



JUSTICE FOR SALE

HOW GEORGE SOROS PUT
RADICAL PROSECUTORS IN POWER

JUNE 2022

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, elections for district attorney have been quiet affairs. Candidates spent very little on their campaigns, instead jockeying for local endorsements and burnishing their legal qualifications for the top job. That changed recently as millions of campaign dollars have flowed into these down ballot contests. The bulk of that lavish spending on advertising and consultants has been done by (or on behalf of) “social justice” candidates.

In most of these free spending contests, progressive forces proved victorious by either defeating incumbent Democrats or crushing a field of primary contenders. Strikingly, most of these prosecutors were political neophytes and had zero prosecutorial experience – previously an assumed prerequisite for office. Many have no previous criminal case experience.

The decisive factor in most cases was outside financing – unprecedented levels of campaign cash directly from large donors or through third-party allied groups (i.e., political action committees).

As both candidates and later in office, a constellation of well-funded but recently established groups aid these progressive prosecutors through further campaign spending, professional organizations, research and strategic communications efforts, and even provide perks (e.g., safari junkets to Kenya)¹.

This paper examines a select number of these elected prosecutors, their route to power, source of funding, and affiliations and allies dedicated to supporting their social justice agenda. It seeks to “follow the money” to identify how these candidates were elected to implement an ideological agenda and how those financial and political networks support them and their policies.



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ABOUT THE LAW ENFORCEMENT LEGAL DEFENSE FUND (LELDF)

The Law Enforcement Legal Defense Fund (LELDF) is a 501(c)(3) non-profit dedicated to supporting and defending the law enforcement profession and those law enforcement officers who have devoted their lives to upholding the Constitution and serving the United States and its citizens while enforcing its laws. We also seek to educate the public about the many risks and threats to law enforcement personnel in order to build a more informed, respectful, and appreciative society.

FINDINGS:

- The US currently has at least **75 Soros-Backed** social justice prosecutors, supported through campaign dollars and/or Soros-funded progressive infrastructure groups.
- These 75 prosecutors represent more than **1 in 5 Americans** or more than 72 million people, including **half of America's 50 most populous cities** and counties.
- From 2018 to 2021, Soros spent **\$13 million on just 10 prosecutors' races**, where his organizations were by far the biggest spender in the race and comprised the majority of the progressive candidate's campaign spending – as much as 90% in some cases.
- To date, Soros has spent more than **\$40 million** on direct campaign spending over the past decade to elect prosecutors.
- Soros uses a series of **shell organizations, affiliates, and pass-through committees** to steer contributions to both candidates and his robust support network for progressive prosecutors, which provide gravitas and perks to preferred prosecutors.

Soros-Linked Prosecutors Oversee:

20% OF AMERICANS



and

over 40% OF U.S. HOMICIDES



Over the past decade, a wave of “social justice” candidates have been elected as the chief prosecutor in jurisdictions across the United States. Most of these prosecutors pursue radical justice policies upon assuming office including eliminating bail, dismissing felony cases, and seeking lenient sentences while creating antagonistic relationships with their public safety partners, especially the police.

Crime and violence surged following the election of many of these reform prosecutors. And critically, the rise in most of these prosecutors’ jurisdictions predates the nation-wide 2020 crime spike.

The dramatic policy shifts and its consequences did not arise in a vacuum but were the product of dozens of individual local elections over the past decade. Since America’s more than 2,300 district attorneys are elected at the ballot box (often on a partisan basis),² this study examines how extremely wealthy donors including billionaire George Soros funded these candidates’ campaigns and built a political and policy infrastructure to coordinate these prosecutors’ policy decisions once in office.

This study identifies at least 75 “progressive” or “reform” prosecutors elected to serve as the chief law enforcement officer in their respective cities, counties, or judicial districts. In fact, these so-called “progressive prosecutors” now preside over jurisdictions home to more than one in five (~22% or 72 million) Americans.³

The scale of their jurisdictional reach includes 25 of America’s 50 most populous municipalities stretching from Seattle to Orlando, and from Philadelphia to Los Angeles. But that reach is not confined to urban centers with self-proclaimed “social justice” local prosecutors elected across 30 states both small (e.g., Mississippi and Hawaii) and large (e.g., California and New York) and in communities ranging from the wealthy suburbs of Washington, D.C. to the rural farming communities of Central Wisconsin.

These prosecutors’ influence over our justice system and public safety is even greater when crime volume is accounted for. In 2021, more than 40% (9,000+) of the approximately 22,500 homicides in the US occurred in areas overseen by these DAs.⁴ Similarly, these jurisdictions reported more than a third of all violent and property crime last year.

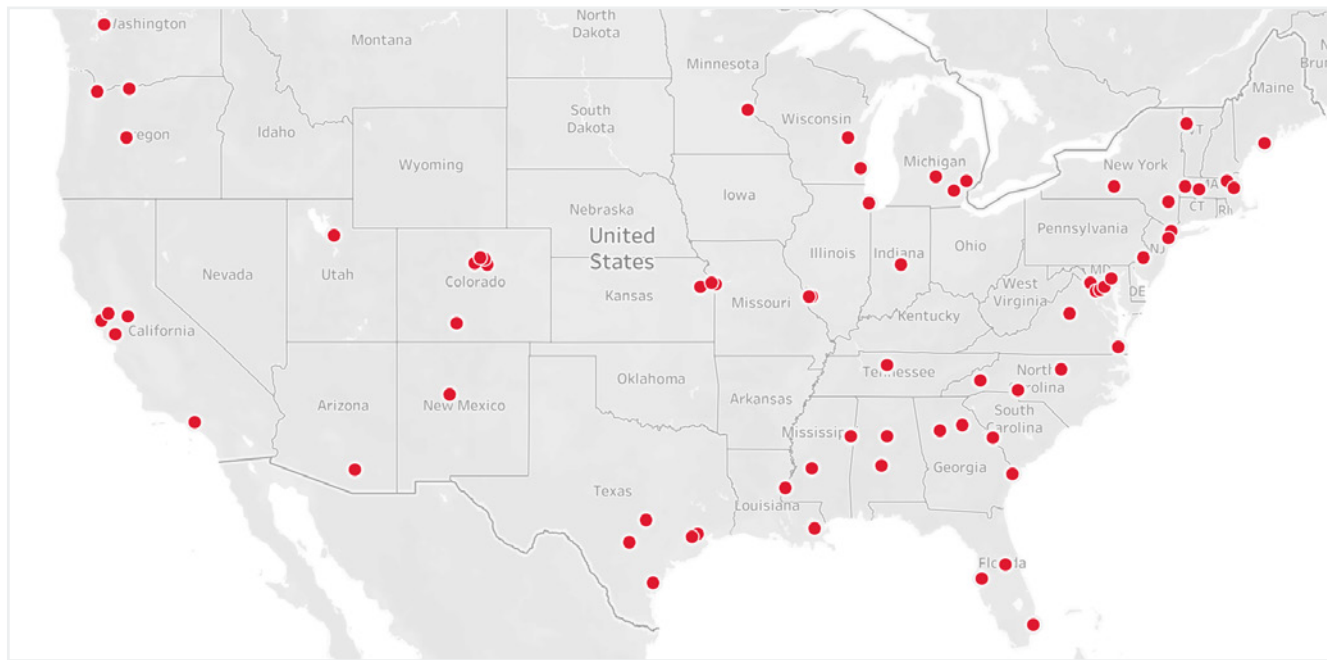
As a result, these prosecutors’ charging and plea deal decisions, sentencing recommendations, and trial strategies have significant implications for the justice system as a whole. As beneficiary offenders’ crimes are not bounded by map lines, neighboring communities can and do reap the consequences.

METHODOLOGY

The 75 Soros DAs were identified as local elected prosecutors currently holding office as of January 2022 and meeting two of the following three criteria:

1. Receiving campaign support from Soros-funded or affiliated groups;
2. Participating in Soros groups’ sponsored programming including conferences, trips, and forums;
3. Signing 3 or more public statements or amicus briefs coordinated by Soros-funded criminal justice groups (i.e. Fair and Just Prosecution).

Soros-Linked Prosecutor Locations



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Soros prosecutors have jurisdiction over 72 million Americans including 25 of America’s 50 most populous cities and counties. Their power stretches from large urban centers to leafy suburbs and rural farming communities.

A Constellation is Born: The Origins and Financing of the Progressive Prosecutor Project

The nexus of this progressive prosecutor movement is the billionaire George Soros who has invested huge sums of his vast fortune (2017 value: \$23 billion) into the criminal justice reform infrastructure, well before the George Floyd incident and protests. In August 2016, Politico noted Soros' move in an aptly titled piece, "George Soros' quiet overhaul of the U.S. justice system."⁵

In 2014, Soros gave \$50 million to the ACLU for criminal justice efforts. That grant alone was 35% more than the ACLU's total revenues for the year prior and double the group's total net assets.⁶

At the same time, Soros was standing up a much broader network of interest groups, shifting his giving's focus more heavily toward domestic political matters. His Open Society network of organizations had bequeathed hundreds of millions in the previous decades, and he had personally donated tens of millions to American political causes but by the early 2010s, Soros identified an opportunity to use his hefty fortune to make a more direct and efficient impact than giving to political parties and candidate committees which are limited by their short lifecycles and personal ambitions.

He began to build a network of well-financed, professional but utterly ideologically committed organizations that not only shared his purpose but were dependent on his largesse, and often were his brainchild. These political progeny [with a few exceptions] were created out of the ether and funded mostly, if not entirely, by Soros himself.

Simultaneously, Soros launched the Democracy Alliance to serve as a political investment club for uber rich progressive donors and foundations. Supporters or members of the club had to pay dues and pledge a minimum amount (\$300,000 in 2018) to network-endorsed organizations each year.⁷

The Democracy Alliance grew in size over the decade to include over 200 high-net worth liberal givers (e.g., Tom Steyer, the American Federation of Teachers, etc.) and scores of activist outfits ranging from thinktanks and campaign committees to public relations shops and

a sundry list of single-issue advocacy groups. It holds semi-annual conferences for its financial supporters and would-be grantees to audition for contributions, reminiscent of a left-wing "Shark Tank," with each supplicant's appearance curated, role detailed, and pitch highly produced for the mega-wealthy audience.⁸

In addition to the network of other donors, Soros himself set up and funded a bevy of justice reform groups almost exclusively donating directly or through "pass-through" organizations that bolstered his radical vision for criminal justice reform.

Notably, the Drug Policy Alliance, the most prominent and influential drug legalization pressure group, is largely funded by Soros who serves as the chairman of its board.⁹

The web of Soros-linked and financed criminal justice reform groups is both deep and wide to include 527 political action committees (PACs), and 501(c)(4) "social welfare" advocacy organizations or "dark money" groups, charitable foundations as well as dozens of traditional 501(c)(3) nonprofit organizations who conduct research, provide technical training, and conduct advocacy campaigns. Most, if not all, of these Soros-linked groups are tied to the broader Democracy Alliance project as grantors and grantees – sometimes both – helping to obscure the true source of funds.

The Soros-linked criminal justice network includes dozens of other activist groups, research organizations, charitable funds, and even media outlets who are affiliated directly with Soros and the Democracy Alliance's funding and infrastructure. These include the activist group Color of Change, the campaign arm Texas Organizing Project, Justice Policy Institute, John Jay College of Criminal Justice's Institute for Innovation in Prosecution, Atlantic Philanthropies, Civic Participation Action Fund, and the news site The Marshall Project.¹⁰

Profiling Soros-Funded Progressive Prosecutor Groups



The Tides Center bills itself as an “incubator,” helping to stand-up progressive groups.¹¹ It chiefly acts a donor pass-

through organization Between 2016 and 2020, Soros’ Open Society Foundation gave the Center along with its sister organizations, the Tides Foundation and Tides Advocacy, over \$30 million.¹² Open Society via Tides earmarked \$3 million for the Soros-affiliated “Alliance for Safety and Justice” and its subsidiaries. Other Soros-linked pass-through vehicles include NEO Philanthropy Fund, the New Venture Fund, and the Sixteen Thirty Fund.¹³



Brennan Center is a thinktank located at New York University, heavily funded by Soros and affiliated donors. Brennan Center conducts research on legal topics, with a focus on criminal

justice and elections.¹⁶ Its criminal justice work advocates for “de-carceration” initiatives including bail reform, mass prison releases due to COVID, and reducing sentences. It often publicly defends progressive prosecutors from criticism and hosts them on its conference panels to tout their reforms.¹⁷ Brennan also employs the public relations firm Berlin Rosen, which also happens to be the largest expenditure item for nearly all Soros DA campaign spending.¹⁸



Vera Institute for Justice is a thinktank that takes a more hands-on approach to change, engaging in direct advocacy as well as providing research and technical assistance. As technical advisor, Vera is paid by taxpayers to implement the policies of Larry Krasner, George Gascon, and Steve Descano.¹⁹ Simultaneously, Vera defends and celebrates the same prosecutors including Kim Foxx and Marilyn Mosby, feting both at a private spa retreat in 2019 paid for by Vera.²⁰ Vera received a \$10 million grant from Open Society Foundation in 2016 and at least another \$1 million since then.²¹ Since 2008, Vera has received over \$800 million in federal grants including \$89 million in FY2021.



Fair and Just Prosecution (FJP) is a “project of the Tides Center” and serves as professional development and advocacy arm of the

progressive prosecutor movement, issuing policy statements and amicus briefs as well as taking its member-prosecutors on domestic and international junkets. In 2019, over two dozen Soros-linked DAs traveled (all expenses paid) on FJP junkets to Scotland, Germany, Portugal, and Kenya. [Baltimore’s Marilyn Mosby and St. Louis’ Kim Gardner later came under scrutiny for failing to publicly disclose the paid travel as in-kind gifts].¹⁴



Safety and Justice is the umbrella name for a series of Soros-funded organizations at the national, state, and local level pushing for progressive criminal justice policies. Their activities include direct lobbying, public media campaigns, paid political campaigns, and coalition efforts. Subsidiaries including the “Partnership,” “Alliance,” “Crime Survivors” and “Texas” for “Safety and Justice.”¹⁵

Campaign Cash: Following the Progressive Prosecutor Money

This study explores how money flows from George Soros and his affiliated organizations into the campaigns to elect progressive prosecutors, profiling ten (10) district attorneys who won election with significant financial backing from Soros directly or through third parties that Soros financed. It also identifies at least 30 others that received campaign funding from Soros or Soros-backed groups. While many of remaining 35 prosecutors' campaigns have been funded by Soros, the details could not be confirmed with certainty. But their identification as a "Soros DA" is based on receiving assistance from the Soros constellation while in office **and** their public endorsements of statements issued by Soros affiliates.

The breadth and depth of this constellation of groups is difficult to see at first glance because the financial and advocacy relationships between the organizations, donors, and their personnel are often knotted and opaque.

This "daisy chain" strategy allows Soros to keep arms-length from the direct activities of a group he finances*. To account for this process, this report identified dozens of recently elected local prosecutors and examined their campaign disclosures to identify major direct and indirect contributors using state and local campaign finance databases then identified which individuals or organizations funded the direct campaign contribution or independent expenditure.

Many of the identified contributing organizations were entirely funded by George Soros like Virginia's Justice and Public Safety PAC. Others like Illinois Safety and Justice PAC included mingled funds between Soros and another organization (e.g., Civic Participation Action Fund) which he also funded.

Funding is considered Soros-sourced if campaign spending is:

1. directly from Soros via a sole source organization; OR
2. through majority Soros-funded third-party entities.

Tracing the source of those funds, this report finds that George Soros contributed at least \$13 million in those ten races from 2018 to 2021**. According to the Los Angeles Times, Soros spent at least \$19.3 million on prosecutor's races prior to 2018. Combining those totals with known sums spent on other DA races, Soros has spent more than \$40 million to put (and keep) progressive prosecutors in power.²³ The total figure is likely to be much higher.

Those represent direct campaign spending by Soros-funded or controlled*** groups and do not include the profuse amounts spent on policy infrastructure to support progressive prosecutors' efforts including media relations, sponsored academic or thinktank papers, lobbying campaigns, and grassroots organizing.

**To Soros' credit, the billionaire is one of the most transparent of large political and charitable givers – providing a [partial] list of his Open Society grants on its own website and listing his own name on campaign disclosure forms for many of the political action committees he supports.²² At the same time, Soros often pools his money with other large donors in organizations that give to a second party and onward to a third and fourth before money reaches a campaign or the final purpose.*

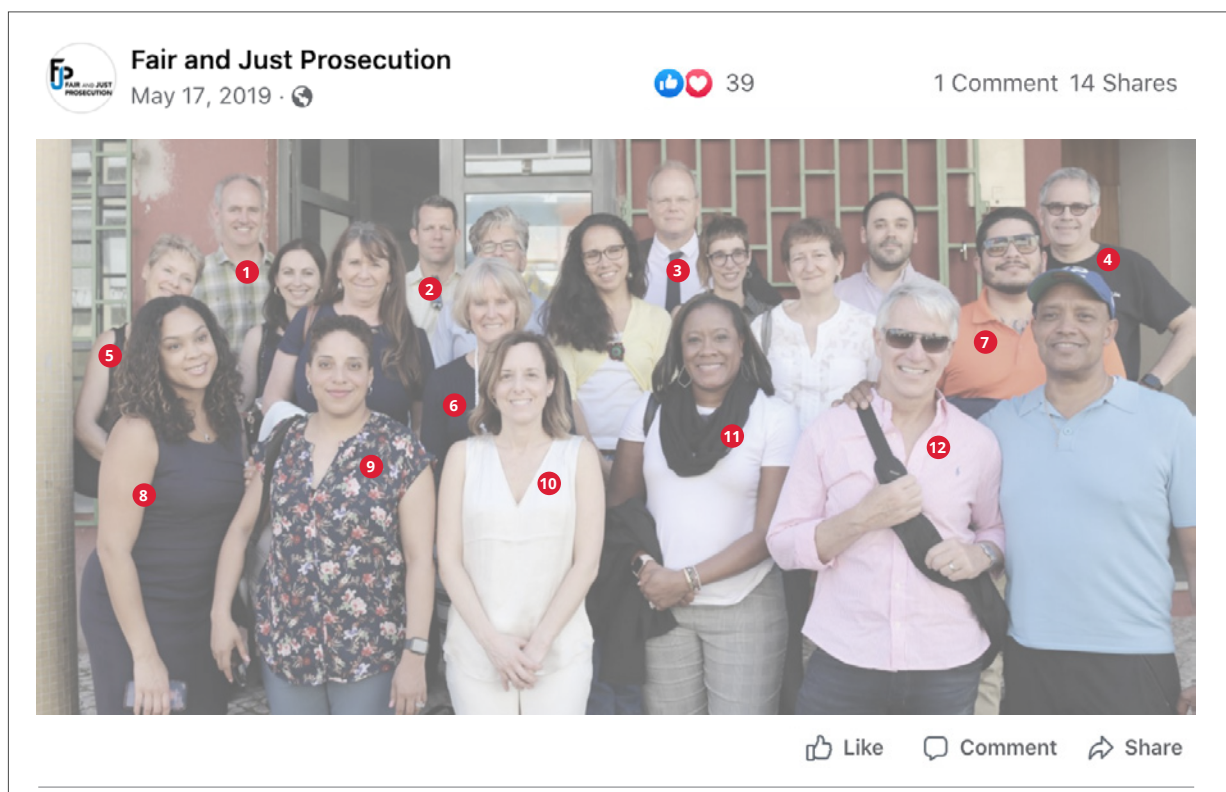
***For accuracy, all numbers are lower bound figures that can be confirmed by publicly available sources. These likely undercount the true contribution amounts.*

****Spending is determined to be by a Soros-funded or controlled group if Soros is the primary (majority) donor to that PAC in that election cycle or timeframe and his donation equaled or exceeded the amount spent on the candidate in that period.*

In addition to his \$50 million gift to the ACLU for criminal justice reform in 2014, Soros' Open Society Foundation pledged \$150 million in 2020 to "racial justice" groups including Color of Change and the Equal Justice Initiative, which both work to elect and support progressive prosecutors.²⁴ Another \$70 million is allocated to "local grants supporting changes to policing

and criminal justice."²⁵ All told, Soros has contributed hundreds of millions of dollars – possibly well over a billion dollars – to organizations directly and indirectly that constitute the progressive prosecution infrastructure on top of the more than \$40 million in campaign financing.

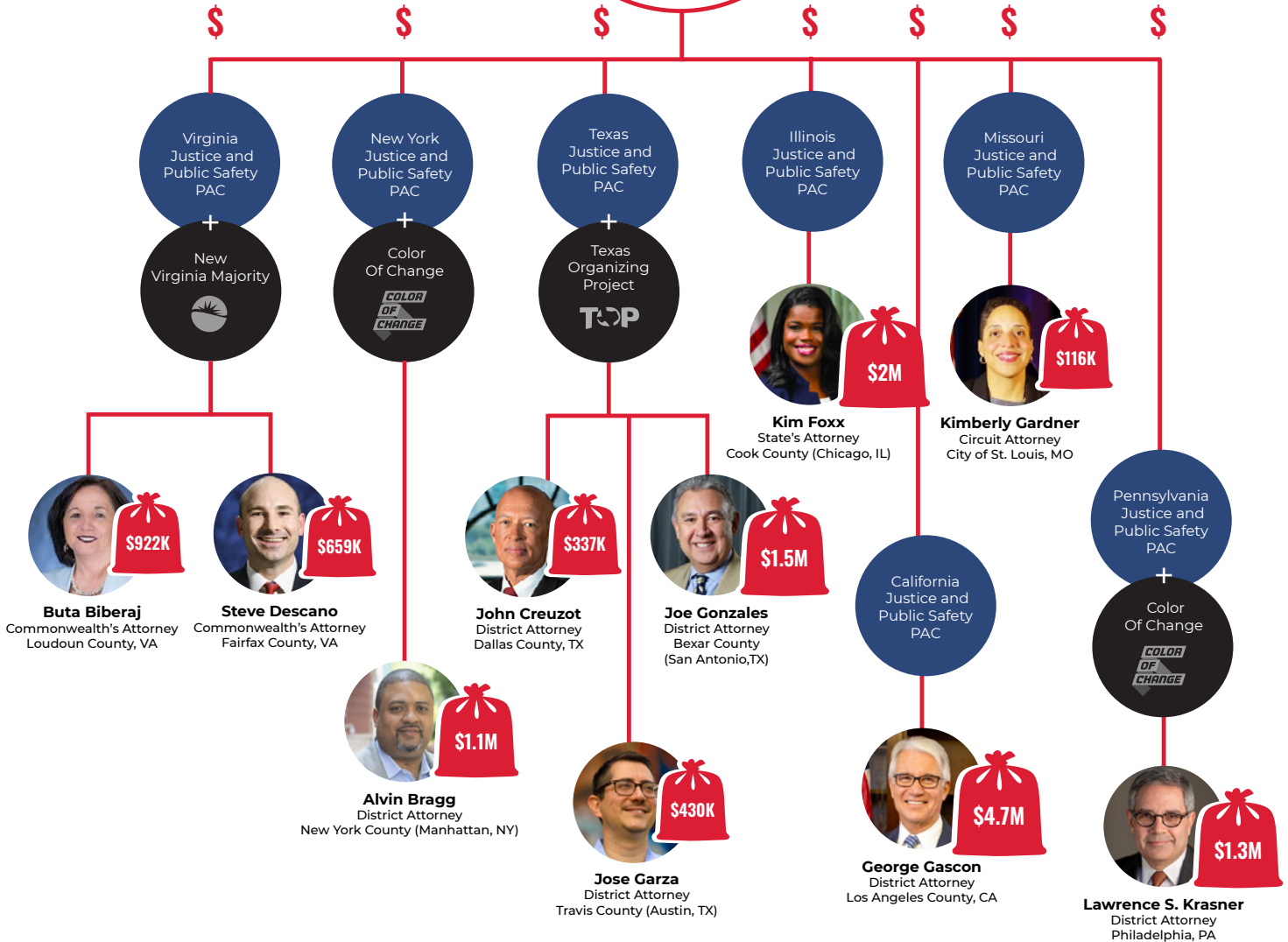
2019 Soros-Funded Trip to Portugal



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| 1. Christian Gossett, (Winnebago County, WI) | 7. Mark Gonzales (Nueces County, TX) |
| 2. Andrew Warren (Hillsborough County - Tampa, FL) | 8. Marilyn Mosby (Baltimore City, MD) |
| 3. Dan Satterberg (King County - Seattle, WA) | 9. Kim Gardner (St Louis, MO) |
| 4. Larry Krasner (Philadelphia, PA) | 10. Andrea Harrington (Berkshire County, MA) |
| 5. Carol Siemon (Ingham County, MI) | 11. Diana Becton (Contra Costa County, CA) |
| 6. Beth McCann (Denver, CO) | 12. George Gascon (Los Angeles County, CA) |

Soros Donations to Prosecutor Candidates (2018-2021)

George Soros



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George Soros has spent over **\$40 million** in the past decade to elect progressive prosecutors.

4 Years, 10 Prosecutors, \$13 million in Soros Cash

By examining ten progressive district attorney's races from 2018 through 2021, this study finds that George Soros represented the single largest source of campaign funds, and in nearly all cases the overwhelming majority, spent to elect these progressive prosecutors.

Across ten prosecutor contests over the four year period (2018-2021), Soros contributed a total of \$13 million directly or through majority Soros-funded third-party groups.²⁶

2018

Joe Gonzales (Bexar County, Texas) received nearly \$1.5 million from Soros in his 2018 race to become the chief prosecutor for San Antonio, where homicides have soared by 50% since he became district attorney. Gonzales received 82% of his funds from Soros sources.²⁷



John Creuzot (Dallas County, Texas) received \$337,000 or about half of all the spending on his campaign from Soros and the Texas Organizing Project, which Soros also funds.²⁸

2019

Buta Biberaj (Loudoun County, Virginia) received a total of \$922,000 through solely Soros funded Justice and Public Safety PAC (\$861,039) and New VA Majority (\$61,496), which Soros substantially funds and passed money back and forth between Soros entities during the cycle. Excluding self-funding, Soros funds constituted 84% of Biberaj's total contributions.²⁹



Steve Descano (Fairfax County, Virginia) received a total of \$659,000 from the same Soros-backed groups that Biberaj did. Nearly 70% of Descano's contributions came from Soros.³⁰

2020

Jose Garza (Travis County, Texas) received over \$430,000 from Soros including \$409,000 from the Texas Justice and Safety PAC which also funded the campaigns of Gonzalez and Creuzot.³¹



George Gascon (Los Angeles County, California) received \$4.7 million through the CA Justice and Public Safety PAC which Soros bankrolled. Pro-Gascon forces included other megadonors and Democracy Alliance members who combined for another \$6 million in funds.³²

Kim Foxx (Cook County, Illinois) received \$2 million from Soros in her successful 2020 bid for re-election after receiving \$708,000 of Soros help in her first run in 2016.³³



Kim Gardner (St Louis City, Missouri) received \$116,000 from the Missouri Safety and Justice Committee in her 2020 re-election effort after taking in \$208,000 from the same Soros-funded group in her first winning race for prosecutor.³⁴

2021

Larry Krasner* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) received a combined \$1,259,000 from Soros-funded groups in his re-election, after winning the office with \$1.7 million from Soros (90% of his 2017 total).³⁵



Alvin Bragg (New York County, New York) won his competitive race to succeed Manhattan's longtime DA, Cy Vance, with the help of at least \$1,072,000 from Soros via the New York Justice and Public Safety PAC and Color of Change PAC. Bragg also received substantial help from the state's Working Families' Party and other smaller groups which Soros partly funds.³⁶

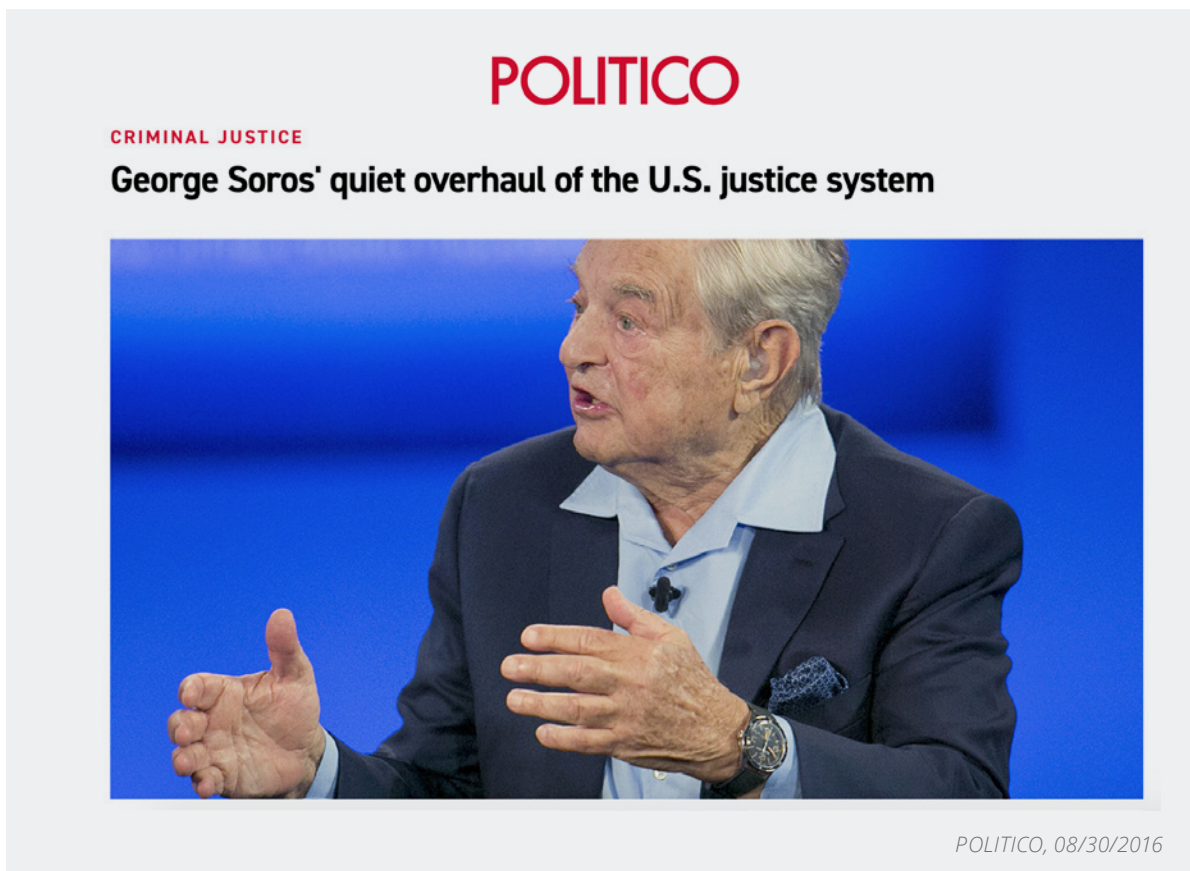
**Totals only include amounts spent on the re-election of these candidates and are exclusive of contributions in previous elections.*

Combined with other known contributions to social justice DA candidates, George Soros has spent over \$40 million in the past decade to elect progressive prosecutors.³⁷

Recent known Soros contributions include:

- Jody Owens (Hinds County, Mississippi) – \$500,000³⁸
- Monica Worrell (Orange and Osceola Counties, Florida) – \$1,500,000³⁹
- Parisa Dehghani-Tafti (Arlington County, Virginia) – \$700,000⁴⁰
- Ramin Fatehi (Norfolk, Virginia) – \$228,000⁴¹
- David Clegg (Ulster County, New York) – \$240,000⁴²
- Shalena Cook Jones (Chatham County, Georgia) – \$147,000⁴³
- Jason Williams (Orleans Parish, Louisiana) – \$220,000⁴⁴
- Jack Stollenmaier (Delaware County, Pennsylvania) – \$185,000⁴⁵
- Shani Curi Mitchell (Monroe County, New York) – \$800,000 [defeated, 2019]⁴⁶
- Pamela Price (Alameda County, California) – \$984,000 [defeated, 2018]⁴⁷
- Genevieve Jones-Wright (San Diego County, California) – \$1,584,000 [defeated, 2018]⁴⁸
- Noah Phillips (Sacramento County, California) – \$497,000 [defeated, 2018]⁴⁹

Soros is also poised to spend millions more to fight the looming recall of Los Angeles DA George Gascon and is seeking to install his preferred prosecutor candidates in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Alameda County and Orange County, California in 2022.



The Consequences of Soros-Funded Progressive Prosecution

1

POLITICS

How One Progressive Prosecutor Paved the Way for an East Coast Shooting Spree

Washington Free Beacon, 03/29/2022

Gerard Brevard III, a repeat offender with outstanding charges, broke into a hotel in late 2020 and attempted to abduct and rape a hotel maid. He was later found to have a gun. Prosecutor Steve Descano reduced the felony charges, which carried a 26 year to life sentence, down to misdemeanors and released him after five months. The following spring, Brevard shot five homeless men in cold blood in New York City and Washington D.C., killing two.

2

NEWS

Murder convict vows to get 'woke' LA County DA's name tattooed on face

New York Post, 04/18/2022

LA's George Gascon has stopped pursuing "gang enhancements" for crimes committed in furtherance of a criminal conspiracy as discriminatory. Gang members love him for it as one killer's potential sentence has been slashed.

3

Dismissal of St. Louis murder cases stems from problems in prosecutor's office

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 07/20/2021

Kim Gardner presides over the per-capita homicide capital of the United States and yet her office has been unable to even show up at murder trials, resulting in defendants being released and others having their cases dropped due to her incompetence.

4

How a Chicago murder suspect was charged, then uncharged, in an extraordinary behind-the-scenes battle among law enforcement

Chicago Sun-Times, 09/27/2021

Kim Foxx, who refused to prosecute Jussie Smollett for his hate crimes hoax, fails to prosecute many of Chicago's worst offenders and has drawn the ire of both the police and the city's liberal mayor for letting killers back on the street.

5

DA Krasner's statement that the city has no crime crisis generates a debate - and a backlash

Philadelphia Inquirer, 12/7/2021

Larry Krasner's bloody time in office has seen the City of Brotherly Love's homicide rate skyrocket – well before the Floyd unrest – hitting 562 killings for the first time in its history – double its total in the years before he took office. But according to Krasner, there's no crisis, or at least he shares no blame.


Endnotes


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