

## Deep Ecology, Depthless Thinking

*How the Foundation for Deep Ecology supports radical environmentalists*

by Philip J. Maslar and David Hogberg

**Summary:** *The Foundation for Deep Ecology uses its bursting coffers to spread an anti-growth, anti-technology philosophy. Its grant recipients sometimes use violence, but more often use the courts and laws like the Endangered Species Act to advance their agenda. Congress now has an opportunity to rein them in.*

**A**rizona rancher Jim Chilton was, as a cowboy might say, hoppin’ mad. He had just looked at photographs that the radical Center for Biological Diversity had taken of land where he grazes his cattle. The photos presented a distorted view of the terrain, focusing on some small barren patches and omitting their lush surroundings. Chilton concluded that the Center was manufacturing evidence so it could charge him with destroying the land by cattle grazing.

The Tucson-based Center for Biological Diversity has a well-deserved reputation for using the Endangered Species Act to harass cattle ranchers, commercial loggers and land developers in the Southwest, and Chilton was about to become its next victim. But he was not only the political target of a radical activist group: he was the victim of an environmental philosophy that is profoundly anti-growth, anti-technology, and, ultimately, anti-human. The philosophy is called “Deep Ecology,” and its best-funded and most generous promoter is the Foundation for Deep Ecology, a major financial backer of the Center for Biological Diversity.

As of this writing, the House of Representatives plans to hold hearings to reauthorize the Endangered Species Act (ESA).



Arizona rancher Jim Chilton, whose grazing rights were threatened by the dishonest tactics of Deep-Ecology environmentalists

Cases like those of rancher Jim Chilton highlight one of ESA’s biggest flaws—it allows proponents of Deep Ecology to use the issue of species preservation as an excuse to advance their real agenda—the outlawing of human presence on the land, including land that is private property. As one activist remarked, “We’re crazy to sit in trees when there’s this incredible law where we can make people do whatever we want” (*New Yorker*, 11/22/99).

### Philosophy For Radicals

Deep Ecology traces its origins to the work of a Norwegian philosopher and mountaineer named Arne Naess. Naess rejected the idea that some living things have greater value than others. Rather, he claimed, “the right of all forms [of life] to live is a universal right which cannot be quantified. No single

species of living being has more of this particular right to live and unfold than any other species.” In 1984 Naess and activist George Sessions formulated a Deep Ecology Platform consisting of eight principles:

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1) The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman life on Earth have value in themselves (synonyms: inherent worth; intrinsic value; inherent value). These values are independent of the usefulness of the nonhuman world for human purposes.

2) Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves.

3) Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.

4) Present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening.

5) The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease.

6) Policies must therefore be changed. The changes in policies affect basic economic, technologi-

cal structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present.

7) The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent worth) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great.

8) Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to participate in the attempt to implement the necessary changes.

These tenets contain obvious anti-market, anti-development and anti-human overtones. They do not paint a clear picture of Deep Ecology's ideal society, stating vaguely that the "resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present." However, they do make clear that an ideal society will no longer value "an increasingly higher standard of living" (Principle 7). Of course, it seems absurd that anyone would adopt such a philosophy, least of all in the United States. But a foundation with money, contacts, and political and legal savvy is making life difficult for ranchers like Jim Chilton and for public officials inclined to dismiss Deep Ecology as a hare-brained scheme.

Deep Ecology's position is that humans have "no right to reduce" the "richness and diversity" of other life forms other than "to satisfy vital needs" (Principle 3). What's frightening is that it is using the power of government, particularly the U.S. court system, to carry out its efforts to stop all manner of economic activity, including road construction, oil and gas exploration, mining, logging, and housing development.

But Deep Ecology is not content to rely solely on legal processes. It provides the intellectual underpinnings for eco-terrorist groups and other violent activists. Note the Orwellian language in Principle 5: "The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population." Then combine this with the urgently worded Principle 4, which warns "present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive" and is "rapidly wors-

ening," and you have a recipe for extremism. Dave Foreman, co-founder of the violent Earth First! group, calls Deep Ecology his "ethic."

All of this might be dismissed as insanity were it not for the organizational and financial muscle behind the Deep Ecology movement. It is provided by Douglas Tompkins, the founder and president of the Foundation for Deep Ecology (FDE).

## Eco-Radical Sugar Daddy

Few observers of Douglas Tompkins' early life would have predicted he would end up a wealthy, radical activist. Born in 1943, Tompkins dropped out of high school in 1959 and spent the next few years bouncing around as a ski bum in Chile and a mountain guide in California. In 1962 he met Susie Russell, who would later become his wife: he was hitchhiking, and she picked him up.

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In 1966, Tompkins started North Face, an outdoor clothing company, in Berkeley, California. In 1968 he sold the company for \$50,000 and with his wife began another clothing company that would eventually become the well-known Esprit brand. In the late 1980s, Tompkins had a falling out with his wife that led to a battle over Esprit's future. He eventually agreed to sell his share to a partnership that included her. Tompkins got about \$150 million.

During this time Tompkins was increasing his involvement in the environmental movement. But it wasn't until he read a primer

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**Editor:** Joseph de Feo

**Publisher:** Terrence Scanlon

### **Foundation Watch**

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

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**Reprints** are available for \$2.50 prepaid to Capital Research Center.

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by George Sessions and Bill Devall called *Deep Ecology: Living As if Nature Mattered* that he became a true believer. "Within the few hours that it took to read the book, I experienced a powerful epiphany," Tompkins writes on the FDE website. "Everything suddenly made sense." Looking back, he laments being "distracted by a successful business." "I still wonder how I could have been so focused elsewhere that I was not out there with the Earth First!ers, where my heart actually longed to be," Tompkins writes.

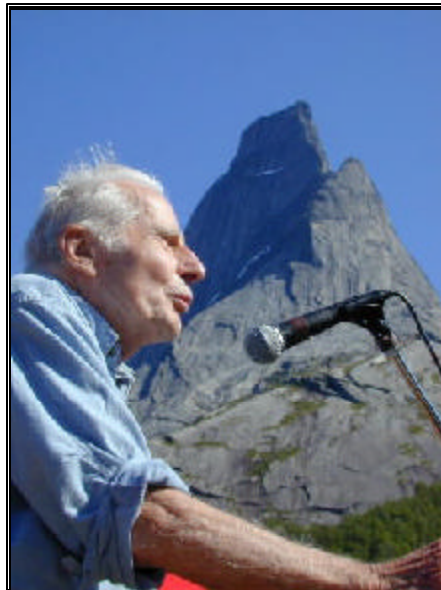
In 1989 Tompkins founded the Iri-Hiti Foundation, later renamed the Foundation for Deep Ecology, in Sausalito, California. He also gave it its first infusion of cash—\$15 million—out of profits from the sale of Esprit.

In 1993 Tompkins remarried, this time to Kristine McDivitt, CEO of Patagonia, another extremely successful outdoor clothing company (2004 sales: \$240 million). It was a match made in ecological heaven: Patagonia has a history of contributing to radical activist environmental groups, giving at least \$20 million in cash and in-kind donations since 1985. During the 1990s, Patagonia donated roughly \$20,000 to various Earth First! groups.

In fiscal year 2004, the FDE had revenues of over \$3.8 million and assets of \$48 million. From 2001-2004 it gave out just under \$6 million in grants. That money has allowed Tompkins to advance his Deep Ecology agenda and support various far-left groups: the FDE has given over \$240,000 to the Marxist Institute for Policy Studies since 2000, and over \$420,000 to the radical Tides Center and Tides Foundation since 1999.

Eco-radicals have also fed well at the FDE trough. The Earth Island Institute, founded by the late David Brower, has received \$163,000 since 1999. Brower, who was ousted from the Sierra Club for being too radical, went on to form Friends of the Earth as well. Tompkins calls him "my environmental hero"; the FDE also donated \$25,000 in 2002 to the newly formed David Brower Center. Then there is the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society (see *Organization Trends*, February 2004), founded by Paul Watson, a Greenpeace founder who quit the group because it had become, in his words, "Avon ladies of the environmental movement." The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society is the eco-terror-

ist of the high seas: its fleet of modern-day pirate ships has sunk over ten boats and rammed many others. Since 1999, the FDE has given it \$66,500.



The writings of Norwegian-born philosopher and mountaineer Arne Naess provided the intellectual foundation for the Deep Ecology Movement.

FDE giving patterns disclose its intimacy with the founders of the extremist group Earth First! Formed in 1980, Earth First! pioneered the tactic known as tree-spiking, whereby a large nail is driven as deeply as possible into a tree so that it will break the blade of any logger's saw, and possibly injure the logger; it is a felony under a 1988 federal law. A founder of

Another Earth First! founder, Mike Roselle, went on to found the Rainforest Action Network and the Ruckus Society, two groups notorious for their disruptive tactics and their participation in the violent 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization protest (see *Organization Trends*, February 2004 and May 2005). Since 1999 the FDE has given \$55,000 to the Rainforest Action Network and \$15,000 to the Ruckus Society.

**“Wild” America**

One of the most extreme proposals on Tompkins' Deep Ecology agenda is the effort to "rewild" North America. Rewilding would require that the human presence be removed from large swaths of land so that animals that once roamed those areas could return to their former habitat. The main group promoting rewilding is the Wildlands Project, established by Dave Foreman, another Earth First! co-founder. Foreman's reputation is notorious: in the late 1980s he provided \$500 to Earth First! members to assist their efforts to sabotage nuclear power plants in California, Arizona and Colorado. The FBI foiled the plot, and Foreman pled guilty to one count of conspiracy (he served no jail time).

The idea for the Wildlands Project originated at an FDE meeting in 1991, as Foreman notes in his autobiographical *Confessions of an Eco Warrior* (1993). Along with biologists Reed Noss and Michael Soule (both of whom are still science advisors to the Wildlands Project), Foreman set out to create an "ecological utopia" on the North American continent. Based in Richmond, Vermont, The Wildlands Project's 2003 tax return shows

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Earth First! named Howie Wolke later founded Big Wild Advocates, and he currently sits of the board of directors of the Ecology Center and the Alliance for the Wild Rockies. Since 1999 the FDE has given \$95,000 to the Ecology Center. It has also given \$15,000 to the Alliance for the Wild Rockies, \$10,000 of which was earmarked to help support Big Wild Advo-

that it had \$1.3 million in revenue and \$230,165 in assets. Since 1999, the FDE has given it \$560,000. (Other supporters include \$150,000 in 2001 from the J.M. Kaplan Fund (2003 assets \$141 million); \$50,000 in 2002 from the Boston-based MWC Foundation (2003 assets \$33 million); \$100,000 in 2002 from the Wilburforce Foundation; and \$115,000 in 2001-2002 from the Town Creek Foundation.)

According to its website, the Wildlands Project has a “one hundred year vision”:

To create a continental-scale network of connected wildlands, linking together wildlands from Mexico to the Yukon, from Florida to Newfoundland, from Baja California to the Brooks Range and the Bering Sea. Connections between the North Woods, the Great Plains and great northern boreal forest must also be re-created.

The Project imagines “‘MegaLinkages’—vast pathways that tie natural places together,” to include “core protected areas connected to one another by ‘wildlife link-

Wildlands advocates are dreamers on a grand scale. Co-founder Michael Soule hopes that “the 20th century population explosion will be followed by a slow implosion in the late 21st and 22nd centuries.” Dave Foreman, the Project’s chairman until 2003, has said humans “are the cancer of nature,” and the “optimum human population of earth is zero.” John Davis, a Project board member and the editor of *Wild Earth*, writes, “*Wild Earth* exists in part to remind conservationists that in the long run all lands and waters should be left to the whims of Nature, not to the selfish desires of one species which chose for itself the misnomer ‘Homo sapiens,’ humanizing of landscapes must stop now and be reversed.” He later concludes, “Does all the foregoing

snowmobiling. The bill also marks 8.5 million acres of land as “biological connecting corridors” in order to “protect the life flow” between the wilderness areas. Most economic development—logging, mining, oil and gas exploration, and road construction or repair—is banned in these areas as well.

The Alliance for the Wild Rockies, a grantee of the FDE, calls the Rockies Prosperity Act “the legislative realization of [our] vision: bioregion-wide protection of the wildlands of the Northern Rockies.” The Sierra Club, another FDE grantee, lobbied Congress for the bill in 2001 and 2003. The Shays-Maloney legislation stipulates that the law’s implementation be monitored by a report that “shall be produced by a panel of independent scientists appointed by the National Academy of Sciences, in consultation with the Society for Conservation Biology.” The Society for Conservation Biology was founded by none other than Michael Soule of the Wildlands Project, and his colleague Reed Noss currently sits on its board.

### Using the Endangered Species Act

It’s hard to persuade private landowners to adhere to Deep Ecology principles and harder still to persuade a Republican Congress and the Bush Administration to put federal land off limits to development. Perhaps that’s why eco-radicals backed by the Foundation for Deep Ecology have turned to the courts to enforce the Endangered Species Act (ESA) for their own purposes.

The ESA prohibits landowners from killing any animal whose species the government lists as endangered. However, the courts have also interpreted the ESA to mean that landowners are prohibited from destroying the habitat of an endangered species. Accordingly, if an endangered species is found on your land, the government may severely restrict how you can use it. The ESA also requires federal agencies to ensure that their actions are “not likely to jeopardize the continued existence of any endangered species or threatened species or result in the destruction or adverse modification of such species critical habitat.” Thus radical environmental groups have ample legal standing to sue landowners and the government wherever they can argue that a critical habitat is threatened by human action. What’s worse, the ESA has a “cost



Foundation for Deep Ecology president Douglas Tompkins in Chile, where he and his wife have bought over 250,000 acres of land to preserve it from development

ages,’ mosaics of public and private lands that provide safe passageways for wildlife to travel freely from place to place.” The “core protected areas” of 100,000 to 25 million acres would permit little, if any, human use.

The rewilding project is ludicrous in its ambitions. In a 1992 article Reed Noss states, “I suggest that at least half of the land area of the 48 conterminous states should be encompassed in the core reserves and inner corridor zones... within the next few decades.” But later on, he proposes “a more ambitious long-term goal, pending human population reduction, that at least 95 percent of a region be managed as wilderness and surrounding multiple-use wildlands.”

mean that *Wild Earth* and the Wildlands Project advocate the end of industrial civilization? Most assuredly.”

Who pays attention to such statements? Well, in recent years the ideas of the Wildlands Project have found their way into federal legislation. The Rockies Prosperity Act, introduced by Representatives Christopher Shays (R-CT) and Carolyn Maloney (D-NY) has 177 cosponsors. It would designate over 23 million acres of federal land in the states of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming as wilderness area. That designation bans not only activities such as mining and logging, but also recreational activities such as motorcycling, bicycling and

recovery” provision that allows a party that brings a suit under the Act and wins to recover its legal costs. (Many other environmental laws have similar provisions.) In effect, environmental groups can sue under the provisions of the ESA and dump their legal expenses on the taxpayers.

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The Foundation for Deep Ecology regularly assists groups that seek to halt economic development by filing lawsuits under the ESA. The following groups have been involved in ESA lawsuits and have received money from the FDE since 1999: Forest Guardians (\$85,000), Biodiversity Legal Foundation (\$35,000), Pacific Rivers Council (\$10,000), Idaho Watershed Alliance (\$25,000), American Lands Alliance (\$778,500), Siskiyou Regional Education Project (\$30,000), Oregon Natural Desert Association (\$75,000), New Mexico Wilderness Alliance (\$40,000), Forest Watch (\$60,000), Native Forest Network (\$55,000), WildLaw (\$45,000); Turtle Island Restoration Network (\$93,000), RESTORE: The North Woods (\$40,000), Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance (\$40,000), Biodiversity Associates (\$10,000), Southern Rockies Ecosystem Project (\$5,000), Forest Guardians (\$85,000), Sierra Club (\$40,000), Western Watersheds Project (\$45,000); Committee for Idaho's High Desert (\$45,000), Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition (\$5,000), Great Old Broads for Wilderness (\$50,000), National Forest Protection Alliance (\$30,000), Forest

Conservation Council (\$30,000), and Earthlaw (\$10,000).

The Center for Biological Diversity (CBD), located in Tucson, Arizona, is one of the most litigious of all environmental groups. Under the Endangered Species Act alone, it has filed nearly 60 lawsuits since the late 1990s. They cover the gamut of economic activity: oil and gas exploration, logging, farming, urban development, housing development, vacation home development, golf-course construction, road construction, gas pipeline construction, and coastal development. In 2003, the CBD had over \$2.9 million in revenues and \$2.4 million in assets. From 2001 to 2003, it received over \$1.5 million (about one-fifth of its revenues for that period) from the federal government for cost recovery for its lawsuits.

From the beginning, CBD has had ties to eco-extremism. Two of its founders, Kieran Suckling and Peter Galvin, are former members of Earth First! Suckling is currently the CBD executive director and Galvin is its conservation director. CBD's website betrays the influence of Deep Ecology. For example, it asserts that population growth is responsible for "vanishing" ecological systems: "At the same time—under the advance of a rapacious and homogenizing global economy driven by human population growth and resource consumption—traditional and smaller societies are being subsumed and destroyed." CBD has received \$115,000 from the Foundation for Deep Ecology since 1999. Grants include \$45,000 to "promote the curtailing and limit of grazing on public land"; \$5,000 to "educate the public on ecological and economic costs of livestock grazing on public lands"; and \$20,000 for an "endangered species listing campaign."

But it is CBD's use of lawsuits and the Endangered Species Act to scale back human activity that marks the group as a savvy political organization. Deep Ecology may be crazy, but its advocates are shrewd. For instance, in 1994 CBD sued the U.S. Forest Service to halt its plans to permit logging in New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado forests, claiming the plan threatened over forty endangered species, including the Mexican Spotted Owl. In June 1995, U.S. District Judge Carl Muecke ordered the U.S. Fish and Wild-

life Service to set aside habitats for the owls. In response, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service designated 4.6 million acres in New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado as habitat land. Later in August, Muecke ordered all logging on the land suspended until the U.S. Forest Service could conduct a study on the impact of logging on the owls. The logging suspension lasted until November 1996. During that time, according to Michael Anable, former deputy state land commissioner in Arizona, the suspension "caused or contributed to the closure of several of the few remaining timber mills in Arizona."

Alexander J. Thal, director of the department of business economics and public administration at Western New Mexico University, examined in detail the damage wrought by the CBD lawsuits. He found:

- A loss of over 3,000 jobs in 13 rural communities in Arizona and New Mexico.
- A loss of \$60 million in cattle production in Arizona, which forced many small family ranches into insolvency.

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- Devastated communities facing such problems as destabilized families, increased mental health issues, reduced public services, and out-migration of youth looking for employment.

Rancher Jim Chilton, however, refused to be a victim. In 2002, Chilton won his fight against the U.S. Forest Service to use an allotment of federal land to graze his cattle. The CBD then filed a claim under the Endangered Species Act, arguing that the allotment permitted the cattle access to a stream called the California Gulch, where an endangered fish, the Sonora chub, is purported to live. Chilton deflected that claim by showing that the gulch was dry about half of the time. To strengthen its case, CBD then posted photos on its website that supposedly showed cattle-caused damage to the allotment. These were the photos that so angered Chilton. Not only did they distort by creative cropping, but some were not even of the federal allotment but instead showed Chilton's own property and a neighbor's. Chilton retaliated by filing a defamation suit against the CBD.

In January of this year, the jury in the trial voted 9-1 in Chilton's favor. It awarded him \$100,000 for defamation and \$500,000 in punitive damages. CBD's response could be expected. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Kieran Suckling...acknowledges the group's photos weren't representative of Mr. Chilton's whole allotment. 'But they're not supposed to be,' Mr. Suckling says. 'What law in the universe says I'm not allowed to take pictures showing [just] damaged areas?'" In Suckling's zealot creed, the truth doesn't matter as long as the cause advances. The article notes "Mr. Suckling calls Mr. Chilton a 'litigious' wealthy banker and says payment of the award could financially devastate the group."

For his part, Chilton intends to use the award to recoup his legal expenses and set up a legal fund to help other ranchers attacked by environmental groups.

### Conclusion

The Foundation for Deep Ecology is at the intellectual and financial center of a radical environmental nexus whose agenda is causing serious harm. The Endangered Spe-

cies Act is a potent weapon that Deep Ecology advocates are misusing to impose their radical plan on the rest of us. Under the pretext of preserving endangered species, they are using the judicial system to prevent others from engaging in economic activity and denying landowners their private property rights.

Congress has a duty to take steps to ensure that the ESA is used only to protect species. It can provide landowners with fair compensation when they lose the ability to use their property under the ESA, or it can reform the ESA entirely so that landowners receive incentives when they preserve habitats for endangered species instead of penalties when they don't. Unless Congress acts, the Foundation for Deep Ecology and its grantees will continue to abuse the law and the courts.

**FW**

*Philip J. Maslar was a summer intern at the Capital Research Center. David Hogberg is editor of CRC online research programs "Education Watch" and "Greenwatch." He also cohosts "Organization Watch," CRC's monthly radio program.*

## Hurricane Katrina Philanthropy Roundup

Below are just a few of the most notable contributions to relief efforts from foundations, corporations, and individuals

### Foundations:

The Lilly Endowment: \$20 million—half to the Red Cross and half to the Salvation Army.

The Walton Family Foundation: \$8 million to the Bush-Clinton Katrina Fund, \$4 million to the Salvation Army, \$2 million to America's Second Harvest, \$1 million to the Foundation for the Mid South.

The Michael and Susan Dell Foundation: \$5 million for various relief efforts.

The Rockefeller Foundation: \$3 million to the Greater New Orleans Foundation's Katrina Disaster Relief Fund.

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation: \$1.5 million to the Red Cross and \$750,000 to the Baton Rouge Area Foundation.

The Carnegie Corporation: \$250,000 each to the Red Cross and Salvation

Army; has earmarked \$500,000 for "additional agencies... in order to best respond to critical problems."

The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation: \$500,000 each to the Red Cross and Salvation Army.

The Pew Charitable Trusts: \$1 million to the American Red Cross.

The Turner Family Foundation: \$1 million to the Red Cross

### Corporations:

Wal-Mart: \$15 million to the Bush-Clinton Katrina Fund, \$1 million each to the Red Cross and Salvation Army.

General Electric: \$6 million to the Red Cross, plus goods worth \$10 million.

Chevron: \$5 million for relief efforts, \$3 million to the Red Cross, \$2 million to local charities.

ExxonMobil: \$7 million to the American Red Cross.

Walt Disney Company: \$1 million to the Red Cross, \$1 million to children's charities, \$500,000 for volunteer centers.

### Individuals:

John and Renee Grisham: \$5 million to found the Rebuild the Coast Fund.

Leona Helmsley: \$5 million to the American Red Cross in Greater NY.

Boone Pickens: \$5 million to the Red Cross.

Foster Friess: Up to \$2 million in matching donations to Southern Baptist Disaster Relief.

George Clooney: \$1 million to the United Way of America.

Source: Wire reports, *Chronicle of Philanthropy*

## Charity Covers a Multitude of Sins

*Reading between the lines of Hurricane Katrina appeals*

by Joseph de Feo

American charities are working overtime to respond to the needs of the communities struck by Hurricane Katrina, and new charities are forming to focus exclusively on relief and rebuilding. The IRS is expediting the review and approval of new organizations seeking tax-exempt status, as it did after September 11, even though critics worry about fraud and sham charities.

The Association of Fundraising Professionals (AFP) has released guidelines to help donors; it lists commonsense tips such as searching the Internet to check up on charities. However, AFP can't answer the question: how do you decide among legitimate charities? Sadly, donations to some established groups have the same likelihood of reaching Katrina victims as donations to any fly-by-night operation. Charitynavigator.com offers help, rating charities by the percentage of income spent on administration, fundraising, and charitable programs. But those numbers are based on the charity's self-reported measurements. Moreover, they can't measure a charity's effectiveness.

The ultraliberal MoveOn.org recommends that its web visitors donate to the NAACP, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), and Oxfam America. Only Oxfam is a relief organization, but all three are predictably left-leaning; and there are reasons to be wary of them.

Oxfam has never before organized relief in the United States: a press release has a political edge to it when it explains that "massive institutional failure... at all levels of government in the United States has changed the agency's operating practice." It is probably safer to donate to a group such as the Salvation Army, which has cared for about 150,000 Katrina survivors and can serve five million meals per day. That way one's money is not used to build new relief networks, but to provide aid itself through established ones.

The NAACP receives an overall two-star rating from Charity Navigator, but zero stars for efficiency: administration and fundraising account for nearly half its budget. It is clearly not the best choice if you want to contribute directly to Katrina victims. (By comparison, the Red Cross receives four stars overall and

three in efficiency: it claims to spend over 91 percent of its budget on programs and services. AmeriCares is even more impressive, with nearly 99 percent of its budget dedicated to charitable programs.) According to NAACP official John Jackson, donations will "ensure the equitable distribution of money and resources" from state and private agencies and "ensure the equitable reconstruction of the affected areas and families." That means political advocacy, and not just direct aid. (It was bold of the NAACP to team with MoveOn.org, an overtly political 501(c)4 organization: the IRS is investigating the NAACP for violating federal nonprofit guidelines by opposing President Bush in the 2004 election.)

ACORN, too, lacks an infrastructure to provide effective relief. What's more, the New Orleans-based group now lacks a national headquarters, which was destroyed. According to its website, "ACORN is not a relief organization"; donations will be used to "establish temporary Headquarters in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Houston, Texas." ACORN will "reopen our New Orleans offices as soon as possible" so that it can be "organizing to see that low income neighborhoods and families get the help the need [sic] and a voice in decisions about rebuilding" (read: more advocacy). Then there are the group's ethical problems. It is under investigation in several states for voting irregularities in the 2004 election, and it is alleged to have mismanaged funds using its complex web of subsidiary organizations. Sympathy is no doubt due the group's staff and their families, but pity is no reason to overlook ACORN's crooked past. It might just use the charity money left over from office repairs to register felons to vote in 2008.

MoveOn.org itself has used the hurricane's devastation to smear the Bush administration. On September 8 it flew four MoveOn members evacuated from New Orleans to Washington DC "to deliver a petition to President Bush demanding he stop blaming the victims of Hurricane Katrina... and focus on helping them." MoveOn Washington Director Tom Mattzie said, "President Bush should begin his investigation [of what went wrong] by looking in the mirror." That said, MoveOn has encouraged its members to open their homes to displaced persons. Though

it's said that charity covers a multitude of sins, MoveOn still has a lot to answer for.

Another major force in relief efforts is Catholic Charities, whose national organization does not release financial data. However, it usually funds efforts through local diocesan branches, and Catholic Charities of New Orleans gets a four-star rating from Charity Navigator, with over 94 percent of its budget spent on charitable programs.

Other group responses vary. The Humane Society has asked for government personnel to help it find some 50,000 stranded pets in the disaster area. The American Bar Association is offering free legal advice to evacuees. Planned Parenthood announced that it will offer evacuees "free contraceptive care" (because there are too many evacuees as it is). The radical Tides Foundation is accepting donations to its "Rapid Response Fund" to "support the recovery of nonprofits that have served the Gulf States for years"—one shudders to think which ones. The (Quaker) American Friends Service Committee will "work to help the public understand the policy failures that magnified Katrina's destructiveness": in other words, it will play the blame game. United for Peace and Justice says, "[Katrina's] effects were largely avoidable and parallel another tragedy unfolding daily near another Gulf, 7000 miles away. Both disasters flow from the criminal behavior of the Bush administration and are closely related." And in case that doesn't prove its disconnect from reality, it suggests donating to the NAACP and the AFL-CIO. The union conglomerate says it is working "with the labor federations in the affected states and with relief organizations," though it doesn't say which or how. Remember the union's use of pension funds for stock market speculation in the '90s? Or its insider trading scandal of 2002? The AFL-CIO hopes you don't.

There are too many organizations pleading for funds to evaluate here. It pays to examine the history of groups soliciting donations, as well as their proposed relief efforts. "Providing a voice" or "ensuring equitable solutions" to the problem are code for "issuing press releases" and "lobbying." Be sure to read the fine print and do some digging before opening your checkbook.

# PhilanthropyNotes

The September 7 unveiling of the design for the **Flight 93 National Memorial** prompted outrage: it features a huge red crescent hugging the ground in rural Pennsylvania where Flight 93 went down after passengers rushed their hijackers. Its proposed name: “**Crescent of Embrace**.” Incorporating the symbol of Islam, the religion of the hijackers, expresses at best a squishy ambiguity about the terrorists that the heroes of Flight 93 emphatically rejected; at worst, it glorifies them. **Mark Steyn**, writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, said the design hijacks those passengers a second time. After a public outcry, architect **Paul Murdoch** reluctantly promised to revise his design. Several partner organizations, including the **Families of Flight 93**, the **Flight 93 Memorial Task Force**, and the **National Park Service**, had organized the design competition that decided on this plan. According to the group’s website, the competition was funded “through the generous support” of the reliably leftist **Heinz Endowments** and the **John S. and James L. Knight Foundation**; and it shows.

The **Clinton Global Initiative**, a project of the **William Jefferson Clinton Foundation**, held a conference September 15-17 called “**Escape from Poverty**.” Tickets were \$15,000 apiece.

**George Soros** bought a (very expensive) full-page ad in the September 7<sup>th</sup> *Wall Street Journal* to criticize the war on terror, and closed his essay with a non-sequitur: “The devastation wrought by **Katrina** will inevitably lead to profound heart-searching. I hope it will start with a reconsideration of the ‘war on terror.’” Soros, who has been so generous to ailing left-wingers, had by that time not announced any Katrina donations or programs on the part of his **Open Society Institute** (OSI). When asked about this, a spokeswoman for OSI said it “is not a relief organization,” but quickly added that it is “working out a strategy for how we’re going to contribute to this effort.” Late the next day OSI announced “emergency funds for our grantees in the South whose work has been disrupted by the storm” and vaguely pledged to see that minority “voices are heard as the recovery moves forward.” Though its promises are unclear, the announcement does unambiguously blame **Bush Administration** policy on taxes and **Iraq** for the poor emergency response in the Gulf. Maybe *Soros* needs to do some heart-searching.

The **Council on Foundations**, an association of over 2,000 grantmakers worldwide, announced recently that it has chosen former Congressman **Steve Gunderson** to succeed **Dorothy Ridings** as President and CEO. A moderate Republican US Representative from Wisconsin who left Congress in 1996 to head the Washington office of the **Greystone Group**, Gunderson said in a COF news release, “At a time when nonprofits are under scrutiny, it is essential to engage policymakers and the public in a productive discussion of the roles and responsibilities of foundations.” And how. We wish him luck.

In late August, **Sir John Templeton** passed control of the billion-dollar **Templeton Foundation** to his 65-year-old surgeon son, **Jack**. Sir John takes donor intent seriously: future foundation officers will have to read his articles and books, and every five years three independent analysts will conduct a review of the foundation’s work to ensure it is making grants consistent with Templeton’s intent. According to the September issue of *Christianity Today*, “If they find that Jack is giving 9 percent of the grants to causes inconsistent with his father’s intent, he has one year to bring the grants back into line. If not, Jack and his top two people will be fired.” If only more donors had thought of that.

The **New York Regional Association of Grantmakers** hosted a conference on September 20 sponsored by the **Surdna, Nathan Cummings, and Charles H. Revson Foundations** (environmentalist funders all) on the topic “The Incredible Shrinking Liberal Minority: Why Progressives Are Losing and What They Can Do About It.” **Ted Nordhaus** and **Michael Shellenberger** of **American EnviroNics** argued that progressives need to abandon issue-based advocacy and instead search for “bridge values” to build new coalitions. We agree that progressive issues are hard to sell, but that’s tough advice to give to a bunch of rigid ideologues.

