

**HOW LEFTIST NONPROFIT NETWORKS
EXPLOIT FEDERAL TAX DOLLARS TO ADVANCE
A RADICAL AGENDA**

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

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HOW LEFTIST NONPROFIT NETWORKS EXPLOIT FEDERAL TAX DOLLARS TO ADVANCE A RADICAL AGENDA

Tuesday, July 15, 2025

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Washington, DC

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:58 p.m., in Room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building, the Hon. Jefferson Van Drew [Chair of the Subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Van Drew, Jordan, Moore, Onder, Schmidt, Gill, Crockett, Raskin, and Johnson.

Mr. VAN DREW. The Subcommittee will come to order. Without objection, the Chair is authorized to declare a recess at any time.

We welcome everyone to today's hearing on how nonprofits exploit Federal tax dollars to advance what we believe is a radical agenda.

I now recognize the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Moore, who will lead us in the pledge of allegiance, and then I ask that we remain standing for a moment of silence.

ALL. I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Mr. VAN DREW. I am now going to recognize myself for an opening statement.

Welcome to all of you to today's hearing on the Subcommittee on Oversight. Today's hearing will expose how Leftist, nonprofit networks hijack and exploit your Federal tax dollars to advance a radical agenda, and we will hopefully answer the most important question of the day—and I'm having a little bit of fun here—who the hell is George Soros? We're going to find out.

Your tax dollars, your money—money that you earned, and you worked hard for, have been funneling into Left-wing nonprofits pushing extremist causes. It's not speculation. It's not just an idea. It's a pattern, and it's the truth.

Under Democratic leadership, Federal agencies awarded hundreds of millions of dollars in grants to supposedly neutral, nonprofit organizations, but those nonprofits just so happen to be run by their political allies. They used your money—your money—to

fund policies you never voted for and probably, in most cases, the majority of Americans strongly oppose.

Is this how our democracy is supposed to work? I think we know the answer, and I think we know it's not supposed to work that way. Is this how your tax dollars should be spent? That, I do know. Regardless of what your opinion is, absolutely not. It is an abuse of power, one that is quietly restructuring American society in ways no one asked for and they certainly never voted for. We've seen it again and again, over and over.

The last administration disbursed \$3 billion to a migrant housing group whose employees were accused of sexually abusing children. Nearly one million went to a group linked to riots in Los Angeles. Over 1.8 million meant for women's safety overseas instead was used to promote gender ideology through LGBTQ+ grants. Even if you—here's the point. Even if you agree with the ideology, we should all agree our tax dollars shouldn't be paying for this.

Then, there's the biggest culprit of them all, the mastermind, the guy behind the curtain, the guy in the dark, George Soros. Who is he? What is he about? He's not just another billionaire with strong opinions. We've got plenty of them. He's the architect of an international Left-wing influence machine. His Open Society Foundation sits at the center of a global web of nonprofits, grant recipients, political operatives, and shadow partners. Yes, despite his vast wealth, he also takes your tax dollars and uses them as well.

Let's look at the facts. The Vera Institute of Justice, Soros connected, received over \$60 million in Federal contracts from Democrats. Impact Justice, also Soros connected, took in over 30 million to push weak-on-crime agendas instead of prosecuting criminals. These are the same groups driving the movement to decriminalize crime, defund the police, and destabilize our cities.

George Soros does not stop there. He doesn't stop at nonprofits. He has poured tens of millions into buying political influence and quietly bankrolling soft-on-crime prosecutors and attorneys general in cities like San Francisco, Philadelphia, Chicago, and others. That's why some of them have become havens for lawlessness.

He's buying up radio stations, thousands of them, and media outlets across the country to control the political message and drown out any conservative voice in Red States or wherever. That's not philanthropy. That's propaganda. It's funded with your tax dollars.

Beyond the efforts of George Soros, Democrats also funneled over one billion in DEI-related grants through the Department of Education. They sent taxpayer funds to anti-Israel groups and climate radicals determined to dismantle American energy independence.

The USAID used your money to fund—I love this one. I really don't. I'm being sarcastic. Everybody is ready, right? Because I really want to know what the deal is with this—a transgender comic book in Peru. Because we don't have needs in our country, right? We've got money to fund a transgender comic book in Peru, and \$13 million for Sesame Street in Iraq. Come on. Is that American policy? Is that what your paycheck should fund? I don't think so. Regardless of your ideology, I don't think so.

Why do we need a government—this is why. No, I won't even ask the question. I'll say we need a government that is transparent, accountable, and focused on American interests: America First. We've

already saved—this administration has already saved \$190 billion in taxpayer money by rooting out this waste. That’s what accountability looks like. That’s what real leadership delivers.

Today’s hearing isn’t just about spreadsheets and it’s not just about budget line items. It’s about who controls the country: Unelected billionaires or the people who live, vote, and work here. It’s about restoring accountability and ending ideological free-loading on the taxpayers’ dime. It’s about drawing a line in the sand and saying, “No more.” It’s about the American people are tired of being lied to. It is about the American people being tired of their money funding somebody else’s political agenda. It’s about the American people being tired of being ignored.

Today, we’re going to follow the money. We’ll name the names. We will lay bare how the system was rigged, and we’ll make it clear, your tax dollars should serve only one purpose: The interest of the American people, not the Soros agenda, not the nonprofit cartel.

You know what’s a neat gig if you can get it? You make a nonprofit. You create a nonprofit. You spend a little bit of money. Then because you’ve got the nonprofit, all kinds of money pours in from the taxpayer. That’s not how the system was supposed to work. This country does belong to the American people, and it’s time Washington started acting like it.

With that, I recognize the Ranking Member, Ms. Crockett.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much, Mr. Chair, and thank you so much to our witnesses for being here.

Unfortunately, we are witnessing today yet another political stunt, plain and simple. Republicans are here drawing a clear line in the sand. They will stop at nothing to advance Donald Trump’s agenda, and the dangerous blueprint laid out in Project 2025, even if it means targeting the very groups that are working to protect our communities and support our law enforcement agencies.

Let’s be clear: My colleagues across the aisle have shown little to no interest in working with Democrats on real solutions for the American people. Instead of addressing pressing civil rights issues constituents actually care about, like wrongful deportations of U.S. citizens, ongoing efforts to undermine voting rights, or the serious flaws in our criminal justice system, this Committee is spending its time holding a hearing with a title that sounds like it was ripped from a conspiracy blog. This hearing, “How Leftist Nonprofit Networks Exploit Federal Tax Dollars to Advance a Radical Agenda.” Really?

When I listened to you, Mr. Chair—who I do respect—I heard you say things about why is it that we’re giving money in other places. I want to make sure that I answer that question because to put America first looks like we are going to keep American citizens safe. There is such a thing as soft power, and that is exactly what we were trying to do when we engaged in things such as USAID.

When you start to talk about whether or not Sesame Street or anything else that’s on *NPR* or *PBS* ends up in other places, this is not this warped thought process about the Western world or about the United States. We’re talking about making sure that we don’t end up allowing people to be radicalized against us

because they have a terrible vision of us, because they may be in a government that actually puts out bad, terrible propaganda about us. For pennies on the dollar, we are able to educate those around the world on who we really are in America and keep Americans safe.

Soft power is really power, and it minimizes how much money we have to spend, say, on dropping bombs in countries at a random time without, say, Congressional authority, but I digress. This kind of rhetoric—whether directed at nonprofits, their leaders, or elected officials—is not only reckless, but it is beneath the dignity of this institution. Sadly, this isn't the first time this has happened.

Over the past six months, we've seen hearing after hearing do nothing but attack nonprofits as well as those who are just generally on a mission to serve, protect, and uplift vulnerable communities.

In just my own Committees, this has got to be the second or third time I've had to sit through the same tired narrative. If my Republican colleagues are truly concerned about taxpayer dollars being misused for political agendas, I would encourage them to take a long, hard look in the mirror. Since we're here again spending more of the American people's money and time on political theater, let's at least stick to the facts.

Fact: Under the Trump Administration, the Department of Justice stripped hundreds of millions of dollars from the Office of Justice Programs, money that funded essential community safety initiatives like victim services, gang prevention, and reentry support.

Fact: Trump and Republicans slashed grants to organizations, like the National Organization for Victim Assistance which trains advocates who staff domestic violence shelters, hotlines, and rape crisis centers.

Fact: They cut over \$10 million in funding to the National Policing Institute, a nonprofit helping rural police departments reduce violent crime.

Fact: This week, Republicans are trying to gut PEPFAR, a life-saving program that partners with nonprofits around the world and has saved more than 26 million lives.

Let's not forget many of these cuts were laid out in Project 2025, a radical, far-Right playbook drafted by hyperconservative nonprofits for the express purpose of dismantling the very government institutions and systems that serve the public good. Ironically, we even have one of the authors of Project 2025 here with us today.

Let's not pretend this is about nonprofit accountability because, if it were, this Committee would also be investigating the Conservative Partnership Institute which has pushed anti-immigrant, anti-LGBTQ+, antivaccine propaganda, and hosted efforts to challenge the 2020 Election. Mind you, as we have these organizations that are pushing antivaccine propaganda, we know that measles has reached a 13-year high when measles had actually been over and done with. Now, that we don't believe in vaccines, now children are our targets, unfortunately. Yes, they are dying.

The New Century Foundation, a White nationalist organization that somehow maintains its 501(c)(3) status to launder hate speech through the language of "intellectual inquiry." They would investigate Turning Point USA, which has been linked to organizers of

the January 6th insurrection. The Republicans aren't talking about those groups because this isn't about accountability. It's about silencing organizations that challenge Republican power. It's about targeting nonprofits that protect the very people this Trump-aligned movement continues to harm.

These organizations are defending victims of unlawful actions. They are helping to combat global pandemics. They are supporting police departments when this very Committee won't. They are working to build safer, healthier communities while Trump and his allies defund them to hand out tax breaks to billionaires.

Maybe that's the real threat here. They are effective. They get people off the streets, out of prison, and into opportunity. They educate people about injustice, and that apparently scares some folks more than any so-called radical agenda because the only thing truly radical about these nonprofits is their belief that human beings deserve dignity, opportunity, and equal protection under the law, values my Republican colleagues seem to have forgotten along with love thy neighbor.

Instead of demonizing the groups trying to do right by our communities, maybe we should be asking how to support them, how to ensure taxpayer dollars reach the people who need it the most, because this hearing should be about public safety, not political vendettas. Until that happens, these hearings are doing more harm than good.

Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I yield back.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Ranking Member.

I now recognize the Chair of the Full Committee, Chair Jordan.

Chair JORDAN. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

In simple terms, they used your money against you. Take your tax money, spend it on stupid things and things you don't approve. This is what the Biden-Harris Administration did: Millions of taxpayer dollars on their progressive pet projects.

As the Chair highlighted, \$1 billion in DEI grants from the Education Department; \$2 million in grants for gender ideology from the Justice Department; and millions of dollars for progressive criminal justice reforms. Radical open-border activities, billions and billions of dollars for that. As the Chair mentioned, our favorite, of course, is Sesame Street in Iraq. Bert and Ernie, Big Bird in Baghdad. Wow. What a great use of taxpayer dollars.

That's what this hearing is about. It's talking about all the stupid things they spent your money on. Now, the good news is the American people said, "We're going to put President Trump in the White House," and he put this group together called DOGE, and they have identified all kinds of crazy things, and later this week, hopefully, maybe even today, the Senate is going to vote on the first package to rescind some of stupid things they took your money and spent it on.

I want to thank the Chair for his hard work on this Subcommittee—all the good hearings he has had—and for this hearing and thank our witnesses for being here.

With that, I yield back.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Chair. I now recognize the Ranking Member of the Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. Raskin.

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you very much, Chair Van Drew.

“Pointing fingers is for losers.” I’m quoting our colleague, Representative Chip Roy, from last week. This has become a mantra for our colleagues in the wake of the devastating flooding in Texas which cost already 132 lives with still 160 people missing. It’s now an article of faith among our colleagues.

In the age of climate change disasters, like Hurricane Helene, which cost 200 lives in North Carolina, or deadly tornadoes in the Midwest—you name it—in the age of out-of-control gun violence, whether in Uvalde, Buffalo, Charleston, or Parkland, we should never engage in finger-pointing or casting blame or attributing responsibility to individuals, although, of course, Donald Trump finger-points and casts blame at Democratic leaders as he did recently with Governor Newsom with the wildfires in California.

In any event, the point is we don’t really want to know which individuals are responsible. We should be addressing the underlying systemic problems, like climate change, effective emergency response and planning, or mass gun violence and reducing access to military-style assault weapons, rather than vilifying people and casting blame on a partisan basis.

Fine. Let’s adopt that rule. Finger-pointing is for losers. For this Committee, no to finger-pointing, yes to problem-solving. This entire hearing is nothing but an absurd political finger-pointing. It’s not even finger-pointing at people who actually run our government or occupy public office. It’s finger-pointing at not-for-profit groups, like Church World Service or Huyen Lutheran community services and the reviled philanthropist George Soros, who has given away hundreds of millions of dollars to make the world a better place.

I don’t like everything that every Right-wing, not-for-profit group does in America or around the world, but I don’t think it merits a full-blown Congressional hearing. We didn’t even have a hearing on the richest billionaire in the world, Elon Musk, who actually had a government job running DOGE, destroying large parts of our government and firing tens of thousands of our Federal workers. The Republicans didn’t even call in Elon Musk for a hearing or have a hearing about what he was doing, but they want to have a hearing in 2025 about George Soros, and all the old, tired, exhausted, absurd conspiracy theories again.

I don’t see any—and these witnesses can correct me if I’m wrong. I perused all their statements. I didn’t see a single one of them allege a single crime, or anything illegal going on. They just don’t like the things that he invests in. They don’t like what certain not-for-profit groups do. I don’t love everything that the Right-wing not-for-profits do. Why are we having a hearing about this? What an absurd waste of time.

If our motto is going to be, “finger-pointing is for losers,” this hearing is for losers, because all this is finger-pointing at somebody who doesn’t even have political power. This is an oversight hearing before the Oversight Subcommittee that’s not doing any oversight on the government. Indeed, the Judiciary Committee has not yet conducted a single oversight meeting this Congress with a single government witness. Not one.

They’ve not called Attorney General Bondi. They’ve not called FBI Director Patel. They haven’t even called anybody to talk about

George Soros from the government. They won't subject any of their government officials to any cross-examination by this panel.

Now, this is an absurd waste of our time. Why are we not addressing urgent policy problems like the pervasive, nationwide violation of due process and First Amendment rights by ICE and other Federal agents who arrive now in unmarked cars, in plain clothes, without badges or arrest warrants, and then snatch people off the streets and send them to a torturous prison in El Salvador? Do you think the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee should have an interest in defending due process?

Some of my colleagues say, "You're not for due process for guilty people, are you?" Well, yes, because we don't know if they're guilty until they've gotten due process. That's why "due process" are the two most beautiful words in the English language. It's what separates our rights and our freedoms from arbitrary State power.

Why are we not addressing the threats to the security and safety of judges who are working to uphold the rule of law, and now are subject not just to slander and defamation and signs all over Congress saying impeach this judge or that judge for standing up for the Constitution? Now, violent threats not just to them, but to their family members. Why are we not addressing the mass firing of dozens of experienced crime-fighting Federal prosecutors at the Department of Justice who have been fired en masse for the sole reason that they did their job and prosecuted police beaters, violent insurrectionists, and other rioters who attacked the Capitol on January 6, 2021, to overthrow a Presidential Election in the United States of America and attack our Constitution? Why are we not having a hearing about that?

We could actually have a hearing—here's something we can agree on, Mr. Chair, on a bipartisan basis. Why don't we have a hearing on what the whole country is talking about right now if you turn on the TV and go on the internet? Why don't we have a hearing about the continuing suppression and cover-up of the information in the Epstein files, about a child sex ring run by powerful people? The whole country—not just Republicans and MAGA, but liberal Democrats are in an uproar because President Trump, Attorney General Bondi, and their allies in the DOJ and FBI repeatedly claimed in public that the Epstein files have the names of power elite actors involved in human trafficking and sexual abuse of minors with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, and they promised to release all the information in the name of maximal transparency. Do you remember that?

They said this would be the most transparent administration in the history of the United States, but now they are shouting nothing to see here, sweeping it all under the rug, steadfastly refusing to release the files despite broad bipartisan demand to release the Epstein files after everything they have said publicly.

The Democrat Members of this Committee sent a letter today at 2 p.m., demanding that the President keep his word and release the files to the American people and that Chair Jordan call a bipartisan hearing where we can work together to get to the bottom of this. How about a hearing on that? Do any of my colleagues want to talk about that, or does everybody want to talk about George

Soros? I'm curious to know which of my colleagues support our call for a bipartisan hearing on the Epstein files.

Here we are at this utterly pointless hearing spinning absurd, discredited conspiracy theories again about George Soros. Again, I don't see a single claim of any criminality or illegality taking place. They don't like the guy's politics. I can find you 50 Right-wing billionaires whose politics I don't like. So what? What an utter absurd waste of time this is.

It's an attempt to change the subject obviously from what America wants to talk about now, which is why, after promising for all of these years to release the Epstein files, will President Trump not release them. We know they were friends. We know they hung out. We know there are all these pictures together. We know that Michael Wolff, Trump's biographer, said he saw photographs of Donald Trump and Epstein with minor-aged girls. Well, where does that leave us? That doesn't look good if they then cover up all the information. Come clean and release the information, as the Republicans have repeatedly promised to do.

I look forward to hearing—if there are any allegations of criminality or illegality, they should be turned over immediately to the Department of Justice today. Otherwise, this hearing, I'm afraid, Mr. Chair, is for losers. It's about finger-pointing at people who don't have any governmental power at all. It's old, recycled allegations, and we're not advancing the ball on anything.

At the very least, the Judiciary Committee should be demanding that the Epstein files be made public. That is a bipartisan agenda, or at least I thought it was, and if something has changed, please let me know. I thought that we were all for that together, and we should move on today.

Thank you, and I yield back.

Mr. VAN DREW. Mr. Ranking Member, I thank you for your testimony and fundamentally disagree with you on everything.

Without objection, all other opening statements will be included in the record, and we're now going to introduce today's—

Mr. RASKIN. Please elaborate if you would, Mr. Chair. I'm happy to hear it.

Mr. VAN DREW. I don't want to hold up the whole hearing. It would take a considerable amount of time. It really would. I want to give these fine gentlemen a chance from both sides of the aisle to place their testimony into the record, but we certainly could do that, and we may as we move along.

Now, today's witnesses. Thank you for being here, all of you.

Mr. Tyler O'Neil. Mr. O'Neil is a Senior Editor at *The Daily Signal*, a news and commentary outlet. He previously served as Managing Editor of *The Daily Signal* from 2022–2025 before transitioning to his current role to spend more time writing. Mr. O'Neil's articles focus on nonprofits among other topics.

Mr. Scott Walter. Mr. Walter is the president of Capital Research Center, a nonprofit watchdog organization. He previously served as Special Assistant to President George W. Bush and as Vice President of the Philanthropy Roundtable.

Mr. Gonzalez. Mr. Mike Gonzalez. Mr. Gonzalez is the—I want to say this right—Angeles T. Arredondo—say it for me.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Angeles T. Arredondo.

Mr. VAN DREW. You said it so much better. Thank you.

E pluribus unum—that, I can say—Senior Fellow at The Heritage Foundation where his research focuses on identity politics, multiculturalism, and foreign policy. He previously worked as a journalist and served in the Securities and Exchange Commission and the State Department.

Finally, Ambassador Luis C.deBaca. Mr. C.deBaca is a Professor from Practice at the University of Michigan Law School. He previously served as Ambassador-at-Large to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons during the Obama Administration where he worked to advance efforts to combat contemporary forms of slavery.

We will begin by swearing you all in. Would you please rise and raise your right hand?

Do you swear or affirm that under penalty of perjury, the testimony you are about to give is true and correct to the best of your knowledge, information, and belief, so help you God?

Thank you. Please be seated. Let the record reflect that the witnesses have answered in the affirmative.

Please know that your written testimony will be entered into the record in its entirety. Accordingly, we ask you to summarize your testimony in five minutes.

Mr. O'Neil, you may begin.

STATEMENT OF TYLER O'NEIL

Mr. O'NEIL. Mr. Chair, Ranking Member, thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today.

Did you know that millions of your tax dollars go to fund Leftist activist groups who then lobby the government for policies you may disagree with? The funding comes in at least three ways: Directly through contracts and grants, indirectly through unions taking Federal employees dues and sending a portion of it to activist groups, and then obliquely through taxpayer-funded union time.

Examples of direct funding are legions. The USAID awarded more than \$800,000 to New Venture Fund—a dark money, pass-through nonprofit that cloaks which donors give to which nonprofits—and \$27 million to the Tides Center, another dark money nonprofit that supports anti-Israel rioters among other issues.

An arm of the Open Society Foundations, the funding organ set up by Hungarian-American billionaire George Soros and now run by his son Alex, received so much money from USAID that it found it worthwhile to sue the agency to bypass guardrails on funding. The resulting legal battle reached the Supreme Court not once, but twice. The Justice Department, the key purview of this Committee, funded at least one major Soros-backed NGO.

George Soros supports rogue prosecutors who lower the penalties for crime. Not surprisingly, many of the cities with the highest murder rates have prosecutors backed by Soros. The Vera Institute of Justice, which says the criminal justice system is rooted in a history of White supremacy, received more than \$11 million from the Foundation to Promote Open Society. The Biden DOJ also paid Vera 73 million in contracts, mostly for providing legal services to immigrant children. In just over one year, HHS paid Vera nearly 200 million for refugee assistance.

Vera says it aims to establish a right to representation for all immigrants facing deportation. That's a rather curious stance to take under Biden, when at least nine million illegals entered the country. Meanwhile, NGOs received hefty government funding to house and transport immigrants across the country. The U.S. Committee For Refugees and Immigrants, one of many such groups, received 98 percent of its revenue—a whopping \$284 million—from government grants in the 2023 fiscal year. The Foundation to Promote Open Society gave the group \$75,000.

The government also supports the Left's dark money network indirectly. Federal employees in a union give part of their taxpayer-funded paychecks to the union, ostensibly for representation in bargaining for perks like working from home. Yet, instead of using all the money to help employees, unions take a portion of those dues and send it to activist NGOs.

The SEIU, for example, gave \$1.6 million to the New Venture Fund and \$1.8 million to the Tides Foundation. The AFL-CIO gave \$250,000 to the New Venture Fund, and \$100,000 to the Tides Foundation among other Left-wing groups. Both the SEIU and the AFL-CIO bankroll the Center for American Progress, which sent at least 60 staff into the Biden Administration, and Demos, which helped write and helped implement a policy turning government offices into voter registration machines likely to help Democrats.

Many of these unions have sued to block the Trump Administration's reforms to the Administrative State. Not only did the SEIU and AFL-CIO send part of members' dues to Leftist causes, but they also benefit from a process known as official time. Federal employees can bill the taxpayer for the time they spend not doing their jobs but doing work for the union. This creates another stream of taxpayer funds supporting unions that then back Leftist causes.

As we've seen, your tax dollars fund the Left's dark money network through grants, indirectly through union dues, and obliquely through taxpayer-funded union time. In this and other ways, Americans are forced to foot the bill for activist causes they may disagree with, like climate alarmism, gender ideology, open borders, and the Left's racial rhetoric. Congress should seek to prevent this perverse State of affairs.

[The prepared statement of Mr. O'Neil follows:]

The Perverse Ways Your Tax Dollars Fund the Left's Dark Money Network

**How Leftist Nonprofit Networks Exploit Federal Tax Dollars to Advance a Radical
Agenda**

Testimony before
The Subcommittee on Oversight
The Committee on the Judiciary
United States House of Representatives
Tuesday, July 15, 2025

Tyler O'Neil

Author, "The Woketopus: The Dark Money Cabal Manipulating the Federal Government"

The Perverse Ways Your Tax Dollars Fund the Left's Dark Money Network

My name is Tyler O'Neil.¹ I write and edit commentary and investigative reporting for The Daily Signal. I wrote two books, "Making Hate Pay: The Corruption of the Southern Poverty Law Center" and "The Woketopus: The Dark Money Cabal Manipulating the Federal Government." The views I express in this testimony are my own.

Chairman Van Drew, Ranking Member Crockett, members of the subcommittee, I am honored to be invited to testify before you today.

Did you know that millions of your tax dollars go to fund leftist activist groups, who then lobby the government for policies you may disagree with?

Part of this money comes through government grants and contracts, paying activist groups to do work on behalf of the government, but some of it comes through the salaries of government employees.

About a quarter of federal employees are union members,² and the major government unions don't just negotiate for perks like working from home. They also bankroll the same leftist groups that sent staff and policy recommendations into the Biden administration, using the bureaucracy to force leftist ideology on the American people.³

The Service Employees International Union gave \$1.6 million to New Venture Fund, a dark money pass-through nonprofit that cloaks which donors give to which projects, from 2013 to 2022. SEIU also gave \$5.2 million to Sixteen Thirty Fund, New Venture Fund's sister nonprofit, from 2013 to 2023. The union gave \$1.8 million to the Tides Foundation, another dark money pass-through nonprofit that supports anti-Israel rioters, among other things, from 2012 to 2016. The SEIU also gave \$1.1 million to Tides Advocacy Fund (a sister of Tides) from 2011 to 2019.⁴

¹ The Daily Signal Institute is a charitable organization recognized as exempt under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. It is privately supported and receives no funds from any government at any level, nor does it perform any government or other contract work.

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Members of The Daily Signal Institute staff testify as individuals discussing their own independent research. The views expressed are their own and do not reflect an institutional position of The Daily Signal Institute or its board of directors.

² "Union Members—2024." The Bureau of Labor Statistics. Jan. 28, 2025.

<https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/union2.pdf> Accessed July 13, 2025.

³ O'Neil, Tyler. "The Woketopus: The Dark Money Cabal Manipulating the Federal Government." New York: Bombardier Books, 2025.

⁴ O'Neil, Woketopus. p. 85.

The AFL-CIO, America's largest union, gave \$410,000 to Sixteen Thirty Fund from 2014 to 2017, \$250,000 to New Venture Fund from 2010 to 2017, \$468,000 to Tides Advocacy from 2021 to 2023, \$200,000 to the Tides Center in 2011, and \$100,000 to the Tides Foundation in 2015.⁵ The American Federation of Government Employees, the largest union in the federal government, forms part of the AFL-CIO. AFGE has aggressively filed lawsuits to block President Trump's reforms to make the administrative state more accountable to the president.⁶

Both the SEIU and the AFL-CIO bankrolled the Center for American Progress, which sent at least 60 staff into the Biden administration, and Demos, which wrote and helped implement a policy to turn government offices into voter registration machines likely to help Democrats.⁷

Federal government employees can receive taxpayer funds for time they spend not doing their job but working for the union. The Office of Personnel Management once published how much money the unions effectively received from the taxpayer, but the office stopped publishing the figures under President Biden.⁸

This taxpayer-funded union time indirectly contributes Americans' tax dollars to the Left's dark money network.

Of course, the government also directly supports the Left's dark money network. USAID awarded more than \$800,000 to New Venture Fund⁹ and \$27 million to the Tides Center, a sister of the Tides Foundation.¹⁰

George Soros, a Hungarian American billionaire, has funded a broad swath of the Left through his Open Society Foundations, which his son Alex now runs.

⁵ O'Neil, Woketopus. p. 84.

⁶ O'Neil, Tyler. "DEEP STATE ALLIES: Who Are the Leftist Groups Suing to Block Trump's Reforms?" The Daily Signal. Feb. 14, 2025. <https://www.dailysignal.com/2025/02/14/who-are-leftist-groups-suing-block-trumps-reforms-root-out-deep-state-woketopus/> Accessed July 11, 2025.

⁷ O'Neil, Woketopus. pp. 84-85, 117-120, 307-322.

⁸ O'Neil, Tyler. "The Sneaky Way Government Unions Rake in Taxpayer Money, and How Congress Can Fight It in Reconciliation." The Daily Signal. Feb. 23, 2025. <https://www.dailysignal.com/2025/02/23/sneaky-way-government-unions-rake-taxpayer-money-how-congress-can-fight-reconciliation/> Accessed July 10, 2025.

⁹ USA Spending Cooperative Agreement AID0AAA1000074. https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_AID0AAA1000074_072 Accessed July 13, 2025.

¹⁰ USA Spending. Grants AID0AAA1600007, AID0AAG1600029, AID0AAG1400006, and AIDOFDAF1400004. Summarized in O'Neil, Tyler. "USAID's Troubling Ties to the Woke Nonprofits That Called the Shots in the Biden Administration." The Daily Signal. Feb. 16, 2025. <https://www.dailysignal.com/2025/02/16/woketopus-usaids-troubling-ties-woke-nonprofits-called-shots-biden-administration/> Accessed July 9, 2025.

Arms of the Open Society Foundations have long received funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development, which has rightly become exhibit A of the waste, fraud, and abuse in the federal government.

In 2001, the Soros foundations network listed USAID among its “donor partners,” alongside other government aid agencies in countries such as Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria.¹¹

Alliance for Open Society International, an arm of the Open Society Foundations, received just under \$2 million from USAID between 2007 and 2008.¹² The State Department awarded the Alliance for Open Society International more than \$600,000 for programs in Belarus and Kazakhstan during the Obama administration.¹³

The Alliance for Open Society sued USAID twice, challenging the government’s requirement that organizations receiving taxpayer funds had to sign an anti-prostitution pledge. The Supreme Court struck down the pledge requirement when applied to U.S.-based organizations, but it upheld the requirement for foreign entities, which lack First Amendment rights.¹⁴ The alliance was the formal name of Open Society Institute Baltimore, which closed in 2023.¹⁵

“The claims that the Open Society Foundations, founded by George Soros, receive funding from USAID or direct the funding of a multibillion-dollar U.S. government agency are manifestly false,” the foundation said in a February news release. “These allegations are part of a broader effort to undermine international development work and delegitimize the independent funding of civil society organizations worldwide.”¹⁶

Many organizations that receive Open Society funding also take government money, some of that money from the Justice Department, the purview of this committee.

¹¹ Soros Foundations Network 2001 Report. https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/0025bb89-fc0b-4dd6-b134-5d861e9095ef/a_complete_9.pdf Accessed Feb. 23, 2025.

¹² USA Spending. Grant AID122A000200042 https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_AID122A000200042_072 Accessed July 9, 2025.

¹³ USA Spending. Grant SLMAQM11GR635 https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_SLMAQM11GR635_019 and Grant SLMAQM11GR0635 https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_SLMAQM11GR0635_019 Accessed July 9, 2025.

¹⁴ Supreme Court. Agency for International Development v. Alliance for Open Society International. (2020) https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/19pdf/19-177_b97c.pdf Accessed July 9, 2025.

¹⁵ OSI Baltimore. OSF to close OSI-Baltimore after 25 years; will invest \$20 million to seed the future of social justice philanthropy. Feb. 16, 2023. <https://www.osibaltimore.org/2023/02/osf-to-close-osi-baltimore-after-25-years-will-invest-20-million-to-seed-the-future-of-social-justice-philanthropy/> Accessed July 9, 2025.

¹⁶ Open Society Foundations Press Release “False Claims Regarding Open Society, George Soros, and USAID.” Feb. 12, 2025. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/newsroom/false-claims-regarding-open-society-george-soros-and-usaid> Feb. 23, 2025.

None stands out more than the Vera Institute of Justice, which claims that “the American criminal justice system is rooted in a history of white supremacy and racial control that spans from slavery and Jim Crow to the War on Drugs and modern police brutality.”¹⁷ The group aims to end “mass incarceration” in part by “redefining public safety” and decreasing the role of police.¹⁸

Vera has also taken extreme stances against the enforcement of immigration law. It has declared that federal immigration agencies are a “threat to civil liberties”¹⁹ and launched an initiative to “establish a right to representation for all immigrants facing deportation.”²⁰

The Open Society Foundation’s funding for this nonprofit may not come as a surprise. Democracy PAC, a Soros super PAC, has backed the election campaigns of “rogue prosecutors” in what Heritage Foundation scholars Zack Smith and Cully Stimson describe as “a devious scheme to replace law and order prosecutors with zealots opposed to the death penalty.” In the thirty U.S. cities with the highest murder rates, at least fourteen have prosecutors backed or inspired by Soros. The murders in those fourteen cities accounted for 68% of the homicides in the thirty top homicide cities through June 2022.²¹

Since 2016, the Foundation to Promote Open Society has given more than \$11 million to the Vera Institute.²²

During the Biden administration, many agencies bankrolled Vera. The Justice Department paid the group at least \$73.6 million in contracts, mostly for providing legal services for immigrant children. The DOJ also gave Vera more than \$7 million in grants.²³ In just over one

¹⁷ Turner, Nicholas. “Acknowledging Black History Requires Uncomfortable Honesty.” Vera Institute of Justice. Feb. 5, 2019. <https://www.vera.org/news/acknowledging-black-history-requires-uncomfortable-honesty> Accessed July 10, 2025.

¹⁸ “Redefining Public Safety Initiative.” Vera Institute of Justice. <https://www.vera.org/ending-mass-incarceration/criminalization-racial-disparities/public-safety/redefining-public-safety-initiative> Accessed July 10, 2025.

¹⁹ “Federal Immigration Enforcement Agencies Are a Threat to Our Civil Liberties.” Vera Institute of Justice. July 13, 2020. <https://www.vera.org/news/federal-immigration-enforcement-agencies-are-now-a-threat-to-our-civil-liberties> Accessed July 10, 2025.

²⁰ “Advancing Universal Representation Initiative.” The Vera Institute of Justice. <https://www.vera.org/ending-mass-incarceration/reducing-incarceration/detention-of-immigrants/advancing-universal-representation-initiative> Accessed July 10, 2025.

²¹ Smith, Zack and Cully Stimson. *Rogue Prosecutors: How Radical Soros Lawyers Are Destroying America’s Communities*. New York: Bombardier Books, 2023. pp. x–xi.

²² Open Society Foundations Grants Search for “Vera Institute.” https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/past?filter_keyword=Vera+Institute Accessed July 10, 2025.

²³ USA Spending Search for recipient “Vera Institute of Justice” from Jan. 20, 2021 to Jan. 20, 2025. <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=42459e41cc0120c1ee8be2e91371f17b> Accessed July 10, 2025.

year, the Department of Health and Human Services' Administration for Children and Families paid Vera \$196.3 million for "refugee and entrant assistance."²⁴

Meanwhile, many former Vera Institute staff went on to work in the federal government.

- Sean Addie, a former senior program associate at Vera, joined the Department of Education as "director of correctional education" in January 2016, where he remains to this day, according to his LinkedIn profile.²⁵
- Guillermo Cantor, former associate director of research at Vera, went on to work for HIAS (a nonprofit that received federal funding to house and transport immigrants across the country) as senior director of the Center for Refugee Policy. He now serves as director of research and policy at the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, a quasi-independent federal agency.²⁶
- Kevin Stewart, a former consultant at Vera, now serves as a policy advisor at the Justice Department, where he started in July 2024, according to LinkedIn.²⁷
- Chiraag Bains, who spent years at the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division under Barack Obama, worked at the Open Society Foundations, and directed legal strategies at the leftist group Demos before joining the Biden White House, got one of his earliest jobs at the Vera Institute.²⁸

The fact that the Biden administration paid the Vera Institute millions specifically to provide legal services to immigrants as 9 million illegal aliens entered the country under Biden should set off alarm bells, yet Vera is far from the only organization that fits this pattern.²⁹

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, one of the nonprofits that transported illegal aliens across the country under the Biden administration, reported receiving the vast majority of its \$289 million in revenue from government grants (\$284 million for 98.2%).³⁰

²⁴ USA Spending Contract 75P00121C00019. https://www.usaspending.gov/award/CONT_AWD_75P00121C00019_7570_-NONE_-NONE- Accessed July 10, 2025.

²⁵ "Sean Addie." LinkedIn profile. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/sean-addie-4aab013/> Accessed July 11, 2025.

²⁶ "Guillermo Cantor." LinkedIn profile. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/guillermocantor/> Accessed July 11, 2025.

²⁷ "Kevin Stewart." LinkedIn profile. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/kevin-stewart-2685276b/> Accessed July 11, 2025.

²⁸ "Chiraag Bains." LinkedIn profile. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/chiraagbains/details/experience/> Accessed July 11, 2025.

²⁹ O'Neil, Woketopus. pp. 237-241.

³⁰ U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants Form 990 Part VIII for fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 2023. <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/131878704/202442129349301489/full> Accessed July 9, 2025.

The Department of Health and Human Services awarded the committee \$1.1 billion during the Biden administration.³¹

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants received \$75,000 in grants from the Foundation to Promote Open Society between 2017 and 2021. A 2021 grant supported the committee in developing “a community sponsorship program that will expand resettlement support for refugees and other forcibly displaced populations.”³²

A climate activist group, the National Wildlife Federation, also stands out as an example of taxpayer dollars funding a group that benefits from the Left’s dark money network.

The federation pushes the narrative of “environmental justice,” which combines the idea that America is structurally racist with the suggestion that the burning of fossil fuels will cause massive environmental disaster. Mustafa Santiago Ali, the federation’s vice president, moderated a Democratic presidential forum on “environmental justice” in 2019 during which he declared that “environmental racism is the new Jim Crow in regards to food, housing, jobs, education.”³³

Two former federation staff took leadership positions in the Department of the Interior under Biden: Laura Daniel-Davis and Tracey Stone-Manning.³⁴

Yet the federation’s influence in permanent Washington goes back decades. In 2009, an Interior Department probe into the Bureau of Land Management found that BLM was consulting NWF staff on budgeting, and NWF staff were writing and editing official BLM materials to promote the federation’s priorities. An Inspector General report found that this cozy relationship created “the potential for conflicts of interest or violations of law.” Yet for some reason, the Obama Justice Department declined to prosecute.³⁵

These cozy relationships also brought money to the left-wing activist group. The federation received at least \$17,000 from the Environmental Protection Agency for “Earth Tomorrow,”

³¹ USA Spending. Grants search results for U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants from Jan. 20, 2021, to Jan. 20, 2025. <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=c7c996b3abff868ccdcdc9ce9ccf0000> Accessed July 9, 2025.

³² Open Society Foundations, “Awarded Grants” page search results for “Committee for Refugees.” https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/past?filter_keyword=Committee+for+refugees&grant_id=OR2017-38528 Accessed April 2, 2024.

³³ “WATCH: 2019 Presidential Forum on Environmental Justice.” Democracy Now. November 8, 2019. https://www.democracynow.org/live/watch_2019_presidential_forum_on_environmental Accessed May 7, 2024.

³⁴ O’Neil, Woketopus. pp. 129-131.

³⁵ O’Neil, Woketopus. pp. 132-134.

an after-school and summer education program that the federation describes as its “longest-standing environmental justice education program.”³⁶

The EPA awarded the federation \$8.7 million in grants during the Biden administration, and it wasn’t alone. The Department of Agriculture awarded the group \$5 million. Interior agreed to give the federation \$2.9 million. The Department of Homeland Security awarded \$1.2 million. The Trump administration has clawed back some of this money, but millions still made it through.³⁷

The EPA awarded the federation \$8 million in July 2023, for the group to “design, operate, and lead a Mid-Atlantic thriving communities hub to be an environmental justice thriving communities technical assistance center.” The Trump administration canceled this grant in February, but not before EPA had paid \$1.5 million.³⁸

Meanwhile, the federation spent \$460,000 on lobbying in Congress in 2024.³⁹

New Venture Fund gave the federation \$800,000 between 2010 and 2016.⁴⁰

Direct grants and contracts from the federal government to left-wing activist groups rightly draw attention, but the union funding often goes under the radar. In these and other ways, Americans’ tax dollars fund the Left’s dark money network, propping up activist groups that push the government in radical directions.

Congress should seek to prevent this perverse state of affairs.

³⁶ “Project Title: Earth Tomorrow: An Interdisciplinary After-School And Summer Program.” EPA Grant Awards Database. https://web.archive.org/web/20210926122450/https://yosemite.epa.gov/oarm/igms_egf.nsf/9e-9c2a5934a808d585256fb6006df292/5079abae84d6366185257d6f0071ee16!OpenDocument Accessed May 7, 2024, via Internet Archive.

³⁷ USA Spending. Search results for recipient “National Wildlife Federation” between Jan. 20, 2021, and Jan. 20, 2025. <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=d2cdd9d8aef2612e74e92038d024b206> Accessed July 10, 2025.

³⁸ USA Spending. Grant 95314201. https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_95314201_068 Accessed July 10, 2025.

³⁹ “National Wildlife Federation” lobbying profile on OpenSecrets. <https://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/national-wildlife-federation/summary?id=D000064937> Accessed July 10, 2025.

⁴⁰ “New Venture Fund.” Form 990, Schedule I, for 2010–2016, accessed via ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer on April 27, 2024.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Mr. O'Neil.
Mr. Walter, you may begin. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF SCOTT WALTER

Mr. WALTER. Chairman Van Drew, Ranking Member Crockett, and the distinguished Members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the honor of testifying. I am the President of the Capital Research Center where we study money flows to nonprofits and other special interests.

America's nonprofit sector is one for glories, the envy of the world, but though I admire many American nonprofits, including, for instance, The Heritage Foundation, I don't want tax dollars going to The Heritage or to my own nonprofit, and neither they nor we ever have or will accept a penny of government money. If tax dollars ever go to a nonprofit, it should probably be performing biblical good works: Healing the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and the like. Tax dollars should never go to nonprofits best known for pushing controversial social issues or meddling in politics here and abroad. Yet, that is what so many federally funded nonprofits, especially those receiving USAID funding, have done.

This improper funding harms both the charitable sector and our politics. It harms innocent American nonprofits abroad by stigmatizing all American nonprofits. I've heard from leaders of those nonprofits who resent their genuine good works being ignored as they become and localize just one more American NGO fighting for Soros' hard-Left agenda.

Imagine you're a nonprofit leader who struggles to raise private funding as she desperately fights human trafficking in a poor country. Meanwhile, a wealthy Soros-funded network of NGOs in the same country receiving the American Government's imprimatur through USAID funds is loudly trying to decriminalize the very prostitution that's the engine driving the human trafficking you are trying to stop. This Left-wing collusion of government and NGOs not only hurts your noble charitable work directly. It also makes local citizens and government view you as the enemy.

The same improper funding hurts our politics as well. We hear a lot about so-called dark money in politics, but what is darker than the funding of alleged charities that work in foreign countries to elect politicians they like to, say, the European Parliament, or to enact government policies involving controversial issues like prostitution and abortion, or even to change entire regimes? Much evidence has been published on the Soros' network trying to do these things as well as on the NGO networks of other American billionaires, including those with the same last name, foundation.

My written testimony documents that massive amounts of tax dollars going to numerous improper grantees. Examples include the 15 groups receiving Federal funds who sued the current administration in just its first month. Four were Justice Department grantees and three USAID grantees. Then, there's TransLatina Coalition, a radical group that advocates for, among other things, expanding abortion, abolishing ICE, and one day abolishing the police. It receives funding from Justice as well as Labor and HHS. Fully half of its 2023 revenues came from government, proving that

so many NGOs, nongovernmental organizations, are really BGOs, basically government organizations.

Another group should especially worry this Judiciary Committee: The Environmental Law Institute, which receives funds not only from Justice, but also from the EPA, the National Science Foundation, and the Departments of Homeland Security, Agriculture, and State. It runs the notorious Climate Judiciary Project, which allegedly educates Federal and State judges on climate issues, but whose speakers, as one critic notes, come exclusively from the climate tort bar's witnesses and amicus brief filers. Senator Cruz accurately describes it as "ex parte indoctrination."

Many more grantees boosting the Left's agenda occur in the immigration field. As one critic puts it, billions of tax dollars have been used to construct a shadow immigration system that operates in direct defiance of U.S. Federal immigration law, yet is financed partly by Congressional appropriations. One Justice Department grantee in this area is Chinese For Affirmative Action, which denounced Secretary Rubio's policy of revoking visas for persons tied to the Chinese Communist Party as racist and dangerous.

Another Justice Department grantee and contractor is the Acacia Center for Justice, spun off from the Vera Institute, a hard-Left, Soros-backed group famous for its soft-on-crime, soft-on-illegal immigration advocacy. It received \$769 million from the last administration, though it insists no immigrant should be detained, electronic surveillance of illegal aliens must be abolished, and the use of local law enforcement for immigration purposes must be dismantled.

If this funding were put to a vote of the American public, little to none of it would survive the democratic process. This funding is democracy suppression. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Walter follows:]

Written Testimony to the House Judiciary

Subcommittee on Oversight

Rep. Jefferson Van Drew, chairman

Hearing on “How Leftist Nonprofit Networks Exploit Federal Tax Dollars
to Advance a Radical Agenda”

Scott Walter

President, Capital Research Center

July 15, 2025

Chairman Van Drew, Ranking Member Crockett, distinguished members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the honor of testifying. I'm president of the Capital Research Center, where we study private and governmental money flows to special interest groups.

As your title points out, left-wing nonprofits have a history of exploiting the American taxpayer to fund their agendas. These groups' private donors, like the notorious George Soros, have a right to spend their own money to advance the causes they believe in, just as other persons have a right to criticize the grave harms done by their giving. But these politicized “charities” do not have a right to commandeer other Americans' tax dollars for their divisive work, and you and other Congressional committees have a duty to expose these money grabs to a public who will be shocked to learn how extensive these schemes are and often how radical are the efforts being financed.

The nonprofit where I work has existed for four decades but has never taken money from any governmental entity. The same is true of the Heritage Foundation, another conservative nonprofit testifying today. This self-restraint is understandable when one considers that conservatives support *limited*, Constitutional government.

Alas, left-wing groups see nearly every expansion of government, especially at the national level, as desirable, and one wonders about their motives when one sees how the growth of government can track neatly with the groups' own growth in revenues. Indeed, at the Capital Research Center we note that many NGOs—"Non-Governmental Organizations"—are in fact BGOs: Basically Governmental Organizations. Over 35,000 of these groups receive most of their funds from government, not citizens.¹

Federal Grantees Suing the Government

Nor are these groups afraid to bite the hand that feeds them. Just in the first month of the current Administration, 15 groups who had received federal cash from the previous Administration sued the current Administration, mostly to protest cuts in their receipt of tax dollars, which totaled \$1.6 billion.² Four of the 15 had enjoyed support from the Justice Department: the American Bar Association, the American Federation of Government Employees union, Church World Services, and Northwest Immigrant Rights Project. Three of the 15 had received support from the US Agency for International Development (USAID): the AIDS Vaccine Advocacy Coalition, the Journalism Development Network, and Management Sciences for Health. Since then, many more federal grantees have piled on with still more litigation, using our tax dollars to try to ensure they receive ever more tax dollars.

¹ <https://blog.candid.org/post/how-many-nonprofits-rely-on-government-grants-data/>.

² Full details are given in Appendix 1, *infra*.

The Solidarity Center and Other Federal Grantees

Another union entity enjoying taxpayer support is the Solidarity Center,³ child of the country's largest union federation, the AFL-CIO, and chaired by the AFL-CIO's president. The Solidarity Center champions unions, which are major allies of one U.S. political party even as less than 10 percent of American workers deign to join a union.⁴ The Center also champions radical agendas in support of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) and "climate justice."⁵ It's suing the current administration because the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) recommended that Solidarity's federal funding be cut off. It received \$61 million of its all-time federal awards of \$86 million under President Biden. By no coincidence, three Solidarity employees served in his Labor Department.⁶ Solidarity receives 99 percent of its total revenue from American taxpayers.⁷ It is, again, an offspring of the AFL-CIO, which gave 86% of its 2024 political donations to Democrats.⁸

Another Labor Department grantee is NextGen Climate America (aka, NextGen Policy), which was awarded \$6 million in 2024 for apprenticeship programs. This 501(c)(3) "charity"⁹ is part of a network of nonprofits and PACs using the NextGen name and created by Democratic megadonor Tom Steyer.¹⁰ After the 2024 election, NextGen's executive director declared the group was "incredibly disheartened" by Trump's victory. He promised the group would "fight for progressive policy change to address environmental, social, racial, gender, and economic inequities in California through justice-centered legislative advocacy, grassroots partnerships, and democratic civic engagement."¹¹

³ Officially, the American Center for International Labor Solidarity.

⁴ <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/union2.pdf>.

⁵ See <https://www.influencewatch.org/labor-union/american-center-for-international-labor-solidarity-solidarity-center/>.

⁶ Tyler O'Neil, "Labor Department Confirms Bureaucrat on Leave Amid Woke Conflict of Interest Questions," Daily Signal, June 2, 2025; <https://www.dailysignal.com/2025/06/02/union-activist-group-got-millions-grants-after-former-employee-went-work-grant-making-agency/>.

⁷ See p. 9 of <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/521984713/202443189349306369/full>.

⁸ <https://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/afl-cio/recipients?id=d000000088>.

⁹ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/nextgen-policy-nextgen-california/>.

¹⁰ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/steyer-network/>.

¹¹ <https://www.nextgenpolicy.org/nextgen-california-issues-statement-on-2024-general-election/>.

Another grantee of political value to the last administration is UnidosUS, which under the Biden administration was awarded tens of millions in grants from four different departments.¹² Calling itself “the nation’s largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy program,” UnidosUS insists American immigration laws are rooted in racism, advocates gun control and abortion, and opposes school resource officers. Its 501(c)(4) sister organization endorsed Joe Biden in 2020 and Kamala Harris in 2024.

An especially radical federal grantee is TransLatin@ Coalition, a transgender advocacy group that the last administration awarded millions of dollars in total from the Justice Department and the Labor and Health and Human Services Departments, enough to cause the group to disclose that half of its 2023 revenue came from government.¹³ It hopes to achieve “a radical shift in the approach to Trans Liberation” and advocates ensuring youth access to puberty blockers, the decriminalization of various offenses it calls “survival crimes,” and expansive abortion access, in part because “carrying a child creates bodily changes that can cause dysphoria and prohibit trans men from ‘passing.’” It also supports abolishing U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and calls the abolition of police an “ideal” outcome.¹⁴ Majorities of Americans who vote in our democratic elections would oppose their tax dollars going to support this radical agenda, so perhaps we should call such funding “democracy suppression.”

The National Day Laborer Organizing Network,¹⁵ another left-wing grantee from 2021 through 2024,¹⁶ attacks Republican politicians in vicious terms. For instance, it helped its Biden paymasters when Donald Trump selected J.D. Vance as his running mate by having its general counsel write a blog post calling Vance “reprehensible,” a “menace,” and a “Trump-certified white nationalist.”¹⁷ Similarly, the National Urban League was awarded \$80.3 million worth of grants between 2021 and 2024 by the Labor Department,¹⁸ and so in 2023 government grants

¹² <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=d161f39c3a8a4e0681197838106e33b4>.

¹³ See p. 9 of <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/273801872/202412359349300921/full>.

¹⁴ See TransLatin@ Coalition, “Trans Policy Agenda 2024”;

https://www.translatinacoalition.org/s/TLC_Trans_Policy_Agenda_2024.pdf.

¹⁵ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/national-day-laborer-organizing-network/>.

¹⁶ <https://www.usaspending.gov/search/?hash=f3357f3ad15903504e2c3c5ce2d20ed5>.

¹⁷ <https://web.archive.org/web/20250216115120/https://ndlon.org/ndlon-reaction-to-vance/>.

¹⁸ <https://www.usaspending.gov/search/?hash=5fc84c82c4956335f47b2f37b443107c>.

accounted for 40 percent of its total revenues.¹⁹ As my colleague Robert Stilson reports, the League is a reliable ally of the radical left-wing agenda. It has characterized our criminal justice system as plagued by “brutality,” praised President Biden’s death row commutations, described voter ID laws—which are supported by every racial group²⁰—as “racially-targeted voter suppression tactics,” attacked objections to DEI policies as “white supremacist,” urged new gun control legislation such as a federal assault weapons ban, and called the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* “horrifying.”²¹ The League’s president was rewarded with a featured speech to the 2024 Democratic National Convention, a speech that the League boosted over its social media even though it is a 501(c)(3) charity forbidden to intervene in elections.²²

Defending Political Grantees from DOGE

When the House Oversight and Government Reform Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (DOGE) recently held a hearing on “Public Funds, Private Agendas: NGOs Gone Wild,”²³ the Democratic Members invited a witness to defend the previous administration’s NGO grantees. They chose Diane Yentel, head of the National Council of Nonprofits. It was a perfect choice to demonstrate how left-wing nonprofits enrich themselves off the taxpayers while driving a political agenda that most of those taxpayers oppose.

Ms. Yentel and her Council are, of course, suing the Trump administration over budget cuts. What lawyers have they hired? The Democracy Forward Foundation, whose board includes President Biden’s chief of staff Ron Klain and has as its chairman Marc Elias, the Democratic “super-lawyer” whose partisanship is unrivaled.²⁴ Previously Ms. Yentel was a Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) employee in the Obama administration. She’s a “D.C.

¹⁹ <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/131840489/202402999349302015/full>.

²⁰ 82% of Black and 83% of Hispanic voters favor photo ID laws; https://honestelections.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/July_2023_HEP-Polling_Memo.pdf.

²¹ Citations for all quotations are in Robert Stilson, “DOGE and the Department of Labor,” Capital Research Center, January 9, 2025; <https://capitalresearch.org/article/doge-and-the-department-of-labor/>.

²² <https://x.com/NatUrbanLeague/status/1825669578451546573>.

²³ <https://oversight.house.gov/hearing/public-funds-private-agendas-ngos-gone-wild/>.

²⁴ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/democracy-forward-foundation/>.

Insider” according to the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, which reports that Biden considered her for a cabinet post.²⁵ Her previous job was leading the National Low Income Housing Coalition, an NGO that advocates for ever-more federal spending by HUD²⁶ and uses identity politics to justify its agenda.²⁷

In one typical tweet, Ms. Yentel attacked DOGE and defended the radical Vera Institute of Justice,²⁸ which in 2023 received \$207 million—or 79 percent—of its \$263 million total revenues from government. The Vera Institute is a hard-left, George Soros-backed group whose priorities—soft-on-crime policies and the legal defense of illegal aliens—are opposed by America’s democratic majority.²⁹ Its biggest vendor in its last IRS filing was Blue State Digital,³⁰ which began life as President Barack Obama’s digital campaign team and now serves the Left’s nonprofits. Blue State is openly partisan, bragging that its 2012 presidential campaign for Obama “mobilized tens of millions of voters, raised an unprecedented \$690 million online, and won 332 electoral votes on Election Day.”³¹

Improperly Influencing Climate Litigation

Federal funding of politically active environmentalist groups is a vast morass of corruption, especially the scandalous \$27 billion Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund in the so-called Inflation Reduction Act. This topic was considered in the House DOGE Subcommittee hearing mentioned earlier, and my fellow witness Daniel Turner gave a devastating summary of this slush fund that deserves quotation at length:

²⁵ <https://www.philanthropy.com/article/an-outspoken-ceo-rises-to-defend-nonprofit-sector-in-turbulent-times>.

²⁶ <https://nlihc.org/federal-budget-and-spending>.

²⁷ <https://nlihc.org/explore-issues/policy-priorities/fair-housing>.

²⁸ <https://x.com/dianeyentel/status/1912628724656112011>.

²⁹ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/vera-institute-of-justice/>.

³⁰ See p. 8 of <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/131941627/202411369349319281/full>.

³¹ <https://www.bluestate.co/case-studies/obama-for-america-2012/>.

...a staffer from an environmental group called The Coalition for Green Capital named Jahi Wise joined the Biden EPA to direct \$27 billion in green funding.³² For context, \$27 billion is larger than the budgets of the Departments of Treasury, Interior, and Commerce, yet Mr. Jahi went through no confirmation process, and his decision to direct tens of billions to organizations of his choosing had no Congressional oversight. Conveniently, under his tenure at this new EPA office, \$5 billion was granted to his former organization, the Coalition for Green Capital. The abundance of green dollars created a new, pernicious mechanism: create a group for the sole purpose of getting government grants. For example, Power Forward Communities was only a few months old when it applied for, and received, nearly \$9 billion to distribute at its own discretion. One lucky recipient was an organization affiliated with two-time Georgia gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams. With only \$100 in the bank this group received \$2 billion.³³

Some of these billions are being clawed back by the current administration, but I'm confident that the monies that do reach left-wing operatives like Stacey Abrams will pay political dividends to the party that dispatched the country's tax dollars to its cronies.

At the same hearing, I testified about the Climate Judiciary Project, run by the Environmental Law Institute—an institute that from 2021 to 2024 enjoyed millions of dollars of awards for grants and contracts from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA); the Departments of Justice, Homeland Security, Agriculture, and State; and the National Science Foundation. Its Climate Judiciary Project is allegedly “educating” federal and state judges about climate change and related litigation designed to extract billions of dollars from energy companies. But a more accurate description of its work has been given by Climate Litigation Watch, which reports that this scheme is an “effort by the plaintiffs’ climate tort movement ... to brief federal judges on the plaintiffs’ cases with what they declare to be ‘the science’ behind climate, with speakers drawn exclusively from the world of plaintiffs’ witnesses or historic amicus brief filers in support of the climate litigation complex.” Climate Litigation Watch has a longer description³⁴ of how the Climate Judiciary Project occupied its initial host organism, the Federal Judicial Center. In a

³² <https://freebeacon.com/energy/activist-slush-fund-biden-epa-official-steered-5b-to-his-former-employer/>.

³³ Testimony of Daniel Turner, <https://oversight.house.gov/hearing/public-funds-private-agendas-ngos-gone-wild/>.

³⁴ <https://climatelitigationwatch.org/prepare-the-judges-lest-ye-be-judged/>.

recent hearing³⁵ on climate lawfare, Sen. Ted Cruz provided the simplest description of the Climate Judiciary Project: “*ex parte* indoctrination.”

Funding Immigration Activists

Many more cases of “democracy suppression” occur in the area of immigration. Tyler O’Neil has a valuable chapter on the problem in his book *The Woketopus: The Dark Money Cabal Manipulating the Federal Government*,³⁶ which chronicles the billions of federal tax dollars that go to nonprofits who are paid to assist immigrants, legal and illegal, and of course can be counted on to lobby for ever-more tax dollars to be spent on the project as well as to denounce any public figure who advocates the majority view of Americans; namely, that our immigration laws should be enforced.

Likewise, Mark Krikorian of the Center for Immigration Studies recently testified to the House’s DOGE subcommittee about the many millions of dollars in federal grants, especially from USAID and the Department of State, going to NGOs that operate throughout Latin America in order to encourage immigration to America. “Through cash aid, legal advice, mental health sessions, and travel help,” Krikorian reports, “these actors have constructed a de facto shadow immigration system. This parallel system operates in direct defiance of U.S. federal immigration law yet is financed in part through congressional appropriations.”³⁷

Notable Justice Department Grantees

³⁵ <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/committee-activity/hearings/enter-the-dragonchina-and-the-lefts-lawfare-against-american-energy-dominance>.

³⁶ Bombardier Books, 2025; <https://www.amazon.com/Woketopus-Money-Manipulating-Federal-Government/dp/B0DFVK74TZ>.

³⁷ <https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/Krikorian-Written-Testimony.pdf>.

Chinese for Affirmative Action. While nearly every federal department has grants and contracts that show left-wing groups exploiting the federal fisc to advance radical causes, it is especially appropriate for your committee to consider Justice Department grantees that demonstrate this problem. Consider for example, Chinese for Affirmative Action. It received \$2 million for “a holistic, multi-disciplinary, trauma-informed, community-based approach to documenting [Asian American and Pacific Islander] hate incidents and provide crisis response, care and healing to those individuals and communities affected by hate incidents.”³⁸

All decent Americans oppose hate crimes against any ethnic group, but this Justice grantee does a lot of work that would be far less popular than that admirable cause. For example, it issued a press release condemning the Supreme Court’s recent ruling on nationwide injunctions,³⁹ and it stated that Secretary of State Marco Rubio’s policy of revoking visas for “those with connections to the Chinese Communist Party or studying in critical fields” is a “racist and dangerous attack.”⁴⁰ The grantee raises money off of its fights against the Trump administration⁴¹ and openly admits its political work: “In San Francisco, we expect to prevail on each of the ten ballot measure positions we took,” including “defeating wasteful police boondoggles.”⁴² Lastly, the group employs Kelly Wong, the controversial non-citizen now sitting on San Francisco’s election commission despite not being able to vote legally.⁴³

Gault Center. This Justice grantee advocates for attorneys for youths and received around \$4.5 million in grant awards under the previous administration,⁴⁴ although this year it has already lost a grant that covered about half its annual budget.⁴⁵ It publishes a youth immigration defense tip sheet and other materials behind a password-protected website.⁴⁶ It also has a “racial justice toolkit” that is similarly kept behind a password,⁴⁷ and it published a document last month that

³⁸ https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_15PBJA24GK02981JAGP_015.

³⁹ <https://caasf.org/press-release/asian-american-leaders-and-elected-officials-condemn-supreme-court-decision-weakening-injunctions-against-trumps-birthright-citizenship-order/>.

⁴⁰ <https://caasf.org/2025/05/fact-sheet-for-chinese-student-visa-holders/>.

⁴¹ <https://caasf.org/2025/05/spring-newsletter-2025-trump-isnt-slowing-down-but-neither-are-we/>.

⁴² <https://caasf.org/2024/11/caas-statement-on-the-2024-election/>.

⁴³ <https://nypost.com/2024/02/21/us-news/non-citizen-chinese-immigrant-is-sworn-in-on-sfs-election-commission/>.

⁴⁴ <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=a3921f6d02dcf9895c53b1ed03122a5a>.

⁴⁵ <https://imprintnews.org/justice/juvenile-justice-2/trump-delivers-massive-blow-to-youth-justice-programs/260778>.

⁴⁶ <https://www.defendyouthrights.org/issues/immigration/>.

⁴⁷ <https://www.defendyouthrights.org/resources/racial-justice-toolkit/about-the-toolkit/>.

subtly advises lawyers that their clients can try to obtain asylum by claiming to be transsexual.⁴⁸ It provides advice on how to keep illegal alien clients from being deported,⁴⁹ and its private funders include the John Arnold Foundation and the Annie E. Casey Foundation, which has a history of working with George Soros's Open Society philanthropies.⁵⁰

Chicago CRED. This Justice grantee is a violence intervention group co-founded by Obama Education Secretary Arne Duncan and left-wing philanthropist Laurene Powell Jobs. It was awarded \$3.9 million in 2024. The group demonstrates at the state capital, demanding "permanent state funding"⁵¹ and attended the 2018 March for Our Lives gun-control rally in Washington.⁵² It has been attempting to receive Illinois Medicaid funding, too.⁵³ It has also advocated for another government funding stream, SNAP benefits (formerly known as food stamps), at a roundtable in its offices to which it invited Chicago's Democratic Rep. Chuy Garcia, whom GovTracker.us rates as the "ninth most politically left" Member of the 435 Members of the House of Representatives.⁵⁴

Acacia Center for Justice. This Justice Department grantee and contractor spun off from the Vera Institute, the hard-left, Soros-backed group famous for its soft-on-crime, soft-on-illegal immigration advocacy. Its federal awards in the previous administration topped \$769 million, although after the *Washington Free Beacon* ran an article on the group in which Capital Research Center was quoted, Acacia had its funding cut by the current administration. The *Beacon's* initial article reported that the left-wing group serves as the lead contractor for a massive federal immigration contract even as it claims our immigration system is "intentionally designed" to exploit "Black and brown people." Acacia, the *Beacon* adds, insists that "no immigrant should be detained," argues electronic surveillance to track illegal aliens "must be abolished," and demands

⁴⁸ <https://www.defendyouthrights.org/wp-content/uploads/Practice-Advisory-Trans-Asylum-Claims.pdf>.

⁴⁹ For example, <https://www.defendyouthrights.org/wp-content/uploads/alert-protecting-noncitizens-er.pdf> and <https://www.defendyouthrights.org/wp-content/uploads/Protections-Against-Immigration-Enforcement-That-Come-from-Court-Orders.pdf>.

⁵⁰ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/annie-e-casey-foundation/>.

⁵¹ <https://www.chicagocred.org/blog/community-violence-intervention-groups-rally-for-permanent-state-funding-hundreds-gather-in-springfield-as-state-budget-takes-shape/>.

⁵² <https://www.chicagocred.org/blog/cred-men-travel-to-washington-dc-to-rally-against-gun-violence/>.

⁵³ <https://kffhealthnews.org/news/article/medicaid-violence-prevention-new-state-funding-guns-firearms/>.

⁵⁴ https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/jesus_garcia/412774/report-card/2024.

that “the use of local law enforcement for immigration purposes ... must be dismantled.”⁵⁵ My colleague Parker Thayer commented to the *Beacon* that “It would be absurd for the government to continue funding a soft-on-crime, open borders activist group that has openly stated its intention to work against the incoming administration.” Soon after, the *Beacon* published a follow-up story, reporting that Acacia said the Department of the Interior ordered it to “stop all work” on its contract to provide legal services to unaccompanied alien children.⁵⁶

Activating Change. This grantee was awarded around \$10 million in the previous administration.⁵⁷ It uses the identity politics concept of “intersectionality” in its advocacy for resources for deaf and disabled victims, particularly those who are ethnic minorities, claiming they are in greater need due to societal oppression and the disadvantages they suffer from being disabled.⁵⁸ Launched in 2005 as a fiscally sponsored project of the notorious Vera Institute, mentioned previously, in 2021 it became an independent nonprofit.⁵⁹

Conclusion

The groups and grants mentioned here are only the tip of the iceberg of federal funding for left-wing nonprofits. Entire books could be written on the abusive funding enjoyed by such divisive, radical groups, and much more data can be found in Capital Research Center’s ongoing catalogue of the problem at TheDogeFiles.org, which chronicles some of the worst grants from department after department. If such funding were put to a vote of the American public, little to none of it would survive the democratic process. The more powerfully that Members of Congress can reveal this sordid cronyism to the public, the more support will increase to end these abuses.

⁵⁵ <https://freebeacon.com/politics/no-immigrant-should-be-detained-says-left-wing-nonprofit-with-769-million-federal-immigration-contract/>.

⁵⁶ <https://freebeacon.com/trump-administration/trump-admin-halts-769-million-contract-to-left-wing-group-that-says-immigration-system-intentionally-designed-to-exploit-minorities/>.

⁵⁷ <https://www.usaspending.gov/search?hash=50c1d3dcf6ba66018a19107c6bee0b2a>.

⁵⁸ <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/activating-change/>.

⁵⁹ <https://www.activatingchange.org/our-mission>.

Every American has a right to voice his or her political opinions and to fund megaphones to amplify those opinions, but no nonprofit or American—especially no billionaires like George Soros, Bill Gates, or Pierre Omidyar—has a right to take the tax dollars of other Americans to fund their opinions.

Thank you.

Appendix 1

Federal Grantees Suing the Second Trump Administration in its First Month

Name	Type	EIN/Tax ID	FY2024	FY2021-2024	Awarding Agency(s)
American Bar Association	501(c)(6)	36-0723150	\$5,900,000	\$6,175,718	DHS, DoT, DoJ, DoS, DoD
American Federation of Government Employees	501(c)(5)	53-0025740	\$10,000	\$80,200	DoJ
American Public Health Association	501(c)(3)	13-1628688	\$6,900,000	\$22,300,000	HHS
AVAC	501(c)(3)	94-3240841	\$4,800,000	\$16,100,000	USAID
Brazilian Worker Center	501(c)(3)	04-3273525	\$160,000	\$775,837	DoL
CASA, Inc.	501(c)(3)	52-1372972	\$1,900,000	\$5,495,000	HHS, DoL, EPA, DoT, FCC
Church World Service	501(c)(3)	13-4080201	\$315,800,000	\$776,100,000	DoS, DoJ, HHS, DHS
HIAS, Inc.	501(c)(3)	13-5633307	\$113,300,000	\$350,200,000	DoS, HHS
Journalism Development Network	501(c)(3)	26-0898750	\$3,300,000	\$4,299,778	USAID, State
Lutheran Community Services Northwest	501(c)(3)	93-0386860	\$347,553	\$1,979,575	HHS, CNCS
Management Sciences for Health	501(c)(3)	04-2482188	\$99,400,000	\$426,800,000	USAID, GSA
New York Immigration Coalition	501(c)(3)	13-3573409	\$60,000	\$240,000	CNCS
Northwest Immigrant Rights Project	501(c)(3)	91-1393082	\$750,000	\$2,650,000	DoJ
ROC United	501(c)(3)	01-0939141	\$160,000	\$570,000	DoL
SAGE	501(c)(3)	13-2947657	\$1,200,000	\$1,894,080	HHS
		TOTAL	\$553,987,553	\$1,615,660,188	

Source: USASpending.gov

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Mr. Walter. Mr. Gonzalez, you may begin.

STATEMENT OF MIKE GONZALEZ

Mr. GONZALEZ. Thank you, Chair Van Drew, Ranking Members Crockett and Raskin, for giving me the opportunity to appear before you today. The views I express are my own, and should not be construed as representing the official position of The Heritage Foundation.

For over a decade, I've studied how Leftist nonprofits, particularly George Soros' Open Society Foundations, team up with government agencies like USAID to push the pet causes of the Left domestically and overseas. These agendas promoting divisive issues, like transgenderism for minors, euthanasia, and drug decriminalization lack broad support in the U.S. and harm our national security interests by alienating conservative societies overseas. Eliminating this nexus between Big Left and our money is at the heart of much of what DOGE has done since President Trump took office.

I have firsthand experience with how this nexus can hurt Americans. In March 2017, I wrote a The Heritage Foundation report calling for Congress and the State Department to investigate joint efforts between Soros groups and USAID. I wrote that,

In the promotion of radical agendas in several countries, USAID has found an ideal partner in George Soros, who throws his considerable fortune behind efforts to fight traditional Western values.

The hearings I called for in my piece never took place until today, but something did happen to me. Two and a half months after my report, a shadowy outfit calling itself the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project published a sinister article that smeared me and The Heritage Foundation. When I looked into it, it turned out that the OCCRP was funded both by Soros foundations and USAID.

I quickly wrote a column refuting their smears and said the OCCRP did what bullies always do: It backtracked amending its report. Let's not lose sight of what happened. A foreign entity backed by Soros and my own tax dollars was attacking me, an American, for daring to question the influence of the nexus in Macedonia.

I want to underline that I believe it is Soros' right to spend his money supporting his convictions. I may not agree with these ideas, but I would not call for interference in any American's right to act politically. Likewise, of course, some of the USAID programs did do good. I'm glad that Secretary Rubio says he will keep some programs if they advance U.S. interests. What I do take issue with is the U.S. Government working with Leftist NGOs to promote causes with which large majorities of Americans disagree and which are inimical to U.S. interests.

You see, the Left has cleverly built a machine to finance itself with money that the taxman extorts from hardworking Americans. Because it has captured the cultural heights, this new Left has been able to invent some terms that make resistance difficult. Thus, we have sustainability, sex workers, and compassion care rather than economy-crushing climate extremism, prostitution in human trafficking, and killing grandma once she has become a bur-

den. It doesn't matter what you call any of these activities, however. They all turn cities into Dantesque hellholes and leave behind human debris, men and women who are empty husks rather than beings with purpose and hope.

The collusion between Big Left and taxpayer money peaked under the Obama and Biden Administrations. In Guatemala, USAID's focus on activists who also received financing from Soros institutions and the Ford Foundation, frustrated the pro-U.S. President Alejandro Giammattei, who once told me he thought our embassy was undermining his government.

In Hungary, USAID provided funding to the OSF which went on to spend \$781 million between 2016–2023 in pursuit of its political agenda. Hungary—lest we forget—is a strategically located U.S. ally, whether liberals like its pro-U.S. Prime Minister or not. The same thing happened in Macedonia where an advisor to former President Ivanov—also pro-U.S.—told me that USAID and OSF had begun a regime-change operation.

Dismantling this nexus is critical. This is why President Trump has taken up arms against woke universities, museums, and public broadcasters—a battle being played out in the Senate today—and other institutions laundering the hard-earned money of Americans on behalf of Cultural Marxism. However, I also urge this Committee to demand a comprehensive audit of USAID and government entities to expose how taxpayer money is spent and with whom.

I want to thank you for your time and for letting me address this important matter.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gonzalez follows:]



CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

How Leftist Nonprofit Networks Exploit Federal Tax Dollars to Advance a Radical Agenda

Testimony before
The Subcommittee on Oversight,
Committee on the Judiciary,
U.S. House of Representatives

July 15, 2025

Mike Gonzalez
Angeles T. Arredondo *E Pluribus Unum* Fellow
and
Senior Fellow in the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy,
of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for
National Security and Foreign Policy

The Heritage Foundation

My name is Mike Gonzalez. I am the Angeles T. Arredondo *E Pluribus Unum* Senior Fellow at The Heritage Foundation. The views I express in this testimony are my own and should not be construed as representing any official position of The Heritage Foundation.

I have written for many years now about how George Soros and his Open Society Foundations (OSF) and other progressive and radical entities team up with U.S. government entities to promote leftist causes overseas. This nexus is at the heart of this hearing and at the heart of much of what DOGE has done since President Donald Trump took office in January. Eliminating the node is essential as the policies it promotes remain controversial within

American society itself and not only does this overseas promotion not serve any clear national security interests, but in fact it may harm these interests as well as individual Americans themselves.

Indeed, I have firsthand experience with how this nexus can be perniciously used to hurt Americans. In March 2017, I wrote a report for the Heritage Foundation calling for Congress and the State Department to probe how groups funded by Mr. Soros teamed up with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to promote abroad leftist causes. I wasn't alone. Six senators wrote a letter to then-Secretary of State Rex Tillerson asking him to investigate this connection.¹

¹ News release, "GOP Senators Call on Sec. Tillerson to Investigate State Department Meddling," Office of

Senator Mike Lee, March 14, 2017.
<https://www.lee.senate.gov/2017/3/gop-senators-call->

Prophetically, as it turns out today, I suggested that “congressional committees should hold hearings.”²

I recommended that “USAID should be more fully incorporated into the State Department to ensure that its decisions support U.S. interests and diplomatic priorities.” The reason was that “the Obama Administration at times turned USAID into one of its preferred instruments for promoting contentious agendas that have failed to gain consensus acceptance within America society itself. These agendas—from transgender rights³ and same-sex marriage⁴ to training foreign citizens in street “activism,” “civic engagement,” and “mobilization”⁵—have caused deep rifts here.”

Then, I added the Soros component. “In the promotion of radical agendas in several countries, USAID has found an ideal partner in George Soros.” I wrote that since the fall of the Berlin Wall, “Soros has thrown his considerable fortune, estimated at \$25 billion,⁶ behind efforts to fight traditional Western values and standards and in support of transnational governance that erodes national sovereignty.”

I wrote in my report, and I want to underline to this subcommittee again, that I believe it is Soros’s right as an individual American to act on his convictions, and spend his money supporting causes in which he believes. I may not agree with these ideas, but I would not call for interference with any American’s right to act politically. What I do take

issue with is the U.S. government working with his foundations as a partner, especially as these foundations, or others linked to them, were often made the main implementers of USAID programs.

The investigation that I called for into this nexus never came, nor did the hearings—until today, that is—but something did happen to me. Two and a half months after my report appeared, on June 13, 2017, a shadowy outfit with the portentous name of the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP), published a sinister report that accused Heritage of “aligning with Kremlin propaganda,” and suggested that because I had written some pieces about Soros’s influence in the small Balkan country of Macedonia, I must have been lobbied. It also alleged that “Gonzalez was unapologetic” and about this made up and libelous Heritage support for Putin.

My reaction was to write my own post days later making the record clear.⁷ I called the alleged Heritage support “a complete misrepresentation of the truth.” At that point, the OCCRP blinked. Two days after my article appeared, it changed the text of its report to claim that it was Republicans—not Heritage—who were “aligning with Kremlin propaganda.” Then it added a footnote that read, “*This article was changed on 23 June 2017 to correctly describe a reference to a March 24 article by Mike Gonzalez of the Heritage Foundation.*”⁸

But what was the OCCRP? As I wrote at the time,

[on-sec-tillerson-to-investigate-state-department-meddling](https://www.lee.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases?ID=B5BD5596-25C8-495F-A8B1-A4D248649C04)

<https://www.lee.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases?ID=B5BD5596-25C8-495F-A8B1-A4D248649C04> (accessed March 24, 2017).

² Mike Gonzalez, State Department and Congress Should Probe USAID, Soros Promotion of Radical Agenda Overseas. The Heritage Foundation. March 27, 2017. <https://www.heritage.org/gender/report/state-department-and-congress-should-probe-usaid-soros-promotion-radical-agenda>

³ Alana Marsili, “Openly LGBTI and in Office: A Historic Election for Guatemala,” USAID, November 20, 2015, <https://blog.usaid.gov/2015/11/openly-lgbti-and-in-office-a-historic-election-for-guatemala/> (accessed March 24, 2017).

⁴ Social Change Initiative, “Campaigning for Change Karina Garcia, US Embassy Dublin,” YouTube, September 6, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bz-E857Hx_4 (accessed March 24, 2017).

⁵ Mike Gonzalez, “How Soros Money Is Corrupting Politics in This Small European Nation,” The Daily Signal, March 2, 2017, <http://dailysignal.com/2017/03/02/how-soros-money-is-corrupting-politics-in-this-small-european-nation/>

⁶ “Profile/George Soros,” Forbes, March 22, 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/profile/george-soros/> (accessed March 24, 2017).

⁷ Mike Gonzalez, Foreign Soros-Backed Media Outlet Bashes Conservatives With US Taxpayer Dollars. The Heritage Foundation. June 21, 2017. <https://www.dailysignal.com/2017/06/21/foreign-soros-backed-media-outlet-bashes-conservatives-us-taxpayer-dollars/>

⁸ Aubrey Belford and Saska Cvetkovska, How Macedonia’s Scandal-plagued Nationalists Lobbed America’s Right and Pulled Them Into an Anti-Soros Crusade. OCCRP. June 13, 2017. <https://www.occrp.org/en/project/spooks-and-spin-information-war-in-the-balkans/how-macedonias->

it was “almost fully funded by Soros” and also received support from USAID. “And now, this group bearing the imprimatur of the U.S. government—literally, on its website—is being used to target Republicans in Congress and conservative think tanks like The Heritage Foundation who have dared to question the nexus between Soros and the U.S. government,” I wrote. “The U.S. government is funding a media outlet that is actively going to bat for Soros, and right after his groups’ lucrative contracts with the U.S. government have been called into question.”

The OCCRP report, I added, was “a tendentious, innuendo-filled, one-sided attack on those who are criticizing the OCCRP’s paymaster.” What happened, clearly, is that I, an American, was being harassed by a foreign organization funded by Soros and my own tax money. As I asked in my article, “Is this really what our tax dollars are paying for?”

It was, until President Trump and Secretary of State Marco Rubio decided to take apart USAID and look under the hood. As Secretary Rubio put it to Rep. Gregory Meeks at a House Foreign Affairs Committee meeting on May 21, “Yes, we canceled a bunch of contracts in USAID, some were stupid and outrageous, others didn’t serve the national interests and others we kept. And we are folding it under the Department of State. You know why? Because we want it to be part of the toolbox of foreign policy.”⁹

Instead, USAID has been funding media that calls itself “independent” and groups that call themselves Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are of course neither of those things if they depend on government funding and Soros’s ideas as to how the world should operate. The Hungarian Secretary of State for International Communications Zoltan Kovacs wrote in January that “The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been quietly financing 6,200 journalists and 707 media outlets worldwide—including in Hungary. Their mission? To promote a

specific ideological agenda, one that aligns with left-liberal interests.”¹⁰

Kovacs added that, “Official records show that under the Biden administration, [USAID] funded hundreds of media NGOs—many of which operate as lobbying organizations rather than neutral press outlets.” Kovacs complained bitterly about a visit by Biden’s USAID Director Samantha Powers visit to Budapest in February, 2023 and met with media-focused NGOs, calling it “a strategic discussion on how to expand the reach of opposition-aligned media with U.S. financial support.” I remember that visit because I myself wrote about it for the Washington Examiner. I asked: “Why is the Biden administration funding agitation against Hungary, a NATO ally with a pro-American population? It’s got nothing to do with national security. Hungary may sit strategically at the crossroads of Europe, but what irritates the liberals in the White House is that its government stands up for Western values.”¹¹

Hungary’s Center for Fundamental Rights says that prior to President Trump’s re-election, the Open Society network’s financing was provided partly by the U.S. “deep state through various channels, one of them being the now defunct USAID. While organizations promoting migration, gender ideology, woke insanity or identity politics no longer receive support from USAID, this does not mean that they are suddenly left without funding. Indeed, the Open Society Foundations (OSF), established by George Soros, spent \$781 million between 2016 and 2023 to bankroll 1,846 ‘non-governmental organizations’ [in Hungary] in pursuit of its political agenda.”¹²

Liberals will dismiss Kovacs complaints because they may not like his boss, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, especially since he is a well-known foe of George Soros. But Hungary is an ally, and Hungarians have time and again elected Orbán’s party. The last thing we should be doing is alienating a government and a population that is pro-American and seeking regime change in a NATO ally.

[scandal-plagued-nationalists-lobbied-americas-right-and-pulled-them-into-an-anti-soros-crusade](#)

⁹ Secretary Rubio testifies before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. May 21, 2025. YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EAGqh7ivvus>

¹⁰ Zoltan Kovacs, About Hungary, February 10, 2025.

[About Hungary - USAID's billions: How Washington and Brussels fund media to control narratives](#)

¹¹ Mike Gonzalez, Biden Takes the Culture War to Hungary. The Washington Examiner. February 28, 2023. [Biden takes the culture war to Hungary - Washington Examiner](#)

¹² Center for Fundamental Rights. “SOROSAID,” March 1, 2025.

What the Trump Administration is doing at the present moment, thus, is taking apart the nexus between taxpayer money and the Left's pet causes. I believe that breaking up this node is the animating idea behind many of the successful crusades taken up by the Trump Administration.

This is also why President Trump has taken up arms against woke universities, museums, public broadcasters, USAID, and many other institutions that are used to launder the hard-earned money of Americans on behalf of cultural Marxists intent on dismantling society. It is important for this committee and for Americans watching this hearing at home to understand what is at play and what are the stakes.

The Left has for quite a few years now cleverly built this machine to finance itself with money that the taxman extorts from hardworking Americans, and conservatives have stood by as patsies, allowing themselves to be rolled. This Left I am referring to is not your grandfathers' liberals, who may have disagreed with conservatives over the size of government, the top marginal tax rate, and the regulatory framework. We are not facing Dick Gephardt, Tip O'Neil and Ralph Nader. The new Left has abandoned tinkering with policy and seeks now to undermine the very foundations of society. If indeed we have systemic racism, and systemic oppression, as this new, cultural Left claims, "well then we need to sweep out the entire system." The thing is, though, that system is just a fancy Greek word for the way everything works. So the change the new Left seeks is totalizing.

Because it has captured the cultural heights, that is, the institutions that create meaning, this new Left has been able to invent new terms and breathe life into old ones. This has lulled many of us, especially the young, whom we so thoughtlessly left in the charge of this new Left, into thinking that their causes are the righteous ones and that conservative ideals are conspiracies driven by fear and ignorance. The new terms are created to make resistance well-nigh impossible.

Thus, we have "sustainability," "reproductive rights," "sex workers," "legal regulation of drugs," "gender-affirming care," "compassioned care," and "restorative justice," rather than economy-crushing

climate extremism, baby killing, prostitution, government-aided drug addiction, the grotesque mutilation of minors, killing grandma once she's become a burden, and soft-on-crime policies. It doesn't matter what you call any of these activities, however; they all undermine social structures, make cities into Dantesque hell holes, and leave behind human debris, men and women who are empty husks rather than beings with purpose and hope.

Sustainability, gender-affirming care, and restorative justice are however the palliative terms employed by NPR, the Smithsonian, and Ivy League universities, all of whom receive gobs and gobs of public funding year in and year out. The American worker, hard put as he or she is to make ends meet, pay taxes into a structure that seeks to destroy their way of life, in one of the most perverse exchanges ever devised.

USAID channeled money into these causes through different means, but especially through its collusion with Soros's ironically named (when considering the spiritual vacuum that their programs leave behind) "Open Society Foundations." Not only did these causes not advance U.S. national interests, but they positively harmed them, causing backlashes in conservative societies.

One could say that the collusion between USAID and Soros's Open Society Foundations has been a deliberate and strategic partnership to push a progressive agenda. This collaboration, rooted in the shared goal of reshaping societies, began about five years after Soros entered the philanthropic world. It was in the early 1990s, in what I would argue was the noble effort of helping societies that had been imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain to regain their democratic footing. Soon after Bill and Hillary Clinton entered the White House in 1993, the new administration realized how in-synch their worldview was with that of the men and women in Soros world, and how they could join forces, and money, to finance a leftwing agenda first in Eastern Europe, and then the world. "Soros was Clinton and Clinton was Soros in the Balkans," a frustrated Macedonian Member of Parliament told the journalist Victor Gaetan.¹³

And it wasn't just the Balkans. In a very lengthy profile in the New Yorker in 1995, Morton

¹³ Victor Gaetan, Macedonia to George Soros and USAID: Go Away. March 24, 2027. The American

Spectator. <https://spectator.org/macedonia-to-george-soros-and-usaid-go-away/>

Abramowitz, then the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said that Soros had become “the only man in the U.S. who has his own foreign policy—and can implement it.” To which Clinton’s Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot added, “I would say that it is not identical to the foreign policy of the U.S. government—but it’s compatible with it. It’s like working with a friendly, allied, independent entity, if not a government. We try to synchronize our approach to the former Communist countries with Germany, France, Great Britain—and with George Soros.”¹⁴

Since then, this nexus has funneled taxpayer dollars to advance Soros’s radical ideology under the guise of promoting causes that sound good, such as for example “civic engagement,” “education” or “democracy” itself, but are in fact programs designed to teach street activism, and indoctrinate young minds into accepting a nihilist view of humanity that knows no God, family, or country—nothing transcendental.

A 1993 USAID document details joint programs with Soros’s foundations to train professionals in countries like Bulgaria and Romania.¹⁵ In 2001, Soros’s OSF listed USAID as one of its donor partners.¹⁶ Also listed were agencies of other governments, as well such progressive foundations as Ford, MacArthur, Bill and Melinda Gates foundations, and the Carnegie Corporation. The document details in several places how USAID and OSF teamed up around the world on “harm reduction” efforts, a euphemism for leniency with drug use and reducing the impact of anti-narcotics policies and laws. In December 2001, USAID signed a \$2 million cooperative agreement with the Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan as part of their “harm reduction” approach.¹⁷ In the name of

women’s health, OSF introduced medical abortion to Albania, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovakia. OSF’s “Network Public Health Programs” brought manual vacuum aspiration to Macedonia, Moldova, and Russia, the abortion procedure which suctions out a preborn child from the mother’s uterus.

These efforts dating from the 1990s and 2000s positioned OSF as a key implementer of USAID’s programs, something that then took off during the Obama administration, as its officials realized they had found the goose that laid the golden egg that would help pay to radicalize the world. During the Biden years, OSF and USAID remained close partners. As my colleagues Max Primorac and James Roberts have written, his officials treated “the U.S. foreign aid apparatus as a global platform from which to implement overseas a rigidly ideological and domestically divisive agenda to promote abortion, climate action, ‘gender equity,’ and ‘racial justice,’ goals that are likely to undermine the economic prospects and self-reliance of USAID’s beneficiaries.”¹⁸

Financial records show the extent of this collusion. Over the past 15 years, USAID funneled over \$270 million to the East-West Management Institute (EWMI), an OSF partner, for projects like “judicial reform” and “civil society training” in countries such as Albania and Cambodia.¹⁹

This judicial reform is more accurately described as judicial overhaul. The funding from USAID was directed to the Justice for All campaign, which granted excessive judicial control to Albania’s socialist leadership. This new judicial system was used by socialist leaders to imprison

¹⁴ Connie Bruck, *The World According to George Soros*, *The New Yorker*, January 15, 1995.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1995/01/23/the-world-according-to-soros>

¹⁵ <https://sjguardian.org/soros-cash-cow-how-usaid-became-the-funding-arm-of-global-unrest/>.

¹⁶ https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/0025bb89-fc0b-4dd6-b134-5d861e9095ef/a_complete_9.pdf.

¹⁷ https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/0025bb89-fc0b-4dd6-b134-5d861e9095ef/a_complete_9.pdf. Page 94

¹⁸ Max Primorac and James Roberts, *Congress Must Stop Biden’s Misuse of U.S. Foreign Aid to Impose His Radical Social Agenda in the World*. The Heritage Foundation, May 10, 2022.

<https://www.congress.gov/118/meeting/house/116508/documents/HHRG-118-GO06-20231025-SD004.pdf>

¹⁹ Doescher, Tiana Lowe. “USAID gave \$270 million to a Soros NGO, but it only needed \$9 million to doom democracy in Albania.” *Washington Examiner*. Feb. 7, 2025.

https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/3313896/usaaid-gave-270-million-soros-ngo-only-needed-9-million-doom-democracy-albania/#google_vignette

political opponents.²⁰ The EWTN's Justice for All campaign promoted an investigation and political persecution of former Prime Minister Sali Berisha, an opponent of Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama, a close confidant of Soros who gave a toast at his son's Alex Soros's recent lavish wedding in Long Island.

Judicial Watch has also found evidence of collaboration between the State Department and USAID with Soros to financially support leftist activist groups in Macedonia to destabilize their government.²¹ Between February 27, 2012, and August 31, 2016, USAID gave \$4,819,125 in taxpayer money to OSF.²² Judicial Watch, linking to a USAID page that no longer exists, said that "The USAID's website links to www.soros.org.mk, and says the project trained hundreds of young Macedonians 'on topics such as freedom of association, youth policies, citizen initiatives, persuasive argumentation and use of new media'."²³ Gaetan described it as "U.S.-funded programs [that] have provoked Saul Alinsky-style violence and ethnic division, inspiring a political crisis since 2015."²⁴

²⁰ Silke Mayr, February 8, 2025. "USAID funding linked to Soros raises concerns in Albania."

<https://euronews24.com/usa-id-funding-linked-to-soros-raises-concerns-in-albania/>.

²¹ <https://www.judicialwatch.org/judicial-watch-new-documents-show-state-department-and-usaid-working-with-soros-group-to-channel-money-to-mercenary-army-of-far-left-activists-in-albania/>.

²² <https://www.judicialwatch.org/judicial-watch-sues-state-department-usaid-records-funding-political-activities-george-soros-open-society-foundation-macedonia/>.

²³ Kevin J. Jones, For George Soros, Ireland abortion fight may be first step against Catholic countries, Catholic News Agency, Aug. 18, 2016. <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/34398/for-george-soros-ireland-abortion-fight-may-be-first-step-against-catholic-countries>

²⁴ Open Society Foundation, Our History, Reducing Harm from Drug Use. 2017. Expanding the Drug Policy Debate through Art. 2018. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/who-we-are/our-history>

²⁵ Maria Victoria Llorente, "After Decades of Conflict, Colombia Could Finally Be on the Precipice of Peace," Open Society Foundations, March 23, 2016,

Soros's activities are not limited to the Balkans, of course; they circle the world, from Mongolia and Ireland to Guatemala and Kenya, where OSF's influence shapes political outcomes to align with its globalist ideology. Soros's OSF has spent millions to legalize abortion in places as diverse as Ireland, Mexico, Zambia, Nigeria and Tanzania,²⁵ to decriminalize drugs in Africa and Latin America,²⁴ promote a peace accord with narco-Marxist rebels in Colombia that the citizens of that country rejected in a referendum,²⁵ push for transgender rights in Guatemala,²⁶ portray Israel as a violator of human rights,²⁷ and legalize prostitution all over the world,²⁸ among many other global initiatives. Here in the U.S., Soros also spends billions to transform America along all these policy fronts, as he also very interested in shaping our own country to his views. He funds all matter of progressive policies, including transgender programs,²⁹ and assisted suicide. Soros launched the Project for Death in America through his Open Society Foundations, committing \$45 million over nine years to efforts supporting euthanasia.³⁰

But Macedonia's conservative government of Nikola Gruevski elected in 2006 appears to have

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/after-decades-conflict-colombia-could-finally-be-precipice-peace> (accessed March 24, 2017).

²⁶ Alana Marsili, "Openly LGBTI and in Office: A Historic Election for Guatemala," USAID, November 20, 2015, <https://blog.usaid.gov/2015/11/openly-lgbti-and-in-office-a-historic-election-for-guatemala/> (accessed March 24, 2017)

²⁷ Eli Lake, "A Soros Plan, a Marginalized Israel," Bloomberg View, August 16, 2016, <https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2016-08-16/how-george-soros-threatens-to-make-israel-a-pariah> (accessed March 24, 2017)

²⁸ Open Society Foundations, "Understanding Sex Work in an Open Society," last updated October 2015, <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/explainers/understanding-sex-work-open-society> (accessed March 24, 2017)

²⁹ Open Society Foundations Awarded Grants. https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/past?filter_keyword=transgender&page=2&grant_id=OR2020-75915

³⁰ "Our History." Open Society Foundation. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/who-we-are/our-history>

stuck in the craw of Obama and Soros officials because it was led by a traditional, Christian party, the VMRO-DPMNE, which was tightening rules on abortion and wanted Macedonians to have more children. “We became a Soros target *because* we’re a conservative nation,” the Macedonian MP told Gaetan. Soros had had a particular focus on Macedonia since the early 1990s because he saw it as “the only multi-ethnic state left in the Balkans,” according to the New Yorker’s Connie Bruck. She quoted Soros as saying that it was necessary “to give up the tribalness ... I am escaping the particular.” Gaetan explains that “Soros considered Macedonia a valuable example of a viable multiethnic nation in a region where ethnicity has been Hellishly weaponized. The foundation’s early programs concentrated on inter-ethnic relations and media development, then broadened to include Soros passions such as LGBT activism and ‘sex worker’ rights, minority views with little popular support in a country where the majority is quietly devoted to the Macedonian Orthodox Church.”

The VMRO-DPMNE is indeed proudly Slavic and Orthodox, in a country where the majority is as well. Soros’s support for such causes as transsexualism and the legalization of prostitution, and his denigration of patriotism and family-growth policies, alienated the conservative Balkan country of two million. And because of our government’s association with OSF, that disaffection rubbed off on us. That was a gift to Russia’s Vladimir Putin, with whom some conservative Macedonians began to flirt.

Cvetin Chilimanov, a conservative commentator and adviser to former President Gjorge Ivanov, told me that after Gruovski met with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Vice President Joe Biden in 2011 and refused their demands to change the country’s name, which Greece sees as revanchist, “the U.S. began a regime change operation that included USAID coordinating with the Open Society

Foundation. After the operation was completed in 2017, a GAO investigation found that in this period of time, USAID spent \$45 million on political activities in Macedonia. On several occasions USAID gave multi-million contracts directly to the Foundation Open Society Macedonia, or to FOSM in cooperation with the East West Management Institute in Albania.”³¹

The USAID-OSF collusion in Macedonia is what prompted the six U.S. senators to write a letter in the first year of the Trump Administration, 2017, demanding an investigation into this misuse of taxpayer money.³² It also prompted my own interest, as I started to write about this nexus also in 2017.

Of course, the U.S. government and its entities, including USAID, don’t just team up with associations funded by Soros. There are many, many leftist groups around the world willing to take the U.S. taxpayer money that our government so lustily hands out.

In 2014, at the height of the Obama years, USAID joined forces with the OSF but also with the Omidyar Network, founded by tech billionaire Pierre Omidyar, another wealthy backer of very progressive causes, to found the Making All Voices Count partnership.³³ This \$55-million venture spent its vast funds on 178 grants promoting activism in 13 counties in Africa and Asia before it was ended in the first year of the Trump Administration.³⁴ In 2014 alone, USAID joined forces with the entire universe of progressive foundations—the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Omidyar Network, the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and of course, the Open Society Foundation, to name just some of the highlights—to promote progressive causes around the entire planet.

Thus, in Argentina, in the Biden years we have had the embassy work alongside such groups as Agrupación Xangô, which uses race and sexual issues, especially transsexual matters, to mobilize

³¹ Email from Cvetin. Details can be found here: <https://english.republika.mk/macedonia/usaid-paid-tens-of-millions-for-left-wing-politicized-projects-and-media-outlets-in-macedonia-including-the-soros-foundation/>
<https://silverloch.com/soros-is-using-usaid-to-fund-color-revolutions-everywhere>

³² Letter from six senators to Secretary Tillerson. [https://www.lee.senate.gov/2017/3/gop-senators-call-](https://www.lee.senate.gov/2017/3/gop-senators-call-on-sec-tillerson-to-investigate-state-department-meddling)

[on-sec-tillerson-to-investigate-state-department-meddling.](https://www.lee.senate.gov/2017/3/gop-senators-call-on-sec-tillerson-to-investigate-state-department-meddling)

³³ United States Department of State, United States Agency for International Development, FY 2014 Annual Performance Report. Pg. 147. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/242130.pdf>

³⁴ Making All Voices Count. <https://www.makingallvoicescount.org/>

street action and divide society.³⁵ In Guatemala, USAID programs revealed that the agency heavily oriented itself during the Biden years to funding and working with indigenous groups and other leftist activist groups and nongovernmental organizations that, business leaders told me did little to promote, if not outright interfere with, growth and foreign direct investment in Guatemala. The President of the country, Alejandro Giammatei, a pro-U.S., pro-life, pro-Taiwan and pro-Israel leader, told me in a meeting in the presidential palace in 2022 that our Ambassador William Popp was “meeting with indigenous leaders” in an effort to “topple my government.” He told me and my then-Heritage colleague Mateo Haydar that he had decided to ask USAID to leave Guatemala, something which in the end he did not do, but which showed his frustration.³⁶

Did some of these programs do good? Yes, of course. It was not all forging minds and creating

mayhem in the world. I am glad that Secretary Rubio said he would keep some of the programs, if and only if they advance U.S. interests. But the Trump administration’s 2025 freeze on USAID’s budget was necessary because the agency had become a conduit for a radical agenda.

Going forward, what we need, in my opinion, is transparency. We need an audit of all the programs, what they intended to achieve, and who the partners on the ground were. This audit should include not just USAID, but also other entities such as the National Endowment for Democracy, and individual embassies and consulates, etc.

Thank you very much for your time and attention.

This testimony has been lightly edited for readability.

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³⁵ Sobre Dale+Afro. <https://dalemasafro.org/>

³⁶ Mike Gonzalez and Mateo Haydar, The Biden Administration Placates Latin American Foes While Pummeling American Friends. May 26, 2022. The Daily

Signal. <https://www.heritage.org/americas/commentary/the-biden-administration-placates-latin-american-foes-while-pummeling-american>

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Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Mr. Gonzalez. Ambassador C.deBaca, you may begin.

STATEMENT OF LUIS C.DEBACA

Mr. C.DEBACA. Chair Van Drew and Chair Jordan, Ranking Members Raskin and Crockett, and the Members of the Subcommittee, I'm Luis C.deBaca, a proud alum of the Judiciary Committee staff. It's an honor to be back in this room.

I spent almost 25 years in government, much of it investigating and prosecuting cases involving human trafficking and other crimes. America has always led the fight against transnational crime, especially human trafficking, and I've seen firsthand how important law enforcement and NGO partnerships are from across the ideological spectrum in protecting the American people.

Those partnerships can't be assembled in the middle of a case. It's too late at that point. The DOJ, USAID, and the State Department worked collaboratively to bring criminals to justice and save and support victims of trafficking and sexual abuse around the world. It takes partners motivated by their faith, by their dedication to crime victims, and their compassion for the abused and neglected. The NGOs and governments worked together and made America safer.

Some highlights. We worked with environmental groups in the Catholic Church to rescue Filipino and Indonesian workers lured into horrible conditions at sea. In Mexico, USAID funding stood up modern court systems that could withstand the pressure of their cartels while DOJ provided prosecutor training and the State Department supported evangelical groups in providing shelter to sex trafficking victims.

In Peru, Justice aid and State-coordinated funding to entities that ran the gamut from law enforcement to legal service providers to Catholic nuns, all to choke off the profits from illegal gold mining and the sex trafficking that followed in its wake. Today, DHS seizures of slave-made goods continue and hopefully intensifies because of partnerships with NGOs who bring credible referrals about Uyghur and other forced labor in the supply chain.

These efforts worked thanks to the support of Congress, inter-agency coordination, and vital collaboration with NGOs. It's a fight that has always been proudly bipartisan and powered by Right-Left coalitions because it embodies American values. I'm proud to have worked with a diverse range of NGOs on these issues, from International Justice Mission and The Heritage Foundation, to Human Rights Watch and Rabbis For Human Rights.

Not all the NGOs apply for government funding, but when they do, they receive support that comes with the highest standards. They are subjected to thorough reviews, including vetting, to prevent trafficking, terrorism, human rights violations, or other criminal activity. Congress provided the rules guiding these reviews, and when I was in government, we worked closely with our Committees of oversight every step of the way.

Additionally, to maximize effect and to prevent redundancy, antitrafficking funding is coordinated across the agencies. Safeguards don't stop just at issuance. Their work is tested through ongoing grants monitoring and monitoring and evaluation efforts. The

results are not just protection and restoration of victims, but prosecution and convictions.

In recent weeks, innovative offices have been defunded and shut down or moved about on agency org charts in service of an imaginary set of efficiencies. Having decimated USAID in recent days, the administration has gutted offices devoted to global criminal justice, antiterrorism, and counter-trafficking. When experts are forced out, reassigned, or RIF'd, America is less safe. The only actors that should welcome these moves are criminals and those corrupt or complacent nations that allow them to act with impunity.

Is there a hidden agenda here? Every nonprofit that works to support survivors does indeed have a policy agenda. They are committed to serving trafficking victims. They do from all parts of our political system and for countless reasons, but they stand up for trafficking victims.

Women shelters that have expanded their mission beyond domestic violence, churches, or even just motivated people of faith, who have heard the call to serve, worker organizations that won't stand for abuses in the fields, long-haul truckers who have asked, What can I do? Their commitment and the ideological and cultural diversity that matches the bipartisan antitrafficking consensus of this Committee is something we should celebrate. They deserve our thanks and the thanks of the American people for their tireless efforts.

For me, this goes beyond my law enforcement career. My parents weren't just farmers and ranchers. They implemented these types of partnerships during the cold war. During the first Bush Administration, the government sent my parents out to help host socialist societies transition to a capitalist agricultural system. Later, my mother witnessed the Chinese showing up in West Africa competing for the hearts and minds of the Ghanaian people through road-building projects.

Today, my 90-year-old mother worries about the price she can get for her soybeans given the sudden reduction of U.S. food assistance, and she worries about the loss of American power and stature in the world.

Stepping away from U.S. leadership doesn't just impact that village in Africa. It impacts the small towns of rural America for whom feeding the world and raising a family is everything. Stepping away from the United States leadership and partnerships that advance them make us less safe at home and abroad.

Thank you, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. C.deBaca follows:]

Testimony of
Ambassador (ret.) Luis C.deBaca
before
The United States House of Representatives
Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Oversight

Hearing: “How Leftist Nonprofit Networks Exploit Federal Tax Dollars
to Advance a Radical Agenda”

Tuesday July 15, 2025

Chairman Van Drew, Ranking Members Raskin and Crockett, Members of the Subcommittee, I am honored to be invited to testify before you today. As an alumnus of this Committee’s staff, I know from experience the work that goes into these hearings, and I want to extend my gratitude to and commend the hard-working staffers who commit themselves to the oversight and legislative functions of the Committee.

My name is Luis C.de Baca. I am currently Professor from Practice at University of Michigan Law School.¹ I am here today in my personal capacity, to offer my perspective, as one of thousands who’ve worked in the U.S. government, including in law enforcement, partnering with the nonprofit sector with the North Star of protecting the American people.

I have spent my career investigating and prosecuting cases involving human trafficking, money laundering, organized crime, alien smuggling, bias crimes, and official misconduct. I was the Department of Justice’s Involuntary Servitude and Slavery Coordinator under President Clinton, and under President George W. Bush I was the first Chief Counsel of the U.S. Human Trafficking Prosecutions Unit.

Following my time on this Committee’s staff (where I worked on foreign intelligence surveillance, slavery & trafficking, immigration, and criminal matters), I was confirmed by the Senate to serve as Ambassador-at-Large to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons at the Department of State (J/TIP). I closed my career in government as the Director of the Justice Department’s Office of Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring, Apprehending, Registering, and Tracking (SMART), serving under President Obama and in the early part of the first Trump Administration.

Across those positions, I worked closely with U.S. foreign assistance agencies and implementing offices such as DOJ’s Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training (OPDAT) and International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), as well as with USAID and State Department entities such as the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Bureau (INL). We worked to advance our shared, bipartisan, and national goal of advancing American values: confronting transnational crime by bringing criminals to justice and helping to save and support victims of trafficking and sexual abuse.

¹ The views expressed are my own and do not necessarily reflect the views of positions of the University of Michigan or the University of Michigan Law School.

Today, I look forward to bringing a perspective that is based on that day-to-day reality of security-based funding and programming carried out by Justice, USAID, State, and others -- the work of investigating and prosecuting criminals and supporting state and NGO actors at home and abroad who are necessary partners in that effort.

In preparing my remarks, I must admit that the subject of this hearing and the setting is perplexing. It is outside of the Committee's jurisdiction, but this Administration has sadly decimated USAID and in recent days has gutted offices dedicated to global criminal justice, anti-terrorism, counter-trafficking, and migration. Throughout my career I have been honored to work with dedicated men and women from nonprofit organizations that have saved lives and helped put criminals behind bars at great risk to themselves. Motivated by their faith, by their dedication to crime victims, by their compassion for the abused and neglected, these NGOs make America safer while making life riskier for criminals.

The nonprofits I worked with knew their missions and how to succeed in standing up to the traffickers. They espoused American values and helped bring criminals to justice, no matter what their supposed ideology might have been. We worked with environmental groups and the Catholic church to confront the enslavement of Filipino and Indonesian workers lured into horrible conditions at sea. In the wake of the tragic fire at Bangladesh's Rana Plaza, the partnership of unions and other workers' rights groups with corporate actors from multinational brands ensured that bad actors didn't taint the global supply chain. Retired law enforcement officers and prosecutors trained their foreign counterparts in the effective American approach to combatting trafficking. USAID knitted together service providers across the Indian Ocean basin and helped obtain the highest-quality intelligence on Chinese compounds in Southeast Asia where victims are held in forced labor camps to conduct cyber-fraud and romance scams on lonely Americans. And DHS's partnerships with federally-funded NGOs who bring them credible referrals about Uygher and other forced labor inputs have been a success story, as seizures of slave-made goods continue and hopefully even intensify under the current Administration.

This is just in my experience -- my colleagues on the front lines of law enforcement and diplomacy had similar experiences and outcomes in harnessing the power of the community to advance the American interest in attacking criminals at the source.

Whether I was working on human trafficking or child sexual abuse, this kind of work with nonprofits would not have been possible without Congressional support that was enthusiastically given by Members of this body across the aisle. I am proud to have worked with a diverse range of NGOs on these issues: from International Justice Mission and the Heritage Foundation to Human Rights Watch and Rabbis for Human Rights (T'ruah). The fight against trafficking and slavery has always been proudly bipartisan and powered by right/left coalitions.

Not all NGOs apply for government funding, but when they do receive U.S. support for programs such as law enforcement training, victim/witness assistance, or rule of law programming in countries professionalizing their criminal justice response, they are held to the highest standard on the basis of whether they can deliver on the need identified by the U.S. as in

our national interest. They are subjected to a thorough review and a careful, multi-layered selection process. They must be run through multiple databases to ensure that American dollars do not support trafficking, terrorism, human rights violations, or other criminal activity. Congress provided the rules guiding these reviews and while I was in government we worked closely with our committees of oversight every step of the way, providing Congressional notification and previewing funding opportunities and decisions with relevant committees. When I chaired the interagency working group, we stood up an interagency grants subcommittee which shared anti-trafficking funding opportunities amongst the various agencies to deconflict efforts and to maximize impact. That interagency grants committee continued into the Trump and Biden Administrations to ensure the most efficient return on taxpayer dollars. Safeguards don't stop at the issuance phase; the quality of the recipient's work is tested through ongoing grants monitoring, as well as through deeper Monitoring & Evaluation efforts that identify best practices and scalable interventions.

Sadly, it seems we are talking about this activity in the past tense now. In recent weeks, virtually all the federal government's efforts to protect the United States from human traffickers, drug cartels and criminal syndicates have been eliminated either outright or effectively. Efforts to introduce fair and legal police forces in countries around the world have resulted in prosecutions and convictions. Extraditions from places like Mexico that wouldn't have happened in the past are now commonplace, due to training and programs through INL, J/TIP, USAID, and DOJ/OPDAT that supported joint investigations by the FBI, DHS, Diplomatic Security, and DOJ. Many of these offices have been defunded and shut down or moved about on agency org charts in service of an elusive and imaginary set of efficiencies. Employees have been forced out, reassigned, or RIFed to a degree that makes America less safe. The only actors that should welcome these moves are criminals -- and those countries that do not want to confront their crime problem (whether due to complacency or corruption).

The United States has always stood against such corruption and human rights abuses and has stood for crime victims at home and abroad. The NGO sector has been a key partner in doing so. They have been an arrow in the quiver for U.S. law enforcement and national security, and a key force-multiplier that ensures crime victims have a voice and the ability to help us lock up their tormentors. Unilateral disarmament only helps the criminals.

That's why I worry that the agenda of this hearing misses the point. The safety and security of the United States has rested first and primarily on the notion that local community leaders know best what is needed, whether those local leaders run a domestic violence shelter in West Virginia, patrol an Indian Reservation in New Mexico, or undertake street outreach with children trapped in prostitution in a resort town. The same is true when dealing with other countries. As a country, we do our best work when we support home-grown efforts where the crimes are taking place. That's true in Albania, where OPDAT and ICITAP training for prosecutors and police supplemented the work of local NGOs. That's true in Mexico, where through the Merida Initiative USAID funding helped stand up modern court systems that could withstand the pressure of the cartels as Embassy Staff supported the work of conservative Evangelicals to provide shelter services to sex trafficking victims. It is true in Peru, where the Justice Department, USAID, and the State Department coordinated funding to entities that ran the gamut

from law enforcement to legal service providers to Catholic nuns – all to choke off the profits from illegal gold mining and the sex trafficking that followed in its wake.

It is also true of nonprofits in the United States who work to help victims of trafficking and other crimes. They have been instrumental in educating me, Congress and the American people about the importance of this work. Every nonprofit that does work to support survivors does indeed have a policy agenda: they have committed to serving trafficking victims. They do so from all parts of our political system, and for countless reasons, but they stand up for trafficking victims. They are pre-existing women's shelters that have expanded their mission beyond domestic violence. They are churches or even just motivated people of faith who have heard the call to serve and to open their doors. They are workers' rights organizations that won't stand for abuses in the fields. They are long-haul truckers who have asked "what can I do?" Their commitment – and their ideological and cultural diversity that matches the historic bipartisan consensus on this Committee to fight traffickers and protect victims -- is something we should celebrate. They deserve my thanks and the thanks of the American people for their tireless efforts.

I would like to leave this panel with a personal story that goes beyond human trafficking and the rule of law, but one that illustrates why I consider this work so important and where I think our attention should be today. I am the child of farming and ranching parents who went to South America in the early 1960s to teach the Argentines how to raise better cattle and improve the lives of rural women. President Kennedy, in the earliest days of US foreign assistance, saw value in sending them out to help teach the world how to feed themselves while showing them the best our country had to offer. During the first Bush Administration, the government sent my father to Nicaragua and my mother to Eastern Europe to help post-socialist agricultural economies transition to capitalism. Twenty years ago, under George W. Bush, my mother saw the Chinese show up in West Africa to compete for the hearts and minds of the Ghanaian people through road building projects.

But today my 90 year-old mother, still on the farm, worries about the price she can get for her soybeans given the sudden reduction of food assistance to the world. Stepping away from U.S. leadership doesn't just impact the village in Africa where that bag of food with an American flag on it will no longer be there to feed the children or compete against the Chinese infrastructure project; they impact the small towns in rural America for whom feeding the world is not just a slogan.

I always welcome the opportunity to engage Congress, and especially to come "home" to this committee; I am hopeful that our conversation will advance the real needs of trafficking victims and the NGOs who serve them, the real work of international law enforcement, and the real concerns facing our Nation today.

Thank you again for the opportunity to present my views; I look forward to your questions.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Ambassador C.deBaca.

Without objection, Mr. Kiley will be permitted to participate in today's hearing for the purpose of questioning the witnesses if a Member yields him time for that purpose.

We are now going to proceed under the five-minute rule with questions, and the Chair will recognize—let me see who is going to go first here, actually. Are you ready? OK.

The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

This will be for our Republican witnesses. What are some of the worst Federal grants that the Biden–Harris Administration approved?

What about Mr. O'Neil, what's your opinion? What's the worst Federal grant that you heard or top 10 maybe?

Mr. O'NEIL. There are too many to choose from, but I think the biggest overall is just the way that we funded the immigration industrial complex that moved illegal aliens across the country through—as The Heritage Foundation's project showed, to every single Congressional District except one.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Gonzalez, do you have a worst?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes. I would say the grants that Samantha Power, the head of USAID, and USAID itself made to Hungarian opposition forces in 2023, I think it was. Hungary is a NATO ally which borders Ukraine. We shouldn't be trying to make a regime change as our Ambassador was doing in Budapest. This is not soft power. This is the opposite. That was really—I don't know—very counterproductive to the kind of policy we should have with an ally.

Mr. MOORE. With an ally. Viktor Orban is a fine President and ally of the country.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes. He's the Prime Minister. Yes. The Left doesn't like him. He's very pro-U.S. I don't, you know—whatever. Either way, we shouldn't be doing this in an ally country.

Mr. MOORE. Securing their borders, he was pretty on that too.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Right.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Walter, what about it? What's your—

Mr. WALTER. I, too, am overwhelmed a little by the question, and I default to a website, actually, that we have called the *DOGEfiles.org* which lists what we believe to be the worst grants from most of the main departments of the Federal Government.

Mr. MOORE. So, Mr. O'Neil, how many individuals involved in these Leftist dark money groups worked within the Biden–Harris Administration? Any idea?

Mr. O'NEIL. A specific number, I don't have. I do know that 60 officials went from the Center for American Progress to the Biden Administration. Overall, what I'll say is there are some that really stand out.

I think of Tracy Stone-Manning who is actually at the National Wildlife Federation who, is notorious because she wrote a letter on behalf of tree spiking, eco-terrorists, and then she led up a department, the Bureau of Land Management, that oversees about half of the Federal lands in the United States.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Walter, how much Federal funding has the Arabella Advisors network received?

Mr. WALTER. Surprisingly, there's not a large quantity of that, although Mr. O'Neil's written testimony documents some of the examples to the New Venture Fund and elsewhere.

Mr. MOORE. What were the initiatives and policies? Do any of you know what the Arabella Advisors network were pushing the—are you familiar with those?

Mr. O'NEIL. Oh, they run the gamut on the Left. I focused on the New Venture Fund for the research for this, but they funded the Center for American Progress which pushes climate alarmism, critical race theory, and focus on gender ideology. They funded the Natural Resources Defense Council, the National Wildlife Federation, as I mentioned, the Sierra Club, the Human Rights Campaign, and one of the biggest ones for me is the Southern Poverty Law Center, which—

Mr. MOORE. In Alabama. I'm very familiar with it.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Mr. MOORE. Yes. Mr. Gonzalez, how did the Biden–Harris Administration cut a deal with the far Left organizations to swiftly obtain and hold radio stations in the U.S.?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Are you talking about the radio stations that were bought with money that George Soros facilitated that—the Spanish language radio stations in 2023, I believe. Are you talking about those?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Or are you talking about the ones last year? Because he also made a purchase.

Mr. MOORE. I wasn't aware. Just, in general, buying up the radio stations for me is a concern, and how do we go through that process? How do they fund it? What was the purpose behind it? Do we know?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Well, the FCC Brendan Carr—which is now the Chair of the FCC—said that approval of that purchase was fast-tracked and it shouldn't have been because a big component of the funds came from overseas and that requires more time to look into them. I believe that he's going—now that he's the Chair, I believe he's going back and looking into this. I forgot the name of the radio station consortium, but it's going to come to me in a minute.

Mr. MOORE. What process do you think should have been followed? What process—to take more time?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Well, the process—yes. Take more time. That's what Brendan Carr complained about, that the time that is supposed to take in looking into who these donor—not donors, but who these funds are.

Mr. MOORE. Especially with foreign money being involved, right?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes, because it was foreign money. That's the thing.

Mr. MOORE. Sir, what is the effect of the radio acquisition? What do you think the endgame is from the Left?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Well, it has become very clear over the years that they are very bad at talk radio, and this is—the Left wants to control the narrative just like they have been able to control a lot of the media, just not talk radio because it's just unentertaining. They've been trying to catch up to that for a very long time.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I'm out of time. I will yield back.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you. I thank the gentleman. I will recognize Mr. Johnson from Georgia.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

The Majority's witnesses have repeatedly condemned the revolving door between what they call Leftist nonprofits and the Federal Government, but they need to take a long, hard look in the mirror and talk about what's happening with MAGA, billionaire, corrupt, corporate, conservative front groups such as The Heritage Foundation, a giant recipient of dark money. That happens to be your employer, Mr. Gonzalez, correct?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I certainly take issue with the premise that we receive dark money.

Mr. JOHNSON. You work for The Heritage Foundation, correct? Yes or no?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes. I'm very proud—

Mr. JOHNSON. You've gotten a lot of dark money from Charles Koch, right?

Mr. GONZALEZ. No, actually. We don't.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, let me ask you this.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Very little.

Mr. JOHNSON. Let me ask you this: Who is the biggest dark money guy out there between Charles Koch, who is worth \$71.4 billion, and George Soros, who is only worth a measly \$7.2 billion? Who is the biggest dark money guy out there between those two?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I don't know. Actually, I want to thank you for letting us sit down at the beginning.

Mr. JOHNSON. You can't say that it's Charles Koch?

Mr. GONZALEZ. First, you are aware that Charles Koch is a Libertarian and we're not Libertarian, right?

Mr. JOHNSON. Let me just move on, sir.

Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election, a network of Right-wing, dark money groups, led by The Heritage Foundation, launched the notorious and infamous Project 2025, a Federal policy agenda for the second Trump Administration that provides a blueprint for the radical and unconstitutional empowerment of the executive branch to shutter bureaus and offices, overturn regulations, and replace thousands of public sector employees with political cronies and yes-men, all in the services of a Right-wing, radical, and corrupt corporate agenda. As of March 2024, Project 2025 advisory groups have received more than \$55 million from donor networks led by Leonard Leo and Charles Koch.

Now, during the campaign, which billionaire Elon Musk, by the way, purchased with about \$275 million in dark money—Donald Trump swore he had nothing to do with Project 2025, but just like he lied about releasing the Epstein files, he also lied about his plan to implement Project 2025. Isn't that right, Mr. Walter? Didn't he lie? You don't know? You won't say? Are you afraid?

Mr. WALTER. I'm quite awake. I don't have any—

Mr. JOHNSON. What about you, Mr. O'Neil? Did he lie?

Mr. O'NEIL. No. He said he didn't read it. He told the truth. He told the truth. He said he didn't read it.

Mr. JOHNSON. Trump didn't lie when he said he was going to release the Epstein files?

Mr. O'NEIL. He said he didn't read Project 2025.

Mr. JOHNSON. Didn't he say he was going to release the Epstein files?

Mr. O'NEIL. I mean—

Mr. JOHNSON. Let me move on. Since the inauguration—

Mr. O'NEIL. I will allow it.

Mr. JOHNSON. Since the inauguration, the Trump Administration officials have worked tirelessly to implement Project 2025 and even has the author of Project 2025 as the Office of Management and Budget director, Russell Vought.

He used to be the Vice President of Heritage Action, right, Mr. Gonzalez?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I believe he had a position at—

Mr. JOHNSON. Big dark money guy used to be head of your operation, and now he is in the revolving door with the second Trump Administration.

Mr. Gonzalez, you've worked for The Heritage Foundation since 2009. Did you have any involvement with the creation and authorship of this infamous document of Project 2025?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Oh, yes, sir. I'm proud to say that I wrote an essay in it.

Mr. JOHNSON. You're proud of it?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes. I worked for every portion of this project, which we have every four years of an election year.

Mr. JOHNSON. The American people are not with you on that, Mr. Gonzalez.

Mr. GONZALEZ. I'm just giving you the facts.

Mr. JOHNSON. I'm going to tell you, in my remaining time I'm going to sum up the testimony of you three guys, the Republican witnesses, and to sum it up you are antiracial justice, you're antigender equity, and you're anti-environmental protection. With that—

Mr. GONZALEZ. Can we repeat our testimony?

Mr. JOHNSON. I will yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Can we have time to—

Mr. VAN DREW. There is no remainder of time. I'm sorry, Mr. Gonzalez. You're going to get a chance when some other people ask you questions, you will have an ability to answer, actually answer the question.

Thank you, Mr. Johnson. I now recognize Dr. Onder from Missouri.

Mr. ONDER. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thanks to all the witnesses for being here today.

First, Mr. Gonzalez, again, you work for The Heritage Foundation. Does The Heritage Foundation receive any Federal Government money?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Zero.

Mr. ONDER. Any USAID money?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Zero.

Mr. ONDER. No. OK. Any of these other organizations that receive—any grants from the Vera Foundation, which does receive Federal Government money?

Mr. GONZALEZ. No.

Mr. ONDER. I think my Democratic colleagues missed the point of today's hearing.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes.

Mr. ONDER. George Soros has every business to spend his own money however he sees fit, as does Charles Koch, and as does Elon Musk. The point is we are talking about taxpayer's money here today. The idea that these Left wing so-called NGOs, I think one of you said—called them BGOs, basically government organizations. Was that you, Mr. Walter.

They're basically acting as money laundering operations from our pockets, my taxpayer's who I represent in Missouri, to these Leftist causes. That is antithetical to a democratic republic like we work—we live in. We think we live in.

Mr. Walter, during President Trump's first few weeks in office DOGE identified Federal funding that was not being used as Congress intended. Many times, I heard my Democratic colleagues say, well, it was appropriated, so this NGO or this government agency has a right to it.

One egregious example was Federal funding of \$1.3 million to the NIH's Institute of Nursing Research which was awarded to a nonprofit to partner with girl-to-girl to text minors sex education content, including how to have sex with other minor girls.

The Girl-to-girl's website encouraged girls not to tell their parents that they're taking part in this research. The Federal Government—the Federal Government should not be in this business of doing research that parents would disapprove.

Going forward, we need to ensure that agencies are complying with existing transparency requirements.

Now, this NIH grant was identified through *USAspending.gov*, but most of DOGE's work was uncovering grant misuse that was not publicly reported. *USAspending.gov* was created by Congress through the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act of 2006, which required OMB and treasury to coordinate with Federal agencies to publicly post Federal awards on a publicly searchable website. A 2023 GAO report found that 49 of 52 Federal agencies didn't report data to *USAspending.gov*, and some of the agencies reported COVID spending that didn't match their annual financial reports.

Mr. Walter, would you say that the current version of *USAspending.gov* is compliant with this law?

Mr. WALTER. No. As you point out, there seems to be evidence that it hasn't. Plus, there's a huge thing that needs to be done, the grants are not listed by the grantee's EIN number, their tax ID number, which would make it enormously simpler to find what you're looking for.

Mr. ONDER. Right. You mentioned your website, *DOGEfiles.org*, I imagine it's fair for me to say that there are things in *DOGEfiles.org* that I couldn't find on USA—

Mr. WALTER. Well, we used *USAspending.gov* to get it, but, believe me, it's a struggle to—

Mr. ONDER. It was difficult.

Mr. WALTER. It needs to be much better.

Mr. ONDER. It was not easy. OK. What can we do in this Committee to ensure that agencies under our jurisdiction are complying with existing transparency requirements?

Mr. WALTER. Well, I'm not aware of any accountability. Right. If I'm an agency and I don't do what I'm supposed to, who cares, what happens, if anybody even finds it out.

Mr. ONDER. OK. How can we increase transparency and account for subawards and subcontracts? Is that part of the problem, that it goes to—there's a contract, but then, Mr. O'Neil maybe alluded to some of this, and then it goes to a contractor who then awards it to another subcontractor and the money cannot be followed.

Mr. WALTER. Yes. There's a little bit of that sort of information on *USAspending.org*, but absolutely not all of it. Some of the most notorious things in the last administration were some of the green slush funds that got created in the billions.

Mr. ONDER. Very good. OK. Thank you very much for your testimony. I yield back.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Dr. Onder. I now recognize the Ranking Member of the whole Committee, Mr. Raskin.

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Ambassador C.deBaca, is there anything illegal about not-for-profit spending money on a priority that the government agency or department also has? I'll give you an example. The Gates Foundation has spent \$30 billion to advance vaccines, both research and spreading vaccines around the world. The USAID spent \$3 billion over the last decade on that.

Is that either illegal or unusual that you would have a convergence of the not-for-profit philanthropic sector with a governmental priority?

Mr. C.DEBACA. It is not illegal. In fact, it is a best practice so that you can extend both the governmental and the philanthropic—

Mr. RASKIN. Presumably we can expect the same thing under R.F. Kennedy, Jr., who opposes vaccines, he opposes vaccine research, he wants to stop vaccine programs, and presumably he's going to—all the same people that he just packed the Advisory Committee with will be getting grants to go and try to stop vaccine research. As our colleagues constantly say, elections count, elections matter, and RFK, Jr., is in there.

There's not much we can do about it. We can have a hearing lamenting it and bewildering it. I would much rather have money going into promoting vaccine research and distribution than opposing it, but that's the difference between our two parties.

Is there anything illegal about people in not-for-profits going to work in the Federal Government in a new administration?

Mr. C.DEBACA. No, sir.

Mr. RASKIN. In fact, a great example of that is this guy Ed Martin who was for a while the acting U.S. Attorney of the District of Columbia, they were forced to withdraw his nomination when it turned out that his close friend is a Neo-Nazi who dresses up like Adolf Hitler and they just switched over to appointing him to a nonconfirmable position in the Department of Justice, believe it or not, running the task force on weaponization.

In any event, he ran something called the Patriot Freedom Project, which is a 501(c)(3), not-for-profit organization, that supported January 6th defendants and their families. More than 100

criminal defendants, including people who violently assaulted our police officers, wounding them, injuring them, disfiguring them, permanently disabling them, and then he went into the government. He's got close ties, in fact, he dismissed some of the prosecutions against these people, and they have fired lots of January 6th prosecutors. That looks like a really tight little revolving door channel that's not just him. In fact, they hired an actual January 6th insurrectionist who was convicted of crimes to go work for him at that same entity in the Department of Justice.

As much as we might hate it, as much as we might think the American people should know about it, that the criminals in this soft-on-crime administration are taking over at the Department of Justice, it's hard to say that there's anything illegal about it, right?

If somebody goes from working at the Gates Foundation, or the Open Society Institute at the State Department, is there anything illegal or criminal about that? Is there anything that should cause public alarm in the way these gentlemen are trying to stimulate it?

Mr. C.DEBACA. No, sir.

Mr. RASKIN. Well, in fact, is there anything illegal about the government, if it's spending funds appropriately, giving to organizations that other people disagree with? I think some of the witnesses were saying the vast majority of the people disagree with it, which, of course, our colleagues would answer by saying, that's what elections are for, in other words, we've elected a particular government.

Now, I'll give you an example of that. I just looked it up. The \$434 million has gone in the first Trump Administration, and I'm sure more will flow now, to crisis pregnancy centers. OK. Who from our perspective lure young people in and give them distorted or tilted information about abortion. I'm sure that's what they say about Planned Parenthood. OK. That's politics. People have different perspectives on things.

Hundreds of millions, presumably billions of dollars are going to go to the crisis pregnancy centers, which a lot of people think are completely objectionable. Is that illegal because some other people disagree with it.

Mr. C.DEBACA. It is not.

Mr. RASKIN. It is not illegal. It's not criminal. This hearing is just weird. It's just people getting up and complaining about things that happened under an administration they disagree with when the administration they agree with is doing the exact same thing on a mirror image basis.

There's something that everybody here, at least I used to think, agreed with, which is let's release the Epstein files. That guy is a child sex offender who was convicted of it and then took his life before the larger trial could take place. His associate, Ms. Maxwell, is in jail for 20 years. The whole country is saying to release the files. That's what Donald Trump said, that's what JD Vance said, that's what the Attorney General said, and that's what the FBI Director said. Now, suddenly they want to sweep the whole thing under the rug.

Why don't we have a real hearing with real government officials talking about the government and talking about a real investigation with the real problem, which is the nationwide crisis in the

sexual abuse of children and human trafficking. Why don't we do that? I yield back to you, Mr. Chair.

Mr. VAN DREW. The Ranking Member yields back. With that I believe that, Mr. Schmidt, you're going to yield your time; is that correct?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes.

Mr. VAN DREW. OK. Mr. Schmidt is going to yield his time to Mr. Kiley, who's not going to speak quite yet because Mr. Gill is in front of you, but I wanted to make that note. OK. Thank you, Mr. Schmidt.

With that, Mr. Gill is next in line from the great State of Texas.

Mr. GILL. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you for putting this hearing together here and helping us continue to identify waste, fraud, and abuse that we can cut out of our Federal budget, particularly abuse that is pushing Left-wing pet projects.

Before I jump into that I would like to address something that one of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle mentioned earlier about gender equity. I find it particularly amusing that the party who doesn't know how many genders there are to begin with has the gall to lecture us about gender equity.

If we want to talk about gender equity, let's talk about it. Which party believes that men should be using women's bathrooms? It's not this side of the aisle. It's the Democrat party. Which party believes that men should be playing in women's sports? It's not this side of the aisle. It's the Democrat party. Which party believes that our tax dollars should fund transgender surgeries for minors? It's not this side of the aisle. It's that side of the aisle. Those are things that they don't like to talk about because they know how widely unpopular they are with the American people. That is the reality, and that's what we are up against right now is a Democrat party that is pushing some of the most wild and perverse social programs on the American people.

With that said, I would like to jump into the point of this hearing, which is not gender equity. It's to talk about other Left-wing projects.

Mr. Gonzalez, thank you for being here, and thank you for taking the time. During President Biden's tenure, USAID, under Samantha Power, took a particular interest in Hungary; is that right?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes, that's right, Congressman.

Mr. GILL. Would you say that USAID's involvement in that country, including funding media organizations, was nonpartisan, or do you think that was used to push a particular agenda?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Oh, it was meant to do regime change in a NATO ally, and a very key NATO ally, that was unconscionable.

Mr. GILL. Would you say that Hungary is an important NATO ally in central and Eastern Europe?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes. It borders Ukraine. I believe, yes, it borders Serbia as well. Yes, this was something that we should never be doing this in friendly countries to begin with. The fact that Samantha Power did this and met with leaders of the opposition before she met with government administrators, who she scolded, and our Ambassador—well, I don't want to go into it because I know you have more questions, but—

Mr. GILL. Well, that's where I'm going with this. Why do you think that the Biden Administration was so interested in using our tax dollars to funnel monetary support for domestic political opposition in an allied Nation to harm a democratically elected government?

Mr. GONZALEZ. For the same reason it did it in Guatemala and Macedonia with equally pro U.S. leaders. It just didn't like conservative governments that were trying to do things like fighting, fighting for life, fighting for demographic growth in all these countries, disagreed with the foreign policy. All these leaders were also very pro-Israel, pro-Taiwan, in the case of Guatemala. It was just the Biden Administration disagreed with the politics of these countries, even though it went against U.S. interests to disagree with these governments.

Mr. GILL. Right. That's where I was going as well. Do you think that any of Hungary's domestic policies in question here, whether it's related to woke ideology, or identity politics, or migration, have any bearing on America's national security interests in the region?

Mr. GONZALEZ. It was completely the opposite. It played exactly into Vladimir Putin's hands. It made pro-American Hungarians and Guatemalans or Macedonians question the United States and think of alternatives. It was very misguided.

Mr. GILL. Shifting focus to the United States, do you think that there are similar Left wing virtually money laundering operations here that are aimed at influencing American politics, particularly through the media?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes. Mr. Soros said very early on, I believe in the mid-1990s, that he wanted to turn his attention inward toward the United States. An American is free to do so, as I said in my testimony. I'm also free to criticize him. I disagree with him about the positions he takes. As I said, he's free to do that with his money. I'm free to criticize.

Mr. GILL. Right. We can also look to taxpayer-funded propaganda outlets like *NPR* and *PBS* as well.

Mr. GONZALEZ. I believe that's playing out today in the Senate, yes.

Mr. GILL. Thank you for your time. I appreciate it.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Thank you.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Mr. Gill. I now recognize Ms. Crockett, the Ranking Member.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much. Listen, I have heard some interesting things. I have heard about fighting for life. Mr. DeBaca, I am just—Ambassador C.deBaca, I am curious, does it look like you're fighting for life when you cut 17 million people off of their healthcare?

Mr. C.DEBACA. It does not.

Ms. CROCKETT. Does it look like you're fighting for life when you're kicking people, in this country, I want to be clear, we're talking about the United States, in this country, off food assistance?

Mr. C.DEBACA. No, ma'am.

Ms. CROCKETT. OK. All right. Well, this hearing is supposedly is being about radical Leftist and whatnot. I do have some questions about that, but before I get there, I am tripping about how much we are loving on Viktor Orban here in the United States. Well, and

I shouldn't say we. Them. How much they are loving on Viktor Orban.

I have an interesting article that I would like to enter into the record as a UC.

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. OK. Thank you.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thanks for the tap.

Ms. CROCKETT. "Hungary's Orban Demonstrate How to Dismantle Democracy." Some of the interesting things that are said in here, first, Trump went further in two months than Orban could in 15 years. This year is faced with an increasingly unified opposition in parliament that is rallied behind a charismatic lawyer and politician, Orban's attacks on media, civil society, and freedom of assembly—

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. Have gained momentum. This is part of my words. My time was still going. In addition to that, there is mention that Orban focused on ridding Hungary of any institution capable of checking his power. Sounds something like Donald Trump; does it not?

Mr. C.DEBACA. I wouldn't necessarily speculate on what the two Presidents are doing.

Ms. CROCKETT. OK. Don't speculate. I'm going to tell you, sounds like Donald Trump.

Now, while we are talking about taxpayer dollars, let me tell you, and, Donald Trump agreed with me at some point in time about this particular one, I have another UC, "Elon Musk gets \$8 million a day from taxpayers."

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much.

Listen, if we want to start talking about who's donating to who and who's getting money, last time I checked, Elon Musk did close to \$300 million to get him into office, and it seems like there was a direct payment right back to him. I get that it's not a not-for-profit, but at the same time it is Federal dollars.

Earlier someone mentioned these hellholes talking about the cities. Right. Talking about cities being hellholes. I just want to point to Los Angeles. I'm sure that's one of the cities they were referring to when they said that. Los Angeles contributes almost \$20 billion in taxes. That's more than all States in this country, except for four.

If we are going to push any ideologies, it seems like LA should have an outsized interest in the ideology because it seems like they actually contribute more money than all these other States, especially these Red States, to be clear.

In fact, I have another UC.

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. All right. "Blue States are bailing out Red States." I have another UC.

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. "Massachusetts sends more funding to the feds than any other State." It seems like Blue States are constantly putting Red States on life support, yet we got these little Red States

that aren't contributing nothing, but they are definitely taking up a lot of money.

It is interesting because the Governor in California, I don't know if you caught this, but Governor Newsom was talking about just holding onto his dollars because California is what they call a donor State, meaning, that they actually contribute more than they take from the Federal Government.

Then, you can go down South to States like Louisiana who are broke and so they need California to pay in. It is so interesting that we are so concerned about whether or not we are pushing certain ideologies, but let me talk about some of these. I've got a few questions. We're going to play a game called radical or restorative. Radical or restorative, a nonprofit that provides shelter and legal aid to human trafficking survivors?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. A DOJ funded program that mentors at-risk youth to prevent gang violence?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. A grant-funded organization that helps women fleeing domestic abuse with housing and trauma support?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. A USAID program that works to shut down scam compounds trafficking people in southeast Asia?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. A faith-based nonprofit helping migrant children reunite safely with family?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. A community group receiving DOJ funds to reduce gun violence in cities?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. The final one is a global initiative that prevents trafficking and keeps people from being forced into labor or sold into exploitation?

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restorative.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much, Mr. Ambassador.

What's shocking is some of these programs are the very ones that Trump and my Republican colleagues are working to shut down, if we really want to look at who is doing the work to help us.

As we have just talked about some sex trafficking, I'm still trying to understand, if you have anything that you would like to contribute, about the Epstein files that they absolutely refuse to release.

Mr. C.DEBACA. Ma'am, it would be very helpful for the American public to be able to see the results that have evidently been kept in whatever that file is. There's been many years in which folks have investigated Mr. Epstein and those around him. He has gone—he went to jail once, he was about to go to jail again before he died, and his compatriot is currently in prison. Those facts need to be known.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much. I will yield.

Mr. VAN DREW. The Ranking Member yields back. Thank you. I now recognize the Chair of the Committee of the whole, Mr. Jordan.

Chair JORDAN. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Mr. O'Neil, who is the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Mr. O'NEIL. The Southern Poverty Law Center is a far-Left radical activist group that routinely smears conservative and Christian organizations putting them on a map with the Ku Klux Klan.

Chair JORDAN. First, does the Southern Poverty Law Center partner with the Open Society Foundation.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes. The Southern Poverty Law Center received \$75,000 from foundation to promote Open Society.

Chair JORDAN. The Open Society Foundation gets money from the American taxpayer; is that right?

Mr. O'NEIL. No. The Open Society Foundation does not. There was an arm of the Open Society Foundation that is now closed that received a large number—

Chair JORDAN. It did.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Chair JORDAN. It did get it. OK. As you pointed out, the Southern Poverty Law Center labels a lot of conservative groups as hate groups.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, including Focus on the Family this year.

Chair JORDAN. Focus on the Family, Alliance Defending Freedom, Family Research and Counseling for Immigration Studies, and Moms for Liberty. Moms are now a hate group.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes. They put Moms for Liberty on there. They actually said that they compared them to the Uptown Klan of the 1950s.

Chair JORDAN. OK. You know what's interesting, I found this, we made an issue of this, and thank goodness it stopped with this—with our new Justice Department, but in the old Justice Department under Mr. Biden it was this, you may remember, this memorandum put out by the Richmond FBI field office. Do you remember this, Mr. O'Neil.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Chair JORDAN. Do you know when they talked about traditional Catholics were extremists, do you know who they cited in the footnote in this—I got the actual FBI memorandum. Do you know who they cited in that memorandum.

Mr. O'NEIL. The Southern Poverty Law Center.

Chair JORDAN. The Southern Poverty Law Center. Go figure. OK, how about this, who's the Tides Foundation.

Mr. O'NEIL. They are there oldest dark money passthrough organization. They pioneered the process that now Arabella Advisors has perfected.

Chair JORDAN. In your testimony, I'm looking at it, you said there's various—"the Service Employee's International Union gave money to a group that then gave money to the Tides Foundation"; is that true?

Mr. O'NEIL. No. The SEIU gave directly to—

Chair JORDAN. Oh, they gave directly.

Mr. O'NEIL. The Tides Efficacy and the Tides Foundation, yes.

Chair JORDAN. Also, in your testimony you point out that the Tides Foundation not only got money from Left-wing union groups, but they also got money directly from the taxpayers through USAID; is that right.

Mr. O'NEIL. Correct. It was \$27 million.

Chair JORDAN. Twenty-seven million.

Mr. O'NEIL. It was awarded. Not all those grants were fulfilled.

Chair JORDAN. What is the Tides Foundation up to? What kind of crazy things are they doing with taxpayer money and shuffling employee union money, what are they doing?

Mr. O'NEIL. Bankrolling the Southern Poverty Law Center, for one. They also have an in-house nonprofit called Palestine Legal.

Chair JORDAN. The Tides Foundation gets a boatload of taxpayer money, people I get the privilege of representing from the 4th District of Ohio, some of their money is going to the Tides Foundation that is then going to the Southern Poverty Law Center where they can label moms as terrorists and say that if you're a Catholic you're an extremist, that all happens with American tax dollars; is that right?

Mr. O'NEIL. We don't have concrete proof of the fact of the Tides Center receiving money that they then gave to the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Chair JORDAN. Money is tangible. We're not—

Mr. O'NEIL. Your overall point is 100 percent.

Chair JORDAN. OK. That's all happening here in the United States. It's even worse. Right. Because the Tides Foundation also gets involved, Mr. Gonzalez was pointing to this, gets involved overseas as well. One of the things we know they're doing, correct me if I'm wrong, Mr. O'Neil, that we know they're doing is they're taking some of that money to undermine our allies and friends like Prime Minister Netanyahu in the State of Israel; is that right?

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, one of the big things they have is an in-house nonprofit representing anti-Israel rioters on college campuses called Palestine Legal, so, yes.

Chair JORDAN. They're doing it here and there. Undermining Israel here and there, antisemitic activity here on our campuses, all with American tax money. Wow.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Chair JORDAN. The other side says, again, Mr. Van Drew shouldn't be having this hearing. Are you kidding me? American tax dollars used to say moms are terrorists, we're going to go after prolife Catholics, and our best friend internationally, our best ally, the State of Israel, we're going to undermine their government while we're at it. Such a deal for the taxpayers, huh.

Mr. O'NEIL. On the point from Ranking Member Raskin, he noted that George Soros does not have power. Alex Soros was asked if he would run for office, and he said that he would not because he believes that as head of the Open Society Foundations, he has more power than he ever would if he had any office in the land.

Chair JORDAN. Well, based on what we just described, it sure looks like he got a lot of influence. All we're saying is maybe we shouldn't send American tax dollars to these organizations that are undermining American taxpayers. Wow. Somehow, we're not supposed to have this hearing. I yield back.

Mr. RASKIN. Will the gentleman yield just quickly.

Chair JORDAN. You get the last word—

Mr. RASKIN. All I want to say is that I didn't say he didn't have power. I said, "he did not have official governmental power." Thank you.

Ms. CROCKETT. I have a UC.

Mr. VAN DREW. The gentleman yields back. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. This is from *The Pennsylvania Independent*, "Convicted Sex Offender Serves As Faith Leader of Philly 'Moms for Liberty' Chapter."

Mr. VAN DREW. We'll now recognize Mr. Kiley.

Mr. KILEY. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I do want to briefly address a comment that the Ranking Member, the representative from Texas made about my State, California, claiming that our State gives disproportionately to the Federal Government and is some sort of donor State. Actually, the State of California doesn't give nothing to the Federal Government. Individuals and businesses do pay taxes. Governor Newsom's suggestion that we should withhold those taxes, as our Treasury Secretary has pointed out, is threatening to commit the felony of criminal tax evasion.

As to this notion that Los Angeles is somehow a model of good governance, just today Los Angeles came out with its new homelessness numbers. The current count is 72,308. The Police Chief in LA has formally advised people not to wear jewelry when they go outside because they will get mugged. The city just announced 614 layoffs because the finances are such a mess. This is to say nothing of the recent riots and the catastrophic wildfires that came after the Mayor defunded the fire department.

On to the topic of today's hearing. It's bad enough that we have all this funding going toward NGOs that then support radical ideological causes, sort of the logical next step that we've seen is funding organizations that then directly commit or facilitate criminal activity. This is exactly what we saw with respect to the recent riots in Los Angeles where you had a group known as CHIRLA, the Center for Humane Immigration Rights Los Angeles, that played a central role in organizing the riots.

They made use of a hotline through Signal where they would inform rioters at any given moment where ICE personnel could be found so those individuals could then converge, they could disrupt their operations, they could use commercial dumpsters as battering rams, they could assault officers, and so forth.

CHIRLA, by the way, has been implicated in other ways in all the recent chaos that we've seen. For example, the incident where tire spikes were used to disable the vehicles of border patrol, the individuals engaging in these crimes were carrying the tire spikes in bags with CHIRLA's name on them.

To top it all off, Karen Bass' recent proposal to give cash cards to illegal immigrants supposedly affected by ICE operations are being distributed to them by, you guessed it, CHIRLA.

I have introduced a bill, The No Tax Dollars For Riots Act, which will make sure that organizations like this do not continue to get funding. Indeed, that they cannot claim tax exempt status. President Trump has enthusiastically endorsed that bill and said it should be past immediately.

On top of that, this Committee, the House Judiciary Committee, has opened an investigation into CHIRLA's use of the Federal

funding that it received during the Biden Administration. It also received \$34 million from California, accounting for the vast majority of its revenue. It's effectively a subsidiary of the State, or a subsidiary of the sanctuary State, if you will.

With all that being said, Mr. O'Neil, or if Mr. Gonzalez, or other witnesses would like to chime in on this, how problematic is this that we now have these public taxpayer funds being used to directly facilitate criminal activity?

Mr. O'NEIL. Extremely.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Thank you for your question. Yes, in fact, a lot of the riots we have seen on our streets, the college encampments, all these things are paid for—CHIRLA, by the way, received \$30 million, if I'm working from memory.

Mr. KILEY. The \$34 million most recently from the State.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes, most recently, from the taxpayer, and thank you for making that distinction between the State of California and California's hardput taxpayers. CHIRLA just raked in government money and was one of the organizers of the riots we saw in Los Angeles.

Everywhere we've seen, you talked about the Tides Foundation, in New York, the Answer Coalition, Students for Justice in Palestine, all of these groups have either received funding from these dark money people or are fiscal—or these dark money senders are fiscal sponsors of them.

It is very concerning, even in cases where, and I think in these cases that I'm talking about crimes have been committed, but even in cases where there's no—it's not illegal or criminal, there's such a thing as unseemly and disturbing, and we should be able to talk about these things.

Mr. KILEY. Absolutely. There's certainly a whole range of conduct that is objectionable, but it's particularly objectionable where the funds are used in a way that actually violates other laws that we have in place.

Thank you very much to my colleague from Kansas, Mr. Schmidt, for yielding the time. I yield the remainder of my time to the Chair.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Mr. Kiley. I recognize myself for five minutes. I just don't know where to begin. It was interesting all the back and forth. I do have to say this, and it's partially complimentary, and it's just an observation, I do have to admit, my friends to the left of me, both geographically and, also, politically, they're good. They're really good at it. Mr. Raskin—both of you are—all of you are, actually, Mr. Raskin is particularly good at conflating and blurring.

He mentioned immigration. I always bring this up through other hearings as well, there is a difference between legal and illegal immigration. There's a difference. Nobody on this side has any problem with legal immigration. That's what makes America.

Let's be clear about it. Illegal immigration, and in some cases where we had people on the terror watch list that were in this country, and people that were convicted or indicted for crimes either in their country of origin or here, yes, we're against that. Absolutely. We would all say it proudly, we're against it.

Also, Mr. Raskin and Ms. Crockett as well, had brought up that there's nothing illegal. I agree. The purpose of the hearing is this wasn't talking about the legality. We don't know, maybe there is, but we don't know of illegal activity. The point is it's distasteful. It's disturbing. It's disgusting. If the American public had to sit through this today, and other hearings we've had, they would be very deeply upset at where their money is going.

Mr. Raskin called this a loser hearing. You know who's losing, the taxpayers, the union members when their money gets drained away to go for these things that the vast majority of them do not believe in.

Mr. Soros is good at this. That's why we're doing this. We're not doing—we didn't say we should take him to jail tomorrow, but he's good at it. He helps to establish these NGOs, these not-for-profits, and then they make sure that millions and millions of dollars flow to them from the taxpayer. It's a pretty ingenious idea. He's making money on his investment, and we think it's wrong, and we don't think it should happen.

I just wanted to clear the air on that, but these guys are good.

Ms. CROCKETT. Do you yield?

Mr. VAN DREW. No. I would, and normally, we get along, I try to, but, Mr. Walter, can you explain why Soros' model is far more dangerous to public policy and democratic accountability than people realize?

Mr. WALTER. Certainly. By the way, I'm happy to give the Ranking Member an example of illegality. There are documents from Soros' own 501(c)(3) nonprofits that show that money was being spent to influence elections to the European parliament, and, of course, that's a violation of 501(c)(3) limitations on political activity. I would be happy to provide the documents to you if you would like.

Mr. RASKIN. Were they charged with that?

Mr. WALTER. Excuse me?

Mr. RASKIN. Were they charged? Were there criminal charges brought?

Mr. WALTER. Sadly, no, nor was there ever a hearing in Congress about it. There's also the question of—my next report on Mr. Soros is going to show over \$80 million going to nonprofits that support terrorism. Again, that is debatably not kosher under 501(c)(3) laws.

The way that the network operates is you have, in the case of Soros, dozens, even hundreds of things. There's an Open Society Macedonia, an Open Society Prague, and on and on. Many of these entities get Federal tax dollars, as well as Mr. Soros' private monies.

As Mr. Gonzalez was explaining, they are willing to go up to and include regime change, as well as trying to change who's elected of the European—

Mr. VAN DREW. Mr. Walter, and I assume that's why you would think this is dangerous; am I right, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. VAN DREW. This is a dangerous situation. You bring a good point, some of it very well may be illegal, but at the very very least it's disturbing, distasteful, of concern, and that's why we're having the hearing. The American people, I know and I wish, millions are

watching this, quite frankly, they're not, deserve to know about this disturbing information. That's the point of this.

Mr. WALTER. One other quick thing, too.

Mr. VAN DREW. Please, quickly because I have other questions.

Mr. WALTER. Ambassador C.deBaca has been a hero in fighting human trafficking. Soros on the other hand is one of the greatest pushers of decriminalizing prostitution throughout the entire world, which is one of the engines of human trafficking. There is a journal article on precisely that.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you, Mr. Walter.

To all of you, for each of you, very briefly, is there one reform Congress should pursue to stop the highjacking of Federal dollars for activism that is this extreme? Like in 10 seconds each. We'll start with you, Mr. Walter. One reform, what is it?

Mr. WALTER. Forcing greater transparency on where the Federal tax dollars go, including the grantees of the grantees.

Mr. VAN DREW. I agree. Mr. Gonzalez.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Do a thorough audit of what these programs are, and who the main implementer is in each country. This is really necessary.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you. Mr. O'Neil.

Mr. O'NEIL. Stop funding groups that also lobby the Federal Government.

Mr. VAN DREW. Thank you. Ambassador C.deBaca.

Mr. C.DEBACA. Restore USAID so that it can actually do these grants and protect the integrity of these grants and release the files about Jeffrey Epstein.

Mr. VAN DREW. I don't have time. My time is up. I would debate that with you for a long period of time, sir.

With that, that concludes today's hearing.

Ms. CROCKETT. I've got a UC.

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. OK. "IRS says churches can now endorse political candidates." For the record, churches are 501s most of the time.

Mr. VAN DREW. I'm not going to comment. I have feelings on that, too.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chair, I've got one, too, if that's all right.

Mr. VAN DREW. Yes, Ranking Member.

Mr. RASKIN. This is, "Publix heiress-backed January 6 group spent \$180,000 on the rally."

Mr. VAN DREW. Without objection.

That concludes today's hearing. We thank our witnesses appearing before this Subcommittee today. We really do mean it, time is treasure. We appreciate it.

Without objection, all the Members will have five legislative days to submit additional written questions for the witnesses, or additional materials for the record.

Without objection, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

All materials submitted for the record by Members of the Subcommittee on Oversight can be found at: <https://docs.house.gov/Committee/Calendar/ByEvent.aspx?EventID=118494>.