former advisor to Paul Newman who remains on NOF’s board)—never appeared in court.

Forrester’s non-appearance is understandable, as testifying on behalf of NOF would have left him vulnerable to a

grueling and relentless cross-examination by the plaintiffs, including about his allegedly self-interested actions during his nearly 11 years as leader of the foundation.

Both men “could have easily testified as to Paul Newman’s intent with respect to the licencing of his name, likeness and image on non-food products,” Judge Ozalis wrote. She noted that Forrester simply never appeared, and that she was informed that Murphy was on a skiing holiday on the West Coast and completely unavailable.

Meanwhile, outside the courtroom...

The impression one gets from Judge Ozalis’ decision is that NOF did not defend itself as zealously as it could have against the Newman/Rowland lawsuit, notably by not calling Forrester and Murphy to testify.

However, this does not mean that NOF simply closed its eyes in responding to the lawsuit; in fact, its most important actions in response may have been taken outside the courtroom.

As the Connecticut lawsuit was being re-filed in November 2022, the then-CEO of NOF, Dr. Miriam Nelson, publicized her decision—made earlier that year—to retire at year’s end. NOF’s board of directors was at that time several months into a search for a new CEO. Nelson had led NOF since Brian Forrester’s departure from the CEO role in 2019.

Then, on March 1, 2023, NOF announced a new CEO named Alex Amouyel as successor to Nelson.

Born in France, Amouyel is a veteran of the international philanthropic sector; she is for example an alumnus of the Clinton Global Initiative. Prior to working at NOF, she was executive director with a unit of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology focused on incubating and helping launch start-up companies attempting to mitigate global problems.

As NOF CEO, Amouyel quickly embarked on a high-profile media outreach campaign. She presents herself as a new, more youthful public face of the organization. This has included paying effusive public tribute to the man who created NOF.

In addition to the interviews she completed after her appointment was announced, she also delivered a “TED” talk in September 2024, proclaiming Paul Newman to be a visionary thinker who identified a way, through NOF, to use “capitalism’s mighty power in service of justice.” She supported the drive to have a formal declaration made by the town of Westport, CT to proclaim “Paul Newman Generosity Day” on January 26, 2025, to mark the actor’s 100th birthday. (Westport is where he made his home for many years.)

In November 2025, Amouyel praised Newman further through an article in *Fast Company*. She called his decision to marry his food company with a foundation for continuity purposes to be the “ultimate legacy power move.”

As a way to enshrine the creativity Newman displayed in creating a food company that donates 100% of its profits after expenses to charity, Amouyel has steadily publicized what is known as the “100% for Purpose Club”—an association of enterprises similar to Newman’s Own. Other members of the club include Patagonia, the popular international outdoor clothing manufacturer, and Dr. Seuss Enterprises, which oversees the ongoing publication of the beloved children’s author’s various works.

It is noteworthy that Amouyel does not appear to have been asked about, or directly addressed, the Newman sisters’ litigation in the course of her interviews and profile articles.

It’s easy to reach the conclusion that Amouyel’s habit of paying effusive impromptu tributes to Paul Newman whenever she speaks has been intended to help symbolically bridge the public rift that had opened up between the Newman sisters and NOF.



Founders can explain their vision for their specific foundation. They can compress it into a written statement and leave that statement in the hands of family members and trusted advisors who will oversee the foundation after the founder’s passing. But those family members and advisors will pass away as well.”

Enduring patterns of philanthropy

As described earlier, Newman's Own was set up to be a conventional charity, one that provided civil society benefits that served children and funded other humanitarian causes. But that's not to say that it avoided controversial policy advocacy. Examining NOF's tax filings back to 2013 reveals some unexpected and interesting continuities in contributions for the years surveyed (albeit with very little substantive explanation about the purpose of the donations).

These are:

- Cumulative contributions of more than \$400,000 to the New Venture Fund, a "fiscal sponsorship" of the notorious Arabella Advisors' left-leaning funding empire;
- Cumulative contributions of almost \$700,000 to the Tides Center, also well known as a lefty fiscal sponsor;
- Cumulative contributions of just over \$16 million to Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA), which advertises itself as "a fiscal sponsor for more than 100 projects, providing governance, management, and operational infrastructure to support their charitable purposes." (And yes, these too are often left-leaning in ideology.)

Of note, in 2024, the last year for which tax forms are publicly available, NOF reported no donations to RPA or New Venture, but did give a little more than \$100,000 to Tides.



The Westport, Connecticut headquarters of the Newman's Own Foundation, the charitable organization at the heart of a high-profile donor-intent dispute.

The Rockefeller connection, given the dollar amount, is most interesting in light of Nell Newman's affidavit as submitted to the court.

It includes a copy of a multi-page memorandum (labelled Exhibit "B") apparently written in May 1999 by Bob Forrester and delivered to Paul Newman, in his capacity as Newman's advisor on philanthropic matters.

The memo proceeds in a straightforward manner through various questions that Forrester felt Newman ought to be considering regarding his personal wealth and NOF—how much did Newman "want to provide for the future in terms of" his family, for example; and how much did he want to set aside "for carrying on philanthropic activities in the tradition of Newman's Own" and so on.

On page 5 of the memo appears this paragraph (emphasis as in original):

Giving money away responsibly requires more care and thinking than making it in the first place. If not done in a thoughtful way, and with real insight, grant making can end up harming the receiving charity as well as the Foundation. Some good examples of how to handle next generations are the Rockefeller, Olins, Packards (see enclosed).

And then appears this line:

I could easily set up a meeting with the Rockefellers and their advisors. They are now into the fourth generation of family philanthropy.

There is precious little public information linking Paul Newman, NOF, and the Rockefeller philanthropic apparatus, or that helps explain what NOF accomplished with the \$16 million granted to RPA.

We do know that Paul Newman and David Rockefeller were among the very early supporters of a still-active organization called "Chief Executives for Corporate Purpose." CECP is a membership-driven non-profit founded in 1999, that provides advice on topics related to "corporate responsibility and sustainability." Interestingly, CECP credits Bob Forrester, NOF's former CEO, with helping found CECP.

Lessons for philanthropists

As noted above, the lawsuit against NOF concluded suddenly and unexpectedly in March 2025, with both sides agreeing to an as-of-yet undisclosed settlement.

Credit: <https://apconst.com/portfolio-item/newmans-own-world-headquarters/>

Some indications of the matters covered in the settlement may appear in NOF's future public tax filings. Did the foundation pay the requested damages? What is to be the surviving four Newman sisters' ongoing role in directing the foundation's flow of money? And will the foundation (if it has not already done so) embrace a tighter conflict of interest regime, to prevent a repeat of the alleged practices highlighted in court?

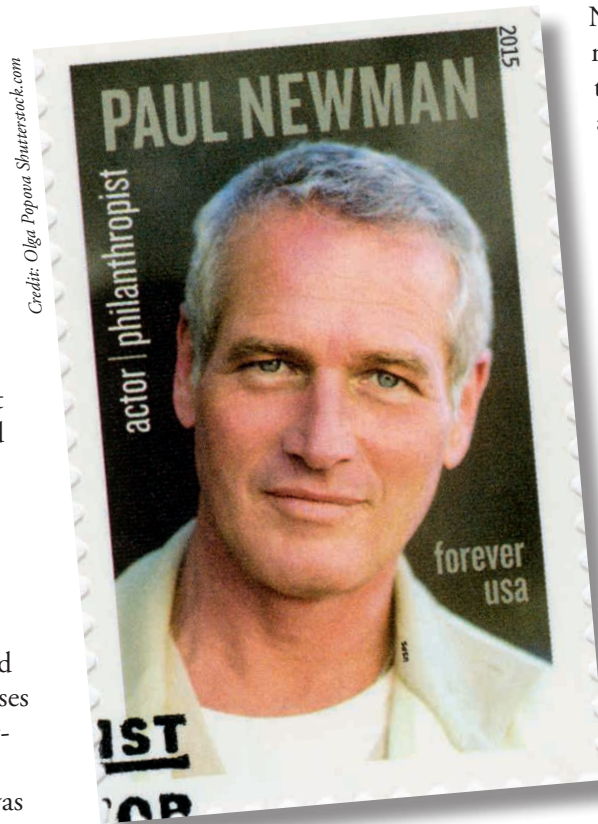
The NOF board and management may have made a huge mistake in not pursuing an earlier settlement of the Newman sisters' concerns *outside* the legal system. This would have spared months of legal expenses and avoided the heavy media interest that ensued. As it played out, the Newman's Own Foundation was battered by courtroom revelations and reversals. That ordeal could have been avoided.

Compare this to another famous example of litigation over donor intent: the confrontation between Princeton University and the Robertson family over Princeton's desire to override the family's expressed intent around the uses of a \$35 million foundation. No doubt wary of the reputational hits it might take as a trial proceeded, the university preferred to settle with the Robertsons. Princeton avoided a closely-scrutinized public court fight in which journalists would have been filing stories based on the evidence introduced and the statements made by witnesses testifying under oath.

As it stands, the Newman's Own fight provides lessons in how not to resolve these disputes.

In a report posted at Bloombergtax.com, Jared Johnson of law firm White and Williams LLP addressed the philanthropic machinery Newman had constructed to carry out his intentions for NOF:

...[W]hile [Newman] was thorough in expressing his wishes [regarding the different elements of his estate], he didn't provide his estate with the tools to properly secure their realization..." observed Johnson.



A U.S. postage stamp honoring Paul Leonard Newman (1925–2008), whose public legacy later became central to disputes over the Newman's Own Foundation.

Newman also may have assumed too much, White added, about the long-term fidelity of some of his close advisors to the vision for NOF he had shared before passing.

Similarly, the late Martin Morse Wooster of the Capital Research Center wrote incisively and intelligently about the various difficulties involved in trying to preserving donor intent when setting up a foundation.

The essential issue that all such donors face has to do with the simple passage of time. Founders can explain their vision for their specific foundation. They can compress it into a written statement and leave that statement in the hands of family members and trusted advisors who will oversee the foundation after the founder's passing.

But those family members and advisors will pass away as well. Eventually, that statement of purpose, however well expressed, must pass into the grasp of strangers

who only know of the founder second- or even third-hand. The point comes where that statement is no longer the expressed will of the founder, but simply some words uttered by an unknown person who spoke long ago, leaving them open to interpretation and even radical re-interpretation.

No wonder, as Wooster often observed, many farsighted donors are often drawn to creating time-limited foundations, with the goal of donating the foundation's last dollar within the donor's anticipated natural lifespan. As Silicon Valley philanthropist Cari Tuna once told Wooster:

[W]hen you plan to spend down in your lifetime, you have much more to work with on an annual basis. Plus, you are not able to ensure that future stewards would do as good a job.

That's not a glibly pessimistic judgement, but more of a realistic assessment, informed by many examples and precedents. This latest chapter in the story of the Newman's Own Foundation may be taken by many potential creators of new foundations as one more reason to embrace the time-limited foundation option. ■



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Inside the abortion pill war rocking America

At-home abortion has transformed the abortion industry and inaugurated a war between red and blue states. Conservatives have the power to end that battle for good—if they'll use it.

By Hayden Ludwig

In Texas, a Marine stands accused in a civil lawsuit of secretly dissolving abortion drugs into his pregnant girlfriend's hot chocolate after she rebuffed his repeated demands to "get rid of it" and "abort this monstrosity of a situation." Her attorneys say he left as she began hemorrhaging alone, her three children asleep upstairs.

Three and a half years after the Supreme Court's *Dobbs* decision removed the federal protection for abortion on demand, the battle for life centers on a small pill with enormous reach.

Terminated pregnancies have claimed 65 million lives since 1973, nearly the entire population of France or of Texas and California combined. Legalized nationally under *Roe v. Wade*, abortion rates exploded in the 1970s, peaked in the 1980s, and began their steady decline from 1990 to an all-time low in 2017—only to spike to a 14-year high after the 2022 *Dobbs* decision. Even without a constitutional right, American abortions are still tracking at one million per year.

That resurgence is in large part credited to the rise of mifepristone and misoprostol, the two drugs in the chemical abortion regimen. A quarter century ago, chemical or medication abortion was rare and only recently approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), which placed strict controls on the pill's dispensation and in-person doctor visits.

Behind the scenes, however, shadowy forces were moving to dismantle oversight and expand access—not as a means of improving women's "health," as was marketed, but as part of a century-old plot to curb global population growth.

As a result, chemical abortion now annually accounts for 63 percent of terminated pregnancies, compared with less than 31 percent a decade ago.

This marks the abortion industry's final evolution: From "safe and legal, but rare" in the 1990s to DIY procedures performed at home, with drugs mailed to your front door, no physician required. That's true in Democrat-run states with largely unrestricted abortion, such as New York and California, as well as Republican-run states that have virtually outlawed the practice, including Texas and Louisiana.

This incredible industry-wide transformation has ignited a new war between red and blue states, now fought in clinics and courtrooms. And none of it would have been possible without billions of dollars from Big Philanthropy.

This is the story of how America met, and got hooked on, the abortion pill—and what pro-life heroes are doing to end it.



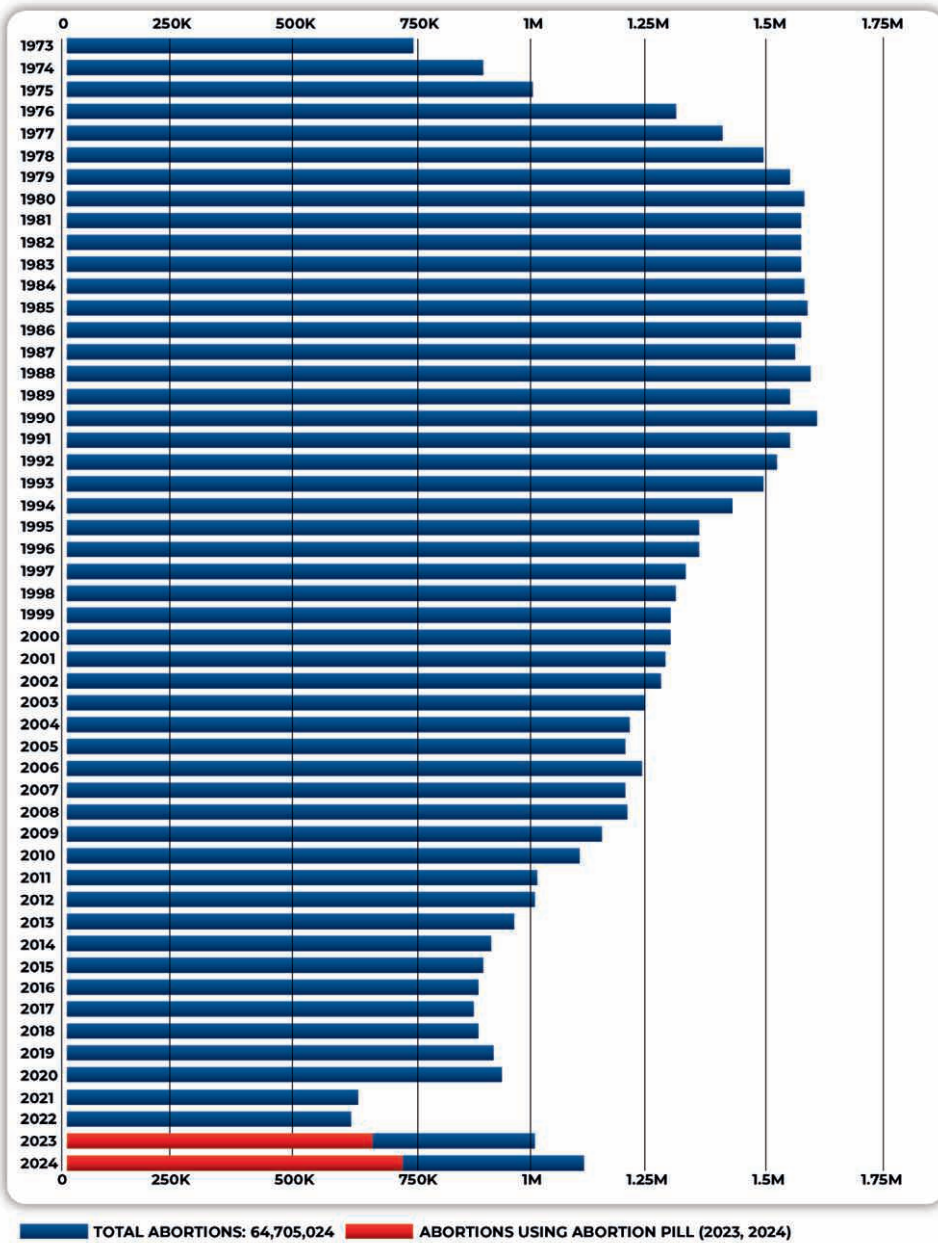
Misoprostol, a drug increasingly used in at-home abortions, now plays a central role in the post-Dobbs abortion landscape.

The left's deadly secret

Mifeprex, the brand name for mifepristone, works by blocking progesterone—a hormone essential to fetal development. It's typically followed 24–48 hours later with a second drug, misoprostol, which induces contractions that expel the fetus.

For years, pro-abortion activists have maintained this cocktail is "safer than Tylenol." Yet recent evidence indicates chemical abortion is 22 times more dangerous than the FDA admits. In April 2025, two studies by my colleagues at the Restoration of America Foundation and the Ethics and

ABORTIONS BY YEAR



Terminated pregnancies have claimed 65 million lives since 1973, nearly the entire population of France or of Texas and California combined.

Public Policy Center found that nearly 11 percent of women who ingested mifepristone from 2017–2023 experienced a serious adverse health event, including sepsis, blood transfusion, hospitalization, infection, hemorrhage, uterine rupture, ruptured ectopic pregnancy, and even death.

Among those without major medical complications, 85 percent still

reported nausea, fever, chills, vomiting, headaches, or diarrhea.

According to the FDA Adverse Event Reporting System, mifepristone has been linked to at least 7,671 adverse events and 151 deaths—four times the 36 deaths acknowledged on the agency’s website. They include men who ingested the drug to treat Cushing’s syndrome, its only other approved

pharmaceutical use. Notably, Planned Parenthood independently reported more than twice as many abortion drug complications as the FDA did between 2009 and 2010.

Chemical abortion also carries a high failure rate of 5.26 percent—about one in 19 cases—compared with just 3.2 percent across all clinical trials cited on the FDA’s own Mifeprex label, requiring further medical intervention to safely complete the procedure. That may not be possible if done at home.

Even so, Planned Parenthood has stuck to its guns. “Mifepristone is safe and effective, and must remain on the market,” the group declared in 2023 after the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals temporarily halted the FDA’s attempt to roll back its own safety requirements.

The personal toll of chemical abortion has gone almost entirely unreported by legacy media outlets, but the victims’ heartbreaking stories aren’t hard to find.

When 18-year-old Holly Patterson died of a bacterial infection in 2003, just three years after the FDA approved the drug, chemical abortion was still a new phenomenon. When her father, Monty, arrived at the hospital, he learned she’d ingested abortion pills obtained from Planned Parenthood. He hadn’t even known his daughter was pregnant. “[Her] look to me was like, ‘Dad, save me . . . Get me out of this,’” he told Restoration News earlier this year.

The ICU doctors frantically pushed Monty out of the room as they worked to stop his daughter’s organs from shutting down, but it was too late. “They came out and said: ‘She’s gone,’” he said, recalling the tears in the nurses’ eyes.

Shortly after Holly’s death, a senior Planned Parenthood executive called



Three and a half years after the Supreme Court's Dobbs decision removed the federal protection for abortion on demand, the battle for life centers on a small pill with enormous reach.”

Monty to offer her condolences, explaining that “these things sometimes happen.” Frustrated and unconvinced, he threw himself into unearthing the truth about mifepristone, later launching a website, AbortionPillRisks.org, to reveal the drug’s dangers.

Since then, however, the FDA has only *loosened* restrictions on mifepristone. The tale of the Texas Marine accused of contaminating his pregnant girlfriend’s hot chocolate with the pill is just one of the dark results.

In June, Texas police arrested another man for allegedly spiking his girlfriend’s drink at a Tarrant County coffee shop after she decided to keep the baby, sending her to the hospital. Three months earlier, a Louisiana woman was accused of forcing her pregnant teenage daughter to ingest abortion pills, nearly killing her.

All these cases share one thing: the abortion drugs were ordered online and delivered by mail—a feat made possible by an unholy union of the FDA and professional activism.

Throttling population

Throughout the 1950s and early ‘60s, the notion of an impending global population crisis was a popular topic of discussion in the gentlemen’s clubs frequented by the nation’s elite. The National Academy of Sciences helped stoke those fears, promoting birth control as essential for “effective control of excessive population growth through voluntary family planning,” per a 1963 *New York Times* report.

The academy held that predicted rates of population growth would impose “a heavy burden on all efforts to improve human welfare. It is an international problem from which no one can escape.” The U.S. government, the academy argued, “should actively participate in fostering international cooperation in this field.”

The Ford Foundation, eager to advance the cause, earmarked six- and seven-figure grants to fund the research that eventually produced both birth control and abortion pills.

In 1951, Planned Parenthood—at the urging of its eugenicist founder, Margaret Sanger—funded research into using

progesterone to inhibit ovulation conducted by Gregory G. Pincus, now credited as the co-inventor of the birth control pill. Pincus later lobbied the Ford Foundation to continue funding hormonal control research.

Enter Etienne-Émile Baulieu, French endocrinologist and birth control advocate, now hailed as the “father of the abortion pill.” By 1985, Baulieu—now working with the French pharmaceutical manufacturer Roussel-Uclaf—was ready to market RU-486, the direct predecessor to Mifeprex.

From the start, RU-486 ran red hot with controversy. Mere weeks after the French government approved its sale, the firm pulled the drug off-market due to the “outcry of public opinion at home and abroad,” driven, in part, by the dark history of its German parent company. Hoechst A.G., under its former name IG Farben, produced the Zyklon B gas that killed millions in the Holocaust. Despite the backlash and withdrawal, two days later, the French government used its controlling stake in Roussel-Uclaf to force the company to sell RU-486 to the public.

President George H.W. Bush’s FDA effectively banned imports of the drug in 1989. But by the time President Bill Clinton took office in 1993, it was already available in France, China, the U.K., and Sweden. Clinton, who had touted his pro-abortion stance on the campaign trail, was quick to task Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala with devising a plan to introduce RU-486 to the United States.

In a September 1993 memo obtained by Judicial Watch, FDA Commissioner David Kessler appraised Shalala of Roussel-Uclaf’s “liability and boycott concerns” and demands for indemnification from any potential damages arising from protests or mifepristone’s side effects. Kessler explained he had told the firm “it would go far beyond FDA’s appropriate role to seek such protection for a drug company,” but the agency would “advance the idea within the department anyway.”

Kessler went on to suggest Clinton leverage diplomatic pressure on France and Germany to force the sale of RU-486 in the United States.

“It may be that France and Germany would be unhappy to learn that their companies were not accommodating a



Credit: Vic Himerlang@shutterstock.com

Abortion-rights activists march in Chicago amid growing national fights over chemical abortion.

request made by the United States government,” he wrote. “The U.S. ambassadors to France and Germany will need to be consulted on these issues, and your counterparts in France and Germany may also need to be involved.”

Incredibly, in May 1994, the Clinton administration succeeded in pressuring Roussel-Uclaf to gift the patent rights for RU-486 to the Population Council, the New York-based nonprofit Roussel-Uclaf had previously contracted with to conduct U.S. clinical trials of mifepristone.

While little-known outside pro-life circles, the council has a sinister legacy of pushing global depopulation campaigns, largely in the Third World. It was founded in 1952 by eugenicist John D. Rockefeller 3rd from a conference of “population activists” lamenting that “modern civilization had reduced the operation of natural selection by saving more ‘weak’ lives and enabling them to reproduce,” resulting in ‘a downward trend in . . . genetic quality” requiring a global “reduction of fertility,” according to InfluenceWatch.

Other early players included American Eugenics Society co-founder Frederick Osborn, who served as the organi-

zation’s first administrator, and then-Planned Parenthood Federation of America director William Vogt, who popularized the idea that Earth has a limited “carrying capacity” for humanity.

With substantial funding from the Ford Foundation and United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the council promoted an enormous sterilization campaign across India in the 1960s—often forced at sword- and gun-point. No one was allowed to have more than two children. Women had IUDs forcibly inserted. Those who resisted were beaten, loaded onto buses, and brought to hospitals to be sterilized. “Everyone had a number,” one man recalled. “We were taken in a line—one after the other . . . number-wise.”

This ugly episode is worth recalling because President Clinton himself advocated for shrinking the world’s population via family planning. One month after Roussel-Uclaf signed over the drug’s patent rights, Clinton voiced his support in a State Department speech.

“One-third of our children are already hungry, two of every five people on Earth lack basic sanitation, and large parts of

the world exist with only one doctor for every 35 or 40,000 people,” Clinton said. “It is clear that we need a comprehensive approach to the world’s future. If you look at the numbers, you must reduce the rate of population growth.”

To that end, prominent Clinton supporter and trial lawyer James “Ron” Weddington urged Clinton’s transition team to promote the abortion pill in eerily eugenicist terms. Humanity’s survival, Weddington wrote, “depends on our developing a population where everyone contributes. We don’t need more cannon fodder. We don’t need more parishioners. We don’t need more cheap labor. We don’t need more poor babies.”

Paying for the pill

While misoprostol was first approved by the FDA in 1988—for preventing gastric ulcers, not abortion—mifepristone’s journey to FDA approval was complex and secretive. But we know it was shepherded along by a handful of mega-donors, among them Warren Buffett, through his Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation—perhaps the largest funder of abortion causes in history. Other notable funders were George Soros and the late David Packard of Hewlett-Packard fame.

While the Population Council sponsored domestic clinical trials throughout the mid-1990s, it contracted with a New York firm, Danco Laboratories—formed in 1995 reportedly with funding from Soros, Packard, and Buffett—to distribute the drug pending FDA approval, which it received in September 2001. Just six months later, Danco secured a Chinese manufacturer and began a \$2 million advertisement campaign for Mifeprex in *Vanity Fair*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *People* magazines, paid for by the National Abortion Federation. “You have the freedom to choose,” the ad read. “And now, you have another safe abortion choice.”

Danco was, and remains, famously opaque. The company doesn’t publish the names of its executives or employees, let alone its investors, and is extremely media-shy. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported in 2000:

It’s even hard to physically locate Danco. There are no signs in its building’s lobby or hallways pointing to the suite the company occupies. Phone Danco and the person who answers avoids mentioning

its name, instead asking, “How can I help you?” Danco’s chief executive officer, Roy Karnovsky, a former Merck & Co. marketing executive who worked at the drug giant for 20 years, doesn’t talk to the press.

Loose restrictions and lost lives

Less than a year after the Mifeprex marketing campaign, six women who’d taken the abortion pill reported serious side effects. Two died. Danco denied any causality, but quietly asked physicians prescribing the drug to report “any serious adverse effects such as death, hospitalization, or blood transfusion.”

By April 2006, Mifeprex had been linked to at least six deaths, five of them from septic infections, raising concerns even among abortionists. “None of these women should be dying; it’s shocking,” Dr. Peter Bours, an Oregon abortion provider told the *New York Times*.

The FDA has always maintained it followed the strictest approval protocols. But Dr. Donna Harrison, director of research for the American Association of Pro-Life OB-GYNs and chair of the Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine, believes those trials did not meet the FDA’s typical standards. “They approved the drug based on a few studies, none of which were blinded, randomized and controlled,” Harrison told Restoration News in September.

A “randomized, blinded, and controlled trial” is one in which participants are randomly assigned to treatment groups—including a baseline control group—without knowing which treatment they will receive to eradicate potential biases.

The FDA usually requires data from two such trials for new drug applications. When testing a new drug for which there is no comparable medication, the control group would typically receive a placebo. But in the case of Mifeprex, Harrison said that even today, no such study exists.

“What they have is what’s called dose comparator trials, where they look at two different doses or different ways of administration,” she explained. “But they haven’t done a placebo control—not that I can find.”

““*This incredible industry-wide transformation has ignited a new war between red and blue states, now fought in clinics and courtrooms.*”

Inexplicably, the FDA similarly approved Mifeprex for all age cohorts, despite having no clinical data on the drug's effect on minors.

As early as 1997, a study of chemical abortion in China, India, and Cuba found the practice is riskier and less effective than surgical abortion. And a 1999 U.S. study found that drug-induced abortions had a vastly higher failure rate than surgical abortions (18.3 percent versus 4.7 percent), took nearly 10 days longer to staunch bleeding, were more likely to require emergency surgery, and caused participants “significantly greater pain, nausea or vomiting” than suction and curettage abortions.

“Mifeprex has more bleeding, more complications, more retained tissue,” Harrison said. “In every place where you compare Mifeprex to surgery, Mifeprex is always worse.”

Although the FDA cut corners on ultrasound requirements, the agency initially posted relatively strict controls on Mifeprex. Only qualified physicians—not pharmacists—able to perform an emergency surgical backup could prescribe the drug, and then only through 49 days' gestation. Women had to complete three in-person doctor visits, both to rule out ectopic pregnancy and dispense the abortion drugs, and sign a patient agreement affirming they understood the process, risks, and follow-up requirements. Critically, the agency also established a framework for assessing drugs with significant safety concerns, later formalized as the “Risk Evaluation and Mitigation Strategy” (REMS).

Virtually none of those regulations remain in effect today.

In March 2016, the Obama administration extended the gestational limit from 49 to 70 days (10 weeks) and dropped the required in-person doctor visits to one, allowing follow-up “visits” by phone.

Then came COVID-19. In April 2021, the Biden administration announced it had waived the in-person dispensing requirement for Mifeprex, allowing the drug to be mailed by pharmacies to patients' homes. By December, the FDA formally abolished the in-person dispensing requirement, ushering in the current era of “telehealth” or at-home chemical abortions. Then in January 2023, the agency expanded REMS certification to allow brick-and-mortar pharmacies to dispense Mifeprex directly, cutting out physicians and the surgical facilities requirement altogether.

Pro-life groups quickly sued to block these changes and won a temporary victory in 2023—only to lose in June 2024, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled Donna Harrison's group, the Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine, lacked standing to challenge the FDA.

Dirty deeds done dirt cheap

Predictably, the drug's popularity exploded.

At least 70 websites help women buy and ship the abortion pill to their front door, even in states that have outlawed the practice. Without an in-person dispensing requirement, these websites rely on the honor system.

“I could put in fake information . . . and they will send me the medication abortion pills to anywhere I request,” pro-life advocate Abby Johnson told talk show host Jesse Kelly in March 2024. Johnson is a former Planned Parenthood clinic director who nearly died from the abortion pill in 2003.

One of the most prominent pill-pushing websites is Aid Access, a Dutch-Austrian distributor created to mail generic mifepristone pills in all 50 U.S. states three years *before* the Biden FDA greenlit “telehealth” in 2021. When the FDA briefly reinstated in-person pick-up requirements in January 2021, Aid Access reportedly ignored the law. “Aid Access continued to mail pills to patients across the U.S. and providers considered how much they were willing to risk to provide patient-centered care in a public health crisis,” an allied group wrote.

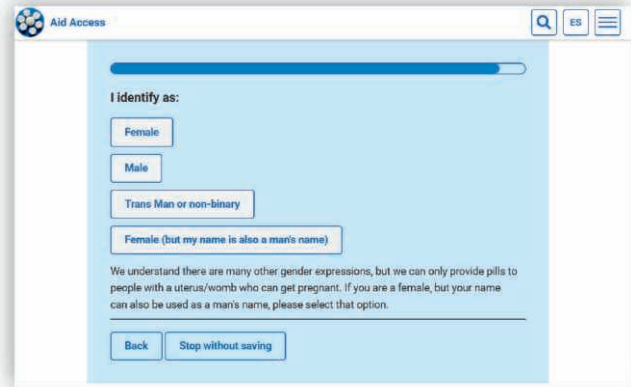
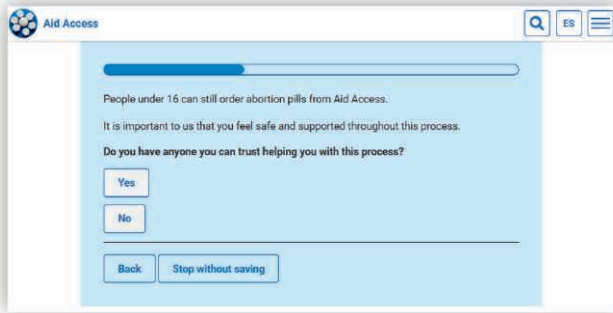
Because Aid Access isn't based in the United States, it isn't accountable to American authorities and doesn't file non-profit disclosures. It's sponsored by Women on Waves, an Amsterdam-based charity that carries out illegal chemical abortions from ships positioned just outside countries where abortion is restricted, including Mexico and Morocco.

The aforementioned men who each fed their girlfriends abortion drugs without their consent both reportedly purchased the pills from Aid Access. The group claims to target 6,000 women *each month* in states with abortion bans.

That's possible because anyone can order Aid Access pills just by filling out an online form, so long as they say their pregnancy is less than 14 weeks' gestation—roughly the start of the second trimester. At that point, the fetus is 3–4 inches long, its bones are hardening, the heart is fully formed, it can move its arms and legs, and doctors can determine the baby's sex. Many doctors believe babies can feel pain as early as 12 weeks along.

For \$150, Aid Access will send a package with one mifepristone tablet and 12 misoprostol tablets. The group even encourages hoarding pills for future use, assuring, “If you are not pregnant right now, you can still order abortion pills to have them on hand in case you get pregnant in the future.”

Eligible buyers include minors, with or without parents' permission, and even individuals who “identify as [a] trans



man or non-binary.” While Aid Access claims “we can only provide pills to people with a uterus/womb who can get pregnant,” the group nevertheless accepts applications from biological males.

Perhaps no group better illustrates how widespread and well-connected the abortion pill network is than Plan C, an Aid Access partner that teaches users how to illegally purchase mifepristone “if their state bans abortion”—including those who lack a uterus.

“Abortion pills can be used by people with a uterus who can get pregnant, including cisgender women and those who identify as trans, non-binary, gender-expansive, intersex, Two-Spirit, and more,” Plan C’s website states. “When we switch between terms—like ‘women’ and ‘people who are pregnant’—we aim to be inclusive of all pregnant people.”

Another Plan C ally, Abortion On Our Own Terms, likely began life as a fiscal project of the Arabella Advisors network, the Left’s top “dark money” ATM.

Plan C was formed in 2015—years before abortion “telehealth” was legalized—by Francine Coeytaux, a French immigrant with deep ties to the abortion pill’s development. In the 1970s, Coeytaux was a teen counselor for Planned Parenthood who later developed “health programs for migrant children” in rural California. She went on to join numerous groups pushing for abortion access overseas, including EngenderHealth—which was founded as the Sterilization League of New Jersey a century ago to support eugenics.

In the mid-1990s, with substantial funding from the Packard Foundation, Coeytaux was part of the team that shepherded the “morning after” pill through FDA approval.

And from 1984–1993, she worked for the Population Council during the most critical development stages of mifepristone.

Plan C itself is a front for Possibility Labs, a nest for spawning new far-left activist groups that exploit IRS charity laws to push social justice causes. “We envision a just world where Black, Indigenous, People of Color and systemically oppressed communities have the power of self-determination,” Possibility Labs says of itself.

Can someone get in trouble for using abortion pills?

- Research shows that hundreds of thousands of people have received and used pills by mail over the past few years with no legal problems.
- But, in rare cases (less than 1%), people have gotten in legal trouble, even though most states don’t have laws against doing your own abortion.
- Legal risk can depend on where someone lives, their identity and how far along they are in pregnancy. Also know that even if something isn’t a crime, people can still be targeted by law enforcement.

The Repro Legal Helpline provides free, confidential information that can help people better understand legal risk: reprolegalhelpline.org or 844-868-2812. Ineedana.com also has a state legal directory [here](#).

Plan C Pills advises visitors on potential legal risks to buying abortion pills in certain states

Because Plan C is a fiscally sponsored project, so it is not required to report its donors or board of directors, per usual IRS rules. But Possibility Labs has raked in more than \$65 million from left-wing mega-funders, including George Soros’ Foundation to Promote Open Society, the Hewlett Foundation, and the Gates Foundation. Nearly one-third of



Credit: SCreativeStudio@shutterstock.com

In August, Texas issued a cease-and-desist letter ordering the French-born abortion provider to stop illegally shipping abortion pills into the state, which has banned nearly all abortions. Officials say his actions led to the deaths of two unborn babies.

In September, Louisiana authorities issued an arrest warrant for Dr. Coeytaux, accusing him of helping a man force his girlfriend to ingest mifepristone in 2023. “If the Biden FDA had not removed in-person dispensing, my then-boyfriend would not have been able to obtain abortion drugs and pressure me to take them against my will,” the alleged victim, Rosalie Markezich, explained.

Coeytaux so far has escaped justice thanks to California’s “shield law,” which protects him from extradition and fuels the burgeoning abortion pill black market.

As abortion moves from clinics to the mail, the fight over chemical abortion has shifted from medicine to the courts.

that sum, \$21 million, came from the Kataly Foundation, a key funder of Black Lives Matter that itself is bankrolled by the Chicago Pritzker family.

Red state, blue state

Since the *Dobbs* decision, Plan C has moved to the center of the Left’s crusade to nationalize abortion through the abortion pill, even in states that outlaw the practice. When Texas criminalized “aiding and abetting” an abortion after six weeks of pregnancy in 2021, Plan C funded a “mobile billboard truck to drive through West Texas and share information on abortion pills by mail on college campus ‘free speech’ zones.”

“AOC’s tweet about Plan C garnered more than 8M [million] views,” the group says.

“I’ve been vilified and I’ve been defunded,” Coeytaux once boasted to *Ageist*. “I had a funder the other day say that what I was doing was criminal activity.”

In July, a Plan C spokeswoman told *Mother Jones* that physicians who mail abortion pills are “operating legally under the laws of their states.” That couldn’t be further from the truth—as illustrated by no less than Coeytaux’s own brother, Remy Coeytaux.

It’s the same story with Dr. Maggie Carpenter, an abortion provider wanted in Louisiana for an alleged coerced abortion but shielded by New York. “Louisiana has changed their laws, but that has no bearing on the laws here in the State of New York,” Gov. Kathy Hochul (D) announced in February, ignoring that coerced abortions are *also* illegal in the Empire State. Carpenter has so far avoided paying more than \$100,000 in court-ordered fines for providing a Texas woman with drugs for another illegal abortion.

Together, these cases spotlight an intensifying clash between red and blue states in the wake of the *Dobbs* decision returning abortion law to the states. Republican leaders are pursuing abortion providers through lawsuits and prosecutions, while Democrats harbor them from justice.

In Louisiana alone, which has some of the strictest abortion laws in the nation, mail-order abortion drugs terminate 600 pregnancies *each month*. In other words, abortion persists even in states boasting the greatest commitment to protecting the unborn—defying both the law and the will of the people.

Republican officials are clamoring for federal action. In July, 16 state attorneys general informed Congress that shield laws violate the Full Faith and Credit Clause of the U.S. Constitution “because they do not give ‘full faith and credit’ to the judicial proceedings occurring in other States.” They

added that such laws could also clash with the Extradition Clause—which requires compliance with governors’ extradition warrants—and asked Congress to weigh in.

Too many eggs in one basket

But who will win?

On the surface, the abortion lobby has never been more powerful or wide-reaching. Thanks to mifepristone, abortions are skyrocketing and reaching every corner of the United States. Yet the same drug responsible for this rapid expansion could also prove Big Abortion’s downfall, if conservatives act decisively. So far, they have not.

Earlier this year, Health and Human Services Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and FDA Commissioner Marty Makary promised to investigate the abortion pill in light of its clear health risks but so far have made little progress. Worse, we’ve gone *backwards* since that pledge, with the FDA approving a second generic form of mifepristone in October.

On Oct. 9, 51 Republican U.S. senators signed a public letter urging Kennedy to take swift action by:

1. Suspending the approval of any new generic versions of mifepristone until further risk analysis is concluded;
2. Ensuring any new generic versions are subject to ongoing risk mitigation reviews;
3. Reinstating the in-person dispensing requirement for the abortion drug changed by Biden;
4. Suspending all distribution of the abortion drug as an “imminent hazard” under existing law; and
5. Withdrawing FDA guidance permitting pharmacy distribution of mifepristone.

Far from pushing an “extreme” pro-life agenda, these measures would largely restore the abortion pill regulations to pre-2021 conditions. Kennedy could go further by withdrawing the abortion pill altogether as unsafe to be marketed without further study.

But that’s only one path. President Trump could immediately rescind the December 2022 Biden memorandum allowing mifepristone and misoprostol to be mailed nationwide, shutting down the black market with the stroke of a pen under a little-known law with enormous potential.

The Comstock Act, passed in 1873 at the urging of the great evangelical Postal Service Inspector Anthony Comstock, was a powerful tool Republicans used to counter post-Civil War debauchery by banning the mailing of pornography and materials used for abortion. The law led directly to the arrest of Madame Restell, a New York abortion provider famous for marketing early at-home abortion drugs nearly 150 years ago. Inspector Comstock himself even scuffled with Margaret Sanger over mailing birth control literature.

The law went inert after *Roe v. Wade* rendered its abortion restrictions unenforceable in 1973.

But with *Roe*’s demise, Comstock instantly came back into effect—or at least it should have. Neither the Biden nor the Trump administration has enforced the law yet. If that were to change, however, it could become the right’s secret weapon for outlawing mail-in abortifacients for good.

Congressional Democrats realize this, which is why in March they introduced the Stop Comstock Act, claiming the law “could be misused to implement [a] national abortion ban”—which, of course, was its purpose.

And they should be worried, as Big Abortion has bet the farm on at-home pregnancy termination amid a recent rash of shuttering abortion clinics, even in friendly blue states. Planned Parenthood, recently defunded by the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, is desperate for funding from blue states like Colorado and California, which face deficits of \$1.2 billion and \$68 billion, respectively. Pro-abortion groups are likewise scrambling as donations dry up and overhead skyrockets.

As for the monsters like Remy Coeytaux and Maggie Carpenter, the Comstock Act would finally allow federal law enforcement to seek justice that’s long overdue. ■



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The business model of the abortion industrial complex

Planned Parenthood's roots trace back to birth control—with an ugly side of eugenics and population control. Today, it's in the abortion business, with a well-funded supporting cast. And business is booming.

By Kali Fontanilla

In 1961, in his Farewell Address, President Dwight D. Eisenhower predicted the fusion of the military establishment, a large armaments industry, and the political backing that such a cadre could command. He named it the “military-industrial complex” and warned that this powerful union, built on tax dollars and political influence, would drive perpetual conflict and, thus, war profits, rather than peace and democracy. It was a machine designed to ensure its own survival and uninterrupted growth, no matter how the nation voted.

America's abortion industry is structurally similar, financially insulated, and coordinated to survive no matter who we put in charge of the government. Just as with the military-industrial complex, the abortion industrial complex profits from death.

The Capital Research Center and others have previously used the “abortion industrial complex” metaphor to trace describe the eugenics roots of the movement, its early philanthropic funding, and its international scope. Today, in a time beyond the repeal of *Roe v Wade*, the abortion industrial complex still thrives within a politically protected infrastructure. (The rise of the abortion industry is covered extensively in *Birth of the Abortion Industrial Complex*, a 2022 report for *Capital Research* magazine.)

The leaders of this network are not primarily physicians. They are powerful, interconnected nonprofits that treat abortion not just as a service, but as a political weapon,



Credit: Ben Von Klemperer - Shutterstock

Supporters of Planned Parenthood at an abortion-rights demonstration. In 2023, Planned Parenthood clinics reported providing more than 400,000 abortions nationwide.

a cultural pillar, and above all, a stable, highly defended business model.

For decades, this network was framed as necessary for “women’s healthcare.” But peel back the layers, and you discover a colossal nonprofit ecosystem with revenue in the billions, legal warfare divisions, and donor pipelines that would make a defense contractor envious.

At the heart of the abortion industrial complex are five nonprofits: the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Guttmacher Institute, Reproductive Freedom for All (formerly NARAL), the Center for Reproductive Rights, and the National Network of Abortion Funds.

In early American history abortion was illegal or heavily restricted. Laws dating back to the 1830s prohibited



America does not have a grassroots abortion movement. It has a nonprofit-driven abortion industry with near-total economic, political and even spiritual influence over pregnancy termination policy”.

abortion after “quickening,” a term used during that time for fetal movement. By the late 19th century, most states had outlawed the practice almost entirely. Abortion was not viewed as healthcare back then. It was considered a moral and legal issue.

Then at the start of the 20th century activists such as Margaret Sanger began promoting birth control as a means of eugenics and social engineering that would prevent the growth of “human weeds.” In 1921, Sanger founded the American Birth Control League, which later became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA).

In a 1923 essay for the *New York Times*, Sanger wrote:

Birth control is not contraception indiscriminately and thoughtlessly practiced. It means the release and cultivation of the better racial elements in our society, and the gradual suppression, elimination and eventual extirpation of defective stocks—those human weeds which threaten the blooming of the finest flowers of American civilization.

Preventing pregnancies isn’t the same as terminating them. But in hindsight the evolution from contraception advocacy to abortion promotion seems inevitable. (Dare we say “planned”?) Way back in her 1920 book, *Woman and the New Race*, Sanger advised that the “most merciful thing that the large family does to one of its infant members is to kill it.”

Birth control becomes abortion advocacy

While that brutally honest admission wouldn’t be used by the abortion industrial complex today, it doesn’t seem to have hurt the brand a century ago. Among the powerful people, abortion began to lose its reputation as a moral tragedy to be prevented.

By the early 1960s, big funders such as the Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation were pouring millions into birth and population control. This helped construct the legal and cultural scaffolding for the Supreme Court’s *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973, which legalized abortion nationwide. The abortion industrial complex grew from

there: clinic locations increased, and funding mechanisms were secured.

By the 1990s, abortion was not just a healthcare issue. It was a central organizing principle for the progressive movement and a major financial draw for several large nonprofits.

When *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* overturned *Roe* in 2022, abortion activists claimed it would be the death blow to abortion access across the nation. Instead, they used it as an opportunity for rapid restructuring, not retreat. The abortion nonprofits shifted from federal strategies to state-level ballot measures, from promoting primarily surgical abortions to streamlining mail-order abortion pills, and from building new clinics to providing interstate abortion travel funds.

A good example was the 2024 effort in Florida to overturn the state’s heartbeat law. Enacted in 2023, the law prohibits abortions after the detection of a heartbeat, which can occur as soon as week six of a pregnancy. The law does not affect the ability to obtain an abortion before that, or even afterward in verifiable cases of rape or incest. It is a moderate compromise that protects both abortion access for those who act promptly, and the unborn child once blood is clearly pumping.

But this was too much for the abortion industry. National abortion groups poured money, staff, and messaging into placing a constitutional amendment on the ballot that would have legalized abortion through viability—when the baby can survive outside the womb. Even under our current state of miracle technology, viability generally occurs past week twenty—well after the heart has been thumping for three months.

When Amendment 4 qualified for the November 2024 Florida ballot, it demonstrated that the abortion industrial complex could operate very aggressively, even in a conservative state. According to a Ballotpedia tabulation, the abortion industry and its allies spent \$121.8 million to support the proposal. This gave them a nearly 11–1 spending advantage over pro-life groups and allies who spent just \$11.3 million to defend the heartbeat law.

That massive monetary advantage was used to purchase a fear-mongering media blitz, and it nearly worked. In Florida, ballot proposals to amend the constitution must have 60 percent support. Amendment 4 received 57 percent—an obvious majority, but not the supermajority the abortion industrial complex needed.

The impact of that massive spending advantage seems to have not survived much beyond the vote counting. In March 2025, a Mason-Dixon Polling & Strategy survey showed 64 percent support for the heartbeat protection law that was nearly abolished five months earlier.

But the Florida setback perversely demonstrated the immense power of the abortion movement and the precarious state of the pro-life movement.

It's hard to imagine a tougher battlefield for the abortion industrial complex to have selected. Florida is the third largest state by population and has become one of the most conservative. On the same day that 57 percent of Floridians were convinced to vote for more abortions, 56 percent voted to send Trump back to the White House.

So, even in Florida the pro-abortion side showed it has the ability to severely outspend the opposition and use the loot to (temporarily) win over a clear majority. But there are 38 other states, including all of the major swing states, where just a simple majority is needed to approve a constitutional amendment.

If that standard had existed in Florida, then the abortion industrial complex would still be celebrating a decisive victory over the heartbeat law.

What this event also illustrated is that in every era, whether it be pre-*Roe* marketing, *Roe*-era expansion and mainstreaming, or now (post-*Dobbs* restructuring), these nonprofits, not medical institutions, have acted as the architects and guardians of the abortion movement. They turned abortion into a cause, a political instrument, and above all, an industry.

The abortion industrial complex is impervious to policy changes.

“In the two years since the Supreme Court ruling that overturned *Roe v. Wade*, the total number of abortions nationally has slightly increased,” reported the Kaiser Family Foundation in July 2025. (Confusingly, Kaiser—or KFF—is not really a family foundation, but a think tank that provides well-respected data on health care policy.)

The Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) is the central office of the abortion industrial complex. It is the most well-known, best-funded, and most politically



Margaret Sanger, an early birth control advocate whose views on eugenics influenced the origins of Planned Parenthood.

Credit: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; gift of Margaret Sanger Lampe and Nancy Sanger Pallesen, granddaughters of Margaret Sanger

protected abortion provider in the country. Its annual revenue now exceeds \$2 billion. The business model resembles that of a large-scale healthcare chain with subsidiaries, affiliates, and a strong advocacy arm with their 501(c)(4) Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

Like the military-industrial complex, the abortion industrial complex is built atop your tax dollars. According to Planned Parenthood's 2023–2024 annual report, \$792.2 million of its \$2 billion in annual revenue (nearly 40 percent of the total) came from “Government Health Services Reimbursements & Grants.” Most of this money flows through Medicaid reimbursements and state programs. The Hyde Amendment blocks federal dollars from paying for elective abortions, but it does not prevent Planned Parenthood from billing the government for its other services.

PPFA's supporting cast

In the military-industrial complex, the military obtains weapons and services from the defense industry. Similarly, the abortion industrial complex has its own supporting cast that provides research, legal, and other assistance.



Campaign signage opposing Florida's heartbeat law during the 2024 Amendment 4 abortion ballot initiative.

THE GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE:

The Guttmacher Institute is the research and data engine of the abortion industrial complex. While it cultivates a media reputation as an independent research group, Guttmacher was originally created within Planned Parenthood and formally separated from PPFPA in 2007. Guttmacher's 2024 annual revenue was \$26.5 million and it annually receives millions from foundations that champion abortion, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.

Indistinguishable from PPFPA, Guttmacher promotes expanding Medicaid coverage for abortion, deregulating abortion pills, eliminating parental involvement laws, and establishing constitutional protections for unrestricted abortion access.

REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM FOR ALL:

Reproductive Freedom for All (RFA) serves as the abortion advocacy movement's political mobilization engine, shaping public opinion, coordinating ballot initiatives, pressuring lawmakers, and mobilizing voters. The name itself is just the latest effort to hide the real agenda of the abortion industrial complex. For half a century until 2023, "Reproductive Freedom for All" was known by a more honest name: the National Abortion Rights Action League, or NARAL.

As Reproductive Freedom for All, the group reported revenue of \$18.5 million for 2024.

RFA maintains political pressure on lawmakers through the publication of Legislative Scorecards and Congressional Records. By documenting every vote on reproductive health issues, the organization creates a permanent public record of a legislator's alignment with its mission. These scorecards are used to rank representatives, designating "Reproductive Freedom Champions" and identifying those who support restrictions to achieve targeted political accountability. This system makes it easy for their 4 million members to see who to support and who to vote against in the next election.

RFA's influence has expanded rapidly through its aggressive ballot initiative strategy. The organization helped push constitutional amendments in states such as Michigan, Ohio, Vermont, and California, rewriting state constitutions to establish abortion as a protected right.

RFA also rejects parental involvement laws. They argue that minors should be able to access abortion without parental notification or consent.

And in April 2023, RFA (then still known as NARAL) denounced Florida's heartbeat standard as "an extreme ban on abortion." Recall that this supposedly "extreme ban" only applies to abortions committed after six weeks—literally halfway through the first trimester of pregnancy.

THE CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS:

The Center for Reproductive Rights (CRR) is so radical that it moves the goalposts well into the *second* trimester. A tax-exempt nonprofit, CRR is the legal defense arm of the abortion movement. For the year ending June 2024, CRR reported total revenue of \$65.4 million. Recent seven-figure donors include the Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation (funded by billionaire Warren Buffett) and the Freedom Together Foundation.

Any reasonable and democratically approved regulation or restriction on abortion is likely to face a lawsuit filed by CRR.

For example, one of CRR’s practice areas has been the defense of late-term abortions. In *Whole Woman’s Health v. Paxton*, the Center for Reproductive Rights and Planned Parenthood challenged a Texas law that banned abortions that occur far into the second trimester, or what the January 2022 CRR news release euphemistically referred to as “abortion care after about 14–15 weeks.”

When Margaret Sanger wrote that the “most merciful thing that the large family does to one of its infant members is to kill it,” perhaps she meant to say something no more off-putting than “provide abortion care after about 40 weeks.”

NATIONAL NETWORK OF ABORTION FUNDS

Reporting nearly \$24.7 million in revenue for the year ending June 2024, National Network of Abortion Funds (NNAF) is the logistic lifeline of the abortion industrial complex. NNAF facilitates hundreds of local abortion funds that help women, including minors, travel across state lines to obtain abortions. In the aftermath of the *Dobbs* decision, NNAF transformed into a network that subsidizes nearly every aspect of the abortion process.

One of the primary controversies surrounding NNAF is its role in abortion tourism. The organization openly funds transportation, lodging, meals, and childcare for women traveling to states where abortion is more permissive. After Texas enacted its heartbeat law in 2021, NNAF funded coordinated large-scale efforts to move women out of Texas for abortions in New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas.

In addition to the ethical concern for the unborn, this abortion tourism raises another controversy. Should tax-exempt nonprofits—charities—be permitted to finance medical procedures that are illegal in a patient’s home state, particularly when those procedures involve minors?

NNAF is also part of the broader infrastructure promoting so-called “self-managed” abortion through nontraditional channels. While NNAF does not directly mail abortion pills, it openly partners with and amplifies groups that do,

including linking women with a search engine for obtaining abortion pills. NNAF posts educational materials and guides explaining how abortion pills work, how they can be obtained outside of traditional clinics, and how individuals can navigate legal and logistical barriers in states where abortion is restricted.

The business of planning parenthood

At the center of it all is the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

The Charlotte Lozier Institute notes that while PPFA’s non-abortion services (such as cancer screenings and prenatal care) have plummeted by more than 70 percent since 2010, its taxpayer-funded subsidies have increased. By 2024, government financial support rose by more than 20 percent, even as the organization closed clinics, cut back non-abortion services, and increased its total number of abortions.

This dependence on public funding continued even during the first Trump administration’s attempt to curb federal support.

In 2019, President Trump implemented the Protect Life Rule, which barred Planned Parenthood from receiving Title X grants unless it separated its abortion operations physically and financially from the rest of its services. Planned Parenthood refused and withdrew from Title X altogether, revealing how intertwined its services are with its abortion business. As noted earlier, Planned Parenthood continued receiving large sums through Medicaid reimbursements for exams, STD testing, and contraceptive consultations. Medicaid pays for services rendered, not grants, so the organization’s huge taxpayer-funded source remained untouched. In simple terms, Planned Parenthood lost the Title X faucet but kept the much larger Medicaid firehose.

Then, in 2025, the second Trump Administration sought to further restrict federal funds to Planned Parenthood. The One Big Beautiful Bill (OB BB) contained a one-



For decades, this network was framed as necessary for ‘women’s healthcare.’ But peel back the layers, and you discover a colossal nonprofit ecosystem with revenue in the billions, legal warfare divisions, and donor pipelines that would make a defense contractor envious.”



Planned Parenthood eventually had to abandon the odious reputation and policies of its founder. And by “eventually,” I mean they finally got around to it in 2015...

year Medicaid ban for “non-profits that offer abortions and receive more than \$800,000 in federal funding in 2013.” According to Planned Parenthood, this one-year prohibition will cut roughly \$700 million from their federal support.

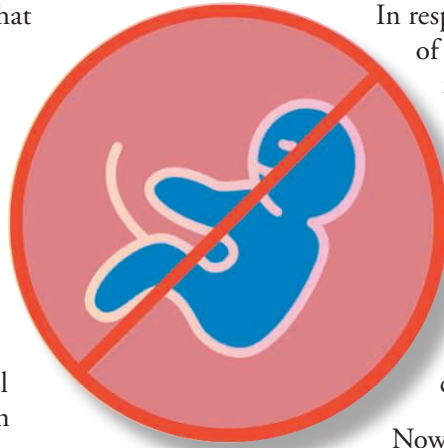
Any extension of this temporary restriction will hinge on the outcome of the 2026 midterm elections. If Democrats take back control of the House of Representatives, then Planned Parenthood’s Medicaid firehose could be turned right back on. In the meantime, blue states such as California, New York, and New Jersey have stepped in to help offset the loss of federal funds. Here’s what they’re buying. The service data in Planned Parenthood’s most recent annual report covers the fiscal year ending September 2023. During that period its clinics administered 943,104 pregnancy tests and provided 402,230 abortions. The same chart shows just 2,148 “adoption referrals” and 7,008 visits for “prenatal services.”

So that’s 9,156 clinic visits (25 per day) for those planning for parenthood, versus 402,230 visits (1,100 per day) for those aggressively planning *against* parenthood. If Planned Parenthood was overtly promoting population control, would these numbers look much different?

A Kaiser Family Foundation report showed black women accounted for 40 percent of American abortions in 2022. This was *triple* the percentage of black Americans (12.6 percent) in the overall population.

That’s an outcome that would have made Margaret Sanger smile. In 1939 she was head of the Birth Control Federation of America (as Planned Parenthood was then known). That’s where she launched the “Negro Project,” a race control effort sold as “birth control.”

Planned Parenthood eventually had to abandon the odious reputation and policies of its founder. And by “eventually,” I mean they finally got around to it in 2015, the last year they gave out the “Planned Parenthood Federation of America Margaret Sanger Award.” Some of the last winners to accept PPFA’s “highest honor” include Nancy Pelosi (2014) and Hillary Clinton (2009).



In response to the George Floyd riots in the summer of 2020, the Manhattan Planned Parenthood office removed Sanger’s name from the building. In concert with this the nearby “Margaret Sanger Square” (so honored in 1993 at the request of Planned Parenthood) was also changed (again...at the request of Planned Parenthood).

Today the PPFA website’s history page concedes that “Sanger believed in eugenics, an inherently racist and ableist ideology that labeled certain people unfit to have children.”

Now it is the children who are the targets of Planned Parenthood advocacy. The sex-ed info page on the PPFA website boasts that they train “educators and school-staff” and that “Planned Parenthood education staff reach 1.3 million people each year, most of whom are in middle school and high school.”

Another PPFA web page offers thinly veiled advice for minors who wish to have an abortion without telling their parents. It notes, for example, that “California has no restrictions on abortion for minors” and that “if you live in a state where abortion is illegal, you may have to go to another state to get an abortion, and it can take time to arrange travel.”

In 2012 California became the first state to prohibit minors from buying several common cold and flu remedies. So, in the name of child safety, a 17-year-old girl in California is prohibited from purchasing a small bottle of Nyquil but can obtain an invasive medical procedure (i.e.: an abortion) without asking her parents.

Perverse policy influence is also a feature of the military-industrial complex.

“This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience,” said Eisenhower in his Farewell Address. “The total influence-economic, political, even spiritual-is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal government.”

America does not have a grassroots abortion movement. It has a nonprofit-driven abortion industry with near-total economic, political and even spiritual influence over pregnancy termination policy. Looked at this way, it’s not a surprise that abortions increased after *Roe* was repealed. ■

Socialism and the soul of the Packard Foundation¹

How aligned is the foundation's grantmaking with the values of its founder?

By Robert Stilson

During the runup to the 1992 presidential election, Hewlett-Packard (HP) co-founder David Packard publicly derided the Democratic Party as the “party of socialism.” Yet in 2020, nearly a quarter-century after Packard’s passing, the foundation spending his fortune committed \$20 million to a nonprofit fund that promotes “an anti-capitalist politic.”

This is not the only recent example of the David and Lucile Packard Foundation making major grants to promoters of left-wing socioeconomic policies. That said, the full picture of the Packard Foundation’s grantmaking is more complicated. It reflects a combination of causes that David Packard would have doubtless supported, alongside others about which he may have had reservations, or outright opposed.



Credit: Joseph Hendrickson at shutterstock.com

Background

With \$8 billion in net assets, the Packard Foundation is now one of Big Philanthropy’s bigger philanthropies. It was established in 1964 by David Packard and his wife Lucile. Bill Hewlett, the other half of Hewlett-Packard’s founding duo, set up the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation two years later in 1966. As of 2023, the two foundations had combined net assets of \$21 billion, with Hewlett accounting for approximately 62 percent of that total. As recently as 2003, however, the Packard Foundation was the larger of the two.

David Packard did not place any firm restrictions on his foundation’s grantmaking, though he made his personal philanthropic interests reasonably clear during his life. These notably included environmental conservation and higher education—particularly at his alma mater of Stanford University. Science and the arts were also priorities, but so was the much more controversial goal of curtailing the

global human population. In a letter he reportedly wrote to his children during the 1980s entitled “Some Random Thoughts About the Packard Foundation,” which has never been made public, Packard was said to have singled out population control as the issue which he felt should be the foundation’s “highest priority.” A *New York Times* profile written shortly after his death in 1996 said that David Packard “had an engineer’s interest in the sciences, as well as an outdoorsman’s interest in conservation and a humanist’s interest in education,” while Lucile “leaned more toward programs to help children, the sick and the poor.”

Packard was a Republican—he served as deputy secretary of defense in the Nixon Administration and was a major supporter of Gerald Ford, even serving for a time as the latter’s 1976 campaign finance committee chair. During the Reagan Administration he chaired the so-called Packard Commission, created to study administration and procurement within the Department of Defense. Longtime



David and Lucile Packard, whose philanthropic vision established one of the nation's largest private foundations.

American Enterprise Institute (AEI) president Chris DeMuth described Packard's politics as "a little hard to characterize...one should think of him as a conservative in California Goldwater way—libertarian rather than social conservative. He was not a highly political person, but was an engineer and a businessman first."

Packard was a longtime board member at both AEI and the Hoover Institution, two venerable conservative think tanks to which he was also a major donor. He has been credited with personally saving AEI from dire financial straits in 1986, putting up half of the \$1.8 million necessary to keep the organization solvent while it undertook what would ultimately prove to be a successful turnaround. According to a 1998 *Wall Street Journal* profile, even after Packard agreed to conduct his philanthropy through the Packard Foundation at the request of his three daughters (who sat on the foundation's board and disapproved of his Republican politics), he "quietly wrote personal checks to Stanford University's conservative Hoover Institution, hoping his daughters wouldn't find out."

Indeed, Packard was an ardent supporter of free enterprise, with the Philanthropy Roundtable describing him as "a firm believer in the power of free markets to enrich society as a whole." In a 1973 speech to the Scientific Apparatus Makers Association, he lauded free-market capitalism for having "produced more benefits for more people than any other economic system. I do not believe a better economic system can be devised."

Packard warned, however, that it was increasingly coming under attack from those "who sincerely believe the government should have a larger role in managing the economy—people who sincerely believe socialism is preferable to private free enterprise." Packard

spoke of members of Congress "who do not believe that equality of opportunity is enough. They believe that all people should be assured equality of results—that the wealth of this nation should be spread equally among its citizens." He feared that unless such arguments were successfully countered, future generations would fail to inherit the prosperity that American free enterprise had engendered.

In 2023, the Packard Foundation reported net assets of \$8 billion, with its endowment invested across a diversified range of public and private equities, marketable alternatives, and real assets—a sophisticated portfolio typical of a very large private foundation.

This was not always the case. According to George Anders—as told in the book *How Great Philanthropists Failed* by the late Capital Research Center senior fellow Martin Morse Wooster—David Packard had left specific instructions *not* to diversify the foundation's investments. Instead, his intent was for it simply to remain invested in HP stock.

By the time Packard died in 1996, his foundation already held almost 25 million shares in HP. He willed most of his estate—more than 46 million additional shares—to the foundation upon his death. *The New York Times* reported at the time that this made the Packard Foundation the company's largest shareholder, holding just over 13 percent of all outstanding shares. As of May 1996, its stake in HP was valued at over \$7.2 billion (nearly \$15 billion in 2025 dollars)—one of the largest philanthropies in the world at that time.



Where the Packard Foundation appears to have drifted rather more substantially from David Packard’s ideological worldview is through its support for left-wing activist groups that oppose (or seek to markedly restrain) the American free enterprise system which he himself so passionately supported.”

This investment concentration worked just fine, so long as HP stock performed well. But it became problematic during the tumultuous aftermath of the late 1990s internet-driven stock market bubble, and HP’s controversial acquisition of Compaq in 2002. In 2001 the foundation reported total net assets of \$9.37 billion at the start of the year, and \$5.6 billion at the end. A September 2002 article in the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the foundation’s endowment had dropped from \$15 billion to \$3.8 billion in barely two years, and that it had been forced to substantially reduce both its staff and grantmaking.

The Packard Foundation’s board voted to diversify its endowment in 2003, and it hired a chief investment officer to “build out an institutional-quality portfolio” in 2007. In 2023, it made \$367 million worth of grants. That year, the foundation paid its chief investment officer Kimberly Sargent more than \$3.1 million in compensation, well over three times what it paid its president and CEO. The considerably larger Hewlett Foundation, which made over \$590 million in grants that year, paid its own chief investment officer more than \$5.4 million.

Current activities

Today, the Packard Foundation’s vision is “a just and equitable world where both people and nature flourish,” and it argues that “only when systems are fair and inclusive can we find and sustain solutions to the biggest challenges today and into the future.” The foundation emphasizes diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) in all of its activities, and has committed to producing net-zero carbon emissions from its operations by 2040.

Nancy Lindborg is the foundation’s president and CEO. She previously served in that same capacity at the United States Institute for Peace, and before that was an assistant administrator at USAID during the Obama Administration. Lindborg was also formerly the president of Mercy Corps. The Packard Foundation’s board chair is Jason Burnett, a grandson of David and Lucile and one of several Packard

family members currently serving as trustees. Burnett is CEO of the emissions tracking company Crosswalk Labs and was formerly the mayor of Carmel-by-the-Sea, California.

The Packard Foundation’s website features a detailed database of grants awarded since 2022, and all following numbers reflect database totals as of mid-November 2025. Some of its largest current grantees remain those championed by David and Lucile during their lives. Since 2022, the foundation has given more than \$100 million to the Lucile Packard Foundation for Children’s Health, which in turn supports the Lucile Packard Children’s Hospital and the Stanford University School of Medicine. The children’s hospital, which opened in 1991, was originally established with a \$70 million gift from the Packards in 1986 and was of great personal importance to Lucile.

By far the Packard Foundation’s largest grantee since 2022 has been the Monterey Bay Aquarium Research Institute, to which it has awarded \$238.6 million. An additional \$71.2 million was awarded to the aquarium itself through the associated Monterey Bay Aquarium Foundation. David Packard was deeply involved with planning and financing both the aquarium (which opened in 1984) and the research institute (which he founded in 1987). According to Wooster, it was the single largest philanthropic project Packard undertook during his life. His daughter Julie Packard remains the aquarium’s executive director to this day, in addition to her role as vice chair of the Packard Foundation’s board of trustees. The aquarium attracts approximately two million visitors annually.

Prominent universities also receive substantial funding from the Packard Foundation. Since 2022, the largest recipients have been Johns Hopkins University (\$7.7 million), Stanford University (\$7.3 million), the University of California, Berkeley (\$6.6 million), and the University of Pennsylvania (\$4.8 million). Much of the foundation’s higher education grantmaking—but by no means all of it—is connected to the Packard Fellowships for Science and Engineering program, which makes 20 awards of \$875,000

annually to support the research of “the nation’s most promising early-career scientists and engineers.” The program arose from David Packard’s personal interest in these fields, and the foundation has awarded more than \$500 million through it since 1988.

Abortion grants

Though a lifelong Republican, some of David Packard’s views were atypical of what today would be considered broadly conservative. One prominent example is abortion, which Packard considered a necessary mechanism for global population control. Abortion has accordingly remained a core focus for the Packard Foundation, which evidently sees no contradiction with its professed priority of ensuring that “moms, expectant parents, and children have the support they need to be healthy and thrive.” The foundation did, however, delete the word “population” from what had until 2020 been known as its Population and Reproductive Health program, because it felt it invoked “colonialist or authoritarian connotations.”

The Packard Foundation played an important role in making the abortion drug mifepristone available in the United States by extending a \$10 million loan to Danco Laboratories, so that that company could market the drug after receiving FDA approval in 2000. The foundation has since worked to make the drug cheaper and more widely available, characterizing it as part of the basis for “a just and equitable society.”

Packard makes substantial grants to a wide variety of groups working to expand abortion access both domestically and internationally. From 2023-2025, it awarded \$15 million to the Collaborative for Gender + Reproductive Equity, a fiscally sponsored project of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. The collaborative’s purpose is to fund groups that are “pioneering new approaches across issue silos to defend gender, reproductive, and racial equity.” Abortion is a central priority for the collaborative, which it attempts to connect to other identity politics-driven issues through supporting public policy activism, litigation, and leadership/organizational development. In 2018, the Packard Foundation committed \$50 million in seed money for the collaborative, which has since been joined by the Ford Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, the Freedom Together Foundation, and more.

Packard awarded more than \$11.5 million to Ipas from 2023-2025, to help expand access to abortion globally—particularly in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Ipas works to build what it calls a “sustainable abortion eco-



Credit: <https://www.heinzwards.org/pages/william-hewlett-david-packard> and photo attribution on website given to the Office of William Hewlett

In 1939, Dave Packard and Bill Hewlett founded Hewlett Packard and forged the now famous “HP Way” based on the idea that people gain satisfaction from working in an environment where they can accomplish and receive recognition for their work.

system” in countries where it operates. This includes building political support, de-stigmatizing abortion in local cultures, and ensuring that abortion providers are supplied and financed. Ultimately, Ipas aims for universal abortion access. In 2024, more than 640,000 women worldwide received “abortion care” at an Ipas-supported facility.

Another \$4.45 million from 2022-2025 was awarded for similar purposes to MSI United States, an affiliate of MSI Reproductive Choices. MSI was previously known as Marie Stopes International, but changed its name in 2020 because Marie Stopes (the person) had during her life “expressed many opinions which are in stark contrast to MSI’s core values and principles”—the most glaring being her support for eugenics and sterilization.

Of the \$12.2 million that Packard awarded to the Arabella Advisors-managed Hopewell Fund from 2022-2025, just less than half was earmarked for its Galvanize USA project, which works to persuade women to support left-of-center positions on divisive sociopolitical issues, including (but not limited to) abortion. Galvanize USA’s founder and executive director is Jackie Payne, who formerly served as director of government relations for the Planned Parenthood Federation of America—a group which has also received \$6.1 million from Packard since 2022, plus millions more for its local branches. Another \$1.5 million to the Hopewell Fund was designated for the Resources for Abortion Delivery project, which directly funds abortion providers.

The activist group All Above All has received \$800,000 from Packard since 2022, including grants made while it was housed as a project of the New Venture Fund. All Above All supports totally unrestricted—indeed, actively incentivized—abortion through policies such as mandatory insurance coverage (including for illegal immigrants), requiring public universities to make free abortion available to students, eliminating legal restrictions on youth abortions, repealing fetal personhood laws, and generally abolishing “any state level abortion bans or restrictions.”

Environmental grants

Another personal philanthropic interest for David Packard was the natural environment, though Wooster noted that “much about his views on the environment remains unknown” and may well have been tied (at least partially) to his concerns about the global population. He was certainly a dedicated conservationist, and during his life also expressed concerns about climate change. In addition to its significant support for the Monterey Bay Aquarium, the Packard Foundation currently supports a wide range of environmental groups and funding intermediaries—several of which are among its very largest grantees.

From 2022-2025, the foundation made \$51.6 million in grants to the ClimateWorks Foundation. More than half of this was earmarked for the Climate and Land Use Alliance, a philanthropic collaborative focused on protecting global tropical forests, primarily in Central and South America, and Indonesia. The Climate and Land Use Alliance believes that “disrupting existing power structures and supporting diverse leaders and inclusive movements can boldly move us toward a just and climate-resilient world.” It makes grants to “support those working to change the systems and power structures that drive tropical deforestation and undermine people’s rights and well-being.”

Another \$38.9 million from 2022-2024 was granted to Climate Breakthrough, itself a grantmaker that funds the work of those pursuing the “boldest new initiatives for large-scale policy, economic, and social transformation to address the climate crisis.” Past awardees have included Bruce Nilles, currently vice president of Climate Imperative and formerly managing director at the Rocky Mountain Institute, head of the Sierra Club’s Beyond Coal campaign, and staff attorney at Earthjustice. Former Emerald Cities Collaborative president and CEO Denise Fairchild received an award in 2021, while Bold Alliance founder and executive director (and Nebraska Democratic Party chair) Jane Kleeb received one in 2023.

The Packard Foundation awarded nearly \$28 million from 2023-2025 to RF Catalytic Capital, a Rockefeller Foundation spinoff that helps foundations, governments, and other funders coordinate and combine their support for joint projects. Nearly all of Packard’s grants were earmarked for a project called Invest in Our Future, a collaborative aimed at “accelerating America’s clean energy economy.” Other Invest in Our Future partners include the Hewlett Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Schusterman Family Philanthropies.

From 2022-2025, Packard awarded \$4.23 million to the Greenpeace Fund, the 501(c)(3) branch of the well-known eco-activist group. The Greenpeace Fund was one of three affiliated Greenpeace entities which in 2025 were found civilly liable for a combined \$667 million (later reduced to \$345 million) for their role in the sometimes-destructive Dakota Access Pipeline protests of 2016-2017. (As of November 2025, final judgment in the case has not been issued and Greenpeace has vowed to appeal.) Most of the Packard Foundation’s grant money was designated for Greenpeace’s Beyond Seafood campaign, which targets what the group calls “Big Seafood”—companies that it alleges are “raking in the profits whilst depleting our oceans and profiting from the severe labour issues in their supply chain.”



During the runup to the 1992 presidential election, Hewlett-Packard (HP) co-founder David Packard publicly derided the Democratic Party as the ‘party of socialism.’ Yet in 2020, nearly a quarter-century after Packard’s passing, the foundation spending his fortune committed \$20 million to a nonprofit fund that promotes ‘an anti-capitalist politic.’”

The David and Lucile Packard Foundation

MAKING THE CASE FOR FAMILY PLANNING & CONTRACEPTIVES

WHY IT MATTERS...

- EMPOWERING WOMEN & GIRLS
- HEALTHIER MOTHERS & BABIES
- REDUCING POVERTY

THE FACTS

- 218 MILLION WOMEN** Have an unmet need for modern contraception
- 1 IN 3 GIRLS** In developing countries are married before age 18
- AVOIDING 70,000 MATERNAL DEATHS** each year

INVESTING IN FAMILY PLANNING LEADS TO...

- HEALTHIER COMMUNITIES
- EDUCATION & OPPORTUNITY
- A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

Today's David and Lucile Packard Foundation places a great priority on making the case for family planning and population control.

The Resources Legacy Fund was awarded more than \$15 million by Packard from 2022-2025. Nearly 60 percent of this was earmarked to support the California Environmental Equity Initiative, a program designed to build “capacity, power, and leadership among younger, more ethnically diverse leaders, organizations, and coalitions advocating for environmental outcomes that benefit their communities and better meet the needs of California’s most marginalized residents.” Much of the remainder was routed to ocean conservation projects.

Other noteworthy environmental grants awarded by Packard since 2022 include \$7.6 million to the Energy Foundation China and \$5.95 million to its former affiliate, the United States Energy Foundation. The European Climate Foundation received \$7.4 million, while the nonprofit Multiplier received more than \$7.3 million for a variety of projects. The Packard Foundation gave more than \$2.1 million to the Environmental Defense Fund, more than \$2 million to the Natural Resources Defense Council, and \$940,000 to Earthjustice. Another \$1.4 million was earmarked for the Hive Fund for Climate and Gender Justice—a grantmaking intermediary itself housed at the Windward Fund—which has paid out more than \$100 million since 2020 in furtherance of its vision to “transition from dirty to clean energy in ways that center justice, redistribute power, and create healthier, safer, and more prosperous communities.”

Left-wing activism

Where the Packard Foundation appears to have drifted rather more substantially from David Packard’s ideological worldview is through its support for left-wing activist groups that oppose (or seek to markedly restrain) the American free enterprise system which he himself so passionately supported, and which created the very wealth that endowed and continues to perpetuate his foundation. In many cases, these groups weave the explicit prioritization of identity-based immutable characteristics—chiefly race and ethnicity—into their broader socioeconomic agenda. Not infrequently, that agenda veers distinctly in the socialist direction. Indeed, the Packard Foundation now makes a point to “champion equity” through its grantmaking, which it defines as “the equality of outcomes across different identities achieved through opportunity and access to information, resources, systems, and power.”

Like much of the left-of-center nonprofit sector, the Packard Foundation underwent a significant pivot beginning in 2020. That summer, amid the ascendent Black Lives Matter movement, then-board chair David Orr (a grandson of David Packard) wrote that since he believed that “police violence against Black people is only one way racism manifests itself in this country,” the foundation would immediately begin evaluating the supposed racial impacts of its grantmaking. At the same time, he acknowledged that his statement was “taking up space in a moment when we should all be listening to Black voices.”

Orr subsequently announced that the “resources and energy of the Packard Foundation” would henceforth be focused on promoting “justice and equity for Black people and people of color,” and that the foundation would begin centering “justice and equity in grantmaking outcomes.” Fueled by a belief in “the growing fragility of the U.S., with its history of racism, inequity, and injustice, and a democracy increasingly under threat,” by 2022 the foundation had adopted a new official operational vision: “a just and equitable world where both people and nature flourish.”

Some of the foundation’s resultant grants have supported deeply radical organizations. From 2020-2021, Packard gave \$20 million to the Solidaire Network. The money was earmarked for the Black Liberation Pooled Fund, so that it could “provide immediate resources to Black-led social change organizations, including leaders and organizers within the Movement for Black Lives.” That fund in turn supported grantees focused on “a Black queer feminist framework, an abolitionist lens and/or an anti-capitalist politic,” alongside those “working at critical and creative intersections such as land and queer justice and how

Black liberation struggles must challenge toxic notions of masculinity.”

Specific Black Liberation Pooled Fund grantees have included the far-left Movement for Black Lives, which among many other things demands a “radical and sustainable redistribution of wealth” and “an end to the exploitative privatization of natural resources—including land and water” through a bevy of largely race-driven government and corporate interventions; the Anti-Police Terror Project, which supports abolishing the police; Black Feminist Future, which argues that “Black feminisms explain how systems of oppression and power like white supremacy, patriarchy, capitalism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, etc. are both interconnected and systemic;” and the Black Land and Liberation Initiative, which aims to use “land-based reparations” to create “Black self-determining land-based economies.”

Other groups that Packard has supported through its U.S. Racial Justice Initiative include Black Futures Lab (\$1.33 million from 2024-2025), which was founded by Marxist Black Lives Matter leader Alicia Garza. According to Garza, “Black lives can’t matter under capitalism. They’re like oil and water.” The activist group Race Forward received \$500,000 from Packard in 2025, while the Color of Change Education Fund received \$1.17 million from 2022-2025. Color of Change supports defunding what it calls the “violent institution” of police.

From 2022-2024, Packard awarded just under \$1.3 million to the Center for Law and Social Policy, a group which contends that “poverty in America is inextricably tied to systemic racism.” It defines racial equity as “intentionally centering the role of race and the deeply rooted history in the United States of systemic racism toward communities of color.” It also believes that “anti-LGBTQIA+ legislation advances the underlying ideological and political goals of white supremacy,” all with the objective of maintaining “a white, cis-gendered society, one that dehumanizes and erases the identities of a wide range of young people.”

The Packard Foundation has awarded \$6.5 million since 2022 to PolicyLink, which at \$66.5 million in total 2023

revenues has quietly become one of the better-funded left-wing advocacy groups in the country. PolicyLink sees a “duty to transform our democracy and economy, closing the chasm between those for whom this nation has always worked and those who have yet to reap its benefits.” It calls for government rent control and guaranteed “publicly-financed jobs for everyone who wants to work,” alongside the redistribution of real estate to “historically marginalized communities” so that “homes and land are for the people, not commodities.”



David Packard, a Republican businessman and public servant, served as U.S. Secretary of Defense from 1969 to 1971 under President Richard Nixon.

Credit: <https://history.defense.gov/DOD-History/Deputy-Secretaries-of-Defense/Article-View/Article/585238/david-packard/>

PolicyLink contends that the “narrow profit-driven” priorities of American business have “come at the expense of the public interest and the fairness and stability of our economy and democracy.” It faults corporations for “maximizing profit and shareholder returns,” and advocates for new corporate governance structures that would require executives to deprioritize shareholder interests in favor of a broader universe of “stakeholders.” PolicyLink also suggests that corporations might voluntarily “adopt policies and practices that integrate equity and social responsibility within investments, profit distributions, and tax management practices”—for instance, by ceasing to pursue “tax minimization and avoidance strategies” that cut down on government revenue.

Elsewhere, PolicyLink CEO Michael McAfee has written that the federal government must become “explicitly anti-racist” through “a governing agenda centered on racial equity,” such as the development of what he called “a Black and Brown federal budget.” In 2020,

McAfee and PolicyLink founder Angela Glover Blackwell wrote a *New York Times* op-ed arguing that “banks and all corporations must use their outsize power to end systemic racism” through adopting new race-based business practices, such as eliminating bank fees and canceling consumer debt for black customers, and offering black homebuyers interest-free mortgages and black-owned businesses interest-free loans.

As a major PolicyLink funder, does the Packard Foundation endorse such discriminatory practices?



Specific Black Liberation Pooled Fund grantees have included the far-left Movement for Black Lives, which among many other things demands a “radical and sustainable redistribution of wealth” . . .

From 2022–2025, Packard awarded more than \$1.7 million to Community Change, a group which works to “bridge the worlds of grassroots organizing and progressive politics.” It supports government-guaranteed income and other policies that it believes will “abolish poverty in the United States”—something the group considers necessary in order to undo “the violence of systemic racism, misogyny, and white supremacy in our country.” During the Biden Administration, Community Change called for a “New Deal for Housing Justice” to expand the federal government’s role in the housing sector with an explicit emphasis on “racial equity, increasing opportunity, and guaranteeing homes for all.”

Since 2022, Packard has given \$720,000 to the Western Center on Law and Poverty, which believes “eradicating poverty requires attacking the systems that perpetuate inequities for marginalized groups,” alongside ensuring “affordable housing for all” and “equitable and affordable healthcare and a true safety net for those in need.” In 2023, the Packard Foundation even gave \$72,000 to Black Lives Matter Phoenix Metro, which seeks “Black liberation” through “the abolition of the carceral state, racial capitalism, colonialism, climate change, cis-heteropatriarchy and anti-Black violence.”

Of the \$4.1 million that the Packard Foundation has given to the Tides Center since 2022, \$475,000 was earmarked for End Poverty In California, a group whose public policy blueprint calls for economic redistributionism at a level sufficient to “establish minimum income and wealth floors” for the state’s population. The group’s founder, former Stockton mayor (and current Democratic state lieutenant governor candidate) Michael Tubbs, also founded the national Mayors for A Guaranteed Income.

Another \$805,000 granted to the Tides Center was designated for the International Corporate Accountability Roundtable, which—remarkably, given the Packard Foundation’s origins—asserts that “corporate power sits at the root of nearly every major human rights issue of our time.” It criticizes corporations for creating shareholder value instead of prioritizing what it claims would be “more socially productive uses” for earnings—even blaming the profit motive itself for the supposedly malign influence of business in American society. The roundtable recommends (among many other things) that large companies should be forced to obtain a federal charter so that the government can more comprehensively regulate their operations.

What might David Packard have said about that?

Past and future

The Packard Foundation states that its values “deeply reflect the history and philosophy of the Packard family’s approach to philanthropy.” It certainly does count for much that the foundation has maintained significant funding for the philanthropic causes which were so important to David and Lucile Packard during their lives. At the same time, it seems very likely that David Packard would have opposed—and stridently so—the left-wing big government/anti-capitalist rhetoric embraced by what is evidently a meaningful number of his foundation’s current grantees. David Packard died nearly 30 years ago. If this trend continues, what will his foundation look like three decades hence? ■



THE DAVID & LUCILE

Packard Foundation



THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

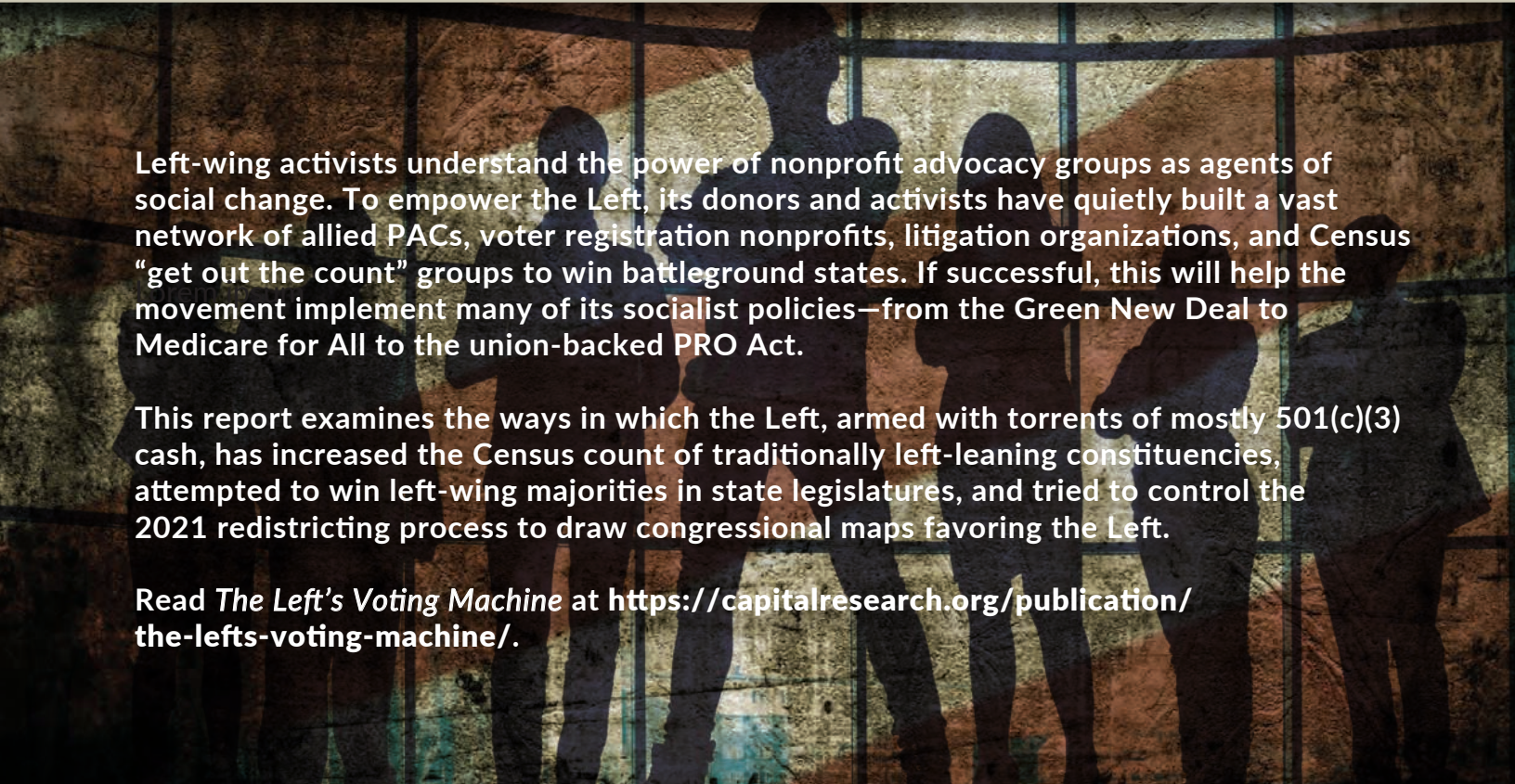


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Left-wing activists understand the power of nonprofit advocacy groups as agents of social change. To empower the Left, its donors and activists have quietly built a vast network of allied PACs, voter registration nonprofits, litigation organizations,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

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

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





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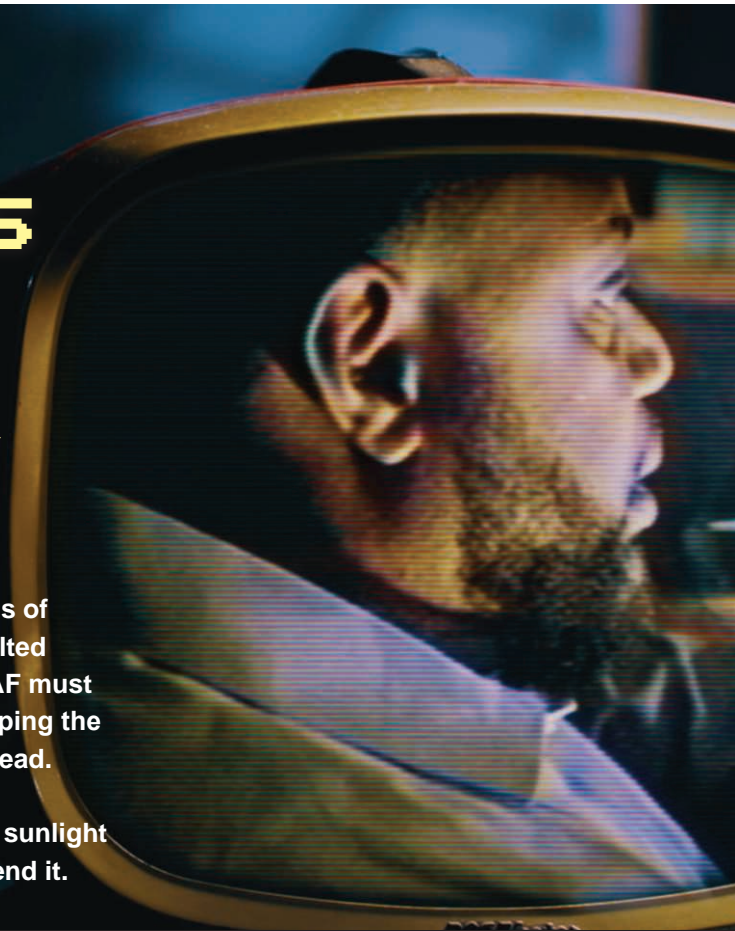
When Cops Become Robbers

A NEW FILM THAT EXPOSES BIG GOVERNMENT'S
BIGGEST OVERREACH:

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Civil Asset Forfeiture allows law enforcement agents at all levels of government to seize property they suspect was used in or resulted from a crime without proof or due process of law. Victims of CAF must prove the innocence of their property at their own expense, flipping the American legal principle of innocent until proven guilty on its head.

CRC's new feature documentary brings this corruption into the sunlight of public discourse through the stories of the heroes trying to end it.



Host a screening in your community by contacting
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