



A Judicial Watch Special Report:

The Financial and Staffing Nexus Between the Open Society Foundations and the United States Government



Advancing a Radical Leftist Agenda at U.S. Taxpayer Expense



November 30, 2018



Judicial Watch ♦ 425 3rd Street, SW ♦ Suite 800 ♦ Washington, DC 20024
Tel: 202-646-5172 ♦ www.JudicialWatch.org ♦ info@judicialwatch.org

Introduction

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Judicial Watch promotes transparency, integrity and accountability in government, politics and the law. We carry out our mission through investigations, research, litigation and public education. As part of our educational activities we produce Special Reports on important public policy matters in order to illuminate the operations of government in a way that informs the public and holds our trusted public servants accountable.

This Special Report describes the activities of billionaire philanthropist George Soros and his Open Society Foundations (OSF), which are partially financed by U.S. taxpayers. Soros, his foundation and their affiliates promote and advance a radical, progressive agenda that seeks to destabilize legitimate governments, erase national borders and identities, target conservative politicians, finance civil unrest, subvert institutions of higher education, and orchestrate refugee crises for political gain. The Soros network is engaged in an active and ongoing effort to affect politics, economics, and societies in Europe (Albania, Macedonia, Romania, Hungary), Latin America (Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico), and across the globe. Judicial Watch has successfully investigated and litigated to document the paper trail left by the OSF network as it operates, at taxpayer expense, to subvert and manipulate the sovereignty of constitutional republics and allies of the United States.

The Soros operations are highly sophisticated and multi-faceted, working across academia; the courts; labor and agriculture; “social justice” organizations; religious associations; and, of course, political groups. OSF operations also utilize U.S.-based non-profit organizations to further their agenda. Key personnel in the Soros/OSF network (and their affiliates) are former U.S. government officials capable of leveraging their government status and access to benefit the OSF’s progressive goals.

Judicial Watch will continue to investigate and litigate to obtain evidence that we will analyze as we pursue additional lines of inquiry concerning Soros and the Open Society Foundations around the world and, in particular, the United States.

Thomas Fitton
President
Washington, DC

Comments should be directed to:
Christopher J. Farrell
Director of Investigations & Research

Background and Context

The Open Society Foundations' mission is to: "... work to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable and open to the participation of all people."¹

The OSF, and its subsidiaries and affiliates, are subsidized with U.S. taxpayer money, totaling hundreds of millions of dollars. Senior U.S. government officials have leveraged their positions for post-government employment with OSF programs, sometimes seeking taxpayer funding for the very same specialties, functions and regions that involved their government employment.

It is important to contextualize the operations and financing of the Open Society Foundations. A year ago, Soros took dramatic action to step up his leftist political activities. As reported by the *Wall Street Journal* on October 17, 2017, Soros transferred \$18 billion to his Open Society Foundation:

“The pioneer of hedge-fund investing has transferred the bulk of his wealth to Open Society Foundations”

“Open Society today has a broad mandate driven largely by its founder's values. It operates through a network of more than 40 foundations and offices in countries from Afghanistan to South Africa.

Mr. Soros has urged developed countries in Europe and elsewhere to share the burden of increased migration from conflict-ridden countries [conflict, it appears, Soros groups help foment]. Anti-Soros politicians in Macedonia, Poland and some other European countries have attacked foreign-funded groups, including Open Society, for what they see as outside interference in their affairs.”²

¹ The Open Society Foundations Internet website mission statement, <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org>.

² “George Soros Transfers \$18 Billion to His Foundation, Creating an Instant Giant,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 17, 2017 (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/george-soros-transfers-18-billion-to-his-foundation-creating-an-instant-giant-1508252926>).

Three years before this massive transfer of wealth to the Open Society Foundation, *Inside Philanthropy* reported:³

“The Open Society Foundations is bigger than you think. In fact, it may be the largest philanthropic organization ever built, with branches in 37 countries. While the Gates Foundation spends more money, OSF has a larger footprint worldwide thanks to its many local offices, including throughout Africa. OSF’s budget will be around \$930 million this year—which is substantially more than Ford’s [Foundation] total grantmaking.”

One might reasonably wonder why U.S. taxpayers would be asked to fund the activities of such a wealthy, sophisticated, highly politicized, “philanthropic” organization.

In 2018, OSF projected expending \$537,000,000 in grants and program funding throughout the world.⁴ The 2018 OSF budget exceeds \$1 billion. While the OSF’s self-professed goals of strengthening the rule of law, supporting democratically elected governments, promoting fairness in political, legal, and economic systems, and safeguarding fundamental rights may seem innocuous – or even noble – the reality is far different. Soros promotes a radical left agenda. In the United States, this has included:

- Promoting an open border with Mexico and fighting immigration enforcement efforts;⁵
- Fomenting racial disharmony by funding anti-capitalist racialist organizations;⁶

³ “Philanthropy vs. Tyranny: Inside the Open Society Foundations’ Biggest Battle Yet,” *Inside Philanthropy*, September 14, 2015 (<https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2015/9/14/philanthropy-vs-tyranny-inside-the-open-society-foundations.html>)

⁴ “Open Society Foundations: About Us: Expenditures.” (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/expenditures>). OSF 2018 budget overview: (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/open-society-foundations-2018-budget-overview-20181107.pdf>, p. 4). The organization’s “migration budget” nearly doubling between 2017 and 2018 (from \$34.4 million to \$63.3 million) and its spending on U.S. programs increasing by 21 percent (from \$100.4 million to \$121.1 million).

⁵ “Open Society U.S. Programs Board Meeting,” DC Leaks. September 3-4, 2013. (<https://fdik.org/soros.dcleaks.com/download/index.html%3Ff=%252Ffinal%2520book.pdf&t=us>); and, WND, “Border Caravan? Call It The George Soros Express,” April 29, 2018. (<https://www.wnd.com/2018/04/border-caravan-call-it-the-george-soros-express/>).

⁶ “Open Society Foundations’ 2015-2018 U.S. Programs plan lists a number of redistributionist policy goals and sets out the organizations that will function as either “anchor” or “core” grantees for that specific set of goals. Included among these grantees are a number of hot-button left-wing contemporary organizations such as the Black Lives Matter aligned group Color of Change, *UnidosUS* (formerly the National Council of La Raza), and the NAACP.” *Influence Watch*,

- Financing the Black Lives Matter movement and other organizations involved in the riots in Ferguson, Missouri;⁷
- Weakening the integrity of our electoral systems;⁸
- Promoting taxpayer funded abortion-on-demand;⁹
- Advocating a government-run health care system;¹⁰
- Opposing U.S. counterterrorism efforts;¹¹
- Promoting dubious transnational climate change agreements that threaten American sovereignty;¹² and,
- Working to promote gun control and erode Second Amendment protections.¹³

The Soros foundations funded the liberal think tank Center for American Progress (CAP) (founded by former Hillary Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta, who remains

(<https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/open-society-foundations/>); and, Meza, Summer, "Black Lives Matter Wants to Bring Down White Capitalism with Black Christmas," *Newsweek*, November 28, 2017.

(<https://www.newsweek.com/black-lives-matter-black-christmas-capitalism-724309>).

⁷ Richardson, Valerie. "Black Lives Matter cashes in with \$100 million from liberal foundations." *Washington Times*. August 16, 2016. (<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/aug/16/black-lives-matter-cashes-100-million-liberal-foun/>); and, Riddell, Kelly, "George Soros funds Ferguson protests, hopes to spur civil action," *Washington Times*, January 14, 2015.

(<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jan/14/george-soros-funds-ferguson-protests-hopes-to-spur/>).

⁸ Higgins, Sean, "Soros' \$5 million bankrolls suits to stop voter ID laws," *Washington Times*, June 6, 2015.

(<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/soros-5-million-bankrolls-suits-to-stop-voter-id-laws>).

⁹ Open Society Foundation, Women's Rights Program.

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/women-s-rights-program>).

¹⁰ VanBooven, Valerie, "Billionaire Soros Funding Effort to Put Universal Home Care on Ballot in Maine," *Home Care Daily*, February 14, 2018. (<https://www.homecaredaily.com/2018/02/14/billionaire-soros-funding-effort-to-put-universal-home-care-on-ballot-in-maine/>).

¹¹ Open Society Foundation, National Security and Counterterrorism Program.

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/topics/national-security-counterterrorism>).

¹² George Soros was a member of the U.N.'s High-Level Advisory Group on Mobilizing Climate Change Resources, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2010/sga1223.doc.htm>, and the Open Society Foundation was a founding funder of the Climate Policy Initiative

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/open-society-foundations-2018-budget-overview-20181107.pdf>, p. 8; <https://climatepolicyinitiative.org/us/>)

¹³ NRA Institute for Legislative Action, "Anti-Gun Billionaire George Soros Pumps \$18 Billion into His Political Apparatus," October 20, 2017. (<https://www.nra.org/articles/20171020/anti-gun-billionaire-george-soros-pumps-18-billion-into-his-political-apparatus>).

on the CAP Board of Directors¹⁴), and the related 501c(4) CAP Action Fund to the sum of \$1.835 million dollars in 2016 and 2017.¹⁵ OSF program strategy documents describe CAP as an “anchor” grantee of the organization.¹⁶ The current President of CAP, Neera Tanden, was Policy Director of Hillary Clinton’s 2008 presidential campaign, and domestic policy director for the Obama campaign. Additional CAP Board members include Tom Steyer and Sen. Tom Daschle.¹⁷

Soros foundations also funded the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) and its related entities, and Democratic voter turnout initiatives. In 2003, Soros described defeating President George W. Bush as, “the central focus of my life,” and donated more than \$15 million to anti-Bush organizations and efforts.¹⁸ At the January 2018 World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, Soros attacked President Trump and described him as a “danger to the world.”¹⁹

Similarly, in Europe, Soros and his foundations have sought to erase national borders and identities,²⁰ targeted conservative politicians,²¹ financed civil unrest,²²

¹⁴ Lorber, Jamie, “CAP Faces Challenges as Podesta Steps Back,” *Roll Call*, October 25, 2011.

(<https://www.americanprogress.org/about/c3-board/>, <http://www.rollcall.com/news/Center-for-American-Progress-Faces-Challenges-as-John-Podesta-Steps-Back-209775-1.html>).

¹⁵ Open Society Foundation Grants Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database/?filter_keyword=center%20for%20american%20progress).

¹⁶ Open Society Foundation, “U.S. Programs 2015 - 2018 Strategy.”

(<https://web.archive.org/web/20170227181554/http://dcleaks.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/soros/strategies/usp-2015-2018-proposed-strategy.pdf>).

¹⁷ Center for American Progress, Board of Directors. (<https://www.americanprogress.org/about/c3-board/>).

¹⁸ Borger, Julian. *Financier Soros Puts Millions into Ousting Bush*. The Guardian (UK), November 12, 2003 (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/nov/12/uselections2004.usa>)

¹⁹ Edwards, Valerie. *They are a Danger to the World: Billionaire Clinton Supporter George Soros Says the Trump Administration Wants to Create a Mafia State*. Daily Mail (UK), January 25, 2018

(<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5314897/George-Soros-calls-Trump-blistering-Davos-speech.html>)

²⁰ Gorondi, Pablo, “Hungary’s leader: EU and Soros seek to “Muslimize” Europe,” *Seattle Times*, July 22, 2017. (<https://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/hungarys-leader-eu-and-soros-seek-to-muslimize-europe/>)

²¹ Adam, Christopher, “Hungary Explains Why ‘Persecuted’ Former Macedonian PM Deserves Asylum,” *Hungarian Free Press*, November 14, 2018. (<http://hungarianfreepress.com/2018/11/14/hungary-explains-why-persecuted-former-macedonian-pm-deserves-asylum/>).

²² CRC Staff, “Video: ‘George Soros’s European Uprisings,’” *Capital Research Center*, April 18, 2018. (<https://capitalresearch.org/article/featured-video-george-soross-european-uprisings/>).

infiltrated institutions of higher education,²³ and orchestrated a massive refugee crisis²⁴ that will leave the continent forever changed.²⁵

Judicial Watch has filed four lawsuits in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia directly related to uncovering the facts about the global Soros-funded network of left-wing activist groups – what Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban calls Soros’ “[Mercenary Army](#)”²⁶ – organized in part through the Soros Open Society Foundation and his East West Management Institute. The documents uncovered by Judicial Watch through a series of lawsuits reveal that the Obama administration turned over key State Department activities to George Soros’ OSF. Judicial Watch reporting suggests the Deep State continues to be aligned with Soros as career and holdover State Department officials in countries such as Albania, Colombia, Guatemala, Macedonia and Romania help OSF push its radical agenda.

What U.S. Taxpayers Fund

The vast majority of U.S. Government funding for Soros’ entities is to the East-West Management Institute (EWMI), which he founded in 1989.²⁷ A Director of the EWMI, George Vickers, was previously the Director of International Operations at the Open Society Institute (OSI).²⁸ The EWMI manages project for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) around the world, including in Azerbaijan²⁹, Georgia³⁰, Macedonia³¹, and Albania³². EWMI has received \$72.5 million in USAID contracts since 2004.

²³ Open Society Foundation, Host University Guide.

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/2019-civil-society-leadership-awards-host-university-guide-20180320.pdf>).

²⁴ Hasson, Peter, “George Soros: EU Should Deal With Refugee Crisis by Keeping Borders Open, Taking On Debt,” Daily Caller, May 30, 2018. (<https://dailycaller.com/2018/05/30/george-soros-europe-refugee-crisis-keep-borders-open/>).

²⁵ The Independent, “Soros Foundation sues Hungary over laws making it illegal to help asylum-seekers at European Court of Human Rights,” September 24, 2018.

(<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/soros-foundation-hungary-law-asylum-seekers-refugees-migrants-echr-a8553261.html>).

²⁶ Associated Press, “List of 200 ‘Soros Mercenaries’ Published in Hungary,” *New York Post*, April 12, 2018. (<https://nypost.com/2018/04/12/list-of-200-soros-mercenaries-published-in-hungary/>).

²⁷ Quandt, Richard. *The Changing Landscape in Eastern Europe*. p. 338.

²⁸ East-West Management Institute. “EWMI Board of Directors.” (<https://ewmi.org/BODandStaff>).

²⁹ U.S. Agency for International Development. “U.S., Azerbaijan Improve Road Infrastructure in Saatli.” July 19, 2017 (<https://www.usaid.gov/azerbaijan/news-information/press-releases/us-azerbaijan-improve-road-infrastructure-saatli>)

³⁰ U.S. Agency for International Development. “ACCESS: Strengthening Civil Society in Georgia.” (<http://ewmi-access.org/about-us/>)

³¹ U.S. Agency for International Development. “Macedonia: Civic Engagement Project.” (<https://www.usaid.gov/macedonia/fact-sheets/civic-engagement-project>)

³² East-West Management Institute. “Albania: USAID Justice for All.” (<https://ewmi.org/Countries/Albania>)

Approximately \$19 million in contracts are currently active. The organization has also received \$118.7 million in grants since 1999. \$49.2 million worth of grants are currently active.³³

In 2014, the Department of State awarded a \$24,000 grant to Soros' Central European University (CEU). The end date for that program is not listed.³⁴ The Orban government of Hungary has criticized CEU for failure to meet the accreditation requirements in Hungarian law, stating that CEU, "...erected something like a Potemkin campus at the Soros-funded Bard College ... [and]. . . Other US universities complied with the law and have a signed agreement with the government of Hungary."³⁵

The Alliance for Open Society International received nearly \$650,000 from the State Department between 2011 and 2014.³⁶ Its president, Christopher Stone, is the former president of OSF and a current OSF board member.³⁷ In 2006, the Alliance for Open Society International sued USAID over a Congressional requirement that organizations receiving federal anti-AIDS funding to have a policy "explicitly opposing prostitution." The issue was ultimately decided in AOSI's favor by the Supreme Court in 2013.³⁸

Additional taxpayer support for Soros' projects goes to organizations that receive funding from both OSF and taxpayers. Examples include:³⁹

- International Budget Partnership: \$240,000 awarded by USAID in January 2018, \$6 million from OSF for 2016-2018.⁴⁰ Julie McCarthy, the director of Open Society Foundations' Fiscal Governance Program, is on the International Budget Partnership's Board of Trustees.⁴¹

³³ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/c239b2f3f8e89653de0bd9e3673883b9>)

³⁴ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/613037a068c355ab103b73a0de60893e>)

³⁵ Kovacs, Zoltan, "Consider the CEU's so-called 'campus' in New York," *About Hungary*, November 7, 2018. (<http://abouthungary.hu/blog/consider-the-ceus-so-called-campus-in-new-york/>).

³⁶ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/522a8d30214856eee1f61c7d8b2d9cc4>)

³⁷ Open Society Foundations. "Patrick Gaspard to Head the Open Society Foundations." (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/patrick-gaspard-head-open-society-foundations>)

³⁸ *USAID v. AOSI*. (<http://www.pledgechallenge.org>).

³⁹ Data derived from USASpending.gov and the Open Society Foundation's grant database website (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database>).

⁴⁰ USA Spending Grant Summary. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/award/48341514>); and, Open Society Foundations Grant Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database?filter_keyword=budget%20partnership#OR2016-30645).

⁴¹ International Budget Partnerships, "Governance." (<https://www.internationalbudget.org/who-we-are/governance/>).

- Natural Resource Governance Institute: \$5.5 million awarded by State and USAID since 2011, \$4.5 million from OSF in 2016.⁴² The Chair of the NRGI's Board of Directors is former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo. The board also includes Sean Hinton, who works for OSF as the CEO of the Soros Economic Development Fund.⁴³
- National Fair Housing Alliance: Nearly \$16 million awarded by HUD since 2008, \$475,000 from OSF in 2016.⁴⁴ The NFHA is a liberal housing policy activist organization that describes itself as, "the nation's only national civil rights agency solely dedicated to eliminating all forms of housing discrimination." In May 2018, the organization sued the Department of Housing and Urban Development over the department's decision not to implement the Obama-era "Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Assessment" tool.⁴⁵
- International Crisis Group: \$4.2 million from USAID from 2007 to 2016, \$2.25 million from OSF in 2016.⁴⁶ The ICG's President and CEO, Robert Malley, was previously Special Assistant to the President, Senior Adviser to the President for the Counter-ISIL Campaign, and White House Coordinator for the Middle East, North Africa and the Gulf region in the Obama administration.⁴⁷ George Soros and his son, Alexander, both serve on the organization's board of trustees, as do former Clinton State Department official and campaign advisor Jake Sullivan and Australian diplomat and "Russiagate" figure Alexander Downer.⁴⁸

⁴² USA Spending by Prime Award.

(<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/5300f2a0a9d29f386ce4a90ab729a908>); and, Open Society Foundations Grant Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database?filter_keyword=natural%20resource%20governance%20Institute).

⁴³ Natural Resource Governance Institute, Board of Directors. (<https://resourcegovernance.org/about-us/leadership/board#ErnestoZedillo>).

⁴⁴ Open Society Foundation Grant Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database?filter_keyword=national%20fair%20housing); and, USA Spending by Prime Award. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/6f0419ace1963b98e4ddb5e77e623258>).

⁴⁵ Lucas, Fred, "After Collecting \$16 Million in Grants from Housing Department in Obama Era, Liberal Group Sues Agency Now," Daily Signal, June 3, 2018. (<https://www.dailysignal.com/2018/06/03/after-collecting-16-million-in-grants-from-housing-department-in-obama-era-liberal-group-sues-agency-now/>).

⁴⁶ USA Spending by Prime Award.

(<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/cefd9c71aef4e75758f580989113e043>); and, Open Society Foundations Grant Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database?filter_keyword=international%20crisis%20group).

⁴⁷ International Crisis Group. (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/who-we-are/people/robert-malley-0>).

⁴⁸ International Crisis Group, Board of Trustees. (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/who-we-are/board>); and, Apuzzo, Matt, Adam Goldman and Nicholas Fandos, "Code Name Crossfire Hurricane: The Secret Origins of the Trump Investigation," *New York Times*, May 16, 2018.

- Casa de Maryland: More than \$5 million from various U.S. agencies (incl. Treasury, Justice and Labor) since 2010; \$370,000 from OSF in 2016 - 2017.⁴⁹ The organization is an affiliate of *UnidosUS* (formerly known as the National Council of La Raza) and operates several day labor centers in Maryland. Casa de Maryland has been criticized for providing illegal aliens with information regarding how to avoid detection and arrest.⁵⁰
- National Immigration Law Center: More than \$200,000 from DOJ since 2008, \$1.575 million from OSF in 2016.⁵¹ The NILC is a pro-immigration legal and advocacy organization. According to the organization's 2017 Annual Report, it "helped spearhead the fight for No Muslim Ban Ever, pushed in the courts and with Congress to defend Dreamers, and co-led a coalition to preserve immigrants' access to basic necessities."⁵² The Chair of NILC's Board of Directors, Sara Gould, also serves on the board of the Soros-affiliated Proteus Fund, which received nearly \$4 million from the Open Society Foundations in 2016 and 2017.⁵³ On October 25, 2018 the organization issued a press release in response to the administration's plan to halt the "caravan" at the border in which its Executive Director, Marielena Hincapié, says:

"This is one more disturbing and dangerous development in a string of xenophobic attacks on immigrant communities. With this threat to ban Latinx [sic] immigrants, Trump is once again showing us that his racism-driven cruelty has no bounds, as he did with the implementation of the Muslim ban and separation of families at the border. Since day one of Trump's presidency, he has made it clear that his administration will do anything in its power to make immigrants feel unsafe and unwelcome in this

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/16/us/politics/crossfire-hurricane-trump-russia-fbi-mueller-investigation.html>).

⁴⁹ USA Spending by Prime Award.

(<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/144015fd2a71c20619ff861046ee6c2a>); and, Open Society Foundations Grant Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database?filter_keyword=casa%20de%20maryland#OR2015-23716).

⁵⁰ Simpson, James, "CASA de Maryland and the Corrupting Influence of Illegal Immigration," Capital Research Center, September 2012. (<http://capitalresearch.org/app/uploads/2012/08/OT0912.pdf>).

⁵¹ Open Society Foundations, Grants Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database/?filter_keyword=national%20immigration%20law%20center

⁵² National Immigration Law Center 2017 Annual Report. (<https://nilc.org/annual-report/>).

⁵³ Proteus Fund, Board of Directors. (<https://www.proteusfund.org/board-of-directors/>); National Immigration Law Center, Board of Directors. (<https://www.nilc.org/about-us/board-of-directors/>); Open Society Foundation, Partnerships.

(https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/partners_20090720_0.pdf); Open Society Foundation, Grants Database. (https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants-database/?filter_keyword=proteus).

country. . . We will continue to stand with our civil rights, Latinx, immigrant, Muslim, and refugee communities to fight these xenophobic and hateful attacks. We are strong. We are resilient. We will use every tool to stop Trump from undermining the Constitution and international laws and from instituting his administration's agenda to impose a Latinx ban in any form."⁵⁴

The NILC launched a project called "United We Dream" which describes itself as the country's largest immigrant youth-led community. The nonprofit has more than 400,000 members nationwide and claims to "embrace the common struggle of all people of color and stand up against racism, colonialism, colorism, and xenophobia." Among its key projects is winning protections and rights for illegal immigrants, defending against deportation, obtaining education for illegal immigrants and acquiring "justice and liberation" for undocumented LGBT "immigrants and allies."⁵⁵

Perhaps most notoriously, U.S. taxpayer subsidies and OSF funding assisted United We Dream in launching a smartphone application to help illegal immigrants avoid federal authorities. The app, *Notifica* (Notify), is described in a Texas [news article](#) as a tool to protect immigrants living in the U.S. illegally by utilizing high tech and online social communications. With the click of a button, illegal aliens can alert family, friends and attorneys of encounters with federal authorities. "Immigration agents knocking at the door?" the news story asks. "Now, there's an app for that, too."⁵⁶

- Center for a New American Security: In FY 2017, it received between \$250,000 and \$499,999 from the Open Society Foundations and more than \$500,000 from the U.S. government.⁵⁷ CNAS was founded by Kurt Campbell and Michele Flournoy, who were later appointed to senior DOD posts by Obama. In January, it hired Victoria Nuland as CEO.⁵⁸ Nuland was the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs in the Obama administration. The organization's Executive Vice President and Director of Studies, Ely Ratner, was the Deputy National Security Advisor to Vice President Biden.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ National Immigration Law Center. "Trump Administration Indicates That It Will Seek to Implement Latinx Ban at Southern Border." October 25, 2018. (<https://www.nilc.org/2018/10/25/trump-administration-indicates-that-it-will-seek-to-implement-latinx-ban-at-southern-border/>).

⁵⁵ United We Dream. (<https://unitedwedream.org>).

⁵⁶ Tallet, Olivia P., "App helps prepare illegal immigrants in worst-case scenario," Houston Chronicle, April 15, 2018. (<https://www.lmtonline.com/local/article/Preparing-for-the-worst-case-scenario-12836679.php>).

⁵⁷ Center for a New American Security, "CNAS Supporters." (<https://www.cnas.org/support-cnas/cnas-supporters>).

⁵⁸ Center for a New American Security, Victoria Nuland. (<https://www.cnas.org/people/victoria-nuland>).

⁵⁹ Center for a New American Security, Ely Ratner. (<https://www.cnas.org/people/ely-ratner>).

There are also millions of dollars in taxpayer grants going to groups led by OSF board members and others closely associated with the Soros network. A sample of the grants includes:

- Chris Stone, mentioned above, was the President and Director of the Vera Institute of Justice from 1994 to 2004.⁶⁰ There are currently more than \$23 million in active government grants to the Institute.⁶¹
- Maria Cattai, a member of OSF's global board, is also on the board of the Institute of International Education, which has hundreds of millions of dollars in active USG grants.⁶² Cattai is also on the board of the aforementioned International Crisis Group.⁶³ She is a former head of the International Chamber of Commerce and an official with the World Economic Forum.⁶⁴
- Cecilia Muñoz, former Domestic Policy Council director under Obama and Senior V.P. at La Raza, is currently on OSF's U.S. Programs board.⁶⁵ She is also a Vice President at New America Foundation, which has received \$4.5 million in USG grants, including \$580,000 in grants that are currently active.⁶⁶
- Bryan Stevenson, also on OSF's U.S. Programs board,⁶⁷ is the founder and director of the Equal Justice Initiative,⁶⁸ which received a \$347,000 grant from DOJ in 2013.⁶⁹
- Yoeri Albrecht, a member of OSF's European Advisory Board,⁷⁰ is also the director of De Balie, a non-profit based in the Netherlands.⁷¹ De Balie received a \$3,000 Department of State grant in 2009.⁷²

⁶⁰ Harvard University. Curriculum Vitae of Christopher Stone.

(<https://apps.hks.harvard.edu/faculty/cv/christopherstone.pdf>).

⁶¹ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/b0698e127d62238401baaf7b5723ba39>).

⁶² USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/d8b61b45451d31d083c826a1f9f26d55>).

⁶³ *Op. cit.*

⁶⁴ Bloomberg Executive Profile, "Maria Cattai."

(<https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=5939858&privcapId=4251721>).

⁶⁵ Open Society Foundations. "Boards: U.S. Programs."

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/boards/us-programs>).

⁶⁶ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/f65f8edabcdc6776ce4228aff354099b>).

⁶⁷ Open Society Foundations. "Boards: U.S. Programs."

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/boards/us-programs>).

⁶⁸ Equal Justice Initiative. "About EJI." (<https://eji.org/about-eji>).

⁶⁹ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/cbd4edc0075e312a46a4b0dd3d7087fb>).

⁷⁰ Open Society Foundations. "Boards: European Advisory Board."

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/boards/european-advisory-board>).

⁷¹ Open Society Foundations. "Boards: Yoeri Albrecht."

(<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/people/yoeri-albrecht>).

⁷² USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/c4a9ae3f90bb79c3a602969638dea38c>).

- Kofi Marfo, a member of OSF's Early Childhood Program Board, is also on the board of the Society for Research in Child Development,⁷³ which has received more than \$6 million in USG grants since 2011.⁷⁴
- David Holiday is OSF's regional manager for Central America. According to his biography, he "worked for a USAID-funded project in support of civic advocacy organizations in the aftermath of the Guatemalan peace accords and managed a project in El Salvador that supported civil society advocacy as well as transparency initiatives."⁷⁵
- Michelle Scott, the Chair of the EWMI Board of Directors, is the General Counsel at Fair Health, Inc.⁷⁶, which has received nearly \$700,000 in contracts from various government agencies since 2012.⁷⁷

Government/Soros Foundations Nexus

The nexus between OSF and U.S. government agencies are not just a matter of U.S. taxpayer dollars going to dubious programs and OSF operating affiliates. It is also about power, policy and influence. Staffing and employment facts illuminate the breadth and scope of the connections between OSF political operatives and the taxpayers' employees inside the USG. Here are a few examples worth examining (*n.b.*: This list of OSF/U.S. government personnel is not exhaustive):

- Patrick Gaspard, OSF's President, was the Director of Political Affairs in the Obama White House and the U.S. Ambassador to South Africa.⁷⁸ Gaspard has a long history in Democratic party politics and community organizing in support of left-wing causes. This included serving as the political director for ACORN's New York Chapter, an organizer for the socialist New Party, and for Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential campaign. He went on to a position as the political vice president of a powerful Service Employees International Union (SEIU) chapter in New York and an activist with the ACORN-aligned Working Families Party. He served as the director of President Obama's Office of Political Affairs from 2009 to 2011 and as the executive

⁷³ Open Society Foundations. "Boards: Kofi Marfo." (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/people/kofi-marfo>).

⁷⁴ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/8bfc6f86f6e85337608a1564875722b8>).

⁷⁵ Open Society Foundations. "Staff: David Holiday." (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/people/david-holiday>).

⁷⁶ East-West Management Institute. "About EWMI: Board of Directors and Staff." (<https://ewmi.org/BODandStaff>).

⁷⁷ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/107347fff673c9ade1610e7637dfc445>).

⁷⁸ Open Society Foundations. "Staff: Patrick Gaspard." (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/people/patrick-gaspard>).

director of the Democratic National Committee from 2011 to 2013, when Obama appointed him to be the Ambassador to South Africa. Shortly after the ruling African National Congress proposed a constitutional amendment to expropriate land from predominately white farmers without compensation, Gaspard sent a tweet lauding South Africa's constitution as "more inclusive" than that of the United States.⁷⁹

In November 2018, Gaspard entered into a very public feud with Internet giant Facebook, calling for congressional hearings into the operations of the social media platform for hiring a consulting firm to explore the link between an anti-Facebook group called Freedom from Facebook and Mr. Soros.⁸⁰

Gaspard accused Facebook of spreading, "hateful and blatantly false and anti-Semitic information ... actively engaged in the same behavior to try to discredit people exercising their First Amendment rights to protest Facebook's role in disseminating vile propaganda ... But at bottom, this is not about George Soros or the foundations. Your methods threaten the very values underpinning our democracy."⁸¹

Facebook reportedly hired a research consulting firm to look into Mr. Soros after he called internet "monopolies" a "menace" in a January speech at the World Economic Forum. In an interview on PBS with Christiane Amanpour, Mr. Gaspard went further in his conspiracy theory defense, claiming Facebook's investigation of Soros funding was a "black ops false flag operation," and that, "I find it hard to believe that one would go after someone like George Soros, who as you said is a figure of some note, a figure who recently received a pipe bomb in his mailbox as a consequence of these kinds of virulent, hate filled campaigns..."⁸²

In a published internal posting, Facebook executive Elliot Schrage wrote, "We had not heard such criticism from him [Soros] before and wanted to determine if he had any financial motivation." Mr. Schrage stated that Facebook's consulting firm, "...

⁷⁹ Patrick Gaspard, *Twitter*, (<https://twitter.com/patrickgaspard/status/952211842939740162?lang=en>).

⁸⁰ Deepa Seetharaman, "Soros Philanthropy President Calls for U.S. Lawmakers to Review Facebook," *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 22, 2018 6:28 p.m. ET. (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/soros-philanthropy-president-calls-for-u-s-lawmakers-to-review-facebook-1542929287>).

⁸¹ Amir Tibon, "Soros Foundation Slams Facebook for Spreading anti-Semitic Smears Against Jewish Billionaire," *Haaretz*, November 14, 2018. (<https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/.premium-soros-foundation-slams-facebook-for-spreading-anti-semitic-smears-against-jewish-bil-1.6656750>).

⁸² Amanpour & Co., "Patrick Gaspard on the Facebook Controversy," *Public Broadcasting Service*, Nov. 20, 2018. (<https://www.pbs.org/wnet/amanpour-and-company/video/patrick-gaspard-on-the-facebook-controversy/>)

researched this [the link between an anti-Facebook group called Freedom from Facebook and Mr. Soros] using public information.”⁸³

According to the *New York Times*, Facebook’s research consulting firm (Definers Public Affairs), “... also relied on Mr. Schumer, the New York senator and Senate Democratic leader. He has long worked to advance Silicon Valley’s interests on issues such as commercial drone regulations and patent reform. During the 2016 election cycle, he raised more money from Facebook employees than any other member of Congress, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Mr. Schumer also has a personal connection to Facebook: His daughter Alison joined the firm out of college and is now a marketing manager in Facebook’s New York office, according to her LinkedIn profile.”⁸⁴

Mr. Gaspard’s public relations strategy includes *ad hominem* smears as a technique to silence critics and discourage investigation of OSF and Mr. Soros. Mr. Gaspard made his claims of Facebook anti-Semitism despite Facebook Chairman and CEO Mark Zuckerberg⁸⁵ and Facebook Chief Operating Officer Sheryl Sandberg,⁸⁶ both of whom are reportedly Jewish. Interestingly, in July 2017, Israel’s foreign ministry denounced Soros, “... who continuously undermines Israel’s democratically elected governments,” said foreign ministry spokesman Emmanuel Nahshon, adding that Soros funded organizations, ‘that defame the Jewish state and seek to deny it the right to defend itself.’⁸⁷

Clearly, Mr. Gaspard is highly reactive and an aggressive advocate on behalf of OSF and Mr. Soros. As Ms. Amanpour commented in her PBS interview of Mr. Gaspard, “Well, boy oh boy, you are laying down the gauntlet there.”⁸⁸ It is worth noting that public, open source scrutiny of a U.S. taxpayer financed “philanthropic” foundation

⁸³ *Op. cit.*

⁸⁴ Frenkel, Sheera, Nicholas Confessore, Cecilia Kang, Matthew Rosenberg and Jack Nicas, “Delay, Deny and Deflect: How Facebook’s Leaders Fought Through Crisis,” *New York Times*, November 14, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/14/technology/facebook-data-russia-election-racism.html>)

⁸⁵ Zauzmer, Julie, “Mark Zuckerberg says he’s no longer an atheist, believes ‘religion is very important,’” December 30, 2016, *Washington Post*. (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2016/12/30/mark-zuckerberg-says-hes-no-longer-an-atheist-believes-religion-is-very-important/?utm_term=.9d2e076e09d7).

⁸⁶ Harris, Paul, “The Facebook Executive on a Self-Help Mission,” *The Japan Times*, March 16, 2013. (<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/03/16/world/the-facebook-executive-on-a-self-help-mission/#.XAGN-C3Mx0s>).

⁸⁷ Baker, Luke, “Israel backs Hungary, says financier Soros is a threat,” *Reuters*, July 10, 2017. (<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-hungary-soros/israel-backs-hungary-says-financier-soros-is-a-threat-idUSKBN19V1J4>).

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*

calling itself “Open Society” generates reactions from Mr. Gaspard including demands for congressional hearings; conclusory accusations of anti-Semitism and incitement to violence; and, claims of Facebook policies threatening the values of democracy.

- In October 2018, Tom Perriello was named the new Executive Director of OSF’s U.S. Programs office.⁸⁹ He is a former Democratic congressman from Virginia and State Department official. Perriello was appointed by Obama as Special Representative leading the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review and the Special Envoy for the African Great Lakes. OSF described Mr. Perriello’s duties as: “Perriello will oversee the Foundations’ grant making and advocacy in the United States, which focuses on promoting full participation in American civic, political, and economic life and ensuring that the core institutions of civil society are effective and accountable to the public.”⁹⁰
- Denis Reynolds, OSF’s Director of Global Security, was formerly a Supervisory Special Agent with the Diplomatic Security Service at the Department of State.⁹¹
- Nicolas Mansfield, the Director of Legal Programs at EWMI, was former a prosecutor with the Department of Justice. Mansfield “is responsible for designing and managing rule of law programs in developing countries, including programs related to reform of the judiciary and justice sector institutions, access to justice, legal education and the engagement of civil society in rule of law reform.”⁹²
- Eugenia McGill, a Director at EWMI, was a consultant to USAID from 2005 to 2006. McGill advises development agencies, governments and nongovernmental organizations on social policy, law and development issues, and on addressing gender and other social concerns through development plans, programs and projects.⁹³
- Delina Fico, EWMI’s Director of Civil Society Programs, was previously the Public Outreach and Organizational Development Director at Chemonics,⁹⁴ a contractor with

⁸⁹ Open Society Foundations. “Foundations Strengthen Work to Promote Open Society Values in the United States.” October 10, 2018. (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/foundations-strengthen-work-promote-open-society-values-united-states>)

⁹⁰ University of Chicago. “Tom Perriello.” (<http://politics.uchicago.edu/fellows-program/fellow/tom-perriello>).

⁹¹ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/denis-reynolds-8a495b1/>).

⁹² Geneva Academy. “Nicholas Mansfield.” (<https://www.geneva-academy.ch/the-academy/about-us/experts/detail/85-nicolas-mansfield>).

⁹³ Columbia University. Curriculum Vitae of Eugenia McGill. (https://sipa.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/documents/EMcGill_Resume_August2018.pdf).

⁹⁴ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/delina-fico-3a895524/>).

ties to the Clintons.⁹⁵ “Fico is the former wife of Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama and wife of former Minister of State Bledi Çuçi. Fico, who has worked for the Soros Foundation in Albania since the 1990s, recently received a \$9 million USAID grant in Macedonia through a collaboration between the EWMI and the local Soros Foundation.”⁹⁶

- Emily Renard, a Senior Policy Advisor at OSF, was formerly a Foreign Service Officer and the Africa Policy Officer for State’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. Renard also worked for the, “Africa Center for Strategic Studies at the U.S. Department of Defense where she developed programs to promote human security. Renard also worked for the National Film Board of Canada in Montreal and the Modern American Language School in Sana’a, Yemen.”⁹⁷
- Jeff Goldstein, currently the Deputy Head of Mission at the OSCE Mission in Skopje, was formerly a Senior Policy Analyst at the Open Society Institute. Prior to that, he was a Foreign Service Officer at state for 25 years.⁹⁸ Goldstein was one of the people present at Hillary Clinton’s 2010 meeting with Soros (as was Michael McFaul – the first non-career diplomat to be the U.S. Ambassador to Russia (2012 – 2014); and, an Obama national security advisor credited with being the architect of the “Russia Reset.”).⁹⁹
- Diana L. Morris is the Director of Open Society Institute – Baltimore. She was previously an attorney-advisor in the Office of the Legal Advisor at the Department of State.¹⁰⁰
- Morton Halperin is a Senior Advisor at OSF. He was previously the Director of Policy Planning at the State Department under the Clinton administration.¹⁰¹ Halperin was

⁹⁵ *Washington Times*. “Failed Afghan Project Highlights Clinton’s Contractor Ties.” June 26, 2015.

(<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/failed-afghan-project-highlights-clintons-contractor-ties>).

⁹⁶ *Exit*, “Senators to Secretary Tillerson: Investigate Links of USAID and Soros in Albania,” March 15, 2017. (<https://exit.al/en/2017/03/15/senators-to-secretary-tillerson-investigate-links-of-usaid-and-soros-in-albania/>).

⁹⁷ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/emilyrenard/>).

⁹⁸ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/jeff-goldstein-031a3b25/?originalSubdomain=mk>).

⁹⁹ Javers, Eamon. “Here’s Who Was in the Room When Clinton Met with Soros at the State Department.” *CNBC*. August 30, 2016. (<https://www.cnn.com/2016/08/30/heres-who-was-in-the-room-when-clinton-met-with-soros-at-state-dept.html>).

¹⁰⁰ OSI Baltimore. “Diana L. Morris.” (<https://www.osibaltimore.org/staff/diana-l-morris/>).

¹⁰¹ Open Society Foundations. “Staff: Morton Halperin.” (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/people/morton-halperin>).

suspected of being a spy for the Soviet Union while working at the State Department.¹⁰²

- David Mandel-Anthony, a Senior Policy Advisor in the State Department's Office of Global Criminal Justice, was formerly a researcher at the Open Society Foundation. He also worked for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, Humanity in Action, Human Rights Watch, the Public International Law and Policy Group, and the International Center for Transitional Justice.¹⁰³
- Mary Gardner Coppola is a Foreign Policy Advisor for the U.S. Marine Corps and was a Foreign Service Officer at State for ten years. She was previously and Analyst with the Open Society Institute.¹⁰⁴
- Lauren Troy is a State Policy Advisor with the Department of Justice. She previously worked for the Open Society Foundations for two years in an unspecified capacity.¹⁰⁵
- James Graham Wilson is a Historian at the Department of State. He previously interned for the Open Society Foundations.¹⁰⁶ Wilson received his Ph.D. in diplomatic history from the University of Virginia in 2011 and his B.A. from Vassar College in 2003. He currently works on Soviet and National Security Policy volumes for the Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series.¹⁰⁷
- W. Bryce Kincaid is a Foreign Service Officer with State currently posted in Ukraine. She was formerly a legal clerk with OSF.¹⁰⁸
- Sarah Cross, a Senior Policy Advisor with OSF, was formerly a Policy Analyst with the Department of State and was the Director of Human Rights at the NSC from 2016 to 2017.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Sperry, Paul. "To Russia with Love?" *World Net Daily*. May 19, 2000.

(<https://www.wnd.com/2000/05/7246/>).

¹⁰³ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/david-mandel-anthony-798913b7/>).

¹⁰⁴ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/mary-gardner-coppola-4bb912143/>).

¹⁰⁵ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/lauren-troy-985621aa/>).

¹⁰⁶ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/james-graham-wilson-5680652a/>).

¹⁰⁷ Wilson Center, History and Public Policy Program Guest Speaker.

(<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/person/james-graham-wilson>).

¹⁰⁸ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/wbrycekincaid/>).

¹⁰⁹ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/sarah-cross-15a68835/>).

- Elisabeth Socolow is a Foreign Service Officer currently serving in Seoul. She was previously the Assistant Director for Forced Migration Projects at OSF.¹¹⁰
- Luis De Baca is currently a Fellow at OSF. Until February 2017, he was the Director of DOJ's Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring, Apprehension, Registration, and Tracking (SMART) office. He was previously an Obama-appointed Ambassador to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.¹¹¹
- Gabi Chojkier was the Obama White House's Senior Director of Hispanic Media. She was previously a Senior Communications Advisor at USAID a Communications officer at OSF.¹¹²
- Andrew Lohsen, Monitoring Officer at OSCE's mission to Ukraine, was previously a Research Consultant at OSF.¹¹³

Caravan-Related Activities Funded by OSF

In late October 2018, Judicial Watch dispatched an investigative team to Guatemala to report on the “caravans” of Hondurans and others streaming north to enter the United States. The popular mainstream media narrative of desperate migrants—many of them women and children—seeking a better life is hardly accurate. The initial caravan consisted of large groups of men, some with criminal histories, aggressively demanding that the U.S. take them in. During a visit to the Guatemalan town of Chiquimula, about 35 miles from the Honduran border, Judicial Watch encountered a rowdy group of about 600 men, ages 17 to about 40, marching north on a narrow two-lane highway. The men sought jobs in America and improved economic opportunities – not political asylum. One man in his 30s contradicted media reports that caravan participants are fleeing violence and fear for their life. “We’re not scared,” he said waving his index finger as others around him nodded in agreement. “We’re going to the United States to get jobs.” Others chanted “*vamos para allá Trump!*” (We’re coming Trump) as they clenched their fists in the air. “We need money and food,” said a 29-year-old man who made the trek with his 21-year-old brother.

All of the migrants interviewed by Judicial Watch repeated the same rehearsed line when asked who organized the caravan, insisting it was a spontaneous event even though there were clearly organizers shouting instructions in Spanish and putting select persons in

¹¹⁰ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/elisabeth-socolow-91a72a5/>).

¹¹¹ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/luis-c-debaca-53a29253/>).

¹¹² LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/gchojkier/>).

¹¹³ LinkedIn.com Public Profile. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/andrewlohsen/>).

front of cameras for interviews. A few claimed they heard about it on local news in Honduras. All of them said the caravan was not about politics but rather poverty. "I just want to get back to the U.S.," said a 32-year-old man who admitted he has been deported from the U.S. twice. "We are all just looking for work." The group radiated a sense of empowerment. One marcher, who appeared to be in his late teens, yelled "you go live in Honduras and see what it's like!"

Guatemalan intelligence officials confirmed that the caravan that originated in the northern Honduran city of San Pedro Sula includes a multitude of Special Interest Aliens (SIA) from the countries such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Angola, as well as other criminal elements and gang members. The migrant caravan marching northbound through Central America is an "elaborately planned" movement that's benefiting human smugglers and bringing disturbing numbers of violent gang members and other criminal elements through Guatemala, according to government sources in the capital city. "MS-13 gang members have been detained and coyotes (human smugglers) are joining the march with clients who pay to get smuggled into the United States," a Guatemalan official told Judicial Watch.

Guatemalan government officials, to include President Jimmy Morales, pointed to "Leftist organizations" as organizers and supporters of the caravan, seeking to destabilize governments in the region and manipulate the migrants for political purposes. President Morales stated that he wanted the groups behind the caravan investigated criminally for creating the conditions that endanger the migrants on their long, perilous journey, as well as violating immigration, customs and border security laws.

Leftist organizations receiving OSF financing which are reportedly promoting, organizing and supporting the caravan include:

- The Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLINIC) is "the largest network of nonprofit immigration legal services programs" in the country.¹¹⁴ CLINIC was one of the founding organizations of the CARA Family Detention Pro Bono Project,¹¹⁵ which reportedly helped to coordinate *Pueblo Sin Fronteras'* [People Without Borders] previous migrant caravan.¹¹⁶ Alex Mensing,¹¹⁷ an organizer with *Pueblo Sin Fronteras*

¹¹⁴ Catholic Legal Immigration Network. (<https://cliniclegal.org/sites/default/files/annualreport/Annual-Report-2016-Final.pdf>).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* (<https://cliniclegal.org/about-us/programs/CARA>).


¹¹⁶ Wynne, Stephen, "Soros Funding Catholic Open Borders Push," *Church Militant*, April 6, 2018. (<https://www.churchmilitant.com/news/article/catholic-group-colludes-with-soros-on-open-borders>).

¹¹⁷ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/alex-mensing-13b54028/>.

who is involved in the current caravan, was previously a coordinator with the CARA project. CLINIC received \$150,000 from OSF in 2016. CLINIC has received more than \$4.2 million in grants from HHS, DOJ, and DHS since 2006.¹¹⁸


- The American Constitution Society received \$2,250,000 from OSF in 2016. It has been highly critical of the President’s immigration policies and has organized teleconference briefings on “the Caravan, the President, and the Constitution.”¹¹⁹
- *Centro para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos* (Center for Legal Action in Human Rights, CALDH) received a \$100,191 human rights grant from the Open Society Foundations in 2015. In 2013, it received a \$25,000 grant from the OSF. There are many similarly-funded organizations, including those listed in Judicial Watch’s Special Report: “George Soros’ Open Society Foundation Activities in Guatemala.”¹²⁰
- The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights has received \$3.3 million from OSF since 2016. The organization sued the Trump administration over the immigration executive order and the inclusion of a citizenship question on the 2020 census form.
- Amnesty International, which has received more than \$300,000 from OSF, is currently running a fundraising campaign based on its assistance to the migrant caravan:

Migrant Caravan | Urgent: Help Now

 donate.amnestyusa.org/

Act now to help protect families who are feeling from violence and persecution. Accredited Charity. 100% Tax Deductible. Stand Up For Human Rights. All Donations Secure.

URGENT: Central America Crisis | Children Are Fleeing

 give.unrefugees.org/donate

Families Are Desperate to Escape the Violence. Your Support Provides Shelter, Financial Assistance and Other Resources to Asylum Seekers. Rapid Crisis Response. Giving Refugees Hope. 501(c)(3) Non-profit. Tax-deductible. BBB Accredited. Services: Emergency Relief, Rights For Refugees. Where We Work · Give Monthly · Make a one-time gift · How is my donation used?



¹¹⁸ USA Spending. (<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/0bcf0ad3ebf5093ec86f26d02545d68f>)

¹¹⁹ American Constitution Society (<https://www.acslaw.org/>).

¹²⁰ Judicial Watch’s Special Report: “George Soros’ Open Society Foundation Activities in Guatemala.” (<https://www.judicialwatch.org/blog/2018/04/u-s-funds-entities-promoting-soros-radical-globalist-agenda-guatemala/>).

- The National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild is a longtime beneficiary of OSF grants.¹²¹ The *New York Times*, described their legal assistance to caravan migrants:

“Some clustered around volunteer American lawyers who arrived at the shelter to explain the basics of asylum law.

“People don’t flee their country and go through the arduous trip on foot unless the situation is desperate,” said **Gilbert Saucedo, a Los Angeles lawyer who helped organize the volunteers through the National Lawyers Guild.** [Emphasis added.]

“I have talked to maybe 100 people today,” he said on Saturday, “and maybe 70 percent had credible cases on the surface.” Yet many lack the documents they need to provide evidence.”¹²²

The Center for Constitutional Rights and *Al Otro Lado* filed a lawsuit against the administration on October 15th challenging the administration’s policy, instituted in response to the caravans, of turning back asylum seekers at the border.¹²³ The CCR received \$530,000 from OSF in 2016.

- Human Rights First, which actively opposes the administration’s immigration enforcement efforts,¹²⁴ has received over \$1 million from OSF since 2016.
- Church World Service, which provides assistance to immigrants and refugees, received \$179,600 from OSF in 2017. On October 19th, the organization issued a press release criticizing the administration’s response to the caravan that quote its President and CEO as follows:

“A dark moment in our history as a nation was when we turned away the MS St. Louis carrying 900 Jewish families seeking asylum and returned them to the horrors of the Holocaust. Today,

¹²¹ National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild Annual Report.

https://www.nationalimmigrationproject.org/PDFs/annualrepts/2011_annual-report.pdf

¹²² Malkin, Elizabeth, “Migrant Caravan Is Just Yards From U.S. Border, but Long Wait Lies Ahead,” *New York Times*, November 18, 2018. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/18/world/americas/mexico-tijuana-migrants-caravan.html>).

¹²³ Center for Constitutional Rights. “New Legal Filing Links High-Level Trump Officials to Asylum Turnback Policy.” October 15, 2018. (<https://ccrjustice.org/home/press-center/press-releases/new-legal-filing-links-high-level-trump-officials-asylum-turnback>).

¹²⁴ <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/topics/immigration-detention>.

asylum protections offer a last hope for people facing life-threatening conditions. CWS and faith communities across the country demand the administration uphold our moral and legal obligations to welcome people seeking protection.”¹²⁵

Judicial Watch Litigation Uncovers U.S. Government Funding of Soros/OSF

Macedonia

Judicial Watch reporting uncovered how the U.S. government quietly spent millions of taxpayer dollars to destabilize the democratically elected, center-right government in Macedonia by colluding with Soros organizations, through Barack Obama’s U.S. Ambassador to Macedonia, [Jess L. Baily](#). Ambassador Baily worked behind the scenes with Soros’ Open Society Foundation to funnel large sums of American dollars to their cause.

The cash flowed through the State Department and the famously corrupt U.S. Agency of International Development (USAID)¹²⁶, which is charged with providing global economic, development and humanitarian assistance. USAID allocated about \$5 million to leftwing Soros groups in Macedonia since 2012, documents show, and at least \$9.5 million has been earmarked by the agency to intervene in the Balkan nation’s governmental affairs for 2016-2021.¹²⁷

According to high-level sources in Macedonia and the U.S. that have provided Judicial Watch with records as part of an ongoing investigation. The OSF established and funded dozens of leftwing, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Macedonia to overthrow the conservative government. One Macedonian government official interviewed by Judicial Watch in Washington D.C., called it the “Soros infantry.” The groups organize youth movements, create influential media outlets and organize violent protests to undermine the institutions and policies implemented by the government. One of the Soros’ groups funded the translation and publication of Saul Alinsky’s “Rules for Radicals” into Macedonian. The book is a tactical manual of subversion, provides direct advice for radical street protests and proclaims Lucifer to be the first radical.

With a population of about 2 million, Macedonia has one of the more conservative governments in Europe. This includes the lowest flat tax in Europe, close ties with Israel

¹²⁵ <https://cwsglobal.org/cws-demands-administration-uphold-the-right-of-all-people-fleeing-violence-to-seek-asylum-and-legal-protection/>.

¹²⁶ Sledge, Matt, “Watchdog Warns of Corruption as \$1Billion in U.S. Aid Flows to Afghanistan,” *Huffington Post*, January 30, 2014. (https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/01/30/usaaid-afghanistan_n_4696465.html).

¹²⁷ USAID, Civil Society Project. (<https://www.usaid.gov/macedonia/fact-sheets/civil-society-project-csp>).

and pro-life policies. The country built a border fence to crackdown on an illegal immigration crisis of 2015-16 that overwhelmed law enforcement agencies. Between 10,000 and 12,000 illegal aliens were crossing the Greek-Macedonian border daily at the peak of the European migration crisis, a Macedonian official told Judicial Watch, and the impact was devastating.

In January 2017, Utah Senator Mike Lee sent Ambassador Baily a [letter](#) asking questions involving the U.S. Mission to Macedonia's involvement in the political process and its connections to the Open Society Foundation.¹²⁸ Specifically, the letter asked:

“Has the US Mission to Macedonia selected the Open Society Foundations as the major implementer of USAID projects in Macedonia? And, is the Open Society Foundations perceived to have political bias by Macedonians? In this regard I would appreciate further information about the process by which projects and needs for Macedonia are assessed by US officials in country before requests for proposals are written and grant recipients or program implementers selected.”

Six United States Senators expressed interest in USAID and State Department funding of Soros/OSF operations.¹²⁹ In typical fashion, the State Department stonewalled the inquiry. The senators received a non-responsive reply in April 2017 from career State Department official who served as a top aide to former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton; worked closely with her in the immediate aftermath of the Benghazi attacks; and, was embroiled in Clinton's email server crimes – Joseph E. MacManus. MacManus essentially rebuffed the senators' request for an investigation into whether the State Department and USAID were using taxpayer money to support liberal causes they viewed as having no clear national-security interest. The *Washington Free Beacon* reported:

“MacManus, in a written response to the senators, defended USAID's work without responding to their concerns about U.S. tax dollars supporting Soros's causes and their call for a State Department review into those funding decisions.

¹²⁸ “Lee Letter Seeks Accountability for US Ambassador in Macedonia.,” January 17, 2017. (<https://www.lee.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases?ID=09FD00EC-5CA9-4FD4-8A18-03EE674A592A>).

¹²⁹ Lee, Inhofe Letter to Secretary of State, March 14, 2017. (https://www.scribd.com/document/341866712/Lee-Inhofe-Letter-to-Secretary-Tillerson#from_embed).

‘The Department of State’s foreign assistance programs are rigorously designed, implemented and monitored to ensure that they are based on core American values,’ MacManus said in a letter.’¹³⁰

Ironically, MacManus is now President Trump’s nominee as ambassador to Colombia. Some analysts view this sort of “Deep State” obstruction and protection of Soros/OSF taxpayer financed political activism as the greatest threat to the Trump administration reining-in the State Department and its subsidiary agencies. Likewise, legitimate congressional oversight is thwarted by careerists with impunity.

The fact remains that millions of U.S. taxpayer dollars have already been spent on this illicit Macedonian operation (and others around the world), and government agencies must be held accountable.

Albania

Judicial Watch obtained [32 pages](#) of records showing the Obama administration sent U.S. taxpayers’ funds to a group backed by Soros/OSF, which used the money to fund left-wing political activities in Albania, including working with the country’s socialist government to push for highly controversial judicial “reform.” The records also detail how the Soros/OSF operation was involved in “helping” the State Department review and make grant applications from other non-governmental groups for U.S. taxpayer funding.¹³¹

The records were obtained in a May 26, 2017, Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) [lawsuit](#) against the U.S. Department of State and the USAID after both entities failed to respond to March 31, 2017, FOIA requests (*Judicial Watch v. U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development* (No. 1:17-cv-01012)). Judicial Watch agreed to dismiss the lawsuit after it received the documents and payment of attorneys’ fees. The new documents show USAID funds were funneled through that agency’s Civil Society Project to back OSF political operations in Albania, particularly OSF efforts to give the socialist government greater control of the judiciary. USAID [reportedly](#) gave \$9 million in 2016 to the “Justice for All” campaign, which is overseen by Soros’s EWMI.

¹³⁰ Crabtree, Susan, “Conservatives Urge Trump Not to Name Former Top Clinton Aide Ambassador to Colombia,” Washington Free Beacon, September 15, 2017. (<https://freebeacon.com/politics/conservatives-urge-trump-not-name-former-top-clinton-aide-ambassador-colombia/>).

¹³¹ Judicial Watch FOIA to State Department, Case No. F-2017-09463, Sept. 7, 2017 document production. (<https://www.judicialwatch.org/document-archive/jw-v-state-soros-albania-01012/>)

In March 2017, a group of six U.S. Senators led by Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) again sent a [letter](#) to then-Secretary of State Rex Tillerson asking that he investigate charges that the U.S. government was using taxpayer funds to assist Soros/OSF in Albania. The letter said,

“Foundation Open Society-Albania and its experts, with funding from USAID, have created the controversial Strategy Document for Albanian Judicial Reform. Some leaders believe that these ‘reforms’ are ultimately aimed to give the Prime Minister and left-of-center government full control over the judiciary.”¹³²

In the Albanian parliament, [opposition leaders](#) have labeled the Strategy “a Soros-sponsored reform.”¹³³

The new records released by Judicial Watch include an April 2016 [memo](#) from the U.S. Embassy in Tirana that reveals that the embassy “sponsored” a survey along with Soros’s Open Society Foundation to measure Albanian citizens’ “knowledge, support, and expectations on justice reform.” The Soros/OSF group survey reported that “91% of respondents either ‘fully support’ or ‘somewhat support’ the need for judicial reform.” The poll did not specify the type of reform the Soros/OSF group was seeking.¹³⁴

Also, records dated February 2017 show that the State Department used taxpayer funds to co-sponsor a [second poll](#) with the OSF on judicial reforms that would essentially solidify the left’s control of the Albanian government. The report notes that the U.S. Embassy’s Public Affairs Section and the Open Society Foundation, “each provided funding to a local organization to conduct a public opinion poll on attitudes towards the Judicial Reform effort.”¹³⁵

The records also reveal that the State Department gave the Soros/OSF organization direct input for its own program funding reviews in Albania. The February 10, 2017, [report](#) on “Engagement with the Open Society Foundation for Albania” notes that:

¹³² Lee, Inhofe Letter to Secretary Tillerson, March 14, 2017. (https://www.scribd.com/document/341866712/Lee-Inhofe-Letter-to-Secretary-Tillerson#from_embed).

¹³³ Mejдини, Fatjona, “Albanian Opposition Leader Claims to be Soros Target,” *BalkanInsight*, March 28, 2017. (<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/albanian-opposition-leader-claims-of-being-a-soros-s-target-03-28-2017>).

¹³⁴ U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-09463, Doc No. C06353336, Date: 09/07/2017. (<http://www.judicialwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pages-from-JW-v-State-Soros-Albania-01012-3-10-11.pdf>)

¹³⁵ U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-09463, Doc No. C06377848, Date: 09/07/2017. (<http://www.judicialwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pages-from-JW-v-State-Soros-Albania-01012-3-27.pdf>).

“As one of the major assistance providers in Albania, representatives from the Open Society Foundation are frequently asked to participate in technical reviews of application [sic] that we receive for funding.”¹³⁶

The former U.S. Ambassador to Albania, Donald Lu, (now assigned as the U.S. Ambassador to Kyrgyz Republic) was a holdover from the Obama administration, and [closely linked](#) to Soros/OSF and the socialist government in Albania.¹³⁷ In May 2017, Ambassador Lu helped undermine Albanian opposition party plans to protest the upcoming parliamentary election by declaring that the U.S. would recognize the election results even if opposition parties refused to participate. Ambassador Lu has been described in the U.S. [press](#) as “a driving force behind Albania’s judicial reforms.”¹³⁸

“The Obama administration quietly spent at least \$9 million in U.S. taxpayers’ dollars in direct collusion with left-wing billionaire George Soros’ backing of a socialist government in Albania. It is particularly outrageous that the State Department allowed the Soros operation to help direct taxpayer funds to other groups,” Judicial Watch President Tom Fitton said. “George Soros is a billionaire and he shouldn’t be receiving taxpayer support to advance his radical left agenda to undermine freedom here at home and abroad.”

Related Cases: Romania and Colombia

In [related cases](#), Judicial Watch is seeking information regarding Soros/OSF activities in Romania and Colombia. The Open Society Foundations of Romania lawsuit was filed after State and USAID failed to substantively respond to an October 16, 2017, FOIA request seeking among other records:

- All records relating to any contracts, grants or other allocations/disbursements of funds by the State Department to the Open Society Foundation – Romania and/or its

¹³⁶ U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2017-09463, Doc No. C06377848, Date: 09/07/2017. (<http://www.judicialwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pages-from-JW-v-State-Soros-Albania-01012-3-27.pdf>).

¹³⁷ Wood, L. Todd, “Soros-infected State Department plays political games in Albania,” *The Washington Times*, February 9, 2017. (<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/feb/9/donald-lu-george-soros-cohort-plays-albania-politi/>).

¹³⁸ Nahzi, Fron, “Albania: Ambassador Lu’s Watch List,” *Huffington Post*, December 20, 2016. (https://www.huffingtonpost.com/fron-nahzi/albania-ambassador-lus-wa_b_8849026.html).

personnel and/or any OSFR subsidiary or affiliate.

- All assessments, evaluations, reports or similar records relating to the work of Open Society Foundation – Romania and/or its subsidiaries or affiliated organizations.

The Soros Open Society Foundations of Colombia lawsuit was filed after State failed to respond to an October 23, 2017, FOIA request seeking among other records:

- All records regarding any contracts, grants or other allocations/disbursements of funds by the State Department to the Open Society Foundation – Colombia and/or any OSF subsidiaries/affiliates, and/or OSF personnel operating in Colombia, as well as the following entities: *Fundacion Ideas para la Paz; La Silla Vacía; DeJusticia; Corporacion Nuevo Arco Iris; Paz y Reconciliación*; Global Drug Policy Program; and news portal *Las Dos Orillas*.
- All records of communication, whether by e-mails, text messages, or instant chats, between any officials, employees or representatives of the State Department in Colombia, including Ambassador Kevin Whitaker and any officials, employees or representatives of the Open Society Foundation, its subsidiaries/affiliates, and/or those entities identified in the first bullet.

As in other parts of the world, a number of Soros-funded entities and projects in Romania are also funded by the United States Government. The Romanian Center for Independent Journalism, which is [supported by the Open Society Institute](#) in New York¹³⁹, received [\\$17,000 from the State Department](#) in 2017.¹⁴⁰

In February 2017, Laura Silber, Chief Communications Officer of Open Society Foundations reportedly [condemned](#) “illiberal governments” in the Balkans, such as Macedonia, Albania and Romania, for working against the Soros/OSF NGOs.¹⁴¹ In Romania, in March 2017, the leader of the governing party reportedly charged that the Soros foundations “that he has funded since 1990 have [financed evil](#).”¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Romanian Center for Independent Journalism. (<http://www.cji.ro/parteneri-si-finantatori/>)

¹⁴⁰ USASpending.gov., Grant Summary Award ID: SRO10017GR0082

(<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/award/50021490>).

¹⁴¹ BIRN Team, “Soros Foundation Blames Attacks on ‘Illiberal Governments’,” *BalkanInsight*, February 10, 2017. (<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/soros-foundation-rebuffs-balkan-governments-attacks-02-09-2017>).

¹⁴² Dunai, Marton, “Soros-funded charities targeted by Trump-inspired crackdown in East Europe,” *Reuters*, March 23, 2017. (<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-easteurope-soros/soros-funded-charities-targeted-by-trump-inspired-crackdown-in-east-europe-idUSKBN16U17Y>).

Soros/OSF NGOs in Colombia are [reportedly](#) receiving millions from USAID¹⁴³:

- [Verdad Abierta](#), a web-based portal created by [Teresa Ronderos](#),¹⁴⁴ director of the Open Society Program on Independent Journalism, boasts on its website that it receives support from USAID.¹⁴⁵ *Verdad Abierta* has helped rewrite Colombia's history, elevating terrorists to the same level as the legitimate police and military forces, and rebranding decades of massacres, kidnappings, child soldiering, and drug trafficking by a criminal syndicate as simply "[50 years of armed conflict](#)."¹⁴⁶
- [Fundacion Ideas para la Paz](#),¹⁴⁷ once led by peace negotiator Sergio Jaramillo, now a member of the oversight "junta," is funded by the Open Society Foundations and has received more than [\\$200,000](#) in U.S. tax dollars.¹⁴⁸
- The left-wing news portal [La Silla Vacía](#),¹⁴⁹ another Open Society initiative, also boasts of being a USAID grantee. Its columnist, [Rodrigo Uprimny](#),¹⁵⁰ whose NGO *DeJusticia*¹⁵¹ also partners with USAID and Open Society, is considered one of the architects of the peace deal.
- Former National Liberation Army terrorist [Leon Valencia](#)¹⁵²—Open Society collaborator and grantee—has received at least \$1,000,000 in USAID funding through his NGOs *Corporacion Nuevo Arco Iris* and *Paz y Reconciliacion*, and left-

¹⁴³ Fowler, Lia, "How Soros Used US Tax Dollars to Consolidate Power in Colombia," *Daily Signal*, April 12, 2017. (<https://www.dailysignal.com/2017/04/12/how-soros-used-us-tax-dollars-to-consolidate-power-in-colombia/>).

¹⁴⁴ Open Society Foundation. (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/award-winning-reporter-lead-open-society-s-work-independent-journalism>).

¹⁴⁵ *Verdad Abierta*. (<https://verdadabierta.com>).

¹⁴⁶ *Verdad Abierta*, "War drives the clashing factions insane," December 9, 2009, (<https://verdadabierta.com/war-drives-the-clashing-factions-insane/>).

¹⁴⁷ *Ideas para La Paz*, (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/osi-grantee-honored-new-media-excellence>).

¹⁴⁸ USAID, Foreign Aid Explorer, Colombia.

(https://explorer.usaid.gov/query?country_name=Colombia&fiscal_year=2015&transaction_type_name=Obli-gations)

¹⁴⁹ Open Society Foundations. (<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/open-society-fellowship/grantees/juanita-leon>).

¹⁵⁰ Segura, Hugo Garcia and Juan David Laverde Palma, "Los arquitectos del acuerdo," *El Espectador*, September 26, 2015. (<https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/los-arquitectos-del-acuerdo-articulo-588936>).

¹⁵¹ *De Justicia*. (<https://www.dejusticia.org/en/>).

¹⁵² Melo, Ricardo Puentes, "León Valencia, El Secuestrador Humanitario," *Periodismo sin Fronteras*, September 19, 2011. (<http://www.periodismosinfronteras.org/leon-valencia-el-secuestrador-humanitario.html>).

wing news portal [Las Dos Orillas](#)¹⁵³, which he co-founded.

In 2016, Soros' Open Society Foundations gave more than \$3.3 million to organizations operating in Colombia. Several of those organizations have also been financially supported by the United States government, having received more than \$5 million from the Department of State, USAID, and the Inter-American Foundation (a federal agency) in recent years. One of the Soros/OSF funded entities, an LGBT advocacy organization, was also selected by the Inter-American Foundation as a partner organization in its [Colombia peace project initiative](#).¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

Why are U.S. taxpayers funding billionaire “philanthropist” George Soros and his highly politicized Open Society Foundations?

This report has documented and detailed millions of U.S. taxpayer dollars being spent around the world to support the radical leftist goals of the George Soros “Open Society” networks.

The American public is owed accountability for how its taxes are spent by government agencies. Judicial Watch's investigations and lawsuits will continue.

¹⁵³ *Las Dos Orillas*. (<https://www.las2orillas.co/quienes-somos/>).

¹⁵⁴ Inter-American Foundation Colombia Peace Project Initiative. (<https://www.iaf.gov/colombia-peace-initiative/>).