PROGRESSIVE POSERS:

WORKERS UNITED AND A HISTORY OF HYPOCRITICAL INVESTMENTS





WORKERSUNITED FACTS.COM

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HYPOCRITICAL INVESTMENTS



Fossil Fuel-Based \$720,184,000



Private Prisons \$1,217,000



Crowd Control \$8,615,000



Guns & Ammo \$6,542,000



Big Tobacco \$62,292,000

Total: \$798,850,000

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Service Employees International Union affiliate Workers United is the largest shareholder of "union controlled" Amalgamated Bank, and is often described as its majority owner. Both Workers United and the bank have put forth an image of progressive values and social responsibility. A closer look at the groups reveals a picture of a union and bank that could more aptly be described as "progressive posers."

To understand the close ties between these two parties, consider their history: Amalgamated Bank was created by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America – the predecessor to Workers United – in 1923.

The following report shows evidence of questionable leadership and hypocritical investments reported to the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission in industries – including fossil fuels, tobacco, gun manufacturing, and more – that the union and bank oppose. All the while, Workers United's most active campaign – Starbucks Workers United – is organizing a younger generation of baristas across the country, presenting an image that aligns with workers' progressive values.

KEY FINDINGS:

• Amalgamated Bank reports investments to the SEC of more than \$700 million in fossil fuel-based companies, while maintaining that "none" of the bank's money or "your" money funds the "oil and gas or coal industries." Amalgamated Bank once shared a press release dedicated to criticizing banks that have "invested nearly \$2T in fossil fuels" since the Paris Climate Accords, while increasing its SEC-reported investments – to the tune of over 500,000 shares of ExxonMobil stock – during the same period.

- Amalgamated Bank reports investments to the SEC of nearly \$10 million in private prison and crowd control companies, despite claiming to be "very concerned" about the growth of the private prison industry. These private prison companies are the same groups that have been used to detain undocumented immigrants at the border and have been accused of compliance in former President Trump's family separation policy. One of the crowd control companies allegedly manufactured tear gas used in Ferguson, MO. Amalgamated Financial led a lawsuit against one of these groups and claimed it ran "low quality prisons that caused multiple deaths and did not save money." Amalgamated Bank has yet to divest investments it exercises discretion over from the company it led the lawsuit against.
- Amalgamated Bank reports investments to the SEC of nearly \$70 million in tobacco and gun/ammunition companies. This comes despite its boasts about investing in "tobacco-free" funds and claims that banks can have a positive impact on gun violence by refusing to invest in "companies that manufacture or distribute firearms, weaponry or ammunition."
- The high-profile leader of Starbucks Workers United, Jaz Brisack, has a history of making controversial statements and arguments. In 2017, Brisack described Rasmea Odeh a Palestinian convicted murderer who confessed to placing a bomb in an Israeli supermarket that killed two people as a "freedom fighter" and "political prisoner." Brisack has endorsed the boycott, divestment, and sanction movement against Israel and claimed the country is guilty of "apartheid" and that Palestinians are "regularly shot in the streets." Brisack has said "From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be Free," a statement condemned by the Anti-Defamation League as "implying the dismantling of the Jewish State."

METHODOLOGY

INVESTMENTS

13F-HR

Amalgamated Bank investments were analyzed by looking at the bank's Dec. 31, 2022, Form 13F-HR filing with the SEC.

• 13F-HR reports are required to be filed by any institutional investment manager who exercises investment discretion over \$100 million or more in U.S. equity securities. According to Federal Regulation Title 17, Chapter II, Part 240.13f-1, "Every institutional investment manager which exercises investment discretion with respect to accounts holding section 13(f) securities, as defined in paragraph (c) of this section, having an aggregate fair market value on the last trading day of any month of any calendar year of at least \$100,000,000 shall file a report on Form 13F (§ 249.325 of this chapter) with the Commission within 45 days after the last day of such calendar year and within 45 days after the last day of each of the first three calendar quarters of the subsequent calendar year." 1

What is an "institutional investment manager?"

According to the SEC's frequently asked questions about 13F, "An institutional investment manager is an entity that either invests in, or buys and sells, securities for its own account. For example, banks, insurance companies, and broker/dealers are institutional investment managers. So are corporations and pension funds that manage their own investment portfolios.

An institutional investment manager is also a natural person or an entity that exercises investment discretion over the account of any other natural person or entity. For example, an investment adviser that manages private accounts, mutual fund assets, or pension plan assets is an institutional investment manager. So is the trust department of a bank.

A trustee is an institutional investment manager, but a natural person who exercises investment discretion over his or her own account is not an institutional investment manager."

What is an "investment discretion?"

 According to the SEC's frequently asked questions about 13F, "An institutional investment manager exercises investment discretion if: (i) the manager has the power to determine which securities are bought or sold for the account(s) under management; or (ii) the manager makes decisions about which securities are bought or sold for the account(s), even though someone else is responsible for the investment decisions. See Securities Exchange Act Section 3(a)(35), and Rule 13f-1(b) under the Securities Exchange Act.

A manager also has investment discretion with respect to all accounts over which any natural person, company, or government instrumentality under its control exercises investment discretion. See Rule 13f-1(b). For example, by virtue of their corporate relationship, bank holding companies share investment discretion with their bank trust departments, and parent corporations share investment discretion with their subsidiaries." ³

RESEARCH APPROACH



FOSSIL FUEL-BASED

"Fossil Fuel-Based" investments include carbon emitting companies that utilize fossil fuels in the energy and chemical sector (Southern Company, Linde PLC, NextEra Energy), as well as oil, gas, and coal companies (Exxon-Mobil, Chevron, Peabody Energy).

The fossil fuel-based investment total was deduced by adding the reported SEC investment totals of 69 companies from the energy, chemical, oil, gas, and coal sector that were found on Amalgamated Bank's 13F-HR.

The final total does not reflect all fossil fuel-based investments that could be reported on Amalgamated Bank's 13F-HR.



PRIVATE PRISONS

"Private Prison" investments include the two largest private prison operators in the United States; GEO Group and CoreCivic (also the only publicly offered private prison groups based in the U.S.).

A search of Amalgamated Bank's Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR, revealed that the bank held investment discretion over stock in GEO Group and CoreCivic.

The total for private prison investments reported to the SEC was deduced by adding together Amalgamated Bank's reported 13F-HR investments in CoreCivic and GEO Group.



CROWD CONTROL

"Crowd Control" investments include groups that supply weapons to law enforcement, these weapons include tear gas, tasers, and other riot weapons commonly carried by law enforcement officials.

After research into public companies that supply tasers and riot gear to law enforcement, a search of Amalgamated Bank's Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR, revealed that the bank reported investments to the SEC in Cadre Holdings and Axon Enterprise.

Cadre Holdings owns one of the nation's largest tear gas manufacturers and Axon Enterprise is one of law enforcement's leading suppliers of tasers.

The crowd control total was deduced by adding together Amalgamated Bank's reported 13F-HR investments in Axon Enterprise and Cadre Holdings.



GUNS & AMMO

"Guns and Ammo" investments include any publicly held company that manufactures guns or ammunition.

After research into public companies that manufacture guns and ammunition, a search of Amalgamated Bank's Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR, revealed that the bank reports investments to the SEC in Smith & Wesson, Sturm Ruger, The Olin Corporation, and Ammo, Inc.

The guns and ammo total was deduced by adding together the bank's reported 13F-HR investments in Smith & Wesson, Sturm Ruger, Olin Corporation, and Ammo, Inc.



TOBACCO

"Tobacco" investments include any companies that produce tobacco for the creation of cigarettes or smokeless tobacco products.

After research into public companies that manufacture cigarettes and smokeless tobacco, a search of Amalgamated Bank's Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR, revealed that the bank reports investments to the SEC in Philip Morris International and Altria Group.

The tobacco total was deduced by adding together Amalgamated Bank's reported 13F-HR investments in Philip Morris International and Altria Group.

WORKERS UNITED AND AMALGAMATED BANK

"Amalgamated Bank and Workers United are still aligned and united through shared values, support of Collective Bargaining and a clear path towards social and economic advancement for everyone. We are proud to bank Workers United and support their values." 4

—STATEMENT FROM AMALGAMATED BANK

OWNERSHIP

Workers United related parties own over 40% of all Amalgamated Financial stock and share several leadership connections.

AMALGAMATED BANK IS OWNED BY WORKERS UNITED

Amalgamated Bank was founded by the earliest version of the Workers United union.

According to an Aug. 29, 2015, New York Times article, "But doing well by its ideological allies is also good business for Amalgamated, which was founded by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in 1923 to provide loans and savings accounts to garment workers. (That union's successor, Workers United, remains the bank's majority owner.)" 5

WORKERS UNITED OWNS 40% OF SHARES

Workers United owns over 40% of all Amalgamated Financial Stock, making it the largest shareholder. The bank has been described as "union owned" or "union controlled."

 Workers United is the largest shareholder of Amalgamated Financial according to a proxy statement issued by the company in 2021.⁶

CONTROL OF BOARD

Workers United's common stock majority stake allows them to nominate the Chair of the Board of Directors, as well as four additional board members.

According to the 2021, Amalgamated Financial proxy statement, "Pursuant to the 2018 Investor Rights Agreement, so long as the Workers United Related Parties, together with its affiliates and permitted transferees, owns a number of that shares that represent: (i) 10% of the total voting power, the Board of Directors must have exactly 13 members unless a waiver is granted (which such waiver has been granted with respect to our board size); and (ii) 20% of the total voting power, the Workers United Related Parties shall have the right to designate the Chair of the Board of Directors. Additionally, so long as the Workers United Related Parties, together with its affiliates and permitted transferees, owns a number of shares that represents: (i) at least 20% of the total voting power, then the Workers United Related Parties shall have the right to nominate five board members." 7

LEADERSHIP CONNECTIONS

The current president of Workers United, Lynne Fox, was formerly the interim CEO of Amalgamated Bank and was made chair of the bank in 2016. Edgar Romney Sr. and Julie Bracero Kelly – key executives at Workers United – are also directors on the Amalgamated Financial Board.



LYNNE FOX

President of Workers United,
Former Interim CEO and current
Chair of Amalgamated Financial 89



EDGAR ROMNEY SR.

Secretary Treasurer
of Workers United,
Director of Amalgamated Financial 10



JULIE BRACERO KELLY
International Vice-President
of Workers United,
Director of Amalgamated Financial 11

WORKERS UNITED DIVIDEND INCOME

Workers United appears to be supported by its relationship with Amalgamated Bank. Dividend income is the largest category of revenue in Workers United's LM2 receipts (LM2s contain union financial data filed with the Labor Department).

ESTIMATED 85% OF DIVIDEND INCOME

Dividend receipts provided 43% of the total money that Workers United brought in during 2021, the single largest receipt category.

 Total receipts were valued at \$6,366,764 and the dividend receipt total was valued at \$2,714,572.

Estimated dividend income from Amalgamated Financial stock was over \$2.3 million, 85% of the total dividend income received by Workers United.

Money from Amalgamated dividends was estimated based on the current Amalgamated dividend yield (1.7%) and the amount of money Workers United had in Amalgamated Common stock circa 2021 (\$136,269,777).

HYPOCRISY

"We are a B Corp and a socially responsible bank. In fact, we're the country's largest, socially responsible bank and what that means for us is that we simply do not take public positions and we do not invest in things that we think are harmful. What we are very quick to provide is a point of view and lend our voice to what we believe to be socially responsible causes." 13

-PRISCILLA SIMS-BROWN, CEO OF AMALGAMATED BANK

Investment Discretion	Shares	Value
Fossil Fuel-Based	9,930,216	\$720,184,000
Private Prisons	108,166	\$1,217,000
Crowd Control	54,627	\$8,615,000
Guns & Ammo	139,626	\$6,542,000
Tobacco	872,066	\$62,292,000
Total:	11,104,701	\$798,850,000

FOSSIL FUEL-BASED COMPANIES

Fossil fuel-based companies include hydrocarbon exploration/production/distribution companies as well as groups that distribute natural gas and burn fossil fuels to produce electricity and chemicals.

"From deposits to investments, none of our money – or yours – goes to fund the oil and gas or coal industries." 14

—AMALGAMATED BANK

"We are so proud of the work we do in the climate justice space and we can't wait to do even more." 15

—AMALGAMATED BANK

"Our movement stands for racial justice, inclusivity, and sustainability." 16

—STARBUCKS WORKERS UNITED

SEC-REPORTED INVESTMENTS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN FOSSIL FUEL-BASED COMPANIES

Full list of fossil fuel-based investments can be found in endnote ¹⁷.

Amalgamated Bank reported investments to the SEC of 9,930,216 shares of fossil fuel-based companies worth over \$700 million according to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR.

According to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR filing released by Amalgamated Bank: 18

Company	Shares	Value
ExxonMobil	1,074,525.00	\$118,520,000.00
Chevron	480,026.00	\$86,160,000.00
NextEra Energy Inc.	518,021.00	\$43,307,000.00
Linde PLC	131,164.00	\$42,783,000.00
ConocoPhillips	325,733.00	\$38,436,000.00
Duke Energy Corp.	200,486.00	\$20,648,000.00
EOG Resources Inc.	157,688.00	\$20,424,000.00
Southern Company	283,814.00	\$20,267,000.00
Air Products Chemicals	57,726.00	\$17,795,000.00
Related Investments	6,701,033.00	\$311,844,000.00
Total:	9,930,216.00	\$720,184,000.00

FOSSIL FUEL INVESTING SALES PITCH

In 2020, Amalgamated Bank issued a press release claiming that banks had invested nearly \$2 trillion in fossil fuels since the Paris Climate Accords in 2015. Amalgamated Bank used this information as a sales pitch and told potential customers to move to a bank that is "explicitly aligned with your values." Amalgamated Bank also increased its SEC-reported investments in fossil fuel stocks significantly during that time.

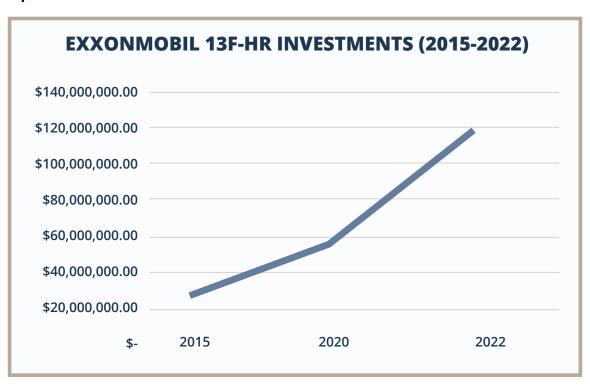
In 2020, Amalgamated Bank issued a press release stating the banking industry had invested \$2 trillion in fossil fuel companies since the Paris Climate Accords.

 According to the Jan. 6, 2020, press release from Amalgamated Bank, "Sometimes people don't know that their bank is contributing to a perilous economy. We often think it's just Wall Street as the bad actor. That's why we see so many people seeking to change their investment strategy. Yet, banks are the financial plumbing behind the scenes. Since the Paris Climate Accords in 2015, banks have invested nearly \$2T in fossil fuels even as the evidence is overflowing as to the damage that causes our planet. Banks provide working capital to gun manufactures, private prisons, tobacco companies, and other extractive industries." ¹⁹

Amalgamated Bank used banking investments in fossil fuels as an opportunity to pitch joining Amalgamated.

According to the Jan. 6, 2020, press release from Amalgamated Bank, "So, before you begin to weed through the messiness of ESG investing, why not start with the most straight forward step and switch your bank to one that is explicitly aligned with your values? Choosing a different bank is a giant leap towards ensuring your family or your businesses' financial future and quality of life. No better day than today to make the switch." 20

The bank reported an increase in 13F-HR investments in Exxon to the SEC during this time period.



This chart is only intended to represent reported investments in the indicated years, and not the years in between.

- According to an SEC 13F-HR filing in 2015, Amalgamated reported 109,734 shares of ExxonMobil stock worth \$8,554,000 when the Paris Climate Accords were launched.
- According to an SEC 13F-HR filing in 2020, Amalgamated reported 621,335 shares of ExxonMobil stock worth 43,357,000.²²
- According to an SEC 13F-HR filing in 2022, Amalgamated reported 1,074,525 shares of ExxonMobil stock worth \$118,520,000.²³

THE VALUE OF SEC-REPORTED 13F-HR INVESTMENTS WILL LIKELY INCREASE FROM WILLOW PROJECT

The ConocoPhillips operated Willow Project is opposed by Starbucks Workers United.

 According to the March 13, 2023, retweet, "We are Gen-Z for Change, a coalition of Gen-Z activists who have worked with @POTUS for the duration of his presidency. Despite our working relationship, we want to make one thing clear – the approval of the Willow Project is a slap in the face to young people across the country."

The Willow Project benefits ConocoPhillips.

 According to a March 14, 2023, CNN article, "ConocoPhillips is a Houston-based energy company that has been exploring and drilling for oil in Alaska for years. The company is the only one that currently has oil drilling operations in Alaska's National Petroleum Reserve, though its two operating projects are smaller than Willow would be.

Willow was proposed by ConocoPhillips and originally approved by the Trump administration in 2020. ConocoPhillips was initially approved to construct five drill pads, which the Biden administration ultimately reduced to three. Three pads will allow the company to drill about 90% of the oil they are pursuing.

The Biden administration felt its hands were tied with the project because Conoco has existing and valid leases in the area, two government sources told CNN. They determined that legally, courts wouldn't have allowed them to fully reject or drastically reduce the project, the sources said. If they had pursued those options, they could have faced steep fines in addition to legal action from ConocoPhillips." ²⁵

Editor's Note: With Amalgamated Bank reporting nearly \$40 million in ConocoPhillips stock per the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR filing, the value of SEC-Reported investments stands to increase.

PRIVATE PRISONS

"Very concerned about the growth of private prisons in this country." 26

—AMALGAMATED BANK CEO PRICILLA SIMS-BROWN

"We do not lend to private prison operators." 27

—AMALGAMATED BANK

PRIVATE PRISON INVESTMENTS

Amalgamated Bank may not lend to private prison operators, but it appears they have no problem investing in them. Amalgamated Bank has SEC-reported investments of thousands of shares of the two largest private prison operators in the country. ²⁸

Amalgamated Bank reports investments to the SEC of 108,166 shares of private prison stocks worth over \$1 million according to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR.

According to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR filing released by Amalgamated Bank:²⁹

Company	Shares	Value
GEO Group	55,575.00	\$609,000.00
CoreCivic	52,591.00	\$608,000.00
Total:	108,166.00	\$1,217,000.00

CORECIVIC & GEO GROUP

GEO Group and CoreCivic hold a significant number of immigrants awaiting deportation.

 According to a Sept. 26, 2022, Reuters article, "The 9th Circuit, in an 8-3 decision, said the government has come to rely almost exclusively on detention centers operated by GEO Group and other companies. California, the largest U.S. state, does not have the authority to interfere with the federal government's operations, the court said.

About 80% of immigrants awaiting deportation hearings are held in private facilities, according to the American Civil Liberties Union and other advocacy groups. Most are operated by GEO Group and rival CoreCivic Inc (CXW.N), but dozens are owned by smaller companies." ³⁰

Both companies were accused of profiting from Trump's family separation policy.

• According to the Business and Human Rights Resource Center, "Human rights organizations and journalists have accused private prison operators CoreCivic and GEO Group and govt. contractors Comprehensive Health Services Inc., Dynamic Service Solutions, Dynamic Educational Systems, General Dynamics and MVM of financially profiting from family separation and detention. An online resource by Corrections Accountability Project, "Immigrant detention: An American business" also alleges that bank and investor financing for CoreCivic & GEO Group supports these two companies to profit from the Trump Administration's harsh immigration policies."31

In 2021, Amalgamated Bank had praised Kamala Harris for supporting decriminalizing border crossings.

• In a Jan. 20, 2021, tweet, Amalgamated Bank praised Kamala Harris for supporting decriminalizing border crossings by undocumented immigrants. ³²

AMALGAMATED BANK LEADS LAWSUIT

In 2016, Amalgamated Bank led a lawsuit accusing CoreCivic of running "unsafe, low quality prisons that caused multiple deaths and did not save money."

 According to a March 27, 2019, Seattle Times article, "Shareholders suing private prison operator CoreCivic won class action status Tuesday for their lawsuit claiming the company inflated stock prices by misrepresenting the quality and value of its services.

CoreCivic's public statements to shareholders have said the Nashville, Tennessee-based company provides a high quality service at a lower cost than government-run facilities. The securities fraud suit claims CoreCivic executives knew those statements were false.

According to the suit, the company formerly called Corrections Corporation of America 'ran unsafe, low quality prisons that caused multiple deaths and did not save money.'

In a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission, CoreCivic has said the shareholder lawsuit is 'entirely without merit.'" ³³

MAJOR BANKS CUT TIES

Six major banks announced they would stop financing private prison companies in 2019.

 According to a Dec. 26, 2019, Equal Justice Initiative article, "Major banks—including Wells Fargo, SunTrust, Bank of America, BNP Paribas, Barclays and Fifth Third Bankcorp—have announced they would stop financing private prison companies after reports of abusive and dangerous conditions in for-profit prisons and detention centers spurred public condemnation." 34

CROWD CONTROL

"This violence must end now and although Derek Chauvin will be punished, that is not enough to fix the systemic racism deeply ingrained in the criminal justice system and our larger society." 35

—AMALGAMATED BANK

"Remove police unions from our labor federations now!" 36

—STARBUCKS WORKERS UNITED

"Finally, as the government attempts to designate anti-fascism as terrorism and as police question protesters about their political beliefs, we want to make it clear: We are Antifa." 37

—WORKERS UNITED UPSTATE NEW YORK

INVESTMENTS IN CROWD CONTROL TECHNOLOGY

Amalgamated Bank reported investments to the SEC in Cadre Holdings and Axon Enterprise. Cadre Holdings is a company that provides tear gas and other crowd control measures to police officers around the United States. Products by Cadre Holdings subsidiary, Safariland/Defense Technology, have allegedly been used on protesters in Ferguson, MO. Axon Enterprise supplies law enforcement officials around the country with tasers and other equipment.

Amalgamated Bank has SEC-reported investments of 54,627 shares of crowd control companies worth over \$8 million according to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR.

• According to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR filing released by Amalgamated Bank:

Company	Shares	Value
Axon Enterprise	51,543.00	\$8,553,000.00
Cadre Holdings	3,084.00	\$62,000.00
Total:	54,627.00	\$8,615,000.00

The investments were added to the 13F-HR after the controversies since the company did not go public until 2021.

 According to a Nov. 4, 2021, Jax Daily Record article, "Cadre Holdings Inc. priced its initial public offering of 6 million shares of stock at \$13 each, and the stock will begin trading Nov. 4 on the New York Stock Exchange.

The price was at the midpoint of the \$12 to \$14 range Cadre indicated in an Oct. 28 registration statement filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission. However, the Jacksonville-based company increased the number of shares from 5.77 million indicated in that statement." 38

CADRE HOLDINGS & SAFARILAND

Cadre Holdings is the parent company of Safariland.

According to a July 12, 2021, Jax Daily Record article, "A Jacksonville-based security products company that was formerly part of publicly traded Armor Holdings Inc. is planning an initial public offering.

Cadre Holdings Inc., which does business mainly under the name Safariland Group, filed a registration statement July 12 with the Securities and Exchange Commission to sell up to \$144 million in stock." ³⁹

Safariland owns Defense Technology, the riot gear and chemical munitions division of the company.

According to a Dec. 6, 2018, Forbes article, "The canisters were made by Defense Technology, a riot gear and chemical munition company that is part of Safariland LLC, a global defense manufacturer based in Jacksonville, Florida." 40

TEAR GAS ALLEGEDLY FIRED AT WOMEN & CHILDREN

In 2018, Safariland/Defense Technology tear gas was allegedly fired at asylum seekers at the US/Mexican border.

According to a Dec. 6, 2018, *Forbes* article, "At the U.S.-Mexico border wall in Tijuana in late November, U.S. border agents fired tear gas canisters at a group of migrants, including women and children. The canisters were made by Defense Technology, a riot gear and chemical munition company that is part of Safariland LLC, a global defense manufacturer based in Jacksonville, Florida. Safariland's majority owner and CEO, Warren Kanders, has made a fortune over the past three decades building a diversified network of defense equipment companies whose customers include the U.S. government as well as U.S. allies including Turkey, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Israel, according the War Resisters League, an organization that promotes nonviolence. Forbes estimates that Kanders is worth at least \$700 million, the majority of which is based on the value of his company." 41

TEAR GAS ALLEGEDLY USED AGAINST ANTI-RACISM PROTESTERS

In 2014, Safariland/Defense Technology tear gas was allegedly used against anti-racism protesters in Ferguson, MO.

 According to an Aug. 14, 2014, Huffington Post article, "The domestic tear gas industry is dominated by three companies -- Jamestown, Pennsylvania-based Combined Systems Inc., Homer City, Pennsylvania-based NonLethal Technologies Inc., and Defense Technology, a Casper, Wyoming-based brand owned by the Safariland law enforcement supply company.

Safariland's Defense Technology appears to be the brand in Ferguson, based on photographs of canisters found on the scene taken by journalists from The Guardian and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Guardian photographer Jon Swaine has also documented explosives in Ferguson that were manufactured by Combined Systems. Ferguson police were not available to comment." 42

CS GAS ALLEGEDLY USED IN PORTLAND PROTESTS

Safariland's crowd control agents allegedly used on Portland protesters were found to contain toxic metal compounds.

• According to an Aug. 26, 2020, Salon article, "the city of Portland recently sent the Oregon Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) information they requested about the chemicals contained in the crowd control agents that have been sprayed on Black Lives Matter protesters by law enforcement since May — and their documents reveal that the tear gas contains chemicals that are apt to pose a health risk to those exposed, particularly given the high quantities sprayed. The documents provide insight into the potential health and environmental hazards posed by the tear gas that has blanketed protesters in the streets of downtown Portland nearly every night for months.

The documents also confirm that the city of Portland sources its tear gas from Safariland, LLC, a 'security products' manufacturer that has faced scrutiny for its role in supplying tear gas used by law enforcement to suppress protests over the death of George Floyd.

The documents sent to DEQ by Portland include a Material Safety Data Sheet (MSDS) for 'Flameless Tri-Chamber Grenade, CS' and a Safety Data Sheet for 'Skat Shell 40 mm Multiple Projectile Round, CS,' both manufactured by Defense Technology, a subsidiary of Safariland, LLC. These types of technical documents are required to be written for industrially produced chemicals and substances, and explain the hazards that said substances pose to human health as well as environmental health." ⁴³

AXON ENTERPRISE

Axon Enterprise is a supplier of tasers for law enforcement use.

According to the company's business profile, "Axon Enterprise, Inc. develops, manufactures, and sells conducted energy devices (CEDs) under the TASER brand in the United States and internationally. It operates through two segments, Software and Sensors, and TASER." 44

Axon has openly admitted that its weapons are not risk free and has been involved in wrongful death lawsuits.

• According to a June 15, 2020, Reuters article, "The question police should be asking is not: 'Can I use the Taser?' but 'Should I?" said Michael Leonesio, a retired police officer who ran the Oakland Police Department's Taser program and has served as an expert witness in wrongful death lawsuits against Axon. This is a dangerous weapon,' Leonesio said. "The more it's used, the more people are going to die."

Axon says its weapons are not risk-free but are safer than batons, fists, tackles and impact munitions. "Any loss of life is a tragedy regardless of the circumstance, which is why we remain committed to developing technology and training to protect both officers and the community," the company said in an email to Reuters." ⁴⁵

GUN & AMMO MANUFACTURERS

"For many years now, we have had a policy of not lending to firearms manufacturers or sellers, and we do not maintain banking relationships with businesses involved in gun sales." 46

—FORMER AMALGAMATED BANK CEO KEITH MESTRICH

'We do not lend to gun, nuclear weapon, or ammunition manufacturers or distributors." 47

—AMALGAMATED BANK

"How can a bank help reduce today's rising gun violence? By committing not to invest its own assets in or lend to companies that manufacture or distribute firearms, weaponry or ammunition." 48

—AMALGAMATED BANK

GUN & AMMUNITION INVESTMENTS

Amalgamated Bank reported investments to the SEC in several gun and ammunition manufacturers, including Smith & Wesson, Sturm Ruger, The Olin Corporation, and Ammo Inc.

Amalgamated Bank reported investments to the SEC of 139,626 shares of Guns and Ammunition stock worth over \$6 million according to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR.

According to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR filing released by Amalgamated Bank: 49

Company	Shares	Value
Olin Corporation	114,160.00	\$6,044,000.00
Sturm Ruger	8,442.00	\$427,000.00
Smith & Wesson	5,951.00	\$52,000.00
Ammo, Inc.	11,073.00	\$19,000.00
Total:	139,626.00	\$6,542,000.00

Smith & Wesson and Sturm Ruger are the largest gun manufacturers in the United States.

 According to a Jan. 9, 2023, MSN piece, Smith & Wesson and Sturm Ruger are ranked as the largest gun manufacturers in the United States.

PUSH FOR MERCHANT CODE FOR GUN PURCHASES

Amalgamated Bank led the fight to approve a new merchant code for gun purchases.

• According to a Sept. 9, 2022, Amalgamated Bank press release, "Amalgamated Bank announced that its application to the International Standards Organization for a new merchant category code (MCC) for gun and ammunition stores was approved. This code is the key to creating new tools that all financial institutions must now use to begin detecting and reporting suspicious activity associated with gun trafficking and mass shootings to the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, the government agency charged with safeguarding the financial system from illicit use.

"We all have to do our part to stop gun violence,' said Priscilla Sims Brown, President and CEO of Amalgamated Bank. 'And it sometimes starts with illegal purchases of guns and ammunition. The new code will allow us to fully comply with our duty to report suspicious activity and illegal gun sales to authorities without blocking or impeding legal gun sales. This action answers the call of millions of Americans who want safety from gun violence and we are proud to have led the broad coalition of advocates, shareholders, and elected officials that achieved this historic outcome." 51

TOBACCO

"They love that we'll invest their resources - and ours - in tobacco-free funds and clean energy portfolios." 52

—AMALGAMATED BANK

"It makes us all feel good to know that together we are investing in not just a carbon and tobacco-free world, but in the process investing in a better tomorrow as well." 53

—AMALGAMATED BANK

TOBACCO INVESTMENTS

Amalgamated Bank reported investments to the SEC of 872,066 shares of tobacco stocks worth over \$60 million according to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR.

According to the Dec. 31, 2022, 13F-HR filing released by Amalgamated Bank:54

Company	Shares	Value
Philip Morris Int.	404,151.00	\$40,904,000.00
Altria Group	467,915.00	\$21,388,000.00
Total:	872,066.00	\$62,292,000.00

QUESTIONABLE LEADERSHIP

"When someone calls you a damn liberal commie and you're offended they called you a liberal because you are a damn commie and liberals are really far right compared to you..."

55

—JAZ BRISACK, LEAD ORGANIZER FOR STARBUCK WORKERS UNITED

JAZ BRISACK

Starbucks Workers United is led by activist Jaz Brisack. Brisack has used disturbing language to describe Israel and defended a convicted Palestinian terrorist in a letter to the editor, calling her a "freedom fighter."

"Palestinians have a right to resist. From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free." 56

—JAZ BRISACK

"If there are any labor organizer/anti-capitalist Truman finalists out there, please get in touch! I'd love to help!" 57

—JAZ BRISACK

"Demand #JusticeforJayarajAndFenix and abolish the police."58

— JAZ BRISACK

DEFENSE OF CONVICTED MURDERER

In 2017, Jaz Brisack defended convicted murderer, Rasmea Odeh, labeling her a "freedom fighter" and "political prisoner."

• According to the April 27, 2017, full length letter to the editor written by Brisack, "It's clichéd but true that all that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing. For this reason, everyone – not just the "left" – has an obligation to stand up for political prisoners like Rasmea Odeh.

On Wednesday, this paper printed an ad hominem attack on Odeh and her supporters. The author labeled her a "terrorist," ignoring the fact that the 69-year-old woman's confession was obtained after torture, including rape and electric shocks, by the Israeli military. He further asserts that Odeh is linked to a Marxist-Leninist group. These bogeyman buzzwords have been used against past freedom fighters, as well.

Nelson Mandela was on the U.S. terrorism list until 2008 for being a Communist, and the similarly left-wing Kurdistan Workers' Party — our ally in the fight against ISIS — remains on it today.

Odeh has been targeted in an attempt to undermine her advocacy for Palestinian liberation. She has called attention to the fact that Israel, guilty of the crime of apartheid, illegally occupies Palestinian land and subjects the Arab population to countless indignities.

Palestinians are regularly shot in the streets. They are subject to arbitrary imprisonment and torture. Many live with the memory and under the constant threat of missiles exploding over their heads, killing their loved ones.

Segregated by 26-foot concrete walls, their homes and gardens are destroyed and illegal Israeli settlements constructed on the ruins. Food, medicine, and other supplies are ruthlessly restricted. Palestinians are seldom allowed to travel, even to see family members or obtain life-saving healthcare.

When we stand up for Rasmea Odeh, we contribute to the fight for justice. We celebrate the resilience, strength and determination that Odeh embodies. Her present plight presents us with a choice: shall we stand with the oppressed or be the oppressor?"⁵⁹

RASMEA ODEH AND PFLP ACTIVITY

On Feb. 21, 1969, two immigrant students were killed after a bomb exploded in an Israeli supermarket.

• According to a March 1, 2022, *Reason* article, "Jerusalem's Supersol was crowded on Friday morning, February 21, 1969, as shoppers hurried to get ready for the coming Sabbath. At about 11:00 a.m., a bomb exploded near the meat counter, ripping through the shelves and ceiling and sending debris flying across the store. Two botany students were killed—immigrant roommates, from South Africa and Uruguay—who were buying supplies for a coming field trip. Dozens were injured, including an Auschwitz survivor and a U.N. attache.⁶⁰

Odeh was ratted out by a co-conspirator and was found with bomb making equipment.

According to a March 1, 2022, Reason article, "It took only a few days for Israeli security officers to show up, in the middle of the night, at the Odeh home in al-Birah. Not only was Rasmea Odeh a known PFLP associate, she had also been ratted out by a co-conspirator who gave up her name, and others, under duress and probably torture. Bombmaking equipment—including timers, detonating cords, and gelignite—was recovered from Odeh's bedroom, as was a receipt from the Supersol."⁶¹

Odeh placed a second bomb at the British consulate and co-conspirators gathered at her home to assemble the explosives.

• According to a March 1, 2022, Reason article, "The true story, which was much later confirmed in documentary interviews on Jordanian television and the Arabic language memoirs of admitted participants in the operation, was that Odeh had visited the Supersol before the date of the operation, purchasing a tin of jam. Later, the conspirators gathered at Odeh's home—her other family members were away—where the explosives were assembled and concealed in the tin. Two of her comrades then returned to the supermarket and placed the tin back on a shelf, figuring that it would not be recognized as out of place. Odeh herself later went back to Jerusalem and planted another bomb at the British consulate, which exploded without harming anyone.

Editor's Note: In Jan. 1970, Odeh was convicted and sentenced to two life sentences in prison for the bombings.^{62 63}

ODEH PRISONER SWAP AND ADMISSIONS OF GUILT

In 1979, Odeh was released by the Israeli government in a prisoner swap.

 According to a Jan. 10, 2022, *Daily Beast* article, "Although sentenced to two life terms in prison for her role in the Jerusalem supermarket bombing and another bombing at the British consulate, Odeh was released in a prisoner exchange with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) on March 14, 1979."⁶⁴

While testifying in Geneva about her treatment in Israel, Odeh lied about her participation in the Jerusalem bombings.

• According to a Jan. 10, 2022, Daily Beast article, "Within the first minutes of her testimony, Odeh began lying about her participation in the PFLP's guerrilla operations. She told the committee that she had never had explosives in her home, that she knew nothing about Palestinian commandos or resistance, and that she had no involvement in the Jerusalem bombings or other 'military operations.' As we will see, all of these assertions were untrue and have been flatly contradicted by Odeh's own words in later interviews as well as by other participants in the bombing."⁶⁵

Shortly after testifying in Geneva, Odeh admitted to placing the bombs.

• According to a Jan. 10, 2022, Daily Beast article, "Shortly after appearing in Geneva, when she was living in Beirut, Odeh was interviewed by the Lebanese journalist Soraya Antonius, to whom she described her involvement with the PFLP and her commitment to "military action," thus contradicting her own sworn testimony. Odeh also admitted her part in the British consulate operation: 'We had placed a bomb there to protest Britain's decision to furnish arms to Israel. Actually we placed two bombs, the first was found before it went off so we placed another."

In 2004, Rasmea Odeh once again admitted to her involvement in the bombings when a co-conspirator discussed choosing "the targets."

• According to a Jan. 10, 2022, Daily Beast article, "In addition, one of Odeh's codefendants has repeatedly named her as among the bombing conspirators. In a 2004 Palestinian documentary titled Women in Struggle, Aisha Odeh (no relation to Rasmea) admitted placing the lethal bomb in the Jerusalem supermarket and explained that she had participated in the implementation rather than planning. 'Rasmiyeh Oudeh was more involved than I was,' she said. 'I placed the bombs,' but Rasmea "scouted the location and chose the targets." With Rasmea sitting next to her and smiling, Aisha thanked her for 'dragging me into military work.""⁶⁷

DEPORTED FROM UNITED STATES FOR LYING ON VISA

In 1996, Odeh moved to the United States after lying on her visa application.

According to a March 2, 2022, Reason article, "Everything changed in 1996 when Odeh's family asked her to move to the U.S., to help her brother care for their cancer-stricken father, both of whom had become U.S. citizens. Odeh fraudulently obtained a family unification visa by lying on the application. She falsely denied ever having committed a crime, claimed she had never belonged to any organizations, and denied ever having been arrested, convicted, or imprisoned."

Odeh was arrested following an FBI investigation into a co-worker.

 According to a March 2, 2022, Reason article, "Odeh's citizenship fraud was discovered by accident during the FBI investigation of one of her coworkers. She was indicted on one count of fraudulently procuring U.S. citizenship in late 2013. Following arraignment in Chicago, her case was set for trial in Detroit, where her naturalization interview had taken place."⁶⁸

Brisack and leftist groups rallied to Odeh's defense by claiming she was only arrested for her "activism."

• According to a March 2, 2022, Reason article, "Progressive, leftist, and mainstream organizations, including the Peace and Justice Committee of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, also rallied to Odeh's defense. Either cynically or credulously, they spread false stories about the case. They claimed that Odeh had been arrested in Israel only for anti-occupation "activism," asserting her innocence of the bombing, and exaggerating the duration and nature of her mistreatment in custody. The AAAN and other leftist groups repeatedly insisted that Odeh's arrest was part of an Israel-inspired conspiracy to crush the Palestinian movement in the U.S."69

Odeh was eventually deported from the United States.

According to U.S. Immigrations and Customs enforcement, "Rasmieh Yousef Odeh, 70, was ordered deported from the United States in August 2017, following a federal immigration fraud conviction, and order revoking United States citizenship. She was removed to Jordan via commercial flight under escort by Detroit-based ERO deportation officers. Upon arrival at the Queen Alia International Airport in Amman, Jordan, she was turned over to Jordanian officials without incident. Odeh is barred for life from reentering the United States."

DISDAIN FOR ISRAEL

Brisack has made incendiary comments about Israel and supports the boycott, divest, and sanction movement.

- According to Brisack's letter to the editor, "Israel, guilty of the crime of apartheid, illegally occupies Palestinian land and subjects the Arab population to countless indignities."
- According to Brisack's letter to the editor, "Palestinians are regularly shot in the streets. They are subject to arbitrary imprisonment and torture. Many live with the memory and under the constant threat of missiles exploding over their heads, killing their loved ones."
- According to Brisack's letter to the editor, "Segregated by 26-foot concrete walls, their homes and gardens are destroyed and illegal Israeli settlements constructed on the ruins. Food, medicine, and other supplies are ruthlessly restricted. Palestinians are seldom allowed to travel, even to see family members or obtain life-saving healthcare."
- According to a May 5, 2019, tweet, "STOP BLAMING THE VICTIM. Palestinians have the right to resist. From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free."⁷⁴
- According to a Jan. 10, 2019, tweet, "Kyrsten Sinema joined Republicans (and Manchin and Menendez) in voting to criminalize BDS, the movement to put pressure on apartheid in Israel for violating human rights in Palestine. This is what we should be talking about, not Mike Pence's facial expression at her swearing-in."

REJECTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Brisack has suggested that the police should be abolished and supports removing them from unions.

- According to a June 29, 2020, tweet, "Demand #JusticeforJayarajAndFenix and abolish the police."
- According to a Jan. 28, 2023, retweet, "Remove police unions from our labor federations now!"⁷⁷

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