

# CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

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

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## The Heritage Foundation

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

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

<sup>1</sup> News release, "GOP Senators Call on Sec. Tillerson to Investigate State Department Meddling," Office of American society itself and not only does this overseas promotion not serve any clear national security interests, but in fact it may harm these interests as well as individual Americans themselves.

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

Senator Mike Lee, March 14, 2017. https://www.lee.senate.gov/2017/3/gop-senators-callProphetically, as it turns out today, I suggested that "congressional committees should hold hearings."<sup>2</sup>

I recommended that "USAID should be more fully incorporated into the State Department to ensure that its decisions support U.S. interests and diplomatic priorities." The reason was that "the Obama Administration at times turned USAID into one of its preferred instruments for promoting contentious agendas that have failed to gain consensus acceptance within America society itself. These agendas—from transgender rights<sup>3</sup> and samesex marriage<sup>4</sup> to training foreign citizens in street "activism," "civic engagement," and "mobilization"<sup>5</sup>—have caused deep rifts here."

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

I wrote in my report, and I want to underline to this subcommittee again, that I believe it is Soros's right as an individual American to act on his convictions, and spend his money supporting causes in which he believes. I may not agree with these ideas, but I would not call for interference with any American's right to act politically. What I do take issue with is the U.S. government working with his foundations as a partner, especially as these foundations, or others linked to them, were often made the main implementers of USAID programs.

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

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

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

2015, https://blog.usaid.gov/2015/11/openly-lgbtiand-in-office-a-historic-election-for2017, http://dailysignal.com/2017/03/02/how-sorosmoney-is-corrupting-politics-in-this-small-europeannation/

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

https://www.dailysignal.com/2017/06/21/foreignsoros-backed-media-outlet-bashes-conservatives-ustaxpayer-dollars/

on-sec-tillerson-to-investigate-state-departmentmeddling

https://www.lee.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/pressreleases?ID=B5BD5596-25C8-495F-A8B1-

A4D248649C04 (accessed March 24, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mike Gonzalez, State Department and Congress Should Probe USAID, Soros Promotion of Radical Agenda Overseas. The Heritage Foundation. March 27, 2017. <u>https://www.heritage.org/gender/report/statedepartment-and-congress-should-probe-usaid-sorospromotion-radical-agenda</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Alana Marsili, "Openly LGBTI and in Office: A Historic Election for Guatemala," USAID, November 20,

guatemala/ (accessed March 24, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Social Change Initiative, "Campaigning for Change Karina Garcia, US Embassy Dublin," YouTube, September 6,

<sup>2016,</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bz-E857Hx\_4 (accessed March 24, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mike Gonzalez, "How Soros Money Is Corrupting Politics in This Small European Nation," The Daily Signal, March 2,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mike Gonzalez, Foreign Soros-Backed Media Outlet Bashes Conservatives With US Taxpayer Dollars. The Heritage Foundation. June 21, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Aubrey Belford and Saska Cvetkovska, How Macedonia's Scandal-plagued Nationalists Lobbed America's Right and Pulled Them Into an Anti-Soros Crusade. OCCRP. June 13, 2017.

https://www.occrp.org/en/project/spooks-and-spininformation-war-in-the-balkans/how-macedonias-

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

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

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

Instead, USAID has been funding media that calls itself "independent" and groups that call themselves Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are of course neither of those things if they depend on government funding and Soros's ideas as to how the world should operate. The Hungarian Secretary of State for International Communications Zoltan Kovacs wrote in January that "The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been quietly financing 6,200 journalists and 707 media outlets worldwideincluding in Hungary. Their mission? To promote a specific ideological agenda, one that aligns with left-liberal interests."<sup>10</sup>

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

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

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

scandal-plagued-nationalists-lobbied-americas-right-

and-pulled-them-into-an-anti-soros-crusade

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Secretary Rubio testifies before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. May 21, 2025. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EAGqh7jvyus <sup>10</sup> Zoltan Kovacs, About Hungary, February 10, 2025. About Hungary - USAID's billions: How Washington and Brussels fund media to control narratives

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Mike Gonzalez, Biden Takes the Culture War to Hungary. The Washington Examiner. February 28,
2023. <u>Biden takes the culture war to Hungary -</u> Washington Examiner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Center for Fundamental Rights. 'SOROSAID," March 1, 2025.

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

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

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

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

Thus, we have "sustainability," "reproductive rights," "sex workers," "legal regulation of drugs," "gender-affirming care," "compassioned care." and "restorative justice," rather than economy-crushing climate extremism, baby killing, prostitution, government-aided drug addiction, the grotesque mutilation of minors, killing grandma once she's become a burden, and soft-on-crime policies. It doesn't matter what you call any of these activities, however; they all undermine social structures, make cities into Dantesque hell holes, and leave behind human debris, men and women who are empty husks rather than beings with purpose and hope.

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

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

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Victor Gaetan, Macedonia to George Soros and USAID: Go Away. March 24, 2027. The American

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

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

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

A 1993 USAID document details joint programs with Soros's foundations to train professionals in countries like Bulgaria and Romania.<sup>15</sup> In 2001, Soros's OSF listed USAID as one of its donor partners.<sup>16</sup> Also listed were agencies of other governments, as well such progressive foundations as Ford, MacArthur, Bill and Melinda Gates foundations, and the Carnegie Corporation. The document details in several places how USAID and OSF teamed up around the world on "harm reduction" efforts, a euphemism for leniency with drug use and reducing the impact of anti-narcotics policies and laws. In December 2001, USAID signed a \$2 million cooperative agreement with the Soros Foundation-Kazakhstan as part of their "harm reduction" approach.<sup>17</sup> In the name of women's health, OSF introduced medical abortion to Albania, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovakia. OSF's "Network Public Health Programs" brought manual vacuum aspiration to Macedonia, Moldova, and Russia, the abortion procedure which suctions out a preborn child from the mother's uterus.

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

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

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

https://www.congress.gov/118/meeting/house/11650 8/documents/HHRG-118-GO06-20231025-SD004.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Connie Bruck, The World According to George Soros, The New Yorker, January 15, 1995.

https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1995/01/23/t he-world-according-to-soros

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> <u>https://slguardian.org/soros-cash-cow-how-usaid-</u> became-the-funding-arm-of-global-unrest/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup><u>https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/0</u> 025bb89-fc0b-4dd6-b134-

<sup>5</sup>d861e9095ef/a\_complete\_9.pdf.

https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/002 5bb89-fc0b-4dd6-b134-Ed861a0005 of (a complete 0 adf Dage 04

<sup>5</sup>d861e9095ef/a complete 9.pdf. Page 94

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Max Primorac and James Roberts, Congress Must Stop Biden's Misuse of U.S. Foreign Aid to Impose His Radical Social Agenda in the World. The Heritage Foundation, May 10, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Doescher, Tiana Lowe. "USAID gave \$270 million to a Soros NGO, but it only needed \$9 million to doom democracy in Albania." Washington Examiner. Feb. 7, 2025.

https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/33138 96/usaid-gave-270-million-soros-ngo-only-needed-9million-doom-democracy-albania/#google\_vignette

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

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

https://euronews24.com/usaid-funding-linked-tosoros-raises-concerns-in-albania/.

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

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

https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/34398/fo r-george-soros-ireland-abortion-fight-may-be-firststep-against-catholic-countries

https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/who-weare/our-history

Soros's activities are not limited to the Balkans, of course; they circle the world, from Mongolia and Ireland to Guatemala and Kenya, where OSF's influence shapes political outcomes to align with its globalist ideology. Soros's OSF has spent millions to legalize abortion in places as diverse as Ireland, Mexico, Zambia, Nigeria and Tanzania,<sup>23</sup> to decriminalize drugs in Africa and Latin America,<sup>24</sup> promote a peace accord with narco-Marxist rebels in Colombia that the citizens of that country rejected in a referendum,<sup>25</sup> push for transgender rights in Guatemala,<sup>26</sup> portray Israel as a violator of human rights,<sup>27</sup> and legalize prostitution all over the world,<sup>28</sup> among many other global initiatives. Here in the U.S., Soros also spends billions to transform America along all these policy fronts, as he also very interested in shaping our own country to his views. He funds all matter of progressive policies, including transgender programs,<sup>29</sup> and assisted suicide. Soros launched the Project for Death in America through his Open Society Foundations, committing \$45 million over nine years to efforts supporting euthanasia.30

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

<sup>27</sup> Eli Lake, "A Soros Plan, a Marginalized Israel,"Bloomberg View, August 16, 2016,

https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2016-08-16/how-george-soros-threatens-to-make-israel-apariah (accessed March 24, 2017)

<sup>30</sup> "Our History." Open Society

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Silke Mayr, February 8, 2025. "USAID funding linked to Soros raises concerns in Albania."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Kevin J. Jones, For George Soros, Ireland abortion fight may be first step against Catholic countries, Catholic News Agency, Aug. 18, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Open Society Foundation, Our History, Reducing Harm from Drug Use. 2017. Expanding the Drug Policy Debate through Art. 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Maria Victoria Llorente, "After Decades of Conflict, Colombia Could Finally Be on the Precipice of Peace," Open Society Foundations, March 23, 2016,

https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/after -decades-conflict-colombia-could-finally-be-precipicepeace (accessed March 24, 2017). <sup>26</sup> Alana Marsili, "Openly LGBTI and in Office: A Historic Election for Guatemala," USAID, November 20, 2015,

https://blog.usaid.gov/2015/11/openly-lgbti-and-inoffice-a-historic-election-for-guatemala/ (accessed March 24, 2017)

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Open Society Foundations Awarded Grants. <u>https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/past</u> <u>?filter keyword=transgender&page=2&grant id=OR20</u> <u>20-75915</u>

Foundation. <u>https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org</u> /who-we-are/our-history

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

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

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

<sup>31</sup> Email from Cvetin. Details can be found here: <u>https://english.republika.mk/macedonia/usaid-paid-</u> <u>tens-of-millions-for-left-wing-politicized-projects-and-</u> media-outlets-in-macedonia-including-the-soros-

foundation/

https://silverloch.com/soros-is-using-usaid-to-fundcolor-revolutions-everywhere Foundation. After the operation was completed in 2017, a GAO investigation found that in this period of time, USAID spent \$45 million on political activities in Macedonia. On several occasions USAID gave multi-million contracts directly to the Foundation Open Society Macedonia, or to FOSM in cooperation with the East West Management Institute in Albania."<sup>31</sup>

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

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

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

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

2017.state.gov/documents/organization/242130.pdf <sup>34</sup> Making All Voices Count.

https://www.makingallvoicescount.org/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Letter from six senators to Secretary Tillerson. https://www.lee.senate.gov/2017/3/gop-senators-call-

on-sec-tillerson-to-investigate-state-departmentmeddling.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> United States Department of State, United States Agency for International Development, FY 2014 Annual Performance Report. Pg. 147. <u>https://2009-</u>

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much for your time and attention.

This testimony has been lightly edited for readability.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Sobre Dale+Afro. <u>https://dalemasafro.org/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Mike Gonzalez and Mateo Haydar, The Biden Administration Placates Latin American Foes While Pummeling American Friends. May 26, 2022. The Daily

https://www.heritage.org/americas/commentary/thebiden-administration-placates-latin-american-foeswhile-pummeling-american

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