



HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

*Exposing a \$120 million "nonpartisan" scheme
that helps Democrats win elections*

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The Capital Research Center is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. As America's investigative think tank, CRC connects the dots between the philanthropic sector and the organizations that influence public policy so that the public knows which special interests are being protected.

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▶ EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This investigation reveals the shocking true story of the Everybody Votes campaign—the largest and most corrupt “charitable” voter registration effort in American history—that may have decided the 2020 presidential election and *could* decide 2024. Commissioned by Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta, funded by the Democratic Party’s biggest donors, and coordinated with cut-throat Democratic consultants, the Everybody Votes campaign used the guise of civic-minded charity to selectively register millions of “non-white” swing-state voters in the hopes of getting out the Democratic vote for a 2020 presidential win. It worked.

Our exclusive research reveals how a little-known organization called the Voter Registration Project (VRP) leveraged connections with billionaire private foundations, Sam Bankman-Fried’s mother, and foreign billionaires with a history of breaking U.S. election law to raise *\$190 million* for the Everybody Votes campaign and register *5.1 million* people.

Using data from leaked copies of the campaign’s secret plans, as well as 2020 exit polls, our researchers have discovered that the VRP’s 5.1 million new registrations provided Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden with somewhere between 1 million to 2.7 million votes across eight specially chosen swing states during the 2020 election. If the state-by-state projections of the campaign’s Democratic consultants held true into 2020, the Everybody Votes campaign’s “massive registration surge” would have provided Democrats more votes than the total margins of victory in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. Biden ultimately won each of these states in 2020, netting him 53 electoral college votes.

Our investigation proves, once and for all, that Democrats used *truckloads* of money from private foundations and public charities to give their donors enormous tax breaks and pad their electoral margins in 2020, even though charities and foundations are *strictly forbidden by law* to operate with the effect, much less the intent, of benefiting a political party.

The investigation also proves that the campaign’s supposed concerns for the “civic participation” of “underrepresented communities” were nothing more than a convenient lie. Unearthed drafts of the Everybody Votes campaign’s original partisan schematics prove that the campaign was designed to win elections first and worry about “civic participation” later. Changing the electorate’s racial composition was only ever a secondary concern.

If the Everybody Votes campaign was a political action committee (PAC) or a 501(c)(4) “dark money” group and if the organizers had just admitted they cared more about electoral results than inequality, then there would be no scandal. But it wasn’t, and they didn’t, and the result is an enormous scandal entangling some of the Left’s biggest political donors and many of its most powerful nonprofit activist groups.

It’s not just a scandal of the past either. The operation was so successful in 2020 that the Everybody Votes campaign has announced it will continue on through 2024, registering millions more. New job listings suggest that this cycle’s operations will target Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin—each a must-win presidential swing state. Only time will tell if the campaign is a repeat success.

On November 24, 2015, **John Podesta**, Hillary Clinton’s campaign manager, received an [email](#) from **Stephanie Schriock**, then-president of [EMILY’s List](#), a powerful Democrat-affiliated political action committee (PAC). “Is this the registration program you were hoping for? Can I push it?” Schriock asked.¹

The email contained the blueprints for a voter registration program dubbed the **Everybody Votes campaign**. The program proposed using \$106 million in donations from “interested donors or [tax-exempt private] foundations” to fund voter registration drives in eight states over five years (Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Ohio, North Carolina, Virginia, and Nevada).

The plan [states](#), “The five-year program will register more than 6.3 million voters and generate close to 2.2 million net new registered voters in the electorate across the eight targeted states from 2016 through 2020.”

Later, in the lead-up to the 2020 presidential election, a [leaked memo](#) written by **Mind the Gap**, a Democrat-aligned Super PAC, came to light. It revealed that the Everybody Votes campaign described in the 2015 memo was still alive. Co-written by **Barbara Fried**, mother of the disgraced crypto-billionaire and Democratic megadonor Sam Bankman-Fried, the 2020 memo advised donors to give 90 percent of their political cash to three nonprofits conducting

“well-designed” voter registration campaigns, because that is “the most effective tactic” to score “additional Democratic votes.” One of the groups was Everybody Votes, “a national organization that funds and trains a consortium of 50+ local community groups across the country that do the actual registration work.” Everybody Votes, a tax-exempt charity, also checks “on the back end” that *every single registration* is filled out properly and that registrants end up on state voter rolls.

The memo also instructs Mind the Gap’s donors to keep Everybody Votes a complete secret. “In 2018,” Fried and her colleagues wrote, their Super PAC “managed to stay out of the news and as far as we know out of Republicans’ sightlines. . . . It will come as no surprise to Republicans—and be of little interest—that yet another organization is trying to fund voter registration in battleground states. But the magnitude of our efforts, the details of targeting, and the names of the organizations we are recommending would be of great interest to them.”

What is the Everybody Votes campaign? Why did John Podesta care about some charity when he was busy with Hillary’s presidential campaign? Which mysterious donors were supposed to supply the \$106 million? Why was the whole thing kept top secret? Was this Everybody Votes campaign even legal?

For years, these questions have gone unasked and unanswered—until now.

¹These emails were released in the so-called Podesta Leaks, likely hacked by Russian intelligence agents, which is unfortunate. But Russian intelligence also likely hacked the conservative-leaning Bradley Foundation’s emails, and that hacked material—[used](#) frequently by Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) and the [Center for Media and Democracy](#)—included emails from our organization, Capital Research Center.

▶ MAJOR PLAYERS

- **JOHN PODESTA.** Chairman of Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign. Leaked emails show that in 2015 he received multiple versions of a “nonpartisan” voter registration program he requested which would exploit charities to help Democrats win presidential elections in 2016 and 2020. This plan became the \$193 million Everybody Votes Campaign that [registered](#) 5.1 million people by 2022.
- **STEPHANIE SCHRIOCK.** In 2015 the president of [EMILY’s List](#), a major Democrat-aligned political action committee. Schriock [forwarded](#) to John Podesta an email describing the Everybody Votes Campaign and asked permission to send it to donors. Schriock wrote: “Is this the registration program you were hoping for? Can I push it?”
- **EVERYBODY VOTES CAMPAIGN.** A scheme [sent](#) to John Podesta, head of the 2016 Clinton presidential campaign, by Democratic PAC leader Stephanie Schriock in 2015. It was a multiyear, \$100+ million plan to use charities to register non-white voters in eight swing states. The millions of newly registered voters would “change the electorate” as the plan succeeded in “registering more voters” than the “average ‘margin’ that separates winners from losers in statewide elections”—like the presidential race that Podesta was running. The scheme has evolved but remains in action. It [claims](#) that by 2022 it registered 5.1 million voters. It achieved that with \$193 million in donations, largely from private foundations and charities, which are legally prohibited from affecting election outcomes.
- **BARBARA FRIED.** Stanford Law professor, mother of disgraced crypto-billionaire [Sam Bankman-Fried](#) and co-founder of the Super PAC [Mind the Gap](#). Fried and her co-conspirators at Mind the Gap wrote a confidential [strategy memo](#) for the 2020 election that advised the group’s Democratic donors to give millions to the charity Everybody Votes, because “nonpartisan voter registration” by charities was “4 to 10 times more cost-effective” at “netting additional Democratic votes,” compared to giving to Democratic Party campaign groups. The memo also instructs donors to keep Everybody Votes a secret from Republicans and the media, while suggesting donors use private foundations and donor-advised funds to contribute to the scheme.
- **MIND THE GAP.** Democratic Super PAC urging 2020 contributions to Everybody Votes. (See also *Barbara Fried*.)
- **MOLLY MCUSIC.** President of the [Wyss Foundation](#), the private U.S. foundation of Swiss billionaire and Clinton-ally [Hansjörg Wyss](#), who has a [history](#) of illegal foreign interference in American elections. McUSIC requested and received the Corridor Partners voter registration plan early in 2015 and forwarded them to Hillary Clinton’s campaign chairman, John Podesta, describing the Corridor plan as the “new c3 version” of a strategy they had discussed earlier.
- **CORRIDOR PARTNERS.** A Democratic consulting firm that first drafted a massive voter registration plan to win Democratic election victories by using traditional, legal means—namely, political groups that are permitted to help parties achieve victory. Later, the plan was

adjusted into a “new c3 version” that would instead make illicit use of charities to win partisan victories.

- **BILL ROBERTS.** Principal consultant at Corridor Partners, a Democrat-aligned strategy firm; board member of the [League of Conservation Voters](#); and former Democratic congressional staffer. Roberts used [Corridor Partners](#) to develop an ambitious \$100+ million “non-partisan” voter registration scheme that was designed to weaponize funding from private charitable foundations to help Democrats win elections by generating two million new “non-white” votes in swing states by 2020.
- **VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT.** The secret identity of the Everybody Votes Campaign. The project is a charity whose network has raised over \$193 million and registered 5.1 million voters to date. The Voter Registration Project paid activist groups and political consultants

millions to register new voters. It also collected each new voter’s information. Recent job listings show the project was so successful in 2020 that it is hiring new employees to expand operations and register millions more voters by 2024, targeting Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin.

- **GRASSROOTS SOLUTIONS.** A Democratic political consulting firm that developed a refined version of the Corridor Partners voter registration plan and dubbed it the Everybody Votes Campaign. Co-founder Robert Richman emailed the Everybody Votes blueprints to Clinton campaign allies at the EMILY’s List PAC in late 2015. Then the PAC passed the scheme on to Clinton campaign honcho John Podesta for his approval. The “charity” that carried out the scheme—the Voter Registration Project (see above)—was housed at the Grassroots Solutions office from 2016 to 2018.



► PROLOGUE: NONPROFITS IN ELECTIONS

This investigation is largely concerned with non-profits, and from its pages a reader may discover much of their character and a little of their history.

Nonprofits are complicated and exist in many forms, but for this story, it is most important to understand the 501(c)(3) variety. This nonprofit type is the only one for which donors receive a tax deduction when they contribute, because the beneficiary conducts charitable and educational work. The law divides 501(c)(3) nonprofits into two types: charities (such as the Salvation Army, Goodwill, and houses of worship) and private foundations (such as the Ford Foundation).

But these groups' tax exemptions come with limitations. For example, 501(c)(3) charities and foundations are forbidden to engage in partisan political activity or to directly influence the outcome of elections. They are allowed, however, to engage in and fund [voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives](#) *if neither the drive's intent nor its effect helps a particular party or candidate*. The IRS [insists](#) that any such election-related work

must be strictly “conducted in a non-partisan manner.”²

Despite this prohibition, not-really-nonpartisan voter registration campaigns—funded by private foundations and carried out by charities—have been a favored tactic of the Left since at least the 2008 elections. Using sophisticated voter databases and Democrat-aligned microtargeting firms, charities like the [Voter Participation Center](#) have targeted “nonpartisan” voter registration drives toward demographics and localities where people vote strongly for Democrats. As liberal reporter Sasha Issenberg wrote of the Voter Participation Center in his widely praised 2012 book, [Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns](#), “Even though the group was officially nonpartisan, for tax purposes, there was no secret that the goal of all its efforts was to generate new votes for Democrats.”

Over the years, registering people in demographics and localities more likely to vote for Democrats has developed into its own multi-hundred-million-dollar industry. These

²The official IRS guidance on “The Restriction of Political Campaign Intervention by Section 501(c)(3) Tax-Exempt Organizations” reads:

Under the Internal Revenue Code, all section 501(c)(3) organizations are absolutely prohibited from directly or indirectly participating in, or intervening in, any political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for elective public office. Contributions to political campaign funds or public statements of position (verbal or written) made on behalf of the organization in favor of or in opposition to any candidate for public office clearly violate the prohibition against political campaign activity. Violating this prohibition may result in denial or revocation of tax-exempt status and the imposition of certain excise taxes.

Certain activities or expenditures may not be prohibited depending on the facts and circumstances. For example, certain voter education activities (including presenting public forums and publishing voter education guides) conducted in a non-partisan manner do not constitute prohibited political campaign activity. In addition, other activities intended to encourage people to participate in the electoral process, such as voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives, would not be prohibited political campaign activity if conducted in a non-partisan manner.

On the other hand, voter education or registration activities with evidence of bias that (a) would favor one candidate over another; (b) oppose a candidate in some manner; or (c) have the effect of favoring a candidate or group of candidates, will constitute prohibited participation or interventions.”

Source: <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/charitable-organizations/the-restriction-of-political-campaign-intervention-by-section-501c3-tax-exempt-organizations>

“nonpartisan” voter registration tactics have also allowed the Left to quietly access billions of dollars stashed in private foundations, which were once kept at arm’s length from politics by tax laws and IRS rules but are now effectively partisan megadonors as powerful as, say, Michael Bloomberg and George Soros.³ Conservative donors, by comparison, whether foundations or individuals like billionaire Charles Koch, have done far less “charitable” voter registration. This is perhaps because they fear a repeat of their targeting by IRS officials, as occurred in the Lois Lerner [scandal](#) that harassed and hindered conservative nonprofits in the 2012 election cycle. In short, Democrats have a nearly bottomless source of partisan election spending, while foundations and their billionaire patrons have gained immense influence over the Democratic Party. (See more [here](#).)

It’s a perfect, tax-exempt, back-scratching circle, but for the first time ever our research has put the pieces together and lifted the “nonpartisan” fig leaf to expose one of the largest partisan voter registration drives in U.S. history. This story raises the most serious legal questions for the charitable sector in a half-century.

► WHERE DID THE EVERYBODY VOTES CAMPAIGN ORIGINATE?

To recap, Hillary Clinton campaign honcho John Podesta received an email from a PAC in late 2015 that asked if he approved of the Everybody Votes campaign, a \$106 million project designed to last

five years and generate 2.2 million new votes in eight states by 2020—a project Podesta had been “hoping for.” Now that we’ve explained how the left-wing “charitable” voter registration racket works, the Everybody Votes campaign should sound even more alarming than it initially did.

Above all, it’s clear that the “Everybody” in the Everybody Votes plan did *not* mean “everybody.” It meant allegedly “underrepresented”—and heavily Democratic—demographics like “African Americans, Latinos, unmarried women, and young people.” It’s also clear the plan sent to Podesta was scandalous in terms of violating the law governing charities’ involvement in elections, but the PAC’s email wasn’t even the first time such a “charitable” nonprofit scheme was sent to Podesta *that year*.

Earlier in 2015, Podesta [received](#) a plan for a “[massive registration surge](#)” described as a “new c3 version” from **Molly McUsic**, the president of the [Wyss Foundation](#). The Wyss Foundation is the tax-exempt U.S. foundation of Swiss billionaire [Hansjörg Wyss](#), a left-wing donor with a [history](#) of illegal interference in U.S. elections. The plan was developed by [Corridor Partners](#), a for-profit Democratic consulting firm. The plan’s creator is **Bill Roberts**, a principal at Corridor and also a [board member](#) of the “[dark money heavyweight](#)” [League of Conservation Voters](#) and its sister charity, the [League of Conservation Education Fund](#). He indicated the plan was adapted from an earlier plan that was explicitly partisan and thus not legal for private foundations to fund or for charities to execute. But in its new, bowdlerized version that edited out references to explicit partisanship and election victories, it would be “consistent with the mission of any private foundation.”

A side-by-side comparison of the Corridor

³Candid, a nonprofit information service created by the merger of Foundation Center and GuideStar, has tracked foundation giving to “charities” in the fields of “Campaigns, Elections, and Voting or Voter Education, Registration, and Turnout.” Candid calculates that foundations gave over \$2.3 billion in those fields from 2011 to the present, and much additional foundation funding should be added to that total from Candid’s separate category of “Civic Participation,” which received another \$5.3 billion. See Candid’s statistics [here](#).

CORRIDOR PARTNERS PLAN	EVERYBODY VOTES CAMPAIGN
Emailed February 2015	Emailed November 2015
\$105 million price tag	\$106 million price tag
Six-year plan: 2015-2020	Five-year plan: 2016-2020
Eight focus states: AZ, CO, FL, GA, IL, NC, NM, NV	Eight focus states: AZ, CO, FL, GA, OH, NC, VA, NV
Projects 2.4 million new votes by 2020	Projects 2.2 million new votes by 2020

Partners plan and the Everybody Votes campaign that the EMILY’s List PAC sent Podesta reveals extreme similarities (see chart above).

(See the uncensored version of the Corridor Partners plan [here](#) and the Everybody Votes campaign plan [here](#).)

The PAC’s Everybody Votes campaign is a nearly perfect copy of the Corridor Partners plan. This cleverly named final version of the scheme merely replaces the true-blue states of Illinois and New Mexico with the more enticing deep-purple targets of Ohio and Virginia.

If anyone wonders how partisan the plan was before the “notable changes from earlier versions” that Bill Roberts mentions in his email that was forwarded to Podesta, it is easy to discover. Ordinarily, those “earlier versions” would be lost to time, but a disastrous mistake by Roberts (he left Microsoft Word’s “track changes” function turned on) caused [a version of the original](#) to be left behind.

That original version blows wide open the story of the Corridor Partners plan that became the Everybody Votes campaign.

The “new c3 version” of the Corridor Partners plan sent to Podesta by the Wyss Foundation’s Molly McUsic was packed with language about “voter participation” and “under-represented citizens,” but the original version was far less civic minded and far more partisan. At one point, three entire paragraphs were completely removed be-

cause they described Republican-won elections that might have been flipped to Democrats if only more “non-white” voters had been registered. Other edits included changing phrases like “alter the electoral balance” to the less partisan-sounding “change the composition of the electorate.” A reference to changing the “outcome of an election”—something forbidden to charities and private foundations—was switched to changing the “competitiveness of an election.”

Even though the verbiage in the “new c3 version” of the plan tried to camouflage its partisan goal of election victories for Democrats, the meat of the report—its voter data and funding recommendations—remained the same, and these elements became the Everybody Votes campaign. One particularly revealing data table estimates the number of additional votes that could be squeezed out of target states by 2020 with enough “non-white” voter registration. It then compared these projected vote totals to “Vote Margin”—that is, the typical margin of victory in past statewide elections. This comparison clearly indicates how the plan’s strategists believed that “charities” that followed the plan would cause Democrats to win elections for president, governor, and senator (see chart on next page).

A plan is just a plan, though. Did the Everybody Votes campaign even make it to 2020?

Estimated Net Votes Generated by VRP in 2020 Election, by Race and Ethnicity

STATE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	HISPANIC-AMERICAN	ASIAN-AMERICAN	OTHER NON-WHITE	TOTAL NON-WHITE	VOTE MARGIN
Arizona	18,750	133,584	26,981	19,321	198,635	153,657
Colorado	13,219	59,779	15,846	3,989	92,832	67,520
Connecticut	18,837	17,831	8,460	2,595	47,722	87,281
Florida	51,666	83,860	27,713	9,444	172,684	110,701
Georgia	144,931	31,969	29,057	12,531	218,487	216,431
Illinois	94,483	104,866	33,684	3,219	236,252	149,779
North Carolina	72,498	21,214	6,880	15,485	116,077	74,926
New Mexico	3,411	53,904	2,438	17,872	77,626	53,381
Nevada	11,570	40,580	7,419	10,529	70,099	51,246
Pennsylvania	75,129	49,086	12,918	20,036	157,168	270,071
South Carolina	64,000	4,753	3,043	5,321	77,116	151,305
Texas	140,208	644,360	53,016	24,220	861,804	946,241
Virginia	26,974	10,354	15,272	15,272	59,427	111,566

► EVERYBODY VOTES IN THE 2020 ELECTION

Fast forward five years to January 2020, when the left-leaning media outlet Vox published a [leaked copy](#) of a confidential donor memo sent by [Mind the Gap](#), a Democrat-aligned Super PAC that advises megadonors on their political spending. In the memo, Mind the Gap informs donors that “the most effective tactic” to win “additional Democratic votes” is “nonpartisan voter registration focused on underrepresented groups.”

Note how Mind the Gap contradicts itself by claiming its voter registration recommendation

is “nonpartisan”—because that is required by law if private foundations and charities are to participate—yet it insists the same registration program will provide partisan donors with the most Democratic votes per dollar.

Mind the Gap warns, however, that voter registration must be “well-designed and executed,” so the Super PAC recommends that Democratic donors invest in only three voter registration groups. One group is Everybody Votes. This is clearly the same Everybody Votes campaign described in Podesta’s emails, just a few years more developed. As Mind the Gap explains,

Everybody Votes is a national organization that funds and trains a consortium of 50+ local community groups

across the country that do the actual registration work. It also checks at the back end that every form was filled out in accordance with state requirements, and that every new registrant actually ends up on the voter rolls in advance of election day.

The 2020 Everybody Votes plan, in short, evolved from the scheme in Podesta’s 2015 email. No longer just a plan to fund voter registration, it has grown into a nationwide network that trains and funds local voter registration groups and collects each voter’s information at its shadowy headquarters, to be double-checked and added to voter databases for future use.

As this effort grew more complex it remained highly efficient. According to Mind the Gap’s research, on a pre-tax basis, “nonpartisan” voter registration drives “are 2 to 5 times more effective at netting additional Democratic votes than the tactics campaigns will invest in (chiefly, broadcast media and digital buys)” and “4 to 10 times more cost-effective” after taxes, because unlike normal political donations, these are tax deductible.

Let that sink in: A Democratic Super PAC told big donors who badly want to win elections not to waste their money by giving to candidates’ campaigns or to 501(c)(4) “dark money” nonprofits, but instead to give millions of dollars to *charities that are forbidden to be partisan or to intervene in elections.*

In a section labeled “Discretion” at the end of Mind the Gap’s memo, the Super PAC also told donors they must keep these voter registration efforts a secret. As we quoted earlier, Mind the Gap knew Republicans would have “great interest” in the “magnitude” of this scheme, “the details of our targeting, and the names of the organizations we are recommending.”

The memo then provides a brief paragraph that donors *are* allowed to share with other donors, but here “Everybody Votes” is omitted,

even though the other groups that the memo recommends are named and contact information given. Clearly, Everybody Votes was being kept secret for a reason.

The Mind the Gap memo shows how, as the years passed, the Everybody Votes campaign became something entirely new. It evolved from an idea pitched to a Swiss billionaire’s private foundation to the clearly partisan “new c3 version” plan requested by John Podesta himself, until it became a major new organization with access to the voter registration information of millions of people—all while working deep in the shadows.

A search of IRS nonprofit databases, however, shows no organization by the name of “Everybody Votes” to match this description. Where has the project been hiding all these years?

▶ THE EVERYBODY VOTES CAMPAIGN BECOMES REALITY

Even though the Everybody Votes campaign was blatantly partisan, developed by Democratic consultants and pushed by Hillary Clinton’s campaign manager, a charity *did* end up adopting and funding the project undetected.

The charity that became the vehicle for the Everybody Votes campaign was previously a wing of the Barack Obama-era [Project Vote](#), itself an affiliate of the notorious [ACORN](#) activist network that was involved in election law violations in multiple states before going bankrupt in 2010. This charity was originally called [Voting for America](#), and it only just survived the scandals that closed many of its sister groups for good. It was entirely renovated when the Clinton campaign kicked off in 2016. Its board was entirely replaced, its finances were overhauled, and it was given a new, nondescript name, the [Voter Registration Project](#). In addition to the new

name, the group also opened two new affiliated groups: the [Voter Registration Project Education Fund](#), also a charity, and [Register America](#), a smaller 501(c)(4) nonprofit.

Since 2016, the Voter Registration Project has been extremely secretive, staying completely out of the public eye. Until recently, it had no website, and it has never spoken to the press or been covered in detail by any news organization.

This is probably because the whole operation was kept within a very tight circle. From 2016 to 2018, VRP [reported](#) on its IRS Form 990s that it shared a downtown Washington, DC address with [Grassroots Solutions](#), the for-profit Democratic consulting firm that sent the Everybody Votes campaign plan to Podesta's allies at EMILY's List in the first place. Since 2016, VRP's IRS filings show it has paid Grassroots Solutions millions in consulting fees, a reminder that this scheme not only brings political victories for the Democratic Party but also personal profits for the schemers.

Between 2016 and 2020, VRP and its affiliates raked in more than enough money to cover the campaign's \$100 million price tag and distributed these funds to dozens of state-based voter registration groups *almost exclusively* in the eight states from the Everybody Votes campaign summary. (Complete details of those grants appear in Appendix 3 and also in VRP's [entry](#) in InfluenceWatch.org.)

Other evidence exists that VRP is the Everybody Votes group to which the Mind the Gap memo refers. Multiple grants to VRP mention Mind the Gap's partisan memo in the grant description. For example, the David E. Reese Family Foundation, the private foundation of [David Reese](#), gave VRP [\\$20,000](#) in 2019 for the "Mind the Gap Project for Voter Registration." The San Francisco Foundation also gave the Voter Registration Project Education Fund [\\$190,000](#) in 2020, "In support of Everybody Votes. For MTG-related voter registration work." Mean-

while, the Horizons Foundation gave the VRP and the Voter Participation Center [\\$10,000 each](#) and listed the purpose outright as "Support for Mind the Gap." Each of these entities should face serious questions from the Internal Revenue Service—and its congressional overseers—about their apparently intentional misuse of tax-exempt funds for partisan election purposes. (For details of these grants to Mind the Gap's work, see Appendix 2.)

So, the Voter Registration Project is the Everybody Votes campaign, enjoying life as a tax-exempt charity. Although the Everybody Votes campaign has been lightly reported on, VRP's existence, and its connection to the Everybody Votes campaign, have gone undiscovered.

▶ VRP'S DONORS: A WHO'S WHO OF LEFT-LEANING MEGADONORS

From 2016 to 2021 (the most recent year available), the [Voter Registration Project](#) (VRP); its sister groups (the [Voter Registration Project Education Fund](#), a charity; and [Register America](#), a 501(c)(4) nonprofit, received a combined \$193 million in revenue, mostly from grants made by private foundations, charities, and unions.

In the world of left-leaning philanthropy, VRP's donors are A-list celebrities. Yet no one has meaningfully reported on VRP's activities, and VRP has never taken to the streets to boast of its accomplishments. In fact, as shown by the Mind the Gap memo, it took measures to remain secret. Perhaps this secrecy arose because VRP and its donors, aware of the partisan nature and dubious legality of the Everybody Votes campaign, wanted to keep VRP's activities out of public view. Or perhaps they didn't fear the law at all, but simply

didn't want their electoral opponents to learn of their best weapon for winning elections.

THE BILLIONAIRE CLUB. Much of the VRP's funding came from the private foundations of some of the Left's most well-known billionaire donors. For example, the [Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation](#), the private foundation of Berkshire Hathaway billionaire Warren Buffett, contributed over \$5 million, while [Foundation to Promote Open Society](#), endowed by George Soros, himself the [largest](#) personal contributor to the Democratic Party in the 2022 cycle, gave VRP [\\$10.4 million](#).

Other grants came from less well-known but still influential billionaires. Register America, the VRP's 501(c)(4) wing, received \$2 million from the [Civic Participation Action Fund](#), a 501(c)(4) nonprofit financed by former billionaire Chuck Feeney. The [Wallace H. Coulter Foundation](#)—named for its deceased billionaire founder—was also a major VRP supporter, giving \$5 million from 2016 to 2020. The [JPB Foundation](#), the foundation of billionaire Barbara Picower and her late husband—who made their fortune [with the](#)

[help](#) of Bernie Madoff's notorious Ponzi scheme and were forced to return \$7.2 billion to Madoff's victims—also supported the VRP with a total of \$4 million in grants. Then there is the [Skoll Foundation](#), the private foundation of Canadian tech billionaire Jeffrey Skoll that contributed \$1 million to the VRP in 2020. And as recently as 2022, the [Democracy Fund](#), a grantmaking entity tied to eBay billionaire Pierre Omidyar, [contributed \\$500,000](#).

Hedge-fund manager C. Frederick Taylor, one of three secretive billionaires behind the [Wellspring Philanthropic Fund](#), is the likely source of a large share of VRP funding as well. Taylor is managing partner of the related [Wellspring Advisors](#), where VRP's former VRP president Jeff Malachowsky and current president Ilona Prucha both worked as senior staff. Taylor's well-documented [efforts to remain anonymous](#) could explain both VRP's secretive behavior and also the \$28 million in untraceable grants that VRP and its sister organizations have received via the [Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund](#), a donor-advised fund provider that Taylor's Well-



spring Philanthropic Fund has used to conceal [more than \\$400 million](#) of its giving.

The VRP has received large grants from *other* donor-advised fund providers and philanthropic pass-through groups as well, a practice usually decried as “dark money” when conservatives engage in it. Since 2016, VRP and its affiliate groups have received a whopping \$25 million from the [Proteus Fund](#), nearly \$13 million from the [New Venture Fund](#), \$7.8 million from the [Hopewell Fund](#), \$3.2 million from the [Tides Foundation](#), \$890,000 from [ImpactAssets](#), and \$500,000 from [NEO Philanthropy](#). These are all major players in the Left’s “dark money” game, well-known for obscuring the original sources of donations that end up in “grassroots” left-wing activist groups. The New Venture and Hopewell Funds, in particular, are major parts of a “dark money” empire managed by Arabella Advisors, a for-profit consulting firm in Washington, DC. Arabella Advisors’ in-house charities and 501(c)(4) nonprofits took in [\\$1.7 billion](#) in 2020 alone, leading *The Atlantic* to [say](#), “Democrats have quietly pulled ahead of Republicans in untraceable political spending” and Arabella “helped make it happen.”

From 2019 to 2020, VRP also received \$7 million from the [Silicon Valley Community Foundation](#), another donor-advised fund provider for numerous left-leaning tech billionaires, including Facebook creator [Mark Zuckerberg](#) (who has given the community foundation more than \$1 billion). It is impossible to say whether it was Zuckerberg that gave to the VRP through the Silicon Valley Community Foundation accounts, or anyone else for that matter, because donor-advised funds (DAFs) do not publicly disclose from whose account a donation originated from. Another prolific DAF provider, the [National Philanthropic Trust](#), has sent the VRP a further \$9.3 million in untraceable cash.

BIG LABOR. Big Labor, which overwhelmingly donates to the Democratic Party, is also involved in funding this partisan scheme. Regis-

ter America, the VRP network’s 501(c)(4) activist wing, received \$1.5 million from the [Service Employees International Union](#) (SEIU), while VRP itself received \$250,000 from the [American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees](#) (AFSCME). The SEIU [gives](#) Democrats about 99 percent of its political donations, as [does](#) AFSCME.

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISTS. Not to be outdone, environmental activists also generously supported the VRP network. Since 2016, VRP has received roughly \$15 million from the [League of Conservation Voters Education Fund](#), making the group one of VRP’s biggest supporters. [NextGen Climate Action](#), a 501(c)(4) climate-change activism group funded by hedge-fund billionaire [Tom Steyer](#), also contributed \$500,000 to VRP in 2016.

Appendix 4 lists all known grants to the VRP network, as does VRP’s InfluenceWatch profile [here](#). All told, our research identified \$154.4 million in giving to the VRP network from 2016 to 2021, which is 80 percent of the networks’ total revenues. Only \$5.1 million of this money came from unions or 501(c)(4) nonprofits, which means at least 77 percent of *all* funding for the VRP network in its first six years came from private foundations and charities. The remainder presumably came from Democrat megadonors not savvy enough to use tax-deductible means to donate—or whose lawyers were careful enough not to let them do so.

▶ WHAT DOES VRP ACTUALLY DO?

VRP pays for voter registration—lots of it.

After working undetected from 2016 to 2020, the VRP began to use the name Everybody Votes publicly. At some point in 2022, the group created its [first website](#), on which they bragged about registering *5.1 million* people, a bit fewer than the 6 million originally called for by the Corridor

Partners plan. Of those 5.1 million people, the VRP website notes that 76 percent were people of color, 56 percent were women, and 47 percent were under the age of 35.

To do all this registration, tax records show that VRP and its sister groups have distributed \$127 million in grants from 2016 through 2021 to more than 80 different state and national left-leaning activist organizing groups. These grants paid for an unprecedented scale of “non-partisan” voter registration work, with roughly \$56 million paid out during 2020 alone.

From 2016 to 2019, VRP followed the Everybody Votes plan to the letter, paying for voter registration in just eight states: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Ohio, North Carolina, Virginia, and Nevada.⁴ In 2020 and 2021 their grantmaking expanded somewhat to other battleground states, including Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and to one New York group. (See Appendix 3 for a list of VRP grants.)

The largest portion of VRP funding went to [State Voices](#), a national charity that oversees a network of state “civic engagement” tables, which bring together a state’s left-leaning activist groups and help them coordinate their get-out-the-vote efforts. From 2016 to 2021, VRP and its sister organizations reported granting more than \$24 million to the State Voices headquarters in Washington, DC.

The VRP network also gave sizable grants to several of State Voices’ state tables as well—all of them charities forbidden to help a political party win an election. [Blueprint North Carolina](#)—which has a [history](#) of partisan attacks on Republicans—received \$2 million. The [Colorado Civic Engagement Table](#) received \$403,000; [Ohio Voice](#), \$89,114; and [ProGeorgia](#), \$2.5 mil-

lion. In 2020, State Voices organizations in non-target states received VRP grants as well, including \$1.1 million to [Minnesota Voice](#), \$1 million to [Pennsylvania Voice](#), and \$548,000 to [Wisconsin Voices](#). According to the “[State Voices 2020 Post-Election Report](#),” the group and its state tables helped register 2.1 million voters in 2020 alone, much, if not all, of that work paid for by VRP.

Although the VRP network’s funding for State Voices dwarfs its other grantmaking, it also gave generously to many other charities. The [Voter Participation Center](#)—a charity named in the Mind the Gap Super PAC memo to donors—received roughly \$10.6 million of VRP funding, and the [League of Conservation Voters Education Fund](#), one of the VRP network’s biggest donors received just over \$11.2 million.⁵ In addition, the [Mi Familia Vota Education Fund](#), the [Fair Share Education Fund](#), [One Arizona](#), the [Ohio Organizing Collaborative](#), and the [New Virginia Majority Education Fund](#) each received several million in grants from the VRP network from 2016 to 2021.

(Appendix 3 has a complete list of the VRP network’s grantmaking, as does VRP’s [profile](#) on InfluenceWatch.)

▶ PARTISAN CONSULTANTS FOR A “NONPARTISAN” CAMPAIGN

Making grants to nonprofits wasn’t the only way VRP funded voter registration. In 2020, perhaps because COVID-19 made it more difficult to find

⁴The only exception was a mere \$50,000 grant to Pennsylvania Voice in the 2018 election year.

⁵It is striking that the League of Conservation Voters Education Fund received roughly \$11 million in grants from VRP, while it also granted roughly \$15 million to VRP. This is another line of inquiry the IRS and Congress should pursue. At a minimum, it demonstrates the very tight ties between the VRP scheme and an especially rich and influential environmentalist group.

volunteers, the group's payments for professional consulting fees increased nearly twentyfold. In 2019, the VRP network paid roughly \$1 million in consulting fees, but in 2020, the network paid for at least \$18 million in "Voter Registration Consulting" done by just their five highest paid consultants.

The highest paid voter registration consultant was [Fieldworks LLC](#), which received \$6.4 million. Fieldworks, based in Washington, DC, is a Democratic consulting firm that specializes in running canvassing, voter registration, and get-out-the-vote operations. During 2020, the group was also [paid millions](#) by Tom Steyer's presidential campaign, [Somos PAC](#), and other left-leaning, Democrat-aligned PACs.

Other consultants the VRP network paid in 2020 included the Outreach Team (\$4.7 million), New Ground Strategies (\$3.8 million), GBI Strategies (\$2.5 million), and Campaign Industries LLC (\$1.3 million). Each is a prominent Democratic consulting firm that specializes in canvassing and get-out-the-vote work for the Democratic Party. For instance, the Outreach Team was paid [over \\$1 million](#) in 2020 for canvassing by the Democratic National Committee (DNC), [GBI Strategies was paid millions](#) for canvassing and voter outreach by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Campaign Industries LLC was paid [roughly \\$2 million](#) by the DNC as well.

In short, the firms that VRP paid for "nonpartisan" voter registration work are fiercely parti-

san operations, and these firms' coffers are where most of VRP's own spending went in the critical election year of 2020. That year, VRP's total spending was \$74.9 million, but most of that, \$45.6 million, was passed on to other groups. Of the remaining 29.3 million "charitable" dollars it kept for its own work, VRP spent about \$18.7 million, or 64 percent, on its top five vendors, who were all Democrat-aligned political firms.

► **SOPHISTICATED, PLANNED, AND PARTISAN**

Assembled here for the first time, the evidence shows that the Everybody Votes campaign was, and is, the largest and most partisan "charitable" voter registration effort in American history.

It was requested by Hillary Clinton's campaign chairman, designed by Democratic consulting firms, funded with over \$190 million from some of the Democratic Party's biggest supporters, and coordinated with some of the Left's largest activist networks and for-profit Democratic Party consultants. Nothing about it was charitable or nonpartisan. Yet somehow, Americans are supposed to accept that it was all above board because the partisans involved used soft-sounding phrases like "civic participation" and "underrepresented" to describe their aims.

▶ THE TIMELINE

2008

Michael Slater, president of [Project Vote](#), a now defunct left-of-center organizing group, launches Voting for America. In 2010, Voting for America received its 501(c)(3) tax exempt status; its 990-EZ for the period ending December of that year states the group “provided technical assistance to voter registration drives and partnered with other organizations to conduct voter registration drives.” The organization rebrands as Voter Registration Project in 2015.

FEBRUARY 2015

John Podesta, head of Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign, receives a plan for a “massive registration surge” of voters from the president of the Wyss Foundation. Wyss Foundation is the tax-exempt U.S. foundation of Swiss billionaire Hansjörg Wyss, a left-wing foreign donor with a history of illegal interference in U.S. elections. The registration plan was prepared by Corridor Partners, a Democratic consulting firm that adapted an earlier plan that was explicitly partisan and thus not legal for private foundations to fund or charities to execute.

A Microsoft Word file shows the edits Corridor Partners made in hopes of squeezing the original plan for Democratic election victories into an ostensibly “nonpartisan” plan the charitable sector could undertake. For example, the original language spoke of targeting an election's “outcome.” That was altered to increasing an election's “competitiveness.” But a table in the bowdlerized plan showed the scheme producing enough new voters in battleground states to overwhelm those states' usual victory margins, so donors could determine winners for president, senator, and governor.

NOVEMBER 2015

Podesta received an updated plan from the president of EMILY's List, a Democrat-affiliated PAC, who asked, “Is this the registration program you were hoping for? Can I push it?”

The plan, revised by Grassroots Solutions, another Democratic consulting firm, was dubbed the “Everybody Votes campaign.” It was nearly identical to the previous version: Both aimed to register over 6 million non-white voters for the 2016 and 2020 elections in eight target states, which the plan estimated would generate over 2 million net votes. Over \$100 million would be needed but could be raised from “interested donors or [private] foundations.”

2016 to 2018

VRP shared an address with Grassroots Solutions, the Democratic consulting firm, and has paid Grassroots Solutions millions in consulting fees, proving this scheme not only brings political victories for Democrats but also personal profits for the schemers.

2018

A memo from Mind the Gap to Silicon Valley donors explains how the “Everybody Votes” campaign achieves its goal of electing Democrats. Mind the Gap is a Super PAC founded by Barbara Fried,

mother of the disgraced crypto-billionaire and Democratic megadonor Sam Bankman-Fried. Mind the Gap told donors data showed “the most effective tactic” to win “additional Democratic votes” is “non-partisan voter registration focused on underrepresented groups.” The Super PAC did not explain how a “nonpartisan” campaign could produce the best partisan outcomes, but it did tell donors to give only to three nonprofits. Two were previously known, but the Super PAC asked donors to keep secret the third, a “charity” it called Everybody Votes.

Everybody Votes, the Super PAC explained, “funds and trains a consortium of 50+ local community groups across the country.” It also collects voters’ information at its shadowy headquarters, to be double-checked and added to voter databases for future use. The memo says, before taxes, this targeted voter registration is “2 to 5 times more effective at netting additional Democratic votes than the tactics campaigns will invest in (chiefly, broadcast media and digital buys).” After taxes, it is “4 to 10 times more cost-effective,” because unlike normal political donations, these are tax deductible.

2020-2021

Grantmaking foundations and charities have reported to the IRS grants they’ve made in support of “Mind the Gap,” even though a Super PAC’s partisan work cannot lawfully be supported by foundations and charities. For instance, David E. Reese Family Foundation gave VRP \$20,000 for “Mind the Gap Project for Voter Registration.” The San Francisco Foundation gave the Voter Registration Project Education Fund \$190,000, “in support of Everybody Votes. For MTG-related voter registration work.” It also gave \$385,000 to Voter Participation Center, another charity recommended by Mind the Gap’s memo, “for MTG-related voter registration work.” The Horizons Foundation gave the VRP and the Voter Participation Center \$10,000 each for “Support for Mind the Gap.”

VRP’s network has raised \$193 million through 2021. Donors include billionaires Warren Buffet (his foundation gave over \$4 million), George Soros (one of his foundations gave over \$10 million), Jeffrey Skoll (his foundation gave \$1 million), and Pierre Omidyar (his Democracy Fund gave \$500,000). The JPB Foundation, run by the billionaire Picower family who made their fortune with the help of Bernie Madoff’s Ponzi scheme, gave VRP’s network \$4 million.

“Charitable” pass-through groups—entities usually decried as “dark money” when used by conservatives—have provided tens of millions of dollars to VRP, including the Tides Foundation (\$2.4 million), Proteus Fund (\$21+ million), New Venture Fund (\$13 million), and Hopewell Fund (\$7.8 million). The last two are major parts of a “dark money” empire, managed by the for-profit consultancy Arabella Advisors, that raised \$1.7 billion in 2020.

FY 2021 - In turn, the VRP network distributed \$125 million in grants through 2021 to dozens of state and national activist groups. From 2016 to 2019, VRP followed the Everybody Votes plan, paying for voter registration in just eight states: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Ohio, North Carolina, Virginia, and Nevada. In 2020 and 2021, grantmaking expanded to the battleground states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

VRP also funded voter registration through professional consulting fees. In 2020, it spent \$18.7 million on its top five vendors—all Democrat-aligned political firms that did millions of dollars of business with the Democratic National Committee, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and similar partisan operations.

2022

Recently, after years of secrecy, VRP has begun to use the name Everybody Votes publicly and in 2022 created its first website. Its job postings as recently as 2023 indicate it remains active and focused on the 2024 election cycle.

▶ DID THE SCHEME WORK?

Did this uncharitable, racially charged scheme actually work?

On its new website, VRP reports that during its existence it has registered 5.1 million persons. The Corridor Report anticipated that 37 percent of registrants would vote, but Pew Research [found](#) that roughly two-thirds of eligible voters cast a ballot in 2020. Using those two percentages gives us a reasonable range of 1.7 million to 3.4 million actual 2020 votes produced by the Everybody Votes campaign's registrations.

Then there's the question of the Democrat/Republican split among those votes. The VRP [says](#) that the persons it registered were (in overlapping categories) 76 percent persons of color, 56 percent women, and 47 percent under 35 years of age. (The fact that they kept such careful count of these statistics is telling.) The 2020 presidential [exit polls](#) found that Democrats received nearly 60 percent of the votes among VRP's youth age bracket, 57 percent of women's votes, 65 percent of Latinos' votes, and 87 percent of African-Americans' votes. So it seems a reasonable range of Democratic votes among VRP's registrants would be 60 percent to 80 percent.

Combining these two ranges for actual voters and for those voters' Democrat/Republican split, it appears VRP provided Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden between 1 million

and 2.7 million votes. Biden received 81 million votes, so the VRP gave him somewhere between 1.3 percent and 3.3 percent of all the votes he received nationwide.

But the Everybody Votes campaign was never interested in "everybody" in America, only in winning swing states. So the proper way to consider the 1 million to 2.7 million Biden votes it achieved is as a percentage of Biden's votes in the states explicitly funded. In the 13 states where VRP made grants in 2016–2020, those Biden votes were 2.9 percent to 7.8 percent of his votes. And six of these states—with 79 electoral college votes—had Biden margins of victory under 2.9 percent—the lower limit of VRP's likely percentage of Biden voters.

Another way to estimate VRP's partisan success would be to look at expected new votes in the plan's target states. If those state projections held true in 2020 and assuming the new voters only voted 60 percent for Democrats, VRP produced more Democratic votes than the party's margin of victory in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. Indeed, the margins in Arizona and Georgia would be over *10 times* the Democrats' presidential victory margin. Together these four battleground states delivered Biden 53 electoral college votes, far more than his victory margin of 36 electoral votes. That's an impressive return on the megadonors' political investment.

No doubt VRP has far more precise numbers on its voters. The IRS and Congress should request all of them.

⁶Earlier we quoted liberal reporter Sasha Issenberg observing that a "charity," the Voter Participation Center, has as its single goal "to generate new votes for Democrats." A similar abuse is found on the donor side of the tax-exempt world, Issenberg observes. He reports that private foundations like [Carnegie](#) justify their funding of "registration and turnout drives" by claiming such campaigns help "historically disenfranchised" communities, but in fact this is "a backdoor approach to ginning up Democratic votes outside the campaign finance laws that applied to candidates, parties, and political action committees." *The Victory Lab*, p. 86. By no coincidence, left-wing billionaire foundations funded the lobbying that passed campaign finance laws that restrict money to "candidates, parties, and political action committees." See John Fund, "[Astroturf Politics: How Liberal Foundations Fooled Congress into Passing McCain-Feingold](#)," *Wall Street Journal*, March 21, 2005.

▶ HOW CAN THIS WEAPONIZATION OF CHARITY BE STOPPED?

Until 501(c)(3) groups—both “charities” and private foundations like the Open Society and Buffett foundations—are barred from funding or engaging in voter registration work, these groups will continue to use the “nonpartisan” voter registration loophole to skirt IRS and campaign finance laws,⁶ collude with partisan actors, and give billionaire donors a tax break for boosting their political cronies. Nothing less than that legal change will make a difference because IRS bureaucrats will never fairly police the current fuzzy legal rules, and too much money and too many votes are on the line for Democrats to voluntarily give up their “most cost-effective” method for “netting Democratic votes.”

As if to prove the point, the Everybody Votes campaign is gearing up for round two. Job listings for Everybody Votes have appeared on its website announcing the campaign’s next chapter. As one listing states:

Everybody Votes Campaign (EVC) is a national non-partisan, not-for-profit coordinated civic engagement campaign active through the 2024 election cycle. The campaign aims to create a more representative democracy by registering millions of underrepresented voters across the country. This effort focuses on voter registration in a targeted fashion by conducting at-scale, effective, efficient, metrics-driven registration work.

This “nonpartisan” language is the same kind used to justify the campaign when it first began.

Staying true to their roots, the EVC has again picked eight target states for 2024: [a listing](#) for “Training Logistics Consultant” describes voter registration training to be held in Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin. The gears of the Left’s 2020 vote machine are already fully in motion in preparation for 2024.

▶ ASTOUNDING HYPOCRISY

When people on the left such as Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) attempt to paint conservative “dark money” as the dominant corrupting force in politics, remember VRP.

Not only does the Left enjoy far more dark money than their foes, [a fact](#) even the *New York Times* acknowledges, but right-leaning 501(c)(4) groups—the type of nonprofit traditionally called “dark money” and the type legally *allowed* to engage in election work—can only dream of achieving the kind of partisan election victories that hang on the trophy walls of the Left’s 501(c)(3) “charities” and foundations.

Meanwhile there is *no conservative equivalent*. At most, a handful of scattered conservative charities spend a fraction of their budget on voter registration or get-out-the-vote efforts, but they don’t attempt anything resembling the sophisticated, centrally controlled, nine-figure-funded, high-tech operations of the VRP network, nor do the largest conservative foundations fund such work. The “charitable” voter registration racket, unlike most types of money in politics, exists on only one side of the aisle.

If it ever receives serious public criticism, expect the Left to meet the challenge with shrieks of “vote suppression” loud enough to wake the dead.

APPENDIX 1

Reproduction of Mind the Gap's 2018 Memo*

*As linked in ["Inside the secretive Silicon Valley group that has funneled over \\$20 million to Democrats."](#) By Theodore Schleifer, January 6, 2020.

A. Summary.

Mind the Gap (MTG) was formed in mid-2018 with the goal of directing private political contributions where they would have the greatest marginal impact on flipping the House in the midterm election. In three and a half months, from July to mid-October of last year, we built a donor network of over 800 individuals from scratch. Our members contributed a total of \$20 million: \$11 million in hard-money contributions to 20 undervalued and underfunded House races, and \$9 million to get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts in the 100 most competitive House races.

In 2019-2020, we will anchor our efforts on the Presidential race, with priority given to counties and zip codes within battleground Presidential states that have multiple strategically important and contested down-ballot races. The reason for this strategy is that roughly 98 percent of voters who turn out to vote for President will vote straight down the ballot along party lines. Thus, in areas with nested critical races, each additional Democratic vote will help elect Democrats in two or more critical races for the price of one. How far we can extend our reach beyond these hot spots depends solely on how much money we can raise.

Our recommendations are all data driven, relying on meta-analyses of hundreds of randomized, controlled experiments produced by academics and the [Analyst Institute](#), and private polling and modeling supplied by [Civis Analytics](#). We do not act as an intermediary for political contributions or make them ourselves. All contributions are made directly by the donor to the organizations and candidates we recommend. We in effect operate as pro bono donor advisers to a growing network of donors who are willing to give significant amounts to Democratic politics, but only if they have confidence in the efficacy of their investments.

In this cycle, unlike 2018, the single most effective tactic for ensuring Democratic victories—501(c)(3) voter registration focused on underrepresented groups in the electorate—will also address an independent moral imperative: to increase the justness and representativeness of our democracy. If fully funded, these efforts will be the largest voter registration drive in US history, with most of the gains realized by communities of color. Those gains will have a lasting and profound impact on the fairness and robustness of our democratic form of government.

B. Who we are.

There are three principals involved with MTG. **Barbara Fried**, William W. and Gertrude H. Saunders Professor of Law, Stanford University, is the founder and President. **Paul Brest**, former President of the Hewlett Foundation and former Dean and Professor of Law Emeritus (active) at Stanford Law School, is Chair of the Board of Directors. **Graham Gottlieb**, Behavioral Research Fellow at Stanford University and former political appointee in the Obama White House and USAID, is the Executive Director.¹

¹ Titles are for identification purposes only. Stanford University and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation have no affiliation with Mind the Gap.

C. Recap of our 2018 effort.

There were two prongs to our efforts in 2018.

First, we directed about \$11.5 million in hard money contributions to 20 House candidates whom our analysis identified as the most underfunded, *measured by the probability that incremental funding would affect the outcome of the race*. We asked our donors to max out to at least 10 of our 20 candidates—so a minimum ask of \$27,000.

According to our polling and analytics, the Democratic candidates we recommended had between a 46% and a 51% projected vote share at the time we recommended them and win probabilities between 14% and 63%. Most win probabilities were considerably below 50%. Most of the public ratings agencies were more pessimistic about our races, and many of them were rated as ‘lean’ or ‘likely R’ at the time we made our recommendations.

Second, we directed approximately \$9 million in larger donations to four independent expenditure GOTV efforts that targeted the 100 most competitive House races, including our 20. All of these tactics had been subject to randomized controlled trials (RCTs) in previous cycles. The results of those RCTs showed them to be far more effective (measured by cost per additional Democratic vote) than standard GOTV and persuasion tactics. The efforts we funded this cycle were also subject to RCTs, which will provide critical additional information about the efficacy of different strategies going into the 2020 cycle.

Civis Analytics projected that the most likely outcome without our intervention was that Democrats would win 7 of our 20 races. We therefore set the initial benchmark for success at winning 8. In the event, we won 10.

We have commissioned outside evaluations of all facets of our 2018 operations. We have just received the last of the independent, quantitative evaluations of our 2018 efforts and hope to have a full report to our donors, including the results of the outside evaluations, by the end of the month. Preliminary assessments indicate our donors likely played a critical role in flipping several of these races. In addition, seven of the ten we lost were very close; the closest four were decided by between a 0.2% and 0.8% vote margin. That strong showing set the stage for a rematch in 2020, and seven of the ten losing candidates have announced they are running again. In each case, our donors’ investments in their 2018 races will allow the candidates to enter the 2020 cycle with significant name recognition and political credibility.

Finally, our success rate in identifying races, in some cases as much as five months before the election, that would be much closer than public raters predicted—a prerequisite to our strategy working—is independently an important proof of concept. Twelve of our races were within a 5% vote margin, and seven were within a 2% vote margin. To look at it from another vantage point, of the ten closest House races, *five were ours*. By way of comparison, on the morning of election day, Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight correctly identified only two of these ten closest races.

We took an unconventional tack with potential donors. Our sole goal was to flip the House. To that end, a seat flipped was a seat flipped. We did not screen candidates based on geography, demographics, likeability, or policy positions. Given the large number of seats projected to be within the margin of error and per-candidate spending limits on hard money, we concluded that the most rational investment strategy was a broad portfolio approach. This entailed asking our donors to invest in a large number of reach races that they had never heard of, in places they did not have strong emotional ties to, with an expectation that we would—and should—lose a significant number of those races in order to generate unexpected marginal wins to increase our chances of taking the House. All of this is contrary to the conventional wisdom that donors are motivated purely by emotional attachment to identifiable individuals and the prospect of winning each race they invest in, rather than a more abstract, rational decision-making processes.

Based on preliminary donor feedback, we expect that many if not most of our members will remain actively engaged in the 2019-2020 cycle and plan to rely on MTG recommendations to direct a significant part of their political giving. Many have indicated to us that they are eager to help power a more extended outreach effort this cycle.

D. MTG's Strategy for 2019-2020

Our guiding principle remains the same: to direct money where we believe it will have the greatest marginal impact on election results. Both our goals and the most effective tactics to achieve them are different, because of the very different dynamics in play in Presidential years, and in particular this one.

1. Goals. In 2018, we had one goal: to flip the House. We are facing a much more complex political landscape in 2020. There is, first and foremost, the Presidential race. In addition, many of the newly-elected Democrats in the House will be vulnerable, and there will be some challengers (including the seven MTG candidates who are running again) with a credible chance of winning. Flipping the Senate is not clearly out of reach and limiting losses or picking up even one seat will put us in a much more favorable position in 2022. Finally, 2020 will be our last chance to flip state legislative seats critical to block severe Republican gerrymanders when Congressional redistricting is done in 2021.

Our efforts will target all four levels of races, with the greatest weight given to the Presidency. Hence, we are prioritizing Presidential battleground states, and in particular the five most likely tipping point states: Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Florida, and Arizona. Within the battleground states, we are prioritizing geographic areas in which an additional Democratic vote for President will also have the greatest leverage in critical, down-ballot races. Our sister 501(c)(4) organization, MTG Research, Inc., has spent the past eight months working with an A-list group of data and analytics consultants to develop a 'heat map' identifying these highest-value zip codes and counties. MTG Research is sharing its analysis with other civic engagement organizations.

2. Tactics.

Here too we face a very different landscape from 2018. The tactics that work best in midterm elections are less effective in Presidential years, and vice versa. We are recommending three different tactics, to be funded sequentially over the next 12 months:

voter registration, get-out-the-vote (GOTV), and direct funding of select House and state legislative races. By far the largest effort will be directed at voter registration.

(a) Voter registration. The most effective tactic in a Presidential year by a wide margin is nonpartisan voter registration focused on underrepresented groups in our electoral process. *Provided that such efforts are well-designed and executed, on a pre-tax basis* they are 2 to 5 times more cost-effective at netting additional Democratic votes than the tactics that campaigns will invest in (chiefly, broadcast media and digital buys). Because 90 percent of the contributions we are recommending for voter registration and GOTV efforts will go to 501(c)(3) organizations and hence are tax deductible, on an after-tax basis such programs are closer to 4 to 10 times more cost-effective than the next best alternative. They are also eligible recipients of donations from donor-advised funds and private foundations.

We will be recommending three organizations for voter registration work: the Voter Participation Center (VPC) and the Center for Voter Information (CVI), both mail-based programs, and Everybody Votes, a site-based program. Everybody Votes is a national organization that funds and trains a consortium of 50+ local community groups across the country that do the actual registration work. It also checks at the back end that every form was filled out in accordance with state requirements, and that every new registrant actually ends up on the voter rolls in advance of election day—two key steps to counter voter suppression efforts. We partnered with VPC and CVI last cycle. All three organizations have stellar track records, backed up by multiple RCTs.

We are starting by targeting zip codes within Presidential battleground states in which there are nested state legislature and House races that are in play and, in the case of the state legislature, such races are must-wins to block a Republican gerrymander in the 2021 Congressional redistricting process. Because more than 98% of people who vote in the Presidential race also vote in all partisan down-ballot races along party lines, every dollar invested in those districts will have a multiplicative effect up- and down-ballot.

(b) GOTV efforts. Unlike high-quality voter registration, we expect an enormous amount of money will be poured into GOTV efforts by multiple players in the Democratic ecosphere. Nevertheless, we expect that some critical gaps will remain, although it will not be possible to identify them, or the precise amount of money required to fully fund them, for a few more months.

(c) Direct funding of orphan races. In late spring of 2020, we will assess the political landscape to identify critically underfunded races ('orphan' races), using the same data-driven analysis we used in 2018 to pick our 20 House races, and recommend hard-money contributions to the campaigns. We do not anticipate recommending direct campaign contributions to the Presidential or Senatorial races, for the simple reason that we expect them to be saturated with money without MTG's help. The way our donors' dollars can meaningfully influence the outcomes of those races is through voter registration and GOTV efforts. Based on record-breaking 2019 Q1 fundraising numbers, we expect the same will be

true for many of our new, vulnerable House incumbents, and likely for most competitive House challengers (including the ones MTG supported in 2018). If that turns out to be the case, once again, the most effective means our donors will have to influence the outcome of those races will be through our voter registration and GOTV efforts. Thus, we expect that most of the orphan races we will recommend will be state-level races critical to blocking severe gerrymanders in 2021.

3. Fundraising goals.

Our goal is to fully fund all three efforts, by which we mean fund them up to the point where they are no longer clearly the most cost-effective investments to increase net Democratic votes in critical races. For the voter registration efforts, we currently estimate that will require \$70 million, although the number could go as high as \$100 million, depending on the results of experiments looking at the optimal scale of mail-based voter registration. More than 90% of the total will go to 501(c)(3) tax-deductible entities. To date, we have raised \$35 million, and are working hard to bring partner organizations on board with the effort. The cash contributions to date have funded the first large-scale site-based voter registration programs in Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota, which, incredibly, had no such programs on the boards until MTG members funded them over the summer, and have paid for the first, massive wave of mail-based voter registration efforts, which were sent out in September.

Our estimates for the funding required for GOTV and orphan races are more speculative at this point, but we are pegging them around at \$30 million for GOTV efforts and less than \$10 million for direct funding of orphan races.

We are currently recommending that MTG-directed contributions be allocated roughly 60% to voter registration, 25% to GOTV, and 15% to direct funding of orphan races.

4. Timing for contributions

- **June 2019 — Dec 2019: Voter Registration programs.** The most cost-effective voter registration strategy to increase turnout in the 2020 elections will happen in two stages: in advance of the Presidential primaries in each state, and in advance of the general election. Many of the programs need significant lead time to launch, requiring money in hand before the end of 2019, in some cases two to three months earlier. We will therefore be devoting all our efforts from now until the end of 2019 to fully funding voter registration. A portion of that total has a more exigent deadline. Everybody Votes has to have commitments of \$16.5 million by mid-November to give its community partners the go-ahead to scale up to optimal levels. We have an \$8 million matching grant in place, *leaving another \$8.5 million to raise by mid-November.*

- **January 2020 — June 2020: GOTV efforts.** As of now, we expect to have more lead time to fund critical underfunded efforts, because we expect that most of those efforts will be directed at the general election rather than the primaries. We will turn to them after we have completed funding the voter registration efforts.

- **June 2020 — October 2020.** We will be identifying orphan state legislative and House races to recommend for direct campaign contributions. We expect to make most of those recommendations by the end of August. By mid-October, our work will be done.

6. Suggested individual contribution levels.

In 2018, we sought to maintain a high degree of stealth, to limit the chances that Republicans would respond with early funding to counteract MTG investments in other otherwise off-the-radar races. Given FEC spending limits, to remain below the Republican radar while reaching our funding goal of \$500,000 per candidate, we needed to build a tight network where most donors would agree to max out to at least 10 of our candidates. Many in our 2018 did, and some maxed out to all 20.

The situation is different this time, because individual contributions to independent voter registration and GOTV efforts are not capped. At the same time, our fundraising goals are much higher, and reaching them will require the generous participation of all MTG donors.

In the end, of course, it is your private decision how much to give and where to direct it, and anything you can give will be an important contribution to the effort. For those who participated in the 2018 effort, the minimum contribution we suggested then—\$27,000—for most individual donors is roughly equivalent to a \$40,000 contribution this cycle on an after-tax basis, and we are pegging the minimum suggested contribution at that number. But this time around, we will never get to our goal without substantially greater contributions from those who are in a position to make them.

But whatever you are able to give and wherever you choose to direct it, we encourage you to be both strategic and generous. This is the most important election of our lifetimes, with grave and in some cases irreversible implications for the country and the planet if we don't win. The responsibility on each of us is concomitantly large. None of us wants to wake up on November 4, 2020, and think, for the second time in four years, if only we had done more.

E. Next Steps.

All the information you need in order to contribute now to the three voter registration programs we are recommending is posted on Digify. We encourage you to contribute now if you can, to reduce the uncertainty for donee organizations in planning the next few months. If you have questions, please ask. You can email us at admin@mtg2020.org and we'll get back to you as soon as we can. And if you know of others who would be potentially interested in coming on board, if you connect us to them we will follow up.

F. Discretion

In 2018, we managed to stay out of the news and as far as we know out of Republicans' sightlines through the entire cycle, notwithstanding that we ended up being one of the top

two fundraisers for House races. We do not expect to be so lucky this cycle. But some information about our efforts is more sensitive than others. It will come as no surprise to Republicans—and be of little interest—that yet another organization is trying to fund voter registration in battleground states. But the magnitude of our efforts, the details of targeting, and the names of the organizations we are recommending, would be of great interest to them. If that information becomes public, it would make MTG and the donee organizations targets for Republicans and enable them to ramp up voter suppression efforts and other tactics at their disposal.

We are therefore keeping this document along with others that contain sensitive information on close hold. They are encrypted, and available only through Digify, our encrypted site. We will give access to those who are seriously considering coming on board. We ask you all to honor that restriction, and not circulate any of the highly sensitive information. Below, you will find a blurb on the MTG effort that you are free to circulate widely.

We look forward to your partnership in the long push ahead to November 2020. And thank you for all you are doing.

Onward!

Barbara, Paul, Graham, and the rest of the MTG team

Recommendations that can be circulated widely:

The most effective investment that Democrats can make in the 2020 elections is in early voter registration targeting minorities and other underrepresented groups in the ‘rising American electorate.’ If well-designed and well-executed, such efforts are three to four times more effective than the next best available tactic for increasing net Democratic votes in November 2020. Two sister organizations stand out for their efficacy, as established by hundreds of independent, randomized controlled trials (the gold standard of causal proof). They are the Voter Participation Center (a 501(c)(3) tax deductible charity) and the Center for Voter Information (nonpartisan but not tax deductible). The money donated to both organizations through these links will target minority populations in geographic areas crucial to victory in the Presidential election and key down-ballot races.

Voter Participation Center—501(c)(3), tax deductible

Contribution Link: <https://www.voterparticipation.org/support-our-work/donate-to-vpc/mtg-donate-to-vpc> (Contribution Link password: MTGVPC)

Center for Voter Information—501(c)(4), not tax deductible

Contribution Link: <https://www.centerforvoterinformation.org/about-us/93-2/> (Contribution Link password: MTGCVI)

APPENDIX 2

Grants Showing Intent to Accomplish Partisan Goals

In a strategy memo for the 2020 election, confidentially issued by the Super PAC Mind the Gap and [leaked to Vox](#), donors were urged to support “nonpartisan voter registration focused on underrepresented groups” because it was “4 to 10 times more cost effective than the next best alternative” at “netting additional democratic votes.” The memo also advised donors they could provide funds from their “donor-advised funds and private foundations.” [IRS rules prohibit](#) private foundations and charities from engaging in or funding “voter education or registration activities with evidence of bias that (a) would favor one candidate over another; (b) oppose a candidate in some manner; or (c) have the effect of favoring a candidate or group of candidates.”

The following organizations issued grants that explicitly mentioned Mind the Gap and appear to demonstrate an intent to accomplish the leaked memo’s partisan goals:

SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDATION. A San Francisco Bay Area community foundation and donor-advised fund provider. Its grants are often made under the guidance of individual donors who use their donor-advised funds to avoid having their identities known.

- [Granted](#) \$190,000 to the Voter Registration Project Education Fund and \$385,000 to the Voter Participation Center in 2019.
 - Grant to the Voter Registration Project Education Fund was described as: “IN SUPPORT OF EVERYBODY VOTES. FOR MTG-RELATED VOTER REGISTRATION WORK. FOR EVERYBODY VOTES PROJECT. FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT.”
 - Grant to the Voter Participation Center was described as: “FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT. FOR MTG-RELATED VOTER REGISTRATION WORK. FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT. FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT.”

DAVID E. REESE FAMILY FOUNDATION. The private foundation of David and Louise Reese. David E. Reese is a [former banking executive](#).

- [Granted](#) \$20,000 to the Voter Registration Project in 2019 with the description: “MIND THE GAP PROJECT FOR VOTER REGISTRATION.”

THE BLACK DOG PRIVATE FOUNDATION. The private foundation of David L. Mahoney, a pharmaceutical and biotech investor and [former co-CEO of the McKesson Corporation](#).

- [Granted](#) \$25,000 to the Voter Participation Center, and \$25,000 to a Boston-based activism group called Accelerate Change Inc. in 2020.
- Both grants were described as: “Mind the Gap program.”

KELLY AND SAM BRONFMAN FAMILY FOUNDATION. The private foundation of Samuel Bronfman II, heir to the Seagram's Distilling fortune and surviving victim of the infamous [1975 Bronfman Kidnapping](#).

- [Listed](#) a \$50,000 grant to "VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT C/O BAKER TILLY US LLP" directly below a \$5,000 grant to "MIND THE GAP" in 2020.
 - It is unclear exactly which organization(s) received the grants because no Employer Identification Number (EIN) was listed for either group, but this may well be an error resulting from an attempt to list a grant to "Mind the Gap Voter Registration Project C/O Baker Tilly US LLP."
 - Baker Tilly US LLP is a [consulting firm](#) that offers private wealth management services.

EAST BAY COMMUNITY FOUNDATION. A based community foundation and donor-advised fund provider based in Oakland, California.

- [Granted](#) \$30,000 to Accelerate Change Inc. for "GENERAL SUPPORT, FOR MIND THE GAP" and \$57,000 to the Voter Participation Center in for "GENERAL SUPPORT, MIND THE GAP, VOTER REGISTRATION" in 2019.

HORIZONS FOUNDATION. A community foundation and donor-advised fund provider [focused on LGBTQ advocacy](#).

- [Granted](#) \$10,000 to Voting for America (Voter Registration Project's original name) and \$25,000 to the Voter Participation Center in 2019, describing the grants as "SUPPORT FOR MIND THE GAP."

APPENDIX 3

VRP GRANTS

The list of 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) entities receiving grants from the VRP network from 2016-2021.

GRANTEE	SUM OF GRANTS
State Voices	\$ 24,144,328.00
League of Conservation Voters Education Fund	\$ 11,202,940.00
Voter Participation Center	\$ 10,601,927.00
Mi Familia Vota Education Fund	\$ 7,460,445.00
One Arizona	\$ 5,430,027.00
Fair Share Education Fund	\$ 5,350,836.00
Ohio Organizing Collaborative	\$ 5,256,657.00
NC A. Philip Randolph Institute	\$ 3,266,085.00
New Virginia Majority Education Fund	\$ 3,111,883.00
Collective Education Fund	\$ 2,725,000.00
Hopewell Fund	\$ 2,552,625.00
ProGeorgia	\$ 2,530,736.00
New Georgia Project	\$ 2,473,678.00
New Florida Majority Education Fund	\$ 2,391,006.00
Blueprint North Carolina	\$ 2,029,900.00
Organize Florida Education Fund	\$ 1,896,112.00
UnidosUS	\$ 1,828,100.00
Central AZ for a Sustainable Economy	\$ 1,825,484.00
Arizona Center for Empowerment	\$ 1,738,254.00
Mi Familia Vota	\$ 1,736,925.00
Alliance for Climate Education	\$ 1,444,466.00
Florida Immigrant Coalition	\$ 1,410,866.00
The Climate Reality Project	\$ 1,366,325.00
The First Coast Leadership Foundation	\$ 1,207,847.00
Hispanic Federation	\$ 1,187,352.00
Minnesota Voice	\$ 1,173,658.00
Accelerate Change, Inc.	\$ 1,150,000.00
Unifour One	\$ 1,106,872.00
Tides Foundation	\$ 1,019,616.00
Pennsylvania Voice	\$ 1,014,952.00
Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda	\$ 942,557.00
Arizona Coalition for Change	\$ 940,994.00
Georgia Stand Up	\$ 890,846.00
Asian Community Development Council	\$ 860,359.00

GRANTEE	SUM OF GRANTS
Center for Popular Democracy Inc	\$ 741,725.00
New Florida Majority	\$ 676,622.00
9 to 5 National Association of Working Women	\$ 577,978.00
Real Women Radio Foundation	\$ 571,641.00
Action Institute NC	\$ 568,206.00
When We All Vote	\$ 550,000.00
Wisconsin Voices	\$ 548,223.00
New Era Colorado	\$ 518,339.00
The People's Alliance Fund	\$ 419,097.00
Colorado Civic Engagement Table	\$ 403,011.00
Make The Road NY	\$ 386,542.00
Student Organizing Inc	\$ 368,845.00
Casa De Maryland, Inc.	\$ 348,953.00
Michigan United	\$ 348,227.00
NC League of Conservation Voters	\$ 344,757.00
Engage Miami Civic Fund	\$ 338,731.00
Faith Organizing Alliance	\$ 329,779.00
NEO Philanthropy	\$ 296,961.00
ACRONYM PAC	\$ 291,625.00
North Carolina Asian Americans Together	\$ 288,444.00
NAACP	\$ 258,332.00
ActionN	\$ 250,605.00
NAACP National Voter Fund	\$ 220,674.00
Alliance for Youth Organizing	\$ 198,069.00
Lead MN	\$ 189,923.00
One Pennsylvania	\$ 184,930.00
Inspire Us	\$ 170,000.00
Voto Latino Foundation	\$ 150,000.00
Triplecheck	\$ 149,100.00
You Can Vote	\$ 147,259.00
North Carolina NAACP State Conference	\$ 113,876.00
Third Sector Development	\$ 102,005.00
Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada	\$ 101,162.00
NAACP Georgia State Conference	\$ 100,523.00
REW Ministries	\$ 89,964.00
Ohio Voice	\$ 89,114.00
Outfront MN	\$ 83,186.00
Equality Foundation of Georgia	\$ 82,532.00
Georgia NAACP	\$ 71,286.00
Minnesota Youth Collective	\$ 70,820.00

GRANTEE	SUM OF GRANTS
Tides Center	\$ 64,542.00
Florida Education Fund	\$ 61,841.00
GALEO Latino Community Development Fund	\$ 56,576.00
Tides Advocacy	\$ 56,254.00
VVN Inc.	\$ 52,178.00
Rural Arizona Engagement	\$ 51,906.00
Voto Latino	\$ 50,000.00
Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Pennsylvania	\$ 48,301.00
Project Vote	\$ 36,103.00
NCPIRG Education Fund	\$ 20,360.00
Neighborhood Ministries	\$ 13,984.00
Community Resource Center	\$ 6,020.00
GRAND TOTAL: \$ 127,528,789.00	

APPENDIX 4

GRANTS TO THE VRP NETWORK

Unless otherwise noted, all listed grantors are 501(c)(3) public charities or private foundations. The grants were made from 2016-2021.

*501(c)(4) organization.

** Labor union.

Sourcing information and a list of individual grants, including amount, recipient, and year, can be found [here](#).

GRANTOR	TOTAL GRANTS
Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund	\$ 28,295,650.00
Proteus Fund	\$ 25,604,711.00
League of Conservation Voters Education Fund	\$ 15,350,000.00
New Venture Fund	\$ 12,975,000.00
National Philanthropic Trust	\$ 9,302,500.00
Foundation to Promote Open Society	\$ 8,000,000.00
Hopewell Fund	\$ 7,860,000.00
Silicon Valley Community Foundation	\$ 7,014,500.00
Jerome L. Greene Foundation	\$ 5,700,000.00
The Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation	\$ 5,017,133.00
Wallace H. Coulter Foundation	\$ 5,000,000.00
The JPB Foundation	\$ 4,000,000.00
Tides Foundation	\$ 3,275,000.00
Civic Participation Action Fund*	\$ 2,000,000.00
SEIU**	\$ 1,500,000.00
The Skoll Foundation	\$ 1,000,000.00
Bernard and Anne Spitzer Charitable Trust	\$ 1,000,000.00
ImpactAssets Inc.	\$ 890,300.00
Fund for a Better Future*	\$ 800,000.00
The John Merck Fund	\$ 550,000.00
Democracy Fund	\$ 500,000.00
NextGen Climate Action*	\$ 500,000.00
NEO Philanthropy	\$ 500,000.00
Dianne and Dorothy Brooks Foundation	\$ 500,000.00
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	\$ 500,000.00
Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund	\$ 430,000.00
Orr Family Foundation	\$ 375,000.00
Jewish Communal Fund	\$ 320,000.00

GRANTOR	TOTAL GRANTS
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	\$ 300,000.00
The Rockefeller Foundation	\$ 275,000.00
AYCO Charitable Foundation	\$ 260,000.00
American Endowment Foundation	\$ 255,000.00
Seattle Foundation	\$ 250,000.00
John Pritzker Family Fund	\$ 250,000.00
Goodman-Lipman Family Foundation	\$ 250,000.00
Catena Foundation	\$ 250,000.00
AFSCME**	\$ 250,000.00
Jewish Community Federation of S F Marin Peninsula & Sonoma Counties	\$ 236,000.00
Cavali Foundation	\$ 225,000.00
Syncopation Foundation	\$ 200,000.00
Vijaya Foundation	\$ 200,000.00
George Gund Foundation	\$ 200,000.00
Schwab Charitable Fund	\$ 195,000.00
San Francisco Foundation	\$ 190,000.00
Park Foundation	\$ 150,000.00
Shared Ascent Fund	\$ 125,000.00
Flora Family Foundation	\$ 112,000.00
Tabasco Foundation	\$ 103,836.00
Vanuard Charitable Endowment Program	\$ 101,000.00
Merle Chambers Fund	\$ 100,000.00
Resources Legacy Fund	\$ 100,000.00
The Sarah Min and Matt Pincus Foundation	\$ 100,000.00
Jewish Community Foundation of San Diego	\$ 100,000.00
Madrona Foundation	\$ 100,000.00
James S Bower Foundation	\$ 85,000.00
Marin Community Foundation	\$ 75,000.00
Lynton Foundation	\$ 75,000.00
California Community Foundation	\$ 70,000.00
Morgan Stanley Global Impact Funding Trust	\$ 65,000.00
Haddock Stanton Foundation	\$ 60,000.00
Chicago Community Trust	\$ 55,000.00
Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia	\$ 50,000.00
Natalie Orfalea Foundation	\$ 50,000.00
The William & Lia G Poorvu Family Foundation	\$ 50,000.00
The Kelly and Sam Bronfman Foundation	\$ 50,000.00
Feldman Foundation	\$ 50,000.00
CS Family Foundation	\$ 50,000.00
Zolla Family Foundation	\$ 50,000.00

GRANTOR	TOTAL GRANTS
Bierly Boasberg Foundation	\$ 49,781.00
Goldman Sachs Charitable Gift Fund	\$ 40,000.00
The Boston Foundation	\$ 40,000.00
The Emily Benatar Foundation	\$ 35,000.00
Anthony Crabb and Barbara Grassechi Foundation	\$ 25,000.00
Perkins Hunter Foundation	\$ 25,000.00
Brown Foundation	\$ 25,000.00
Barn Road Foundation	\$ 25,000.00
David E Reese Family Foundation	\$ 20,000.00
The Scott Foundation	\$ 20,000.00
East Bay Community Foundation	\$ 16,000.00
The Community Foundation for Greater Atlanta	\$ 10,000.00
Greater Washington Community Foundation	\$ 10,000.00
Daniel L Nir and Jill Braufman Family Foundation	\$ 10,000.00
Community Foundation Sonoma County	\$ 10,000.00
The Horizons Foundation	\$ 10,000.00
Princeton Area Community Foundation	\$ 9,600.00
GRAND TOTAL: \$ 154,853,011.00	



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