ARIZONA'S LIBERAL NGO SYNDICATE

Tracing the Left's Network of
Tax-Advantaged Funds,
Political Nonprofits, and Union Dollars

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Arizona has been a strategic focus for the Left's elaborate and advanced political funding model.[i] Over the past several election cycles, a tidal wave of outside money has been poured into the state—not just to make quick electoral gains but as an investment in permanent liberal infrastructure. The Left's sophisticated funding apparatus is full-spectrum. It encompasses hard campaign expenditures, unionfunded operations, litigation networks, policy nonprofits, and astroturf media, all working in coordination.

Upstream to the shallow pools of local activism in Arizona is a deluge of funding, controlled by a central command center amidst a complicated network of organizations. Out-of-state billionaires channel "philanthropy" dollars through Donor Advised Funds (DAFs) and fiscal sponsors that create layers of deniability. Follow this flow of cash into Arizona, and it reveals a patchwork of nonprofits, media platforms, and activist groups designed to look grassroots but function as cogs in the political machinery. What started as "philanthropy" gets washed to fund electioneering, issue advocacy, litigation, and narrative control.

At the center of this system used to sit Arabella Advisors, which recently announced it would cease operations and be assumed by a "new" entity, "Sunflower Services."[ii] Some speculate this change is in response to mounting and ongoing scrutiny[iii] over Arabella's operations and the legal blurring of tax designations. However, even under the new name, the financial sponsorship network hasn't changed at all. It is still funded through anchor groups like New Venture Fund (NVF), Windward Fund, and Hopewell Fund. These groups boast that "the founding owners of Sunflower—NVF, Windward Fund, and Hopewell Fund—together supported over \$1.179 billion in resources for nearly 200 projects worldwide... including more than 1,000 staff and 2,000 grants in all 50 states."

This core connects to an empire of affiliates and Intermediaries, including the Tides Network/Tides Foundation/Tides Advocacy, Sixteen Thirty Fund, and Telescope Fund. These networks aggregate vast sums from the nation's largest DAFs—Fidelity Charitable, Silicon Valley Community Foundation, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors—and megadonors such as George Soros and Swiss national Hansjörg Wyss. Money enters the system tax-free, travels invisibly, and reemerges as "local" influence with national fingerprints erased.

Complementing this tax-advantaged stream of financing is an even more dubious one: taxpayer-backed and union co-opted money. Federal and state grants now directly subsidize ideologically progressive projects as well as the administrative infrastructure of major liberal nonprofits, freeing private dollars for direct political work. Meanwhile, the National Education Association (NEA) and its Arizona affiliate, the AEA, inject millions in compulsory dues into campaign and advocacy operations, effectively merging organized labor with partisan activism.

The result is a tax-advantaged, publicly underwritten, and union-fueled political machine that dwarfs traditional party structures, and it has reshaped Arizona's civic landscape. It is not organic, spontaneous, or homegrown—it is manufactured, calculated, and imported, creating an institutionalized system of progressive infrastructure.

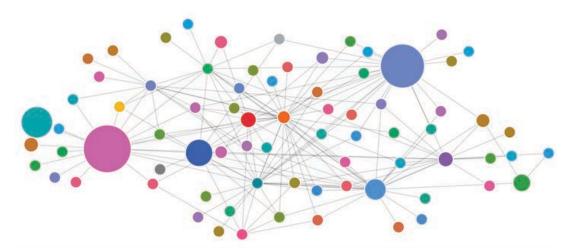
[[]i] Murdock, Corrine. "The Left's Secretive Infrastructure to Flip Arizona Blue." AZ Free News, 19 Oct. 2022,

[[]ii] "New Entity Sunflower Services Purchasing Fiscal Sponsorship Services Business from Arabella Advisors." Globe Newswire, 17 Nov. 2025,

[[]iii] Hearing on Growth of the Tax-Exempt Sector and the Impact on the American Political Landscape. 118th Cong., U.S. House of Representatives, 13 Dec. 2023. Congress.gov

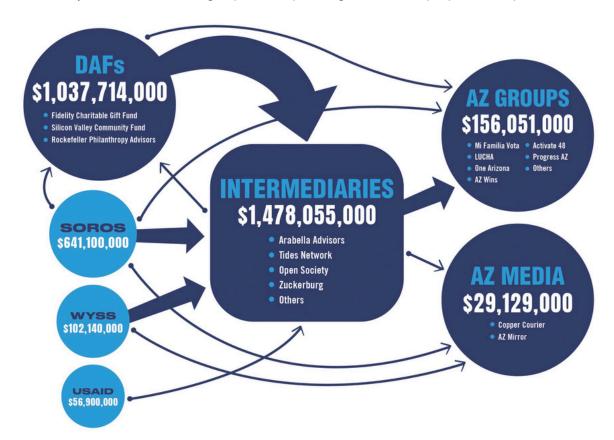
SECTION I:

UNPACKING THE LIBERAL INFRASTRUCTURE NETWORK



After mapping over 180 transactions between dozens of various groups, the result is a confusing web of money transfers. From this graphic, it is hard to see how this results in a permanent liberal infrastructure in Arizona until the entities are identified as the Upstream Sources, Intermediary Organizations, and the Arizona Groups. Once that is done, the picture becomes clearer.

Though not defined in the visual below, monies among the Intermediary Organizations do not strictly flow down and out but frequently get recirculated amongst the groups within the same network. Arabella Advisors-affiliated groups trade money back and forth, as does Tides to Tides network groups, etc.—ostensibly to make the tracking of political spending even more opaque and impossible to track.





The Left enjoys a major funding advantage. This cannot be explained by their mere ability to raise more money, but by their strategic ability to socialize the costs of their political infrastructure via two mechanisms: the use of tax-advantaged Donor Advised Funds (DAFs) and direct taxpayer subsidization through federal grantmaking, such as was mapped and revealed through the scandal of USAID. Paired with the immense input of two billionaire mega-donors—George Soros and Swiss national Hansjörg Wyss—this constitutes the major Upstream Sources funding the Liberal Infrastructure Network, which eventually waters the political desert in Arizona.

1. Donor Advised Funds

The Left has mastered how to exploit hidden subsidies in the tax code. Donor Advised Funds (DAFs) serve as its primary vehicle, enabling major donors to claim immediate tax deductions for "charitable" contributions while quietly directing those dollars toward political or ideological ends. Conservative donors use these DAFs far less, as the same seamless infrastructure to funnel money into conservative causes simply doesn't exist to the same degree. Among the many DAFs in operation, the most consequential to the Left's network are Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund, Silicon Valley Community Foundation, and Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors.

Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund

This is the nation's largest Donor Advised Fund sponsor and one of the biggest grantmaking charities in America, moving tens of billions of dollars in assets and annual grants.

It has channeled hundreds of millions into Intermediary Groups in the Arabella Network, tens of millions to Tides Nexus, which is the constellation of Tides-affiliated nonprofits, and millions directly to Arizona Groups.

Silicon Valley Community Foundation

This is a massive Donor Advised Fund hub based in Mountain View, California. It is also the largest community foundation in the U.S., managing a portfolio exceeding \$10 billion and granting about \$4.6 billion in 2023 alone. Similar to Fidelity, Silicon Valley Community Foundation has poured over \$50 million into the Arabella Network, nearly \$40 million into the various Tides entities, and nearly \$1.5 million directly to Arizona Groups.

Controversially, they have also rechanneled hundreds of millions into other DAFs, like Fidelity Charitable, making it even more difficult to identify the original funders of various Intermediary Organizations and Arizona Groups.

Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors

This is a New York-based 501(c)(3) that functions much like a massive Donor Advised Fund manager for high-net-worth donors and big foundations, moving hundreds of millions of dollars in grants each year and advising on roughly \$500 million+ in annual giving. InfluenceWatch describes RPA as a left-of-center fiscal sponsor and grant maker whose 2023 grants—over \$400 million—heavily supported progressive causes such as environmentalism, criminal-justice leniency, abortion access, expanded immigration, gun control, and gender confusion policies. These grants often routed money into major Intermediary Organizations, just like Fidelity and Silicon Valley, including tens of millions to the Arabella Network and Tides entities and over \$3 million directly to Arizona Groups.

Collectively, between 2022 and 2023, these three DAFs dumped over a billion dollars into the Intermediary Organizations, with millions going directly to Arizona Groups.

2. Billionaires

Although the money flowing through DAFs comes from thousands of millionaires and several billionaires, George Soros and Hansjörg Wyss deserve to be categorized separately as Upstream Sources due to the size and nature of their involvement.



George Soros

George Soros is a Hungarian-born billionaire hedge fund manager turned left-wing mega-donor who chairs Soros Fund Management and the Open Society Foundations (OSF) network. Through OSF and related Soros family foundations, he has poured tens of billions of dollars into groups advancing progressive priorities worldwide abortion and gender policy, racial-justice and "movement" organizing, climate activism, criminaljustice leniency, immigration expansion, and campaigns reshaping elections and constitutions. Functionally, Soros's empire operates like a private, global-scale political DAF, underwriting the Left's long-term infrastructure far beyond what typical U.S. donors or foundations attempt. In addition to the hundreds of millions flowing through his very own Intermediary Organization, like the Open Society Foundation, he also ran tens of millions through the Arabella Network and nearly \$10 million through the various Tides entities, as well as \$7.8 million directly to Arizona Groups.



Hansjörg Wyss

Hansjörg Wyss is a Swiss billionaire and major Democratic-aligned megadonor whose money quietly fuels much of today's liberal "dark money" machine. Through the Wyss Foundation and his 501(c)(4) Berger Action Fund, he routes hundreds of millions of dollars into left-wing infrastructure—especially Arabella Network groups, totaling more than \$100 million. He also sent over a million dollars directly to Arizona Groups. Though barred as a foreign national from U.S. campaign donations, Wyss exploits nonprofit loopholes to shape American politics from the Left at massive scale.

3. USAID

The final Upstream Source is funded by direct taxpayer subsidies, largely through USAID.

Beginning in 2021, federal agencies such as USAID and the Department of Labor directed tens of millions of taxpayer dollars to progressive "philanthropic" organizations to supercharge the Biden administration's agenda.

This specifically included his open borders policies, which enriched many progressive actors who stood to benefit handsomely from the crisis at the border and the influx of aliens in the country. This included \$12 million to Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors for an "Initial Reception and Placement Program" tied to migrant and refugee resettlement.

In addition to pro-open borders groups, these federal subsidies bolstered the ledgers of "democracy" initiatives, including "public interest" media programs, which were really just leftist propaganda outlets. The Tides Center took in \$25 million from USAID to build "Civil Society Hubs" aimed at combating the "misinformation" spreading through the emergence of alternative

news sources. Tides received another \$6 million from the Department of Labor for "worker engagement" initiatives, which was just a guise for ushering in Environmental, Social, Governance (ESG) policies—the Left's tool used to reshape corporate behavior to align with progressive political priorities—within corporations.

That's over \$50 million identified running through Intermediary Organizations. Although tax dollars cannot technically go directly to political activity, these grants fuel the Left's progressive institutions and bolster ideological initiatives that underpin their political agenda. They also free up dollars from the DAFs and Intermediary Organizations, supercharging their tax-advantaged dollars funneling into the Arizona Groups and ensuring a well-funded political operation.

Altogether, the Upstream Sources represent more than \$1.8 billion in spending.



Although some money from the DAFs go directly to Arizona Groups, the vast majority of it makes an intermediate stop at the Intermediary Organizations, primarily the **Arabella Network**, **Tides Nexus**, and **Open Society Foundation**.



Arabella Advisors, according to Influence Watch, is a Washington, D.C.-based, for-profit philanthropy consulting firm that manages a network of seven large nonprofits used to support left-leaning political activism: New Venture Fund, Sixteen Thirty Fund, Hopewell Fund, Windward Fund, North Fund, Telescope Fund, and Impetus Fund. These groups act as incubators, accelerators, and pass-through funders for a wide range of advocacy and policy projects.

New Venture Fund is the network's largest 501(c) (3) funding and fiscal-sponsorship nonprofit, backing numerous left-of-center campaigns and "pop-up" projects.

Sixteen Thirty Fund is its 501(c)(4) counterpart, a major lobbying and advocacy hub that often operates alongside New Venture Fund.

Hopewell Fund and Windward Fund primarily sponsor activist and environmentalist projects, respectively, while North Fund, Telescope Fund, and Impetus Fund round out the network's specialized vehicles.

Collectively, Arabella-managed nonprofits routinely report over \$1 billion in combined annual revenue; 2023 filings show more than \$1.2 billion flowing through the network. As identified in this research, between 2022 and 2023, from the Upstream Sources:

New Venture Fund received:	\$165.7 Million
• Sixteen Thirty Fund received:	\$93 Million
Hopewell Fund received:	\$63.2 Million
Telescope Fund received:	\$33 Million
Windward Fund received:	\$500,000



That totals \$376.6 million for the Arabella Network from the Upstream Sources.



Tides Nexus, according to Influence Watch, is a collection of related, left-of-center grantmaking, fiscal-sponsorship, and advocacy nonprofits headquartered in San Francisco. It began in 1976 when activist Drummond Pike and Reynolds heiress Jane Lehman created the Tides Foundation to provide novel services to liberal donors funding political activism and new advocacy groups.

Tides Foundation became a major pass-through funder on the Left by using Donor Advised Funds. It took in money from donors, invested it, and regranted it to typically left-leaning nonprofits. In 1996, its pioneering fiscal sponsorship operation was spun into the separate **Tides Center**, which manages incubated projects and reported over \$233 million in 2023 revenue. At the top sits the **Tides Network**, the controlling 501(c)(3) that oversees Tides Foundation, Tides Center, and support entities such as Tides Inc. and Tides Two Rivers Fund.



Collectively, the Nexus moves hundreds of millions of dollars annually through this structure. As identified in this research, between 2022 and 2023, from the Upstream Sources:

•	Tides Foundation received:	\$49.5 Million

Tides Center received: \$66.1 Million

Tides Advocacy received: \$12.7 Million



Totaling \$128.3 million, Tides receives funding outside of the major Upstream Sources and sends hundreds of millions into the Arabella Network as well.





Open Society is essentially Soros's own private Intermediary Organization, which spent hundreds of millions—primarily to other Intermediary Organizations, but also tens of millions directly to Arizona Groups.



Altogether, the Intermediary Groups received nearly \$1.5 billion from the Upstream Sources.

Finally, this tidal wave of cash flooded Arizona's leftist infrastructure, where a constellation of dozens of groups—501(c)(3)s, 501(c)(4)s, PACs, and media—collectively received nearly \$200 million between 2022 and 2023. Because there are too many to outline, a selection of a few sheds enough light on how this infrastructure operates.



One Arizona is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that serves as the central organizing hub for the state's progressive movement. Operating under the guise of "civic engagement," it coordinates voter registration, turnout, and issue campaigns among dozens of left-leaning groups that loosely qualify under their "charitable" designation. In practice, One Arizona functions as the backbone of the Left's electoral machine—building data infrastructure and mobilizing reliably Democratic blocs across the state while maintaining a veneer of nonpartisanship. One Arizona received nearly \$10 million from various Intermediaries, mostly the Tides and Arabella networks.



Arizona Wins is a 501(c)(4), which serves as the political and advocacy arm for One Arizona—using the voter data, infrastructure, and field capacity developed by One Arizona to conduct lobbying, candidate support, ballot initiative work, and independent expenditures. Arizona Wins received just shy of \$3 million from the Intermediaries.



Arizona Center for Empowerment is the 501(c)

(3) nonprofit "civic" arm of Arizona's Latino progressive movement, as well as the "sister" group to LUCHA. Operating under the banner of voter education and community outreach, ACE conducts year-round registration, training, and mobilization programs that primarily benefit Democratic candidates and causes. ACE received nearly \$3.5 million, mostly from the Intermediaries, with \$758,000 coming directly from DAFs.



LUCHA is the 501(c)(4) political advocacy and campaign arm of the Arizona Center for Empowerment. It uses the lists, volunteers, and infrastructure ACE develops to run partisan field operations, ballot initiatives, and legislative pressure campaigns. LUCHA is one of Arizona's most visible left-wing activist groups, promoting progressive immigration, labor, and social-justice agendas while coordinating closely with national Democratic and labor networks. LUCHA received almost \$3 million from the Intermediaries.



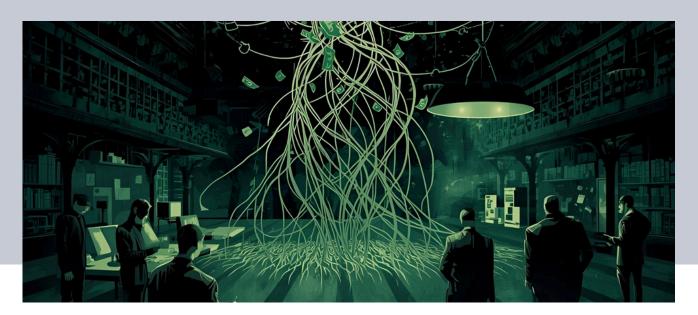


Chispa Arizona is the environmental-justice and voter-mobilization arm of the League of Conservation Voters (LCV) network. It advances a progressive climate and social-equity agenda under the banner of "community empowerment," targeting Latino voters with issue campaigns and ballot drives that mirror national Democratic priorities. Chispa AZ partners closely with One Arizona, LUCHA, and Mi Familia Vota, serving as a key field and messaging node within the state's coordinated left-wing coalition. Chispa AZ received nearly \$5 million, more than half of which came directly from the DAFs and the other from Soros's Intermediary Open Society.

Mi Familia Vota is a national Latino-advocacy organization with a strong Arizona presence, operating alongside its charitable affiliate, Mi Familia Vota Education Fund (501(c)(3)). Though framed as a nonpartisan civic-engagement group, it runs large-scale voter-registration, turnout, and ballot-initiative campaigns that reliably benefit Democratic candidates. It collaborates closely with One Arizona, LUCHA, and Chispa Arizona and also regularly joins lawsuits challenging election integrity laws, voter ID requirements, and legislative redistricting efforts. Mi Familia Vota received just over \$4 million from the Intermediaries.

In total, dozens of Arizona Groups collectively received \$156,051,000, primarily from the Intermediaries (Arabella, Tides, and Open Society) and some directly from the Upstreams (DAFs and Billionaires). What can be seen in the examples above is that major Arizona C4s—Chispa AZ, Arizona Wins, LUCHA, and Mi Familia Vota—spend millions on voter outreach and independent expenditures every election cycle. Most operate alongside a C3, like One Arizona and Arizona Center for Empowerment, that conducts voter registration and education work year-round—completely tax-deductible—which helps maximize the political spending of their C4 sister groups.

Similar to how the Intermediaries operate, Arizona's local liberal infrastructure network relies on precise legal choreography. The C3 builds data, trains staff, and registers voters under a nonpartisan veneer; the C4 entity deploys that capacity for electioneering, advocacy, and litigation.





In addition to various nonprofits and PACs, the Upstream Sources and Intermediaries also heavily fund the Left's media ecosystem to shape the narratives and political conversations in the state.

AZMIRROR

Arizona Mirror operates under States Newsroom, a national nonprofit media organization bankrolled by progressive megadonors such as Hansjörg Wyss and affiliated Arabella-linked funds, and was originally incubated by Hopewell Fund. It functions as a state-based editorial hub producing overtly left-leaning political coverage and commentary that supports Democratic policy priorities. Like its sister outlets across the country, the Mirror's "public-interest journalism" doubles as narrative infrastructure—reinforcing the same issues and talking points advanced by the state's progressive advocacy groups.









AZ Mirror grew out of a progressive think tank and was incubated by the liberal Hopewell Fund and supported by its parent entity "States Newsroom" that is funded by Wyss Foundation, Google, Pew Charitable

"Democrats Make Their Case to Win the AZ Legislature: Reject the 'extreme' GOP and 'MAGA Weirdos.'"

"Minority Rule is Anti-American, But it's How Republicans are Governing in Arizona."

- March 1, 2023

"White nationalism Gets a Hearing in the Republican House."

- February 10, 2023

"Republican Resolution Would Declare Trump the Winner in 2024, Regardless of What Voters Say."

THE COPPER COURIER

The Copper Courier is Arizona's branch of Courier Newsroom, a national network of digital outlets funded by left-leaning donors, including entities tied to Arabella Advisors and George Soros. It presents itself as local journalism but primarily publishes content that amplifies Democratic narratives and candidates. Articles closely align with campaign messaging, serving as a paid-media arm disguised as news to influence voters under the banner of "community information." Copper Courier spends millions on Facebook advertising of hyper-partisan headlines under the thin guise of "news," written by Democratic operatives. Then, Democratic candidates and associated organizational patrons cite Copper Courier as a "source" for political attack ads.

Affect You."

- November 13, 2023

Doctors."

- October 20, 2023

Collectively, these outlets, primarily States Newsroom and Courier Newsroom, received nearly \$30 million. The Copper Courier alone received more than \$7 million since 2022 from Soros-aligned entities for state-branded "news," and Arizona Mirror received \$1.1 million from the Wyss Foundation along with ongoing support from Rockefeller and Arabella's North Fund.

These dollars have been used to shape the political narratives that sway public opinion and inform public policy. Rather than the traditional hit pieces that many people write off as overtly political, the media stories by these two outlets have the benefit of garnering journalistic credibility. Yet they bear undeniably political thumbprints with headlines that differ from political hit pieces in form alone, for example: "Kari Lake's plan for the US Senate: 'The end of democracy.'"

THE COPPER COURIER A self-described partisan media project that receives funding from Reid Hoffman, George Soros, Open Society Policy Center, Planned Parenthood, Hopewell Fund and Rockefeller. "Kari Lake's plan for the US Senate: 'The end of democracy."" - February 27, 2024 "Every Arizona House Republican voted for an anti-abortion extremist speaker." - October 31, 2023

"How a Republican-Led Government Shutdown Would

"Arizona's Strict Abortion Laws are Driving Away





George Soros

SECTION II:

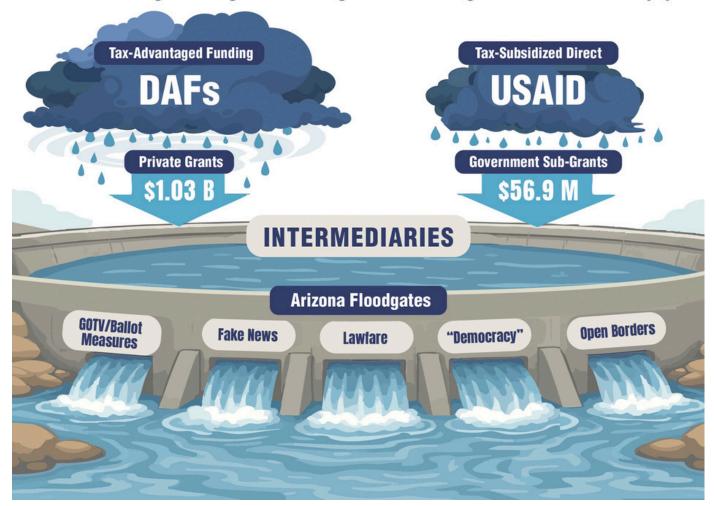
THE IMPACT

What this boils down to is a well-funded, well-organized, yet complicated machine permanently influencing policy, politics, and the political narrative in Arizona.

The Left's Upstream Sources contribute billions in tax-advantaged dollars and tens of millions in taxpayer-subsidized funds. These resources flow into various Intermediary Organizations that, in turn, channel tens of millions into Arizona Groups. The resulting activism spans a wide range of activities, including get-out-the-vote efforts, engagement on ballot measures, the spread of fake news, aggressive lawfare, various "democracy" initiatives, and support for open borders.

In fact, in 2024 alone, these groups spent over \$33.2 million in hard political spending in Arizona on non-federal races, both directly to candidates and on independent expenditures. This is a fraction of all the soft spending by the C3 organizations conducted to prime the pump for the C4 arms. Much of the tens of millions spent in overt election activism went to promote or defeat various initiatives at the ballot box, such as initiatives promoted or opposed by Will of the People.

Liberal Financing Advantages: Socializing the Costs through the Tax Code and Taxpayer



The Fight for the State Legislature

2024 was a key cycle to determine who would seize control of the state legislature. With Republican majorities having dwindled to a one-seat advantage in each chamber (31/16), Democrats made "flipping" the legislature blue a strategic target in the election. These Arizona Groups targeted key swing legislative districts, coordinating their expenditures among their groups primarily on seven districts (2, 4, 9, 13, 16, 17, and 23), amounting to 17 total legislative seats.

Among these Arizona Groups that spent in these races were:

Chispa AZ PAC:	\$3.5 Million
Opportunity Arizona	\$1.26 Million
• Our Voice, Our Vote:	\$1.0 Million
• Poder in Action:	\$252,000
AANHPI Rising Tide:	\$150,000



Cumulatively, all the Arizona Groups spent over \$7 million supporting down-ticket legislative Democrats and over \$4.5 million against their Republican opponents.

High Stakes Ballot Measures

These same Arizona Groups also targeted issue advocacy ballot measures—both supporting progressive policies (primarily abortion access in 2024 but also California-style jungle primaries) and opposing measures the conservative legislature referred to the voters.

 Will of the People spent over \$2 million, with half coming from the Open Society Action Fund and the remainder supplemented by multiple union organizations. Will of the People spent more than \$870,000 on opposing 10 conservative legislative measures.

- Mi Familia Vota spent \$200,000 exclusively on abortion-access Prop 139.
- AANHPI Rising Tide spent over \$100,000 on ballot measures, with 80 percent opposing the legislature's measures.

Notable Mentions

PAC for America's Future - AZ:

Some of the biggest spenders in 2024 in Arizona were not even trying to pretend to be "Arizona Groups." Take, for instance, the largest liberal spender by far—PAC for America's Future, which set up in the state in 2018 and functions strictly as a pass-through for other Arizona Groups' election spending and candidate contributions. Using the dubious power of the Left's small-dollar crowdsourcing vendor, ActBlue, to achieve mega-PAC status, the PAC funneled millions of the over \$28 million raised from out-of-state donors in mostly liberal states and redirected them to give maximum contributions to candidates. The largest in-state benefactor of the PAC's contributions was the Arizona Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee at \$3.2 million. One of the largest individual donors to the PAC is the son of the notorious Open Society founder George Soros, Jonathan Soros, who contributed \$2 million.

Future Freedoms:

Mostly funded by America Votes, the largest Democrat grassroots organization spent over \$7.4 million, with \$5 million of it on independent expenditures. The group was one of the heavy hitters on oppositional campaigns, with 65% of their IE cash directed toward attacking Republican candidates, many legislative, but also in smaller races such as the Maricopa County Recorder.

Worker Power PAC:

Funded primarily by UNITE Here and Advocacy
Action Fund, this PAC raised \$10 million in Arizona in
2024 and spent over \$7 million of it, though not all
within Arizona. Worker Power PAC was one of the
main organizations funding Prop 499 in Glendale,
which would have sought to impose a \$20 hourly
minimum wage for hotel and event-center workers
and other onerous regulations on the industry.

SECTION III:

TEACHERS' UNIONS ARE SECONDARY INFRASTRUCTURE



The Left's political machine in Arizona is not powered by the mysterious web of Arabella-adjacent Intermediaries and Arizona Groups alone. Running parallel to the Donor Advised Fund (DAF) network is a second, self-sustaining infrastructure: the teachers' unions. The National Education Association (NEA) and its state affiliate, the Arizona Education Association (AEA), operate in close coordination with the broader progressive network.

Unlike traditional unions, the AEA is organized as a 501(c)(6) professional association, allowing it to sidestep Department of Labor transparency requirements. In practice, however, the AEA functions as a fully fledged political and organizing hub and union in every other sense.

This union is a permanent fixture in Arizona's liberal ecosystem, providing not only financial backing but boots-on-the-ground coordination. While the Arabella and Tides networks rely on tax-advantaged philanthropy and complex pass-through funding, the unions' advantage lies in a straightforward, predictable, and renewable cash flow—money extracted from compulsory dues as well as the state's education system itself.



The Unions' Impact

The NEA and AEA played an active role in Arizona's 2024 elections. Together they funded their local PAC, Great Schools Now, which spent nearly \$500,000 in Arizona races—largely routed through partner groups such as Future Freedom and coordinated canvassing efforts. But while the PAC spends every election cycle, the unions' true strategic power lies in their permanence: embedded infrastructure within schools, continuous member mobilization, and the ability to operate politically without reliance on external donors or DAF networks.

Financial disclosures show the reach of the NEA's political investments in Arizona:

- \$600,000 to the AEA for political operations in 2023.
- \$1.7 million in 2022, plus \$250,000 to an AEA-connected PAC for ballot-measure work.
- Roughly \$6 million during the 2020 Prop 208 campaign, routed through the AEA's Invest in Arizona ballot committee.

These direct infusions are just one part of a larger pattern. The NEA also channels tens of millions of dollars nationally through PACs such as **Future Forward USA, Senate Majority PAC, and America Votes**—the very same national vehicles that fund Arizona's broader progressive ecosystem.

The Headquarters Hub

The coordination between these groups is literally physical. AEA's Phoenix offices act as headquarters to various other coalition groups, such as One Arizona, Progress Arizona/ProgressNow AZ, and the Phoenix Union High School District Foundation—a physical nexus where union, nonprofit, and political operations converge. Because the AEA owns the building, these groups share space, staff, and infrastructure, enabling seamless coordination of year-round campaigns, voter drives, and legislative advocacy efforts.

More Taxpayer-Subsidized Political Activity

Like the broader left-wing network, the unions have mastered the art of getting taxpayers to underwrite their political activity. School districts, such as Paradise Valley USD (\$790,000), Scottsdale USD (\$305,000), and Peoria USD (\$446,000) for 2023 and 2024, collectively made direct payments to the AEA. These taxpayer-funded transfers, ostensibly for professional development or services, ultimately help free funds to support the same partisan infrastructure advancing the Left's political objectives across Arizona.

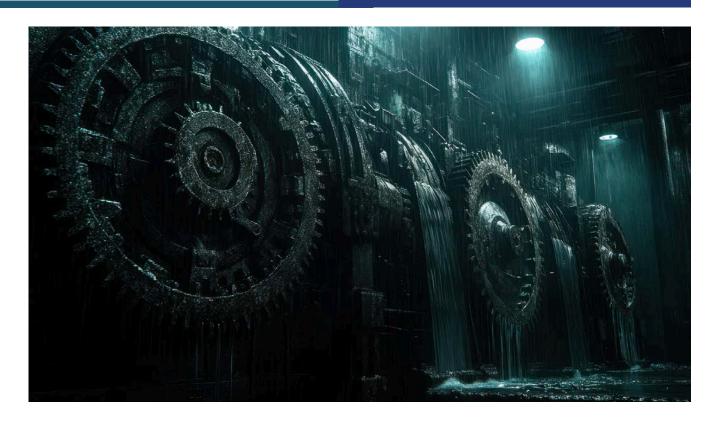
The Unions' Constant Presence Is a Benefit to the Whole Network

The unions are not a side operation but are woven directly into the fabric of the Left's political network. National union money fuels Arizona's campaigns and advocacy efforts, while local education dollars sustain the infrastructure between cycles. The AEA's organizing capacity, data sharing, and physical footprint link effortlessly with the same groups and Intermediaries funded through Arabella, Tides, and their donor-advised pipelines. What results is a single, coordinated ecosystem where unions provide the steady heartbeat keeping staff, systems, and strategy alive even during periods when other parts of the network lie dormant.



SECTION IV:

THE LEFT'S EVOLVING MACHINE



The Left's complex funding network is not a grassroots movement; it is a deliberately engineered system of political power, built through outside capital, Donor Advised Funds, federal subsidies, and union pipelines. Its structure is vast, its funding is sophisticated, and its tactics are constantly adapting. The sudden transformation of Arabella Advisors into "Sunflower Services" shows how the Left's infrastructure knows how to adapt to preserve influence while avoiding scrutiny.

How that system operates is impressive: Upstream Donors and DAFs provide tax-advantaged dollars; Intermediary Organizations route those funds through opaque fiscal sponsors; and Arizona-based nonprofits, unions, PACs, and media outlets deploy them on the ground to influence elections, legislation, and public opinion.

Yet despite this immense advantage—an advanced, data-driven, and well-funded model—the network's dominance is not absolute. The Left does not win every race or control every cycle, proving that Arizona remains stubbornly resistant to its long campaign to turn the state blue.





APPENDIX A:

LIBERAL INFRASTRUCTURE TRANSACTIONS

ENTITY	DONOR	RECIPIENT	AMOUNT	YEAR	SOURCE
USAID	Department of Labor	Tides Center	\$ 6,000,000.00		https://www.usaspending.gov/award/CONT_AWD_1605C223C0012_1605NONENONE_
	USAID	Refugee Reception Program	\$ 11,900,000.00	2022	https://www.usaspending.gov/recipient/048e5c98-b0fa-a961-a9af-d62ab817259c-R/2023
	USAID	RPA	\$ 20,000,000.00	2022	
	USAID	lides Center	\$ 25,000,000.00		https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_AIDOAAA1600007_7200
DAFS	Fidelity	RPA	\$ 11,200,000.00		https://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=rockefeller+philanthropy
	Fidelity	Telescope Fund			nttps://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=telescope+fund
	Fidelity	Hopewell Fund	\$ 41,900,000.00		https://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=hopewell+fund
	Fidelity	New Venture Fund	0		https://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=new+venture+fund
	Fidelity	Tides Center Tides Foundation	\$ 17.500.000.00		nttps://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=tides+center https://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=tides+foundation
	Fidelity	NEO Philanthropy			https://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=neo+philanthropy
	Fidelity	Environmental Defense Fund			nttps://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=environmental+defense+fund
	Fidelity	States United	\$ 1,000,000.00		https://datarepublican.com/expose/?eins=110303001&keywords=states+united
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	RPA	Hopewell Fund		2023	https://priects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full
	RPA	New Venture Fund		2022	https://apps.irs.po/bub/epostcard/cor/133615533 202212 990 2023110821890428.pdf
	RPA			2023	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full
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	RPA	Tides Center	\$ 9,200,000.00	2023	nttps://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full
	RPA	NEO Philanthropy	2,2	2023	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full
	RPA	AZ Immigrant & Refugee Services	\$ 45,000.00	2022	https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/133615533_202212_990_2023110821890428.pdf
	RPA	Arizona Community Foundation		2022	https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/133615533_202212_990_2023110821890428.pdf
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	RPA	Chispa AZ		2023	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/133615533/202433159349300308/full
	SVCF	Fidelity	\$ 39,000,000.00	2022	https://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
	SVCF	Fidelity	\$ 153,800,000.00	2023	https://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-2023-990-PDC.pdf
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	SVCF	Hopewell Fund	\$ 4.800.000.00	2022	https://www.svci.org/assets/ing/media/svCF-2073-990-DDC.ndf
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	SVCF	Windward Fund	\$ 11,100,000.00	2022	https://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
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	SVCF	CTCL	\$ 328,000,000.00	2020	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/205205488/202103199349327615/full
	SVCF	Environmental Defense Fund	\$ 1,600,000.00	2022	https://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
	SVCF	Immigrant Justice Corps	\$ 1,000,000.00	2022	nttps://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
	SVCF	Immigrant Legal Resource Center	\$ 1,100,000.00	2022	https://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
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	SVCF	Planned Parenthood Pacific SW	\$ 30,000,000.00	2022	https://www.svcf.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
	SVCF	Voter Registration Project	\$ 2,500,000.00	2022	https://www.svct.org/assets/img/media/SVCF-990-2022-PDC.pdf
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	Open Society	Worker Power	\$ 1,400,000.00	2023	nttps://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/past?filter_keyword=arizona
	Open Society	Arizona Wins	\$ 750,000.00	2023	nttps://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/past?filter_keyword=arizona
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	Open Society Policy Center	Our Voice Our Vote	\$ 350,000.00	2023	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/522028955/202433199349319003/full
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	Hopewell Fund	One Arizona	\$ 37,000.00	2022	https://www.hopewellfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Hopewell-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy-065832744.pdf
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	Hopewell Fund	ProgressNowAZ	\$ 70,000.00	2023	https://www.hopeweilfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2023-Hopeweil-Fund-Form-990-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
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	New Venture Fund	AZ Coalition for Change	\$ 220,000.00		https://newventurefund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2023-New-Venture-Fund-Porm-990-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
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	North Fund	Sixteen Thirty Fund	r,	2022	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/8340111547/202430509349300913/full
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	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Rural Arizona Action	\$ 225,000.00	2022	https://www.sixteenthirtyfund.crg/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Rural Arizona Action	- 1		https://www.sixteenthitryfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2023-Sixteen-Thitry-Fund-Form-990-Public-Disclosure-Copy-bndVgQYKTxcQpgdwdYNLpdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Secure Elections Project	\$ 2,000,000.00		https://www.sixteenthirtyfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Sierra Club			https://www.sixteenthiry/und.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Sierra Club	\$ 1,400,000.00		https://www.sixteenthiryfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2023-Sixteen-Thirty-Eund-Form-990-Public-Disclosure-Copy-bnIAVgQYKTxcQpgdwdYN.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Activate 48			https://www.sixteenthirtyfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Arizona Wins	\$ 1,000,000.00	2022	https://www.ixteenthirtyfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen I nirty Fund	Arizona Wins	\$ 80,000.00		The state of the s
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	LICHA			https://www.internitiityiund.org/www.internitiityiund.org/www.communitiityiityiityiityiityiityiityiityiityi
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	ГОСНА			ttts://www.sixteenthitv/rind.org/wo-content/usloads/2024/11/2023-Sixteen-Thitv-Fund-Form-99-Public-Disclosure-Conv-butAVgOVKT:xcDagwdYN, adf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	One Arizona	\$ 150,000.00		https://www.sixteenthitryfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Our Voice, Our Vote	\$ 50,000.00	2022	https://www.sixteenthirtyfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	Our Voice, Our Vote		П	https://www.sixteenthitryfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2023-Sixteen-Thirty-fund-Form-990-Public-Disclosure-Copy-bnAVgQYKTxcQpgdwdYN.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	ProgressNowAZ			https://www.sixteenthirtyfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy.pdf
	Sixteen Thirty Fund	ProgressNowAZ	\$ 50,000.00		https://www.sixteenthirtyfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2023-Sixteen-Thirty-Fund-Form-990-Public-Disclosure-Copy-bnIAVgQYKTxcDpgdwdYN.pdf
	Telescope Fund	Tides Center	τ,	2022	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/862577635/202313149349302361/full

INTERMEDIARIES	Telescone Find	NEO Philanthrony	\$ 1,000,000,00	200	Heres / Innieste monthlies and inneredite foreastizations/RED 577 634 (2) 4034493 361 / full
Arabella		Institutio Lab	ľ	-	
	Telescope Fund	AZ Center for Empowerment	П	550,000.00 2022	https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/862577635/202313149349302361/full
	Telescope Fund	AZ Center for Empowerment		350,000.00 2023	
	Telescope Fund	Activate 48			
	Telescope Fund	Activate 48		_	
	Telescope Fund	One Arizona		-	
	Windung Eund	One Arizona	\$ 2,400,000.00	00.00	
	Windward Fund	RPA			1 Integ.//www.windwardinatore/wo-content/update/2024/13/2024/integard-Enaf-Form-999-Public/sour-e-Convold This //www.windwardinatore/wo-content/update/2024/13/2023-windward-Enaf-Form-999-Public/sour-e-Convold This //www.windwardinatore/wo-convold This //www.windwardinatore/w
	Windward Fund	Tides		-	
	Windward Fund	Center for Biological Diversity	\$ 100,0	100,000.00	
	Windward Fund	Clean Air Task Force	r,	Н	
	Windward Fund	Environmental Defense Fund	\$ 3,400,000.00		
	Windward Fund	Environmental Defense Fund	w,		
	Windward Fund	Alliance for Global Justice		525,000.00 2022 75,000.00 2033	
	Windward Fund	Courier Newstoom	\$ 400.0		THEST, Naw, windward in drow for more and the control of the contr
	Windward Fund	Mi Familia Vota		H	
	Windward Fund	One Arizona			
	Windward Fund	Rural AZ Engagement	``	_	2 https://www.windwardfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Windward-Fund-2022-Public-Disclosure-Copy-855747610.pdf
	Windward Fund	Save Our Schools		-	
Tides	Tides Advocacy	Sixteen Thirty Fund	4	-	
	Tides Advocacy	Sixteen Thirty Fund	\$ 105,0	105,000.00 2023	3 https://esticl.aquerepage.com/static/General-States/Stat
	Tides Advocacy	CASE Action		-	
	Tides Advocacy	League of Conservation Voters		-	
	Tides Advocacy	Liberate Arizona			
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	Tides Advocacy	Principled Leadership for AZ			
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	Tides Advocacy	Activate 48		400,000.00 2022	
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	Tides Advocacy	Our Voice, Our Vote	\$ 50,0		
	Tides Advocacy	Our Voice, Our Vote		H	
	Tides Advocacy	Poder in Action	\$ 200,0		
	Tides Advocacy	ProgressNowAZ		200,000.00	
	Tides Center	Tides Advocacy	\$ 18,200,000.00		
	Tides Center	Tides Foundation	_	-	
	Tides Center	Tides Foundation		+	
	Tides Center	National Philanthropic Trust	\$ 1,000,000.00	00.00	3 https://www.ides.org/wp-content/placeds/2014/2012 index-center form-990-placelise-Discolaries/aff shows and a state of the content content of the content
	Tides Center	Mi Familia Vota	, ה		
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	Tides Foundation	RPA		Н	
	Tides Foundation	Hopewell Fund			
	Tides Foundation	New Venture Fund		_	
	Tides Foundation	Windward Fund	\$ 3,300,000.00	-	
	Tides Foundation	Windward Fund		-	
	Tides Foundation	Tides Advocacy			
	Tides Foundation	Tides Advocacy	\$ 29,300,000.00	000.00	3 https://www.ides.org/w-p-conerni/places/cut-dist_files/confident/places/cut-files/confident/places/cut-files/confident/places/cut-files/confident/places/cut-files/confident/places/cut-files/confident/places/cut-fil
	Tides Foundation	NEO Philanthropy	\$ 2,000,000.00	-	
	Tides Foundation	ADRC Action			https://www.tides.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/2022
	Tides Foundation	AZ Coalition for Change	П		
	Tides Foundation	AZ Poder			
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	Tides Foundation	Aliento	ď	_	
	Tides Foundation	All Hands on Deck (MVF)	7	_	
	lides Foundation	Corazon AZ), 133,0	133,000.00 2023	a https://www.tides.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/2023_lides-Foundation_Form-990-Public-Disclosure.pdf



THE UNIONS' FINANCIAL IMPACTS FROM 2022 - 2024

DONOR	RECIPIENT	AMOUNT	SOURCE
National Education Association	Arizona Education Association	\$ 598,282.00 (rounded to \$600,000 in report)	598,282.00 Source: FORM LM-2 LABOR ORGANIZATION ANNUAL REPORT, 2023-2024 (Schedule 16): to \$600,000 https://olmsapps.dol.gov/query/orgReport.do?rptId=900357&rptForm=LM2Form port)
National Education Association National Education Association	Arizona Education Association Will of the People	\$ 1,700,000.00	1,700,000.00 Source: FORM LM-2 LABOR ORGANIZATION ANNUAL REPORT, 2022-2023 (Schedules 16 & 17): 250,000.00 https://oimsapps.doi.gov/quen//orgReport.do?rptid=875354&rptForm=LM2Form
NEA Advocacy Fund NEA Advocacy Fund	Worker Power PAC Victory Fund	\$ 125,000.00	125,000.00 Source: Federal Election Commission, political contributions, 2023-2024: https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?committee id=C00489815&two year transaction period=2024&cycle=202/75,000.00 4&line number=F3X-23&data type=processed
NEA Advocacy Fund	Great Schools Now (AEA's PAC)	\$ 385,000.00	385,000.00 Source: 2024 Pre-General Election Campaign Finance Report – contributions to PACs: https://seethemoney.az.gov/PublicReports/2024/359A07E4-096A-48C2-B5D7-B6D280B6F48E.pdf
Invest in Arizona (Sponsored By AEA And Stand For Children)	Prop 208 ballot measure	\$ 6,000,000.00 Source: https://i	Source: https://seethemoney.az.gov/Reporting/Explore#JurisdictionId=0 Page=30 startYear=2019 endYear=2021 IstessActive= false ShowOfficeHolder=false View=Detail Name=2~100204 entityId=100204 TablePage=1 TableLength=100
Paradise Valley Unified School District	Arizona Education Association	\$ 791,666.23 (rounded to \$791,000 in report)	\$ 791,666.23 Source: https://www.openthebooks.com/search- https://www.openthebooks.com/search- https://www.openthebooks.com/search- in report) results://details/?n=Arizona%20Education%20Association@e=25079&t=c&burl=%2Fsearch- in report) results://details/?n=Arizona%20Education%20Education%2520association%26F State%3DArizona%26F Year%3 DO
Scottsdale Unified School District	Arizona Education Association	\$ 305,950.66 Source: https://s https://s (rounded to \$305,000 results/c in report) 00	\$ 305,950.66 Source: https://www.openthebooks.com/search- https://www.openthebooks.com/search- results/details/?n=Arizona%20Education%20Association&e=25110&t=c&burl=%2Fsearch- results%2F%3Dc%26F Name 5%3Darizona%2520education%2520association%26F State%3DArizona%26F Year%3 D0
Peoria Unified School District	Arizona Education Association	\$ 446,458.84 (rounded to \$446,000 in report)	\$ 446,458.84 Source (2023-2024): https://www.openthebooks.com/search- results/details/7n=Arizona%20Education%20Association&e=25084&t=c&burl=%2Fsearch- results%2F%3Ft%3Dc%26F Name S%3Darizona%2520education%2520association%26F State%3DArizona%26F Year%3



