Testimony of Karin Yaniv
University of California at Berkeley

United States House of Representatives Committee on Education and Workforce
Subcommittee on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions

Hearing: September 9, 2025
Testimony Submitted: September 23, 2025

Chairman Allen, Ranking Member DeSaulnier, and the Honorable Members of the Committee,

Thank you for the opportunity to share my story. My name is Karin Yaniv, and I am a postdoctoral fellow in UC Berkeley's Department of Plant and Microbial Biology. I was born in Israel, where I earned my doctorate in biotechnology engineering from Ben-Gurion University and worked on bacterial communication and the early detection of Covid-19.

I came to UC Berkeley in 2022 to study bacterial resistance to antibiotics. My research is not political; it is about saving lives. I want to improve the lives of people in Israel, in America, and throughout the world regardless of race, color, or creed.

But my union's treatment of me, which I believe is discrimination on the basis that I am Jewish and Israeli, stands in my way.

How the Union Turned Against Me

The United Auto Workers Local 4811, which represents me and nearly 50,000 other University of California employees, has a long history of anti-Israel sentiment. And over the past two years, I have witnessed that sentiment escalate into what I have alleged is outright hostility and anti-Semitic discrimination. It has even spawned what I can only describe as a totalitarian effort to purge Jews and Israelis from Berkeley's academic life.

Days after Hamas's terror attacks against Israel on October 7, while the Jewish community was experiencing heartbreak and fear, the UAW released a statement that condemned Israel and blamed it for the "escalation" of violence [Exhibit A].

To me and other Israelis at UC Berkeley—some of whom had family members killed or taken hostage by Hamas—it was like a knife in the back. The union that claimed to represent us was condemning our homeland in our name.

UAW officials soon put actions to their words. They promoted anti-Israel protests and walkouts on social media and established a self-described "Union Village" within one anti-Israel encampment on campus [Exhibit B]. And at rallies, union officials and members chanted offensive slogans including, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free"—a phrase that many Jews, including me, hear as a call for the elimination of Israel. In fact, in 2024, the House of Representatives passed a resolution formally condemning that slogan as anti-Semitic.

This was the environment in which Jewish and Israeli faculty and students were expected to study, work, and teach—an environment I believe the union helped foster, even as each of us in the bargaining unit must accept the union as our exclusive representative.

Israelis and Jews Faced Alleged Discrimination from Union Officials

Faced with this hostility, I and other Israelis and Jews reached out to union leaders to ask for dialogue. We wanted to defuse tensions and create an environment where everyone could feel safe. But the union told us if we were not dues-paying members, they would not listen.

So, I chose to join the union. I naively thought that by showing union officials our common humanity, we could find common ground.

I was wrong. Instead, I experienced more hostility and abuse. And I found a union aligned around a goal that would identify and ostracize Jews at Berkeley.

It quickly became apparent that the union had no intention of listening to us. In union meetings, Israeli members who spoke up were mocked and laughed at. One Israeli member whose family members were kidnapped by Hamas on October 7 was openly ridiculed when she voiced her objections. Watching her pain treated with cruelty was devastating.

The harassment was so relentless that I stopped turning on my camera during Zoom meetings. The mockery and interruptions were simply too much. Meanwhile, union officials did nothing to stop it.

Beyond the verbal abuse, the union also found procedural ways to exclude us. They withheld meeting agendas and disguised what topics meetings would cover in order to control meeting turnout. They even rewrote rules regarding meeting participation in ways that sidelined Israelis and Jews. When I joined the structure-mapping subcommittee of the union's BDS exploratory committee, I was cut out of communications and related activities. A union official told me directly it would be "illegal" to keep me off the main BDS exploratory committee, suggesting, though, that they would find ways to exclude me from the subcommittee.

In the end, it was clear that Israelis and Jews were not full participants. We were treated as second-class members.

Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions by Another Name

In public, union officials passed resolutions in support of the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement and claimed to target programs connected to Israel's military. But their actions showed that they were really aiming at programs and academic partnerships that had *any* connection to Israel or its culture [Exhibit C]. Union officials also pushed the university to adopt BDS precepts through collective bargaining and sought to inspire other unions to do the same. The UAW plainly stated its intention to "set a crucial precedent for all unions in the higher education sector to wage effective BDS campaigns."

When union officials realized they were unlikely to convince UC Berkeley to openly adopt BDS, I discovered that the union was hoping to accomplish the same goals through other means.

Union members drafted a report called "Who Rules the University of California?" that echoed conspiracy theories about Jewish control of world institutions [Exhibit D]. The report identified members of UC Berkeley's Board of Regents who had the slightest connection to Israel—a list of Jews for themselves or potentially others to investigate and target.

The report also listed American or Jewish American philanthropic organizations that have donated money to UC Berkeley, including:

- The Shusterman Family Foundation, a Jewish family foundation from Oklahoma that supports education, democracy, and criminal justice reform.
- The Hewlett Foundation, a California-based foundation that supports environmental programs, the arts, gender equity, and racial justice.

These organizations, together with others listed in the document, are not agents of Israel's military. They are respected American charities that support educational and social causes. Yet the union lumped them together as "Israel-connected" and, therefore, suspect. To me, the message was unmistakable. This was not about policy disagreements with the Israeli government. This was about targeting and excluding Jews, Jewish organizations, and anyone who dared to collaborate with them.

Though UC Berkeley's chancellor personally rejected BDS before this committee this past July, the union continues to push this agenda using different language. In its current bargaining campaign, the union is demanding that the university reveal funding sources for research projects and academic partnerships "to empower workers to follow their conscience."

It sounds like transparency, but I believe the union intends to use this information to create another target list. This one would include research programs conducted by Israelis or connected to Israel or to Jewish philanthropic organizations and would threaten the careers of hundreds of academic personnel, including Jews, Israelis, and those of many other backgrounds.

Let me be clear, the union is not asking for across-the-board transparency. It's answer to "Who rules the University of California" is straightforward: the Jews. The union only shows interest in exposing Jewish or Israeli connections. This is BDS by another name.

Academic Freedom Under Attack

Ultimately, these actions threaten far more than individuals like me. They undermine academic freedom itself.

Academic freedom is supposed to allow scholars to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, without fear of reprisal. But when unions target research funding linked to Jewish or Israeli organizations, they imperil entire labs and academic programs. When they create what look like "hitlists" of Jewish regents or Jewish foundations, they create an atmosphere of intimidation. When they mock and silence Israelis during meetings, they replace dialogue with fear.

I worry that these actions are laying the groundwork for driving Jews and Israelis out of the University of California. And union officials have said they want their campaign to serve as a model for other academic unions across the country.

If that happens, Israeli scholars will think twice before pursuing their careers in the United States. Jewish students will question whether they belong here. And American universities will lose the openness and diversity of thought that make them world leaders.

Litigating to Defend My Civil Rights

I did not come to America expecting to file a lawsuit. I came to study science. But when my union crossed the line from speech into discriminatory actions, I had no choice. With the help of the nonprofit law firm the Fairness Center, I filed a federal anti-discrimination lawsuit against the union under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

After I filed suit, the union sought a protective order barring me from publicly disclosing the identities of those involved in my discrimination claims or even from speaking to law enforcement. Thankfully, the judge in my case rejected the proposed order.

My concern is not the union's speech, which it is free to do. My concern is the union's conduct—my allegations involve discrimination, exclusion, harassment, and an overall hostile work environment.

The UAW's attack on Jews and Israelis as alleged in my case is also an attack on academic principles. It threatens not just individuals like me, but the free exchange of ideas—and the practice of science itself.

I urge the committee to recognize what is happening: that while unions are engaged in public BDS campaigns, they may be cleansing universities of Israelis and Jews through other means.

Thank you for the opportunity to share my story with you and for considering this important issue.

Exhibit A

DEMAND A CEASEFIRE AND AN END TO THE OCCUPATION OF PALESTINE

by UAW2865 | Nov 4, 2023 | Default

October 13, 2023

We mourn the tragic loss of both Palestinian and Israeli lives this week, and we unequivocally condemn the decades-long violent occupation of Palestine that has led to this escalation of horrific violence. As leaders of a diverse and global workforce, and as people of varied faiths and backgrounds, conscience demands that we say clearly: our hearts break for the Israeli families who have lost loved ones, and only break further as these deaths are now used to justify the siege, bombardment, forced transfer, and impending genocide of two million Palestinians in Gaza, over half of them children.

We are proud to continue the UAW's history of standing up for the rights of the oppressed and working classes around the world by calling for urgent and immediate de-escalation and the dismantling of the occupation and apartheid system in Israel-Palestine. Such a resolution is made more difficult with each day and every dollar of continued US military support for Israel's far-right government. But even in the darkest moments we believe in the power of working people to author a just and peaceful future — and just as apartheid fell in South Africa, so are peace and reconciliation possible in Israel-Palestine.

UAW 2865 Executive Board

Exhibit B


UNiON
ViLLAGE
SHAME
ON THE
STILL A ZIONIST IN
2024?

Exhibit C

EC Meeting - 26 February 2024 - Notes

	Intro/Settle-in ● ***Facilitator*: Henry Liu** ● ***Timekeeper*:** ● ***Notetaker:* Chris Geary** ● ***Zoomrunner*: Iris RS** ● ***Next Facilitators:*** Attendance: Henry (he), Meabh (s), Gabe (h), Iris (s), Olive (t), Fatima (s), Jake (h), Ali (h), Lou (s), Bethany (s), Chris (h), Rikhav (h), Shivani (s), Connor (h), … Next meeting roles: ● ***Facilitator*: Iris and Ali** ● ***Timekeeper*:** ● ***Notetaker:*** ● ***Zoomrunner*:** ● ***Next Facilitators:***	Henry Liu
	Code of Conduct ● EC Tentative Code of Conduct Presenting this here as a draft for comments. Questions: Ali: Should we have a mechanism to share our work with similar groups on other campuses? Proposed edit: Appoint fixed individual(s) as liaison with other groups, who can report back to committee. Connor: Like, but maybe simpler to have a whitelist of ppl and groups we can more freely share with. Iris: Since committee is open to all members, perhaps we	Henry Liu

	should specify that nothing should be shared with non-members. Gabe: On one hand, there are ppl within the union who we don't want to share with, and on other, there are e.g. faculty on campus who we could collab with. Henry: Proposed edit: no sharing without authorisation of the committee. Iris: If urgent, could have approval over listserv. Ideally, in person in meeting tho. Rikhav: 24-hour unanimous voting. Anyone can object and if more than 2 object, veto sharing until next meeting. Consensus: Simple maj to approve sharing in regular meeting. Ali: Various campus groups pursuing BDS. Would be good to think more broadly about interfacing with such groups beyond sharing notes, etc. Thinking of GSJP. Iris: Amr is dedicated liaison with GSJP. He seems like natural point person. Motion to adopt: Chris. Rikhav second. No objections. Adopted. Addendum: Jake - If sharing this agenda on UAW drive, isn't this counter to code of conduct just adopted? Iris: We did discuss this proposal at last meeting - prevents us from losing docs by 1 person going rogue, and don't depend on one person owning the doc. Lou: Who's in the google group rn? Iris: In shared drive, elected officers from UCB have access too. Olive: Motion to authorise sharing docs on UAW Listserv. Maebh: Clarify who? Olive: Head stewards, unit chair, rec sec, and statewide EB (Pres, VPs, trustees). Chris: Second. Lou: Objection - I think we should share based on reqs rather than passively. Iris: I am open to this. This was only for security reasons. Gabe: Unlikely that Fatima or I will go rogue, but doubly safe. Bethany: Could we not make a shared drive not through the union. Olive: Can only have one owner on a google doc etc. Owner is a union email. Ali: Object to having this on union sharedrive. Last JC, things got nasty re BDS. Tension with people on EB. Gabe: Propose tabling this for now, to give time to think of alternative. [Consensus].	

	UC Structure Report Structure WG: summary for 2/26 meeting Gabe: Regents are highest power. 18 appointed by CA governor (often having donated to campaign). 7 are ex officio (e.g. President, Governor). 1 student regent. 4 non-voting regents. Make biggest financial decisions - tuition, investments, hiring and firing major administrators. UCOP is exec arm of regents. Manages budget, intellectual property, investments (UCRP and endowment), and labor rels. Not sure what supplementary authority over "fees not reserved to the regents". [Iris: Probably referring to things like IREF.] Campuses and national labs. At campus level, Chancellor appointed by regents. Has full control over campus. Right below chancellor at UCB is the EVCP in charge of day to day ops and academic programs, e.g. hiring faculty. Day to day ops means quite a lot - includes land use, for instance. Each campus has a foundation for its particular endowment and fundraising, which has a board of trustees, which also advises the chancellor. Board self-elects its members. National labs - LBL, and comanages Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos and is associated with Sandia - these are the main labs for nuclear weapons research. UC used to be sole entity managing these labs, but now does it through an LLC. For Los Alamos, LLC comprises UC, Texas AM, and a private company called Battelle. [Bashi: Why this LLC structure? - Gabe: Not sure. Henry: LBL does not do weapons research. Has specific prohibitions on scientists there receiving DoD grants. Hence easier to get security access. Gabe: LANL and LLNL seem to have split off from LBL over doing weapons research. But need more info on what LBL does and doesn't do. Re Sandia, used to be managed by UC, but now managed by Honeywell, company which invented the cluster bomb. Stuff we still don't know: - More info into UCOP's investment process. - [Fatima: Jagdeep has a lot of unilateral authority delegated from regents. - Jake: Thought Jagdeep was responsible for	Gabriel Woolls

	UCRP not endowment. - Fatima: Seems to be endowment too. - Contracting process - Research grant overhead mechanism, distribution, allocation - IP control and revenue - Structure of labor relations governance, mediation between levels of bureaucracy - Sandia Questions? - Fatima: We saw two investment officers - what are their different roles? - Gabe: One seems to be for input, one for output. Former seems more relevant for us rn.	
	UC Academic/Public-Private Partnership Report Summary Report: Academic and Public-Private Partnerships Fatima: Focusing on corporate affiliate programs. These offer benefits such as board memberships, access to pre-publication research, and facilitation of technology licensing. Didn't see any Israeli companies, but a lot of the huge firms are on the BDS list. Sent a FOIA req to tech licensing office but doubtful that they'll get back to me. Audrey focused on Zionist donors or foundations. Found two main donors - Koret foundation (which also funds AIPAC) and Schusterman foundation (which also funds a prof in Education). Also Diller foundation, funding Anchor House (also used to fund Canary Mission) - LSJP is also trying to mobilise pressure against them, but donor of c. 300 million. Also looked at study abroad programs and fellowships. Caitlin: Looking into real estate and leases was challenging. Colleague at Centre for Human Rights specialised in digital open source research, found proxy voting info shared with investments group. Some companies there are real estate ones (e.g. Electra), could be good lead, but may be difficult. Iris: Most egregious dept-level research partnership was Helen Diller Institute (sep from Diller foundation), established by profs as LLM program (international law degree) in partnership with Tel Aviv University.	Fatima Yousuf

	- Caitlin: Friend told me that we could spend a ***lot*** of time looking into Berkeley Law, a lot of connections with Israel. - Ali: Goldman School also has a lot of connections too. Funded by Goldman foundation, but not sure if it's limited to UCB. Fatima: Amr was looking at professors' conflicts of interest. Big leak of these from before 2019. Found one individual faculty member with substantial stake in Raytheon, another in Honeywell. Lots of tech companies also have given stakes to indiv faculty. But don't want to target indivs, want bigger institutional targets. What we still need: - More info on real estate - Tech licensing - Better list of private donors - Better powermap of research funding - Proportion of funding coming from partnerships Questions: - Rikhav: Most of focus here on money coming into UCB. Any info coming from UCB going to academic partnerships in Israel. - Connor: Potential lead for leases is FOIA, given that UC is a state-run nonprof. - Caitlin: Friend recommended that FOIA req needs to be super specific if it's going to be productive and timely. They're down to consult though if we find more specifics. - Ali: Can we make FOIA reqs collectively? Would be good to protect us from doxxing. Thought could be to have union (or union email) file request. - Bashi: There may be other paths to get this info than a FOIA req. - Iris: Could discuss this as a subgroup.	
	UC Financial Investments Report UC investements group one-pager Connor: We looked at two-three things. Feasibility of divestment in modern era, and UC's public financial ties to objectionable corporations. Divestment used to be more straightforward in the 1980s during the anti-apartheid campaign. Today, most UC holdings are indirect, through hedge funds and index funds (direct only c. 1 bil; rest c. 80	Jake Orbison & Connor Luellen

	bil is indirect). Some direct holdings are targets: Coca Cola, Exxon, GE. But this small potatoes comparatively speaking. c. 20% of capital is in private equity - this very opaque, can't be FOIA'd. Rest is public equity (c. 45 bil). Most in index funds, which spread investment risk across market in general, rather than in specific companies. Holdings change frequently if held through index funds, but still grant proxy votes based on holding size. Used database of proxy votes from Caitlin - went through these meeting records. Found UC has proxy votes in 41 companies profiting from Israeli occupation. Vast majority of these holdings stem from two index funds, which invest in 9-10k "Developed World" firms. UC's investment in these two funds is its largest, 33 bil. The problem here is that UC can claim that they don't actively invest in Israeli Occupation, that they don't have the power or authority to direct the investment strategy of private firms managing funds, that these investments are the safest and most adhere to their fiduciary duty, that divesting from these funds would mean divesting from global economy and investing in less profitable, smaller boutique funds, with higher risk profiles. Going forward, could continue to explore divestment, and maybe prioritise smaller targets for pressuring to divest (cf. UCD). Alternatively, could try to explore broader campaign against financialisation. - Maebh: UC's funds exclude tobacco and firearms but not defence contractors, so guns bad, missiles good? Is this not an opening for us? - Connor: True, but not sure we could sway the regents so much. - Gabe: Oil and gas too. - Connor: UC agreed to divest from fossil fuels but still has holdings in Exxon. - Jake: Bigger problem here is that after apartheid campaign, UC put up a firewall. - Iris: Clarify: How is a direct holding in compliance with fossil fuel divestment commitment? - Connor: Probably isn't. - Henry: UCOP has a webpage on climate change divestment, but it's pretty barebones and pro forma (link). - Connor: Seems like a straight up lie still. - Gabe: So point here is that, even if they were telling the truth about divesting direct investments, it	

	wouldn't mean much given the spread of their investments into say fossil fuel companies through index funds. - Ali: Question of alternative investment if they did divest. Not sure this is our problem to figure out. We can keep making the negative case rather than finding clean investments. - Lou: Agree, not our problem and also puts us in the gross position where we're advocating a "good" or "ethical" investment. Problem with divestment campaigns. I would be in favour of pushing definancialisation avenue, though this feels unrealistic. Do we want another group on definancialisation, thinking through how to redirect resources from private transnational capital markets back into institution. - Iris: I agree that defi could be a great goal. Next steps though are to target winnable egregious cases, as per official BDS recommendations. We might be jumping to the end of a campaign, rather than the start of it. GSJP for instance is thinking of something like UC Davis. - Jake: My sense is that something like Davis is already in the works for Berkeley, so we can focus on the step after next, and thinking more specifically about what we can do as a union. Would be worthwhile to begin contemplating a huge task for a union, but which is not impossible. - Connor: Responding to Ali's "not our problem" point, the reason to locate alternatives is important as a reply to what the UC will say in response that this is impossible. - Ali: I understand that, and where the money goes is actually our concern. We should target specific pools of money, and maybe we can draw on UAW International's rhetoric of a "Just Transition".	
	MMM report back prep ● What are some goals for the report back? ● What are some things that should go in the report back? ● Who wants to draft? **MMM is a week from next Wednesday (March 6).** Connor: Proposal to condense our reportbacks from today into a 1-2pp info sheet to share with members.	Henry Liu

	Iris: Agree. We don't seem to have action items yet for a campaign. Should give an update, identify further avenues of inquiry, and encourage more ppl to get involved. Lou: Can we get more than 5 mins. It could be good to have more discussion among members around some of the strategic questions we're refining. Might be good to get more input, rather than just report facts. Need to make sure there's lots of room for questions. Ali: More engagement is definitely good, and could be especially good to try to draft more specialist skills. Rikhav: We could ask membership for help with specific tasks, e.g. filing a FOIA req. Iris: Should have a plan by next Wednesday. **Volunteers for draft: Connor, Fatima, Rikhav, Iris, Gabe, Lou** Jake: Should the subgroups meet again? Gabe: Could do round two of what we just did. Investments could take on the task of thinking more about what a broader definancialisation campaign would look like. Consensus: Sounds good. Ali: Announcement: Come disrupt an evil Zionist speaking at Wheeler tonight at 6.30! **Henry: Next meeting - two weeks from today.**	

First meeting (2/12/24) proposed agenda:

- Intros
- Discuss broad goals
- Discuss code of conduct
- Discuss structure & how to break into working groups. Could do this by topic of research, e.g some combination of:
    - **Academic and public-private partnerships:** document UC partnerships that may be of interest, particularly those with connections to the military industrial complex or to Israel.
    - **Investments:** document UC investments (in whatever form they take -- company shares, real estate, hedge funds, the endowment, the retirement plan) and uncover connections to MIC or Israel
    - **Structure mapping:** divisions and sectors of UC, who has power over what. Start making a graph. Also study the breakdown of UC's sources of funding (California state appropriations, DOE and DOD, patents and other IP, tuition, returns on investment, philanthropy, etc)
    - **Admin:** investigate important UC admin, uncover conflicts of interest.
    - **DOD - UC lab connections:** map out what labs on campus accept DOD funding, what they do with it, any existing partnerships between individual UC labs and national defense labs (Livermore, Los Alamos, Sandia, etc)
    - **Tactics history:** study past campaigns for divestment or other relevant struggles, and document the tactics that past organizers have taken.
    - **Leasing Real Estate**: it seems that a significant number of off-campus properties and student housing is owned by Blackstone or a subsidiary of Blackstone (or a company that has a history of doing joint ventures with Blackstone). The UC also gave $4 billion dollars to Blackstone a while ago. Blackstone has publicly expressed support for Israel (and does a decent amount of business in Israel). Blackstone's CEO was a major Trump confidante who also opposed rent control protections in CA. The Vice Chairman Thomas Nides was formerly the US Ambassador to Israel.
    - *Maybe:* **Research methods** (ideally spend no more than ~2 weeks on this, so we can put the methods to use): look at already existing studies of other universities (Columbia, UMichigan, previous UC pamphlets), or resources like LittleSis, and compile a list of recommended investigation tools for our organizers to use.
    - These groups will necessarily be fluid -- some things fall under several umbrellas, and findings in one category will inform the others. All that matters is that we carefully document our findings (basically, keep track of sources and make our writing + analysis clear).
- Get into the main document and spreadsheet, briefly familiarize ourselves with some of the research that's already been done
- Discuss methods for research.
- Coalition-building: recruit more folks? Ally ourselves with other groups?

- Decide communication method, set next meeting time

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agenda item: broad goals -
discussion on question: what do you mean by "occupation of Palestine?" when you say "let's investigate the connection between the UC and the Israeli occupation of Palestine"
e.g. if UC regent has stock in company that sells weapons to Israel
this is not currently a space to productively do a complete audit of Israeli society
impossible to separate money going to Israel that is used for healthcare system vs military
what is being proposed is the military ties.
but if one of the major ties is through financialized ties to Blackrock, we can't say that's off the table just because of their contributions to the Israeli infrastructure
"if the military is a target, then that's fine, but we should clearly state our targets for UC ties to contributions to the war"
we should democratically decide what we consider to be the occupation of Palestine, what valid targets are, etc. to make decisions and move forward
the parameters stated in the resolution that created this group are actually very specific
in our resolution we referenced 2004 PACBE / 2005 BDS call ... we are not reinventing the wheel; parameters are already laid out for what counts as complicity, etc.
when we get to a point that there is any ambiguity about what matches those parameters then we discuss it. but discussion of the parameters is not pertinent because it has already been decided by the MMM body.

- agenda item : code of conduct -
to be a member of this committee you cannot engage in doxxing or harassment
priority: privacy of members of the committee
it should not be acceptable to join the committee in bad faith just to find out the identities of the members and put it on the internet - not acceptable
suggestion: use non-berkeley email addresses / accounts, because UC can monitor our @berkeley.edu accounts
suggestion: we should stick to union practices of keeping files on the union google drive, using non-university resources whenever possible
"what does bad faith mean?" here it was used to mean someone joining the meeting for the purpose of doxxing
can we stipulate that folks on the committee should be in support of the goals? it would not be democratic given the membership mandate that the committee pursue the stated goals
objection: that if someone has an opposed opinion, then they can't contribute to the committee? you want to exclude people who don't agree with the mission?

we are a working group: we are not a group setting out to make policy decisions. if folks are opposed to the mission, you should be allowed to attend, but you should not be wasting our time to discuss your opposition to the mission. the way that we should use our time as a group should be to advance our mission, not to discuss whether or not this group should exist.
the goal and mandate for this working group were democratically set out at the MMM.
given that this was created as a working group with a particular goal, it could be considered bad faith to not be in support of BDS.
we are mandated to make a monthly report back to the MMM. any recommendations of the WG would be put up for a vote by the members.
as a WG we have no power or authority. we are a fact-finding mission. idea: dissent mechanism; at the end, we will produce a set of documents to propose to the union, ... if we vote yes on the deliverables, when the findings are discussed at MMM those who dissent would be welcome to state their dissent at the presentation. when we compile a report, take a vote and majority passes, and those who disagree can still speak their mind. when we are in this space, we have a responsibility to work towards our mandated goals. question of conduct, not rules.

- agenda item: WG structure -
academic & public-private partnerships; investments; admin; structure mapping, inspired by 1968 Columbia document; DOD-UC lab connections; tactics history; real estate; research methods (?).
no need to have a "research methods" group because there is a core set of resources and methods by American Friends Service Committee and Israeli peace activists who put together Who Profits from the Occupation?
question about number of subcommittees vs number of people on the committee
idea: take these up somewhat sequentially rather than all at once in parallel
point: structure-mapping will probably come naturally from other points. there may be ways that these naturally lead into one another
idea: it may make sense to have some work ongoing on each topic before starting deep dive to make sure that we have leads
three natural places to start: first task of each is to do a rapid survey of the topic. we need to know who makes decisions, org charts, that level of survey. investments- UC investment portfolio, we are public so disclosure should mean that we can get lists of holdings etc (except LBNL maybe) and just pull up documented complicit/problematic connections. academic and public-private partnerships may require more work; start with rough accounting of how many there are and what kind, donor sources, etc
idea on the table: 1. study structure of UC: who makes decisions / has power? 2. study investments of UC; 3. partnerships that the UC has
summary of many many resources available thanks to preliminary research
proposal: initial task of subcommittees is to synthesize the material linked in the big doc related to their purview.
report format: aim 1-2 pages not longer; what is known? what is left to know? extra credit: resources to find out more.

by next meeting, each subcommittee meets and has a bottomliner to ensure that report gets done.
everything should be cited.
bottomliners: Gabe, structure; Fatima, partnerships; Jake & Connor, investments.
meeting frequency: every two weeks so subcommittees can meet. meet again on Feb 26. Feb MMM is on the 28th
contact bottomliner (need emails) to get involved in their work; bottomliners email the list to solicit involvement.
bottomliners will make group chat and coordinate efforts, we will meet back in two weeks' time.

Exhibit D

Who Rules the University of California?

Report by the BDS Exploratory Committee of UAW 4811 (January 2024-November 2024).

Table of contents

Pamphlets, graphics, and public spreadsheets

In the course of doing this research the Exploratory Committee produced smaller, more shareable materials to present some of our findings.

Investments:
- UC investments pamphlet (bit.ly/uc-bds-money)
- UC investments info sheet (bit.ly/uc-bds-money-doc)
- UC "stakeholders" slides (bit.ly/uc-bds-structure)
- UC military industrial complex holdings (spreadsheet link)

Proxy votes:
- UC investor proxy votes sheet (spreadsheet link)
- UCOP proxy vote data: Israeli firms (spreadsheet link)

Funding & contracts:
- UC sponsors of contracts & grants (spreadsheet link)
- 2023 UC Single-Audit Report analysis (spreadsheet link)

Summary by section

Section I: The UC investment portfolio

The UC portfolio is a UC-system wide investment portfolio controlled by the Regents. In 2023 the portfolio stood at a total of $164 billion. (A more up-to-date figure from 2024 is $180 billion, but we use the 2023 figures here.) The portfolio can be broken down as follows:

- *Endowment: $23.4B*
  - Individual UC campuses have their own, separate endowments, which they may invest in the UC-wide general endowment or manage separately. This $23 billion thus includes part but not all of the individual campuses' endowments.
- *Retirement: $122B*
  - This includes the pension (UCRP) and defined-contribution plans (UCRSP).
- *Working capital: $18.7B*
  - This functions roughly like the UC's checking and savings accounts.

Direct investments: Less than 1% of the UC portfolio is in direct ownership of company stocks. When our committee originally wrote this report in spring 2024, four of the companies the UC directly owned stock in could be viewed as legitimate BDS targets: Exxon Mobil ($3.9M), Honeywell International ($867K), General Electric ($879K) and Coca Cola ($1.1M).

More recently, as of the UC's quarterly 13F filing in August 2024, nearly all of the UC's direct investments were shown to have been reclassified[1] or possibly liquidated, leaving no clear BDS targets among the handful of UC's directly-owned stocks. Pending another change in the university's investments, our efforts must therefore focus on the UC's indirect investments.

Indirect investments: The vast majority of UC investments are held indirectly, through passive investments like index funds or actively-managed ones like mutual funds, hedge funds and private equity funds.
Private equity and other forms of "alternative investment" can be nearly impossible to track, particularly as these sorts of firms generally do not disclose what they invest in. On the other hand, the UC's holdings in public equity provides the university with proxy voting shares (shares granted to an indirect investor when the size of their investment would have given them a full voting share in a company if invested directly) and we can use these to see that the university has voting shares in at least 41 companies directly profiting from the Israeli occupation (per WhoProfits.org) and at least 143 Israeli companies. For instance, **the UC used its proxy votes in Elbit Systems as recently as April 2024.**

The index fund investments are the easiest to extract numbers from. The two largest public equity index funds that both the GEP and UCRP (the only UC investment pools with publicly listed holdings) are invested in are the S&P 500 and the MSCI funds. Then, since we can look up the weighting of each index fund for particular publicly-traded companies, we can calculate *lower bounds* for how much the UC has invested in each company through the GEP and UCRP

Jagdeep Singh Bachher's numbers. In May 2024, at a meeting of the Regents at UC Merced, the CIO of the UC's Investments Committee claimed that if "all the demands of the students were met" the University would have to sell $32 billion of its portfolio. He did not give detailed data. These are the figures the CIO quoted:

- $3.3 billion in industries categorized as relating to weapons manufacturing;
- $12 billion in U.S. treasuries;
- $163 million in BlackRock and $2.1 billion managed by BlackRock;
- $8.6 billion in Blackstone;
- $3.2 billion in 24 companies that student protestors demanded divestment from.

Section II: The UC Berkeley Foundation and Berkeley endowment

The UC Berkeley Foundation is a public-private partnership that exists to encourage private philanthropy, solicit donations and gifts, and serve as an advisory council to the Berkeley Chancellor and campus. The Foundation is also responsible for overseeing UC Berkeley's $7.4 billion (as of June 2023) endowment. The endowment portfolio is managed by the Berkeley Endowment Management Company (BEMCO), a "nonprofit subsidiary" of the Foundation. The Foundation, through BEMCO, has investments in private equity, real estate, hedge funds, infrastructure, real assets, natural resources, publicly traded equities, fixed-income securities, cash, and other alternative asset classes.

The Foundation is required to comply with public records requests by law. However, because the endowment is technically managed by BEMCO and not directly by the campus foundation, obtaining information via public records requests can be and has been challenging. In this section, we summarize our experience obtaining records from the Foundation and present some of the data we obtained, including their IRS Form 990 and 990-T annual filings and a list of all of their investment holdings as of June 2023.

IRS Form 990 filings must include a schedule of contributors to the UC Berkeley Foundation. However, during the process of requesting public records, we found that the names of donors in the Schedules of Contributors were all redacted to protect the anonymity of donors. Instead, we compiled a list of private foundations known to support Zionist causes. Then, we searched through publicly available tax records for each of these foundations and searched for evidence that they have awarded funds to the UC Berkeley Foundation. In this section, we present a summary of our findings, which include several significant private donors that have a history of supporting organizations like Friends of the IDF, the American Israel Education Foundation, the Anti-Defamation League, and others in addition to donating to the UC Berkeley Foundation.

Section III: The UC administration

The Board of Regents is the highest governing body of the UC. The Regents set student tuition, approve campus developments, set the budget for the entire UC system, control the University's investments, supervise the making of contracts between the UC and private companies, and dictate administrator salaries. The Regents can hire or fire the President, any of the ten Chancellors, the director of LBNL, or any of the Principal Officers of the Regents.

The Regents rarely get directly involved in university affairs; more often they simply establish policy and let administrators handle day-to-day operations accordingly. In broad strokes this takes the following form:

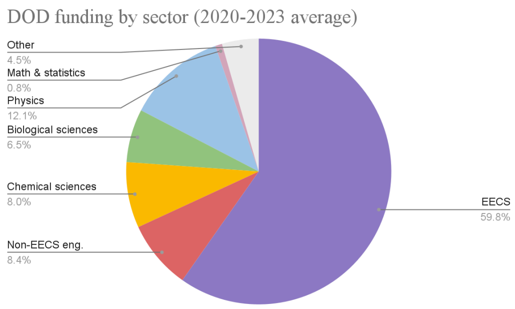
- The UC Office of the President (UCOP), headed by the President of the UC, implements the policies of the Regents. UCOP controls the budget, manages investments, bargains with unionized employees of the University, handles UC intellectual property, and so on.
- Each of the ten campuses has a Chancellor. The Chancellors are appointed by the Regents, and are charged with setting the policies and internal administration of their respective campuses, in keeping with the budget and policies approved by the Board and/or the President of the University.
    - Below the Chancellor is the array of campus-level administrators like the Provosts, Vice Chancellors, and advising bodies like the Board of Visitors.

These high-level administrators are essentially career business-people; their main occupation is hopping from one corporate board of directors to another. Most of them come from the world of business, consulting, real estate, or investment banking. They are what UC Berkeley professor Michael Burawoy has called a class of "spiralists ... people who spiral in from outside, develop signature projects and then hope to spiral upward and onward, leaving the university behind to spiral down."

Audit Reports (SARs) to see all Pentagon funding coming into the UC as contracts and grants, either directly from the DOD or via a pass-through entity (like another university or a private corporation). Thus, according to the SARs, **in fiscal year 2023 the UC received a gross total of $316.5 million in DOD contracts and grants**, $50 million of which the UC then passed on to other entities (award sub-recipients).

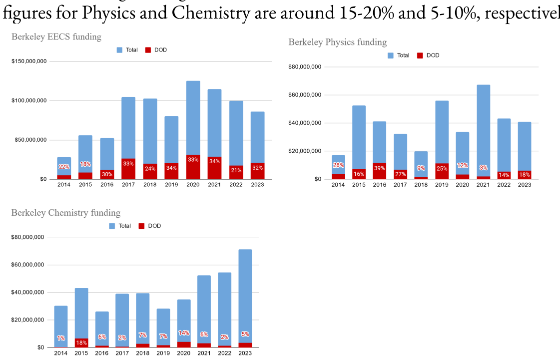
This is roughly consistent with other sources. The NCSES HERD Survey reported that in FY2022 the UC received $369 million in DOD R&D expenditures. UCSD got the most ($105M), followed by UCLA ($55M), UCSF ($50M), UCB ($48M), UCSB ($43M), UCD ($28M), UCI ($19M), UCR ($10M), UCSC ($9M) and UCM ($2M).

UCOP and UC Berkeley's Sponsored Projects Office also report limited amounts of their own data; which tend to disagree with each other and with the other sources. Still, if we take them at face value, just about 3-4% of UC Berkeley's research funding in FY2023 came from the DOD: $33 million out of a total $1 billion. Most of this ($21M) went to Electrical Engineering & Computer Science alone. The next biggest recipients were Physics ($6M), Chemistry ($4M), and the Center for Effective Global Action ($1M).



See [UC Sponsors of Contracts and Grants] for data and corresponding plots.

According to Berkeley's data, the EECS department in particular is quite dependent on Pentagon funding: for the past ten years, the fraction of EECS research funding coming from the DOD has hovered between 25-30%. The same figures for Physics and Chemistry are around 15-20% and 5-10%, respectively.



Every source of data we looked at, without exception, disagreed at least a little with all the others. One should take these figures with a grain of salt.

Militarized research on campus can also be supported via public-private partnerships between the university and military contractors, or 'corporate and industrial affiliate programs'. Multiple laboratories on campus offer membership packages to companies, offering benefits such as board memberships, access to pre-publication research, and streamlined technology licensing or 'tech transfer' in exchange for research funding. We identified several corporate affiliate programs between research laboratories at UC Berkeley and private companies that are targeted by the BDS National Committee, such as Siemens, Chevron, and Intel. We also found information on public-private partnerships between UC campuses and private companies through UCOP's Sponsored Projects Office, which, until late 2024, published data on the UC's research contracts and grants.

Section V: The UC in the nuclear weapons complex

Here is an excerpt from International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons' [report in 2019]:

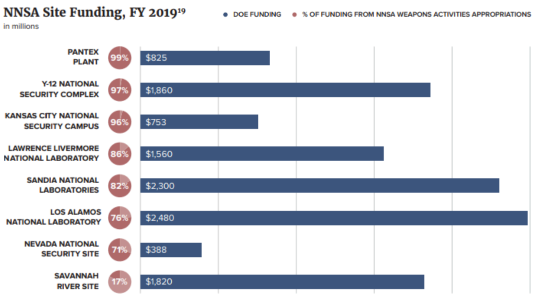
> "The University of California arguably has the longest-standing and highest profile connection to the nuclear weapons complex of any university. While the UC administration has continued to pursue such connections, it has done so at points without the support of many of its constituent faculty and students. In 1970, student protests caused university officials to consider whether to maintain its ties to the weapons labs it managed, ultimately deciding to do so. [46] When the

below, but this "Report on Effective University-National Laboratory Partnerships" indicates it no later than on page 2: **for national defense research laboratories, universities are "the key contributors and collaborators [for] research, the principal source of the [STEM] talent pipeline, and an important source of peer review."**

Another reason is that such partnerships can help to "accelerate technology deployment" through technology commercialization to benefit Sandia, partner universities, and commercial partners, which they achieve through intellectual property bundling and company formation.

Moreover, ties to well-regarded universities bring credibility to the labs, which can then be leveraged to attract employees and secure more funding. In exchange, universities get access to potential channels of funding, access to research facilities, and career opportunities for students.

The University of California is special: it is one of just two U.S. universities that is directly involved in managing nuclear weapons labs. The UC directly manages **Los Alamos** and **Lawrence Livermore;** it also has partnerships with **Sandia**. These three national labs are overwhelmingly funded by the NNSA's Weapons Activities Appropriations program.



ICANW 2019 Report "Schools of Mass Destruction" (pg. 10)

Note that the NNSA is responsible for R&D of the nuclear warheads themselves, whereas the DOD is in charge of warhead delivery systems (missiles, aircraft, submarines). "Both sides of the nuclear weapons complex partner with universities;" (ICANW, p. 10) R&D funding from the DoD to higher education has increased by more than 60% in the past 30 years.

- **Los Alamos National Laboratories:** The UC is a member (along with Texas A&M and defense R&D firm Battelle) of Triad National Security, LLC, which manages Los Alamos and provides other services in "national security" and "stockpile stewardship and management."
- **Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories:** the UC is a member of LLNS, LLC., which is contracted by the NNSA to manage Lawrence Livermore.
- **Sandia National Laboratories:** The UC has not directly managed Sandia National Labs since 1949; its relationship to Sandia is now partnership-based rather than direct management. Sandia is currently operated by NTESS, a subsidiary of Honeywell International (in which the UC invests both directly and indirectly).
    - UC Berkeley, UC Davis and UCLA are partners in Sandia's University Partnerships Network, which has the goal of expanding collaboration between PIs on Laboratory Directed Research & Development (LDRD) projects, facilitating recruitment to Sandia, accelerating tech R&D, and producing jointly held Intellectual Property.
    - Seven of the ten UC campuses are members of the Universities Research Association (URA), which is subcontracted by NTESS to support its university partnerships, promote the "talent pipeline," and facilitate "strategic engagement within academia."

I. UC investments

In 2023 the UC investment portfolio stood at a total of $164.1 billion. The more up-to-date figure, as of August 2024, is $180 billion. However, as most of the available financial documents are dated 2023, here we look at the fiscal year (FY) 2023 figures.

The portfolio is composed of six investment pools:

- **Endowment: $23.4B**
    - General Endowment Pool: **$20.7B**
        - *Public data on GEP holdings.*
    - Blue & Gold Endowment: **$2.7B**
- **Retirement: $122B**
    - Pension i.e. UC Retirement Plan (UCRP): **$88.3B**
        - *Public data on UCRP holdings.*
    - UC Retirement Savings Plan (UCRSP): **$33.7B**
- **Working capital: $18.7B**

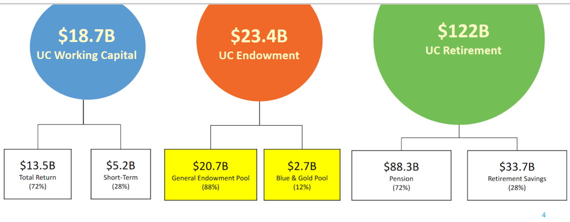


Image taken from a presentation for the Regents meeting on 9/19/23.

This portfolio, which is controlled by the Regents and managed by the UC Investments office in UCOP, is a UC-wide pool of money. In addition to this, each campus has separate investments it can manage with some autonomy: this is what the campus Foundations are for.

In the next two sections we'll (1) briefly outline what each of the funds in the UC portfolio consist of, and then (2) summarize our findings with regards to companies the UC is invested *in*. Some of this information has already been published in a more digestible **information sheet** and **digital pamphlet**.

Breakdown of the UC portfolio

Endowments

In this section our main source is the UC Annual Endowment Report for fiscal year ended June 30, 2023, which we abbreviate as "AER".

An endowment is a collection of funds and assets donated to a university to support its operations. These assets are typically invested, and the returns are used to support the university's programs and operations in perpetuity. Each campus within the UC system has its own endowment, which is managed by that campus' Foundation.

These ten individual **foundation endowments** are relatively small, however, compared to the UC-wide **General Endowment Pool (GEP)**. The GEP is controlled by the Regents and managed by the UC Investments Office, not by the campus foundations. In fact, each campus endowment is at least partly invested in the GEP. Each campus allocates different proportions of its endowment (i) to be managed by the Regents but not through the GEP, (ii) to be directly invested in the GEP or the STIP, or (iii) to be managed by the campus' Foundation itself.[2]

At least half of every campus' endowment is either handed off to the Regents for management or invested in the GEP or STIP (see the table below). For instance, UC Berkeley has an endowment of $7.4 billion, but $4.5B of it is held by the Regents, while the remaining $2.9 billion is managed by the UC Berkeley Foundation.

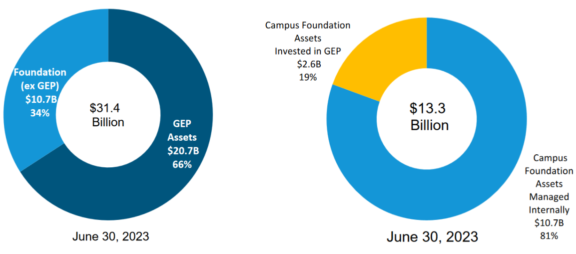
Total University Endowment Assets by Designation to Regents and Foundations
(Market Values $ Thousands)

Campus	June 30, 2023 Regents[1,3]	Foundation Investments in GEP[3]	Foundation Investments in STIP	Foundation[2]	Total Endowment Assets	June 30, 2022 Regents[1,3]	Foundation Investments in GEP[3]	Foundation Investments in STIP	Foundation[2]	Total Endowment Assets
Berkeley	4,460,020	-	8,508	2,906,375	7,374,903	4,260,815	-	6,950	2,641,320	6,909,085
Davis	1,494,702	520,558	29,034	128,449	2,172,743	1,423,088	464,124	10,000	160,040	2,057,252
Irvine[4]	562,862	328,491	415	466,978	1,358,746	528,643	289,950	4,915	429,100	1,252,608
Los Angeles[5]	3,832,628	9,159	58,539	3,805,363	7,705,689	3,162,677	8,557	133,890	3,418,247	6,723,371
Merced	78,344	29,640	-	-	107,984	59,419	25,454	-	-	84,873
Riverside	484,215	246,439	363	3,066	734,083	118,178	232,517	594	2,906	354,195
San Diego[6]	1,266,852	912,885	21,642	426,310	2,627,689	1,203,650	816,782	4,783	361,326	2,386,540
San Francisco	3,592,884	-	10,300	2,837,635	6,440,819	2,821,377	-	40,123	2,601,375	5,462,875
Santa Barbara	205,003	365,341	3,977	5,684	580,005	193,042	340,481	3,829	6,547	543,899
Santa Cruz	128,767	153,361	-	-	282,128	123,020	146,270	-	-	269,290
Total Campus Endowments	**16,106,277**	**2,565,874**	**132,778**	**10,579,860**	**29,384,789**	**13,893,909**	**2,324,135**	**205,083**	**9,620,861**	**26,043,988**
Systemwide Programs	2,016,556	20,910	-	-	2,037,466	1,916,583	18,913	-	-	1,935,496
Total Endowment Assets	**18,122,833**	**2,586,784**	**132,778**	**10,579,860**	**31,422,255**	**15,810,492**	**2,343,048**	**205,083**	**9,620,861**	**27,979,484**

[1] Assets managed by Regents in GEP for the benefit of the campuses excluding investment allocations to the GEP by the campus Foundations. Values provided by UC Investments.
[2] Assets managed by the campus Foundations excluding investment allocations to the GEP and STIP. Values provided by the campus Foundations.
[3] Foundation endowment assets invested in GEP and STIP provided by campus Foundations.

Source: AER, pg. 3

The GEP is worth $20.7 billion.[3] If we add to this the portions of the campus Foundations' endowments that are *not* in the GEP (and therefore not counted in the $164B UC portfolio), which make up another $10.6 billion, then the UC-wide total endowment assets are some **$31.4 billion.**



Source: AER, pgs. 4-5.

University of California, General Endowment Pool
Asset Allocation
June 30, 2023

	Assets ($M)[1]	Actual Allocation	Target Allocation[2]	Over/ Underweight Relative to Target	Policy Range (Lower)	Policy Range (Upper)	Policy Range Compliance (Actual Allocation)
Public Equity	$8,129	39.2%	40.0%	-0.8%	30.0%	50.0%	Yes
Liquidity (Income)	$1,443	7.0%	8.0%	-1.0%	5.0%	15.0%	Yes
Private Equity	$4,723	22.8%	24.0%	-1.2%	10.0%	30.0%	Yes
Absolute Return	$970	4.7%	10.0%	-5.3%	5.0%	15.0%	No
Real Estate	$2,702	13.0%	8.0%	5.0%	4.0%	12.0%	No
Real Assets	$733	3.5%	4.0%	-0.5%	0.0%	8.0%	Yes
Private Credit	$1,106	5.3%	4.0%	1.3%	0.0%	6.0%	Yes
Cash	$935	4.5%	2.0%	2.5%	1.0%	5.0%	Yes
Total Assets	**$20,741**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**				

Source: AER pg. 20

In addition to the GEP, the UC has the **Blue & Gold Pool (BGP)**, which acts as an endowment but is more
liquid than the GEP (Less Is More 2023). An internal slideshow from a 2023 Regents meeting described the BGP like this: "An investment vehicle that helps our campuses increase their revenues while reducing reliance on state funds." The BGP was created in 2019 to be passive, cheap to maintain, and liquid, with higher returns than other short-term cash management vehicles like TRIP and STIP. It's therefore much newer than the GEP and much smaller: **$2.7 billion** in 2023.

Retirement funds

- The **UC Retirement Plan (UCRP)**, or UC's **pension** fund, was worth $88.3 billion in 2023. The pension has 258,485 members, 134,900 of them active in 2023.

- The **UC Retirement Savings Program (UCRSP)** happens to be the second largest public defined contribution plan in the U.S., after that of the federal government. It stood at $33.7 billion in 2023, with 335,000 UC participants.

Working capital

The working capital is essentially like UC's checking and savings account. The CIO put it like this: the STIP is "like a checking account, which campuses should use for at-the-ready cash," whereas the TRIP "provides a better return on capital that our UC clients might not need right away," not unlike a savings account.

- Short Term Investment Pool (STIP): **$5.2B** in 2023.
  - STIP is used to meet short-term operational liquidity needs. Cash for operations and bond proceeds for construction expenditures are invested in STIP.
- Total Return Investment Pool (TRIP): **$13.5B** in 2023.
  - "TRIP provides the opportunity to enhance returns on long-term capital by taking advantage of the economies of scale of investing in a large pool across a broad range of asset classes." (Single Audit Report 2023)

Summary of UC direct & indirect investments

Direct Investments

Only a small part of the UC's holdings are in direct ownership of company stock: less than $1B out of their $164B portfolio.[6]

Nevertheless, four of the companies the UC does own direct stock in have a history of profiting from Israeli apartheid or are part of the weapons manufacturing industry. In its 2024 Q1 report, the UC reported owning $879k in General Electric shares, $867k in Honeywell, $1.1 million in Coca Cola, and $3.9 million in Exxon. This information can be found on Form 13-F, which the university is required to file with the SEC each year ("informationtable.html" to see stock information). These holdings are also listed on websites like Whalewisdom and Fintel.

- **General Electric** ($879K) is one of the world's largest military contractors. It provides aircraft engines and systems for "multiple weapon systems that are routinely used in war crimes against Palestinian civilians" and turbines for wind farms in the Israeli-occupied Syrian Golan Heights.
  - GE been marked by the AFSC as one of several companies that has supplied weapons or has otherwise profited from the Gaza

National Nuclear Security Administration, including Sandia National Laboratories, which is officially in partnership with several UC campuses. See the "**UC in the nuclear weapons complex**" section later in this document.
    - Honeywell was also one of the UC portfolio's top increases last quarter.

- **Coca Cola**'s ($1.1M) Israeli franchisee operates a production facility in a settlement in Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem and sources raw materials from settlements in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Syrian Golan Heights.

- **Exxon Mobil** ($3.9M) has previously provided Israel with fuel for fighter jets, bombers and attack helicopters, which have been used by the Israeli air force against Palestinian civilians in well-documented violations of humanitarian law.
    - It is also worth mentioning that the UC ostensibly committed to divest from fossil fuels in 2020, seemingly in contradiction with both its holdings in Exxon. See the section below on UC's decision to divest.

Indirect investments

The vast majority of UC's holdings are held *indirectly* through index funds and other large asset managers. These indirect investments are hard to track. Upon submitting a Public Records Access request to UCOP we were told that, though "some records related to alternative investments are exempt from disclosure pursuant to CA Government Code section 7928.710(a)," they could share these two documents:
- Alternative Investment Fees & Expenses, Inception to 6/30/23
- Private Equity Investments as of June 30, 2020

Since the firms listed in those documents do not (as far as we could tell) themselves disclose any information about their holdings, the two documents above tell us little.

Out of the six investment pools listed at the top of this document, only the General Endowment Pool (GEP) and UC Retirement Plan (UCRP) have publicly listed holdings. These documents are shared on the UC Investments Office website.

Proxy votes

The UC's public equity provides the university with proxy voting shares. These proxy shares, granted to an indirect investor when the size of their investment would have given them a full voting share in a company had it been invested directly, are a matter of public record. Through this database we can see that the UC had the right to vote in at least 41 companies which directly profit from Israeli occupation (per the WhoProfits database), and at least 143 Israeli companies between Q3 2017 and Q4 2024. Here is a spreadsheet of data web-scraped from the UC's proxy votes interface and cross-referenced with WhoProfits. **We can see, for instance, that the UC used its proxy votes in Elbit Systems as recently as April 2024.**

Public equity estimates

To get a quantitative lower bound on the UC's indirect investments in particular companies, one thing we can do is track the public equity index funds we know the UC has investments in. For instance, the two single largest public equity index funds that both the GEP and UCRP are invested in are the S&P 500 and the MSCI (in particular, the "MSCI All Country World Index (ACWI) Investable Market Index (IMI) Tobacco and Fossil Fuel Free") funds.[7]

Then, since we can look up the weighting of each index fund for particular publicly-traded companies, we can calculate lower bounds for how much the UC has invested in each company through the GEP and UCRP funds. **Here is a public spreadsheet we compiled that does just that**. In this spreadsheet we find the following UC investments through public equity index funds:

- The world's 5 largest weapons manufacturing companies:
    - ***Lockheed Martin: $73M**
    - ***RTX (formerly Raytheon): $99M**
    - ***Northrop Grumman: $52M**
    - ***Boeing: $77M**
    - ***General Dynamics: $48M**
- These companies the UC also owns stock in (see "direct investments" above):
    - ***General Electric: $135M**
    - Honeywell: $94M
    - Coca Cola: $185M
- ***Elbit: $3.6M**

- Also a major contractor for the U.S. border security apparatus.
- Incidentally, UC Davis Chancellor Gary May is on Leidos' Board of Directors.

- Intel: $131M
  - In December 2023 Intel decided to invest in a $25B chip factory in Israel. It has been flagged by the Palestinian BDS National Committee for a boycott campaign.
  - Update: in June 2024, Intel halted this investment.
- ***HP: $20M**
  - Provides multiple services for the Israeli military
- ***Microsoft: $2.2B**
  - Major investor in Israel and has a history of working with the IDF.
- ***Caterpillar: $136.5M**
  - Provides machinery used to demolish Palestinian houses, build settlements on occupied Palestinian land, build the Separation Wall in the West Bank, and build the wall surrounding Gaza. Also a long-standing supplier of the Israeli military.
- ***L3Harris: $31M**
  - Provides surveillance technology for Israeli military checkpoints and the U.S.-Mexico border.
- ***Palantir: $21M**
  - Provides data analytics software for US immigration authorities and Israeli security forces.
- BlackRock: $87M
  - Famous for many reasons. BlackRock is the world's largest asset manager — $10 trillion assets under management as of 2023. It has tens of billions invested in weapons manufacturers and hundreds of billions in fossil fuels; it alone owns over 6% of Lockheed Martin, 6% of Chevron, 6% of Raytheon, and so on. It's the single largest shareholder of Leidos (13%), which is featured above.

The companies marked with an asterisk (*) are listed in either the AFSC Investigate database or the WhoProfits Research Center database. If we add up the asterisked numbers, the total amount we have accounted for of the UC's investments in apartheid-profiteering companies (including direct investments) is **$2.9 billion.**

This is a conservative lower bound—it's only a tiny subset of a subset of the UC's investments. Just two of the six UC investment pools (GEP and UCRP) have public data available; of those two pools, only some investments (the public equity index funds) could be traced at all—the other types of investments are even more opaque. And even of the investments we could track down, the $2.9B number only includes companies that were specifically flagged by AFSC or WhoProfits for human rights violations; many other worthy candidates are excluded from this estimate.

II. The UC Berkeley Foundation & Endowment

The UC Berkeley Foundation is a public-private partnership that exists to encourage private philanthropy, solicit donations and gifts, and serve as an advisory council to the Berkeley Chancellor and campus. The UC Berkeley Foundation, or "the Foundation," is a "volunteer body affiliated with the campus and serves as the University's primary vehicle for enlisting fundraising volunteers from the private sector."

As public funding for higher education has declined, many public universities have increasingly relied on auxiliary foundations for private support. Campus foundations, like the UC Berkeley Foundation, are technically separate legal entities from their affiliated public higher education institutions, incorporated as nonprofit tax-exempt charities dedicated to supporting specific state institutions. By acting through a foundation, a campus can receive, spend, and invest funds directly, often bypassing university governance procedures and the restrictions that would normally apply to state appropriations and to state procurement.

The Foundation is not to be confused with the Berkeley Endowment Management Company, or BEMCO, which is a wholly-owned, non-profit subsidiary of the Foundation. BEMCO "serves as the investment manager with day-to-day oversight of investment activity and implementation" for the UC Berkeley Foundation's endowment assets, and is overseen by a board of directors which includes multiple trustees of the Foundation.

It is worth noting that university foundations across the country have been the subject of numerous scandals and investigations. For example, in 2010, California State University (CSU) Foundation officials admitted to mixing public and private funds. In 2005, a state audit showed that the University of Colorado Foundation improperly spent more than $700,000 on food, alcohol and travel. In 2017, the University of Louisville almost filed a lawsuit against its own foundation. It was at risk of losing its tax-exempt status after audits revealed gross negligence and fraud with unjustifiable expenses generated by President James Ramsey and other Louisville officials, which ultimately led to Ramsey's firing.

Investment Office on behalf of the Regents.

- $2.9B in the UC Berkeley Foundation portfolio, managed by the Berkeley Endowment Management Company (BEMCO).
    - The Richard McKee Transparency Act of 2011 requires the UC Berkeley Foundation to comply with public records requests. However, UC Berkeley Foundation is significantly less transparent about its investments than the UC Investment Office. Because investments are technically managed by BEMCO instead of the Foundation, obtaining records of the Foundation's investment holdings can be particularly challenging.

This UC Berkeley Foundation portfolio is managed by the Berkeley Endowment Management Company (BEMCO), which is a "nonprofit subsidiary" of the Foundation. The Foundation has investments in private equity, real estate, hedge funds, infrastructure, real assets, natural resources, publicly traded equities, fixed-income securities, cash, and other alternative asset classes. BEMCO charges 30 basis points (or 0.3% of the net asset value of Berkeley's endowment) from the Foundation in management fees.

Public Records Requests and Data

We submitted public records requests to the Foundation requesting copies of Forms 990 and Forms 990-T filed with the IRS, as well as details related to short-term and long-term capital gains from investment activities.

For context, the Foundation files Form 8949 with the IRS annually, where they list the total capital gain income made via investment activities. We requested (1) a breakdown of what sales of which capital assets that income was derived from and (2) any related statements from their brokers. Moreover, the UC Berkeley Foundation is required to file Forms 990 and 990-T with the IRS every year. These forms are meant to provide the public with information about nonprofit organizations and prevent nonprofits from abusing their tax-exempt status. However, the schedules of contributors/donors on Form 990 are restricted to protect the anonymity of donors. Form 990-T does report income from limited partnerships with investment vehicles, but not necessarily all investment activities.

The Foundation complied with our requests for Forms 990 and Forms 990-T (although the names of donors in the Schedules of Contributors were all redacted). However, the Foundation has been much less cooperative for requests on details of investment activities. *Initially, the Foundation replied that they have not received any statements from their brokers and they did not reply to our requests for further details on their investments.* After several correspondences with the Foundation and increasing public pressure due to student protests, the Foundation sent us a complete list of their holdings on July 3, 2024.

UC Berkeley Foundation Endowment Holdings

A list of the UC Berkeley Foundation's investment holdings as of June 30, 2023 can be found here. The majority of these holdings are in private equity and venture capital funds, which in turn invest in other companies. We do not have access to any information on what companies these firms invest in.

A summary of the UC Berkeley Foundation's reported income from such limited partnerships as reported in their 990-T filings can be found here. Highlighted investment holdings were also reported in the 2022-23 Form 990-T. Only 39/158 investments reported via the PRA request were also reported in Form 990-T for that year.

The list of investment holdings obtained via PRA requests is clearly far more comprehensive than the data we collected from the IRS Form 990-T filings. However, because public records requests can take time and are subject to legal loopholes, looking at an institution's Form 990-T can be a good intermediate step for other researchers struggling to obtain university endowment portfolios.

Transparency

The UC Berkeley Foundation is *significantly less transparent* about its investments than the UC Investment Office. None of the Foundation's investments activities or holdings are made publically available on the Foundation's website. Only some of the Foundation's investment activities are reported in their annual tax returns. These reported investment activities only include certain limited partnerships, primarily including venture capital firms and private equity. It is difficult to track which companies a private equity or venture fund is invested in at any given time, mainly due to relatively weaker disclosure laws. Moreover, only the income gain/loss is reported for each fund, not the total market value of assets held in any particular fund. Unlike the Regents of the UC, the UC Berkeley Foundation does not publicize its proxy voting record.

The endowment is used to support the research and education objectives of the university. The financial means by which those objectives are accomplished must be in line with the values of the university. To that end, *it is imperative that the*

We do not have access to records of donors to the UC Berkeley Foundation. However, we can build a list of private foundations known to support Zionist causes and search for any evidence that they contribute to UC Berkeley. Private foundations are required to annually report grants paid in Form 990/990-PF to the IRS. So, once we have a list of offending organizations, we can look at their filed Forms 990/990-PF and find out how much money in grants they awarded to the UC Regents or the UC Berkeley Foundation. The table below summarizes our findings. Please note that the table does not include grants awarded to foundations of other UC campuses (e.g. the UCLA Foundation, the UC Irvine Foundation, etc.). Additionally, note that the table does not constitute a complete list of Zionist donors to UC Berkeley. Rather, it only represents the subset of private foundations that we thought to check and whose information was already made publicly available by the IRS.

Private Foundation	**Grants Awarded to the Regents of the UC Reported in Form 990-PF**	**Grants Awarded to the UC Berkeley Foundation Reported in Form 990-PF**	**Other Organizations the Private Foundation Awards Grants to or Supports**
Koret Foundation	2021: $1,393,508 (Source) 2019: $912,500 (Source) 2018: $7,150,000 (Source) 2017: $7,150,000 (Source) 2016: $7,370,000 (Source)	2021: $2,732,000 (Source) 2019: $7,500 (Source) 2018: $5,041,100 (Source) 2017: $6,288,130 (Source) 2016: $6,881,630 (Source)	AIEF, American Committee for the Weizmann Institute, Birthright Israel, Friends of the IDF, Israel on Campus Coalition, Zioness Movement
Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation		2021: $250,000 (Source)	AIEF, Israel on Campus Coalition, Israel Education Resource Center, Israel Institute, Israel Policy Forum, Jewish Communal Fund, Jewish Federations of North America
Charles Koch Foundation	2017: $31,000 (Source)	2021: $180,058 (Source) 2020: $153,906 (Source) 2018: $8,000 (Source) 2017: $7,500 (Source) 2016: $63,200 (Source)	Donors Capital Fund, which in turn supports the Central Fund of Israel, Christians United for Israel, Shurat HaDin, and more
Blavatnik Family Foundation		2021: $50,000 (Source)	Birthright Israel, American Friends of Tel Aviv University, Jewish Agency for Israel
Jim Joseph Foundation		2021: $600,000 (Source) 2018: $825,000 (Source) 2013: $1,200,000 (Source) 2012: $250,000 (Source)	Birthright Israel, Onward Israel, Young Judaea, Israel Institute, Jewish Federations of North America
Younes & Soraya Nazarian Family Foundation	2021: $8,700 (Source)		Rand Corporation, Bezalel School of Design. The President of the Foundation is a SVP of the ADL
The Rodan Family Foundation		2021: $35,000 (Source)	AIEF, Friends of the IDF, New Israel Fund
Rosalind and Arthur Gilbert Foundation	2020: $5,000 (Source) 2019: $5,000 (Source) 2017: $6,385 (Source)	2021: $20,000 (Source) 2020: $10,000 (Source) 2019: $1, 260,000 (Source 1, Source 2) 2018: $255,000 (Source) 2017: $270,000 (Source) 2007: $1,000,000 (Source)	AIPAC, Friends of the IDF, Rand Corporation, Ogen, University of Haifa, Jewish National Fund, and more
The Hewlett Foundation	2019: $470,000 (Source) 2018: $600,000 (Source)	2021: $3,076,583 (Source) 2019: $3,278,704 (Source)	ADL, American Society of the University of Haifa, The Institute for National Security

		2014: $15,000,000 (Source) 2007: $113,000 (Source)	
Israel on Campus Coalition		2022: $25,000 (Source) 2020: $25,000 (Source)	ICC coordinates groups and students to respond to anti-Israel activism

AIEF: American-Israel Education Fund; ADL: Anti-Defamation League; IDF: Israel Defense Forces

Several main donors have surfaced thus far:

- **The Koret Foundation** is one of eight private foundations that fund the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) trips to Israel for congresspeople, a junket designed to organize support for Israel in Congress. In 2021, UC Berkeley launched a Koret Discovery Scholars Program that awards fellowships to "highly qualified low-income" incoming freshmen from local high schools.
- **The Helen Diller Family Foundation** supports the Diller Institute for Jewish Law and Israel Studies, donated $5 million in 2019 to create first endowed Israel Studies chair at UC Berkeley, and in 2021 entirely funded the Anchor House dorm to the tune of $300 million – the largest gift to UC Berkeley at the time. Sanford Diller, the foundation's former president who passed away in 2018, was a billionaire who supported a variety of right-wing/Islamophobic/Zionist causes, including the website Canary Mission that doxxes anti-Zionist students and professors and Regavim, a nonprofit providing legal funds to Israeli settlers suing Palestinians for property. It is worth noting that the Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, where the Helen Diller Family Foundation resides, has said that it will no longer contribute to those organizations.
- **The Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation** is one of eight private foundations that fund the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) trips to Israel for congresspeople. The Schustermans are also significant donors to the Israel on Campus Coalition (ICC), which coordinates groups and students to respond to perceived anti-Israel activism.

Process of Divestment

The UC Berkeley Foundation has its own official guidelines for divestment. According to these guidelines, the UC Berkeley Foundation may consider divesting the endowment from a "clearly defined group of like companies" if all of the following criteria are met:

1. The company's action or inaction is directly causing social injury, or is violating national or international law;
2. Concern about the company's behavior is broadly and consistently held within the campus community; divestment is not likely to cause deep rifts, reduce free and open debate, or otherwise affect Berkeley's ability to carry out its mission;
3. Divestment will clearly diminish the social injury in question;
4. The Trustees have exhausted other practicable avenues, including the exercise of appropriate shareholder rights, to effect a change in the company's behavior, or have determined that pursuing such avenues would likely be unproductive;
5. The company has been given the opportunity to change its behavior, and has failed to do so in a way that meaningfully reduces the social injury.

Anyone at UC Berkeley can raise the issue of divestment with the ESG Committee of the Foundation. *If* the Foundation agrees to look into the issue, the following legal process is triggered:

- The ESG Committee consults with the Chancellor's Office, the Academic Senate and the ASUC to establish a task force to further look into the issue.
- *If* the task force recommends divestment *and if* the ESG Subcommittee concurs, the recommendation is forwarded to the Foundation's Executive Committee.
- *If* the Executive Committee concurs, then the recommendation is presented to the full Board of Trustees for discussion and vote.

According to the Foundation's guidelines, divestment-related actions would specifically include:

- Divestment of direct investments of a company or group of companies
- Divestment of investment in derivatives based on those securities
- Suspension of further investment in that company
- In the case of commingled funds, discussions with the fund managers.

Notice this last point in particular: divesting commingled funds entails nothing more than a "discussion," and non-commingled indirect holdings, such as index and mutual funds, are not even mentioned. Only for direct investments does "divestment" imply anything of substance. So, as indirect investments make up most of the portfolio, the official divestment process is thereby neutralized: even if all the layers of committees, advisors and trustees voted to "divest," the amount of money actually changing course could be very meager."commingled funds" can

Board of Regents

The Board of Regents is the highest governing body of the UC. The Regents set student tuition, approve campus developments, set the budget for the entire UC system, control the University's investments, and supervise the making of contracts between the UC and private companies. The Board of Regents is the ultimate decision-making authority, over and above the President and Chancellors—whom it can hire or fire—and the Academic Senate.

For instance, the Board specifically reserves the following rights and powers:

- Approving the University budget and requests for state appropriations
- Approving the annual budget for the Office of the President
- Appointing, demoting or dismissing [and approving compensation for] the President of the University, Chancellors, the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory Director and the Principal Officers of the Regents

The UC Board of Regents has 26 voting members:

- 18 Regents appointed by the governor of California.
  - The UC can advocate for prospective Board members. It is common for UC Regents appointees to donate generously to the Governor's election campaigns. [**cite**]
- 1 student Regent selected by the Board on a yearly basis to represent UC students.
- 7 *ex officio* members
  - President of the UC [Michael Drake]
  - President & Vice President of the Alumni Associations [Joel Raznick, Keith Ellis]
  - State Superintendent of Public Instruction [Tony Thurmond]
  - Speaker of the California State Assembly [Robert Rivas]
  - California Governor and Lieutenant Governor [Gavin Newsom, Eleni Kounalakis]
- The Board also has two non-voting faculty reps and two non-voting Staff Advisors.

The Chief Investment Officer (CIO) is one of the Principal Officers of the Board of Regents. The CIO "serves as the chief University official having charge of all investment matters pertaining to the Corporation and University," and "oversees the acquisition, management and disposition of all assets held for investment purposes." See the UC Investments Office section.

JANET REILLY, Chair, is married to Clint Reilly, a commercial real estate, hospitality and media executive who, until the mid-1990s, worked as a powerful political consultant. As a political consultant, Client Reilly worked on numerous successful campaigns for Democratic candidates (including Nancy Pelosi, Dianne Feinstein, and Barbara Boxer). He was campaign chair of Kathleen Brown's (Jerry Brown's sister) unsuccessful 1994 run for Governor of California. Later in 1999, Clint Reilly mounted his own failed run for mayor of San Francisco. His wholly owned real estate portfolio includes five office buildings in the Financial District and Jackson Square, as well as the historic Julia Morgan Ballroom and Merchants Exchange Club event venues. Reilly's media holdings include the 156-year old San Francisco Examiner, the SF Weekly and Nob Hill Gazette. In November 2023, the Reilly's co-hosted a fundraiser for Joe Biden with Governor Gavin Newsom.

MARIA ANGUIANO, Vice Chair, is Executive Vice President of Arizona State University's Learning Enterprise. Previously, she was Vice Chancellor of Planning & Budget at UC Riverside where she managed their $800 million budget. Anguiano has served as the chief financial officer for the for-profit college/ed-tech capital venture startup Minerva Project, held a senior advisory role at the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and held finance roles at Barclays Capital and Deloitte. In 2020, while Anguiano was a Regent, the Minerva Project announced a partnership with Berkeley Law. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has spent billions of dollars on failed initiatives to reform public education, including breaking up large schools, implementing Common Core standards, and evaluating teachers by standardized test scores. Anguiano is on the Board of the KIPP Foundation, which manages a network of charter schools. KIPP schools have been the subject of multiple sexual misconduct investigations. In 2022, it was revealed that KIPP's director of technology had embezzled $2.2 million which he spent on cars and sports memorabilia which was intended for laptops and other equipment.

RICHARD LIEB is what one may call a jack of all trades and a master of none. He has worked for a business consulting firm, for a liquid waste recycling facility, for a debt underwriting group, as a political staffer, and as a political fundraiser. In high school, he scored in the bottom 2% of the math and English SAT achievement tests and earned a 3.4 GPA. After graduating from UC Santa Barbara, he worked on Governor Brown's 1980 unsuccessful presidential campaign. He ran unsuccessfully for Santa Barbara City Council in a race where he was accused of being a carpetbagger because he moved into the City of Santa Barbara from nearby Goleta. His background includes serving as vice president at Lockheed Martin IMS for two years. He also has served as a director of Green Dot Public Schools, a company that operates charter schools. For context, one of the main criticisms of charter schools is that they divert public funds away from

GARETH ELLIOT is a partner at Sacramento Advocates, Inc., a California lobbying firm. Clients of Sacramento Advocates include Israeli company Teva Pharmaceuticals, which is listed as a pressure target by the BDS National Committee. His area of expertise is in advising on the state budget (which also partially funds the University of California system). He previously served in several high-ranking positions in the California state government, including in Governor Brown's cabinet. In 2014, it was reported that Gareth Elliott (California Legislative Secretary at the time), California Secretary of Labor David Lanier, and other employees appointed by Governor Brown violated state law and the governor's own conflict of interest policy by failing to turn over complete and accurate financial disclosure records.

MICHAEL COHEN is the CFO and Interim Chief Operating Investment Officer of CalPERS, the largest public pension fund in the United States. According to their 2022-23 annual investment report, CalPERS owns $829,281,990 in securities issued by the Bank of Israel. The University of California's retirement plan (UCRP) has a reciprocal retirement agreement with CalPERS. For context, a reciprocity agreement allows employees to combine service credit and compensation from both plans. Moreover, Cohen and Gareth Elliot both spent time together from 2013-15 in Governor Brown's cabinet, where Cohen was Director of Finance.

HOWARD "PETER" GRUBER is the CEO of the Mandalay Entertainment Group, which produces films, television series, and sports entertainment. He is also co-owner of the Golden State Warriors, the Los Angeles Dodgers, and Los Angeles FC.

NANCY LEE is the Chief of Staff to Robert A. Iger, CEO of The Walt Disney Company. She is also the Executive Vice President of Disney's International Business Operations.

JOHN A. PEREZ served as the speaker of the California Assembly from 2010-14. However, it is not clear what Perez has been up to for the past decade other than being a Regent (he was first appointed as a Regent in 2014 and his term expires in 2036). His most recent electoral campaign was in 2014 for State Controller, where he finished in third. In 2011, Perez was caught having lied about earning a degree from UC Berkeley, when in fact he had dropped out and never returned. In 2013, Perez dated Tyler Cassity, a defendant in a 2009 lawsuit that contends he and his family looted millions of dollars from trust accounts and insurance policies that were supposed to be set aside to pay for people's funerals. Cassity's father and brother were indicted, while Cassity himself did not get charged with any crimes. According to Perez's spokesperson, Perez was made aware of the investigation of Cassity sometime after they started dating. Despite this, he introduced Cassity to foreign dignitaries in Israel and the United Kingdom, and he accepted a $1,000 political donation from Cassity. Perez has visited Israel multiple times and participated in JPAC's Legislators' Trips to Israel in 2008 and 2011. In a recent Politico interview, Perez criticized student protests and acts of solidarity with Gaza as "targeting Jewish students because of their identities." We students reply that John Perez should get a job.

MARK ROBINSON is a partner at Centerview Partners, a leading global investment banking firm, where he primarily advises pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and medical device companies. He previously was co-chair on the advisory board to the UC Berkeley College of Letters & Science and a trustee for the UC Berkeley Foundation. Yossi Cohen, the former director of Mossad, was appointed a Senior Advisor of Centerview Partners in 2021.

RICHARD SHERMAN has been the CEO of the David Geffen Company, an investment management firm, since 1992. During the late 90s, David Geffen was an investor in Digital Entertainment Network, which was founded by convicted sex offender and child molestor Marc Collins-Rector. Sherman is on the board of DreamWorks Animation, the Geffen Playhouse, and the David Geffen Foundation. David Geffen himself is a co-founder of Asylum Records, Geffen Records, DGC Records, and DreamWorks Animation. Geffen is also a major donor to the University of California (the Geffen Playhouse and Geffen School of Medicine at UCLA are named after him). In 2021, Geffen funded the construction of a new auditorium in the National Library of Israel. David Geffen was also named in a 2007 leaked list of potential donors to Netanyahu's campaign.

JONATHAN "JAY" SURES is Vice Chairman and Managing Director of United Talent Agency (UTA). Susan Sarandon, an Academy Award-winning actress, was dropped by UTA in November 2023 for being critical of the Israeli occupation and genocide. Sures is also the Chair of the Board of Governors of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Sures has been Chair of the Board of Directors of Triad National Security, which is the governing body of Los Alamos National Laboratory, since December 2023. Both laboratories are primarily responsible for the development and security of the U.S nuclear stockpile. In January 2024, Sures pushed a policy that would ban political statements by faculty members on university websites. At the January 2024 Regents meeting, Regent Hadi Makarechian noted that the policy was brought "because some people were making political statements related to Hamas and the Palestinians." Sures responded by acknowledging that "there was an abuse of the websites and there was not a defined policy in place." If you're confused as to why a Hollywood talent manager is leading two national laboratories in charge of nuclear weapons and is setting policies on academic freedom in universities, then just know that so are we.

Inc., a space technology company that has contracts with NASA and the Department of Defense, from 2011 to 2012. He was Program Manager, Group Leader and Engineer at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory from 1985 to 2001. In 2011, Hernandez unsuccessfully ran as a Democratic candidate to represent California's 10th Congressional District. During his Congressional campaign, he was criticized for a tax lien imposed by the IRS in 2010 but only paid in 2012.

HADI MAKARECHIAN was founder and Chairman of the board of Makar Properties, overseeing multi-billion dollar commercial, hospitality and land development projects across the United States, from 2000 to 2008. From 1991 to 2008, he was founder, Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of Capital Pacific Holdings, a developer and home builder that built, sold, and financed over 60,000 high-end homes across California, Arizona, Texas and Nevada. He was first appointed as a Regent in 2008 by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, and his current term expires in 2032. In 2010, it was reported that Makarechian had donated more than $314,000 to Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger since 2003 and nearly $175,000 to ballot measures backed by the GOP governor. Makarechian's contributions to Schwarzenegger included a $78,800 contribution to his initial campaign for governor in 2003, $125,000 to Schwarzenegger's California Recovery Team and $150,000 to Citizens to Save California, the 2005 committee created by the GOP to pass Propositions 74, 76 and 77. All three were rejected by voters. In 2004, it was reported that Capital Pacific Holdings was one of the top 25 donors to Governor Schwarzenegger while Makarechian was CEO. In 2010, Capital Pacific Holdings was an investor in the State of California's controversial $2.3 billion sale of 11 state office buildings. In fact, Regent Michael Cohen (then a Deputy Legislative Analyst for the Legislative Analyst's Office) described the deal as "poor fiscal policy and represented one imperfect option among many for balancing the state's budget."

ANA MATOSANTOS served as Director of the California Department of Finance in both the Brown and Schwarzenegger administrations. In 2011, Matosantos oversaw the slashing of hundreds of millions of dollars in spending on public education, including the University of California. In 2010, Matosantos described a proposal to divest CalPERS and CalSTRS from Israel as "inconsistent with systems' fiduciary obligations." In August 2016, she was appointed by President Obama to serve on the seven-member Puerto Rico Oversight, Management and Economic Stability Board, also known as "La Junta" in Puerto Rico. The Board has been relentless in defunding the public sector in the form of cuts to health care, public pensions, and the public university and dismantling the fragile social safety net of the island. Despite being imposed by Congress and its members being appointed by the federal government, La Junta is not part of the federal government and is instead an independent entity within the Puerto Rican government. This means that all of its expenses, which exceed $1 billion in legal and financial advisors fees alone, are covered by Puerto Rican taxpayers. In 2019, thirteen members of the United States Congress including Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Bernie Sanders signed a letter that demanded that the Board disclose its conflicts of interest.

ELAINE BATCHLOR is a rheumatologist and has been CEO of Martin Luther King Jr. Community Hospital since 2012. The MLK Hospital was recently in financial jeopardy due to inflation, rising labor expenses and a significant influx of patients (four times the initial projections). Previously, she was Chief Medical Officer of L.A. Care Health Plan, the nation's largest publicly operated health plan. In March 2022, LA Care was fined $55 million by the California Department of Managed Health Care and the California Department of Health Care Services for "deep-rooted, systemic failures that threaten the health and safety of its members." Batchlor has also served as a vice president at the California Health Care Foundation, medical director for the Los Angeles County Office of Managed Care, chief medical officer for Prudential Health Care and clinical instructor at the UCLA David Geffen School of Medicine.

CARMEN CHU has been the City Administrator for the City and County of San Francisco since 2021, overseeing an annual budget of nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars. Previously, she was the Assessor-Recorder of San Francisco from 2013 to 2021. She served on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors (2007-13) while Governor Gavin Newsom was Mayor of San Francisco (2004-11). It appears that she has never been affiliated with any political scandals, which is especially remarkable considering that she has worked for so long in a city administration rife with them.

LARK PARK is the Director of the California Education Learning Lab in the Governor's Office of Planning and Research. She previously served as a senior policy advisor in the Office of Governor Jerry Brown, where she has worked on higher education, workforce and childcare/early learning issues since 2015. From 2011 to 2015, she served as a deputy legislative affairs secretary in the Governor's Office, focusing on health and human services issues. Prior to that, she was a consultant to the California State Senate's Committee on Human Services from 2009 to 2011 and the Committee on Health from 2005 to 2009. In 2000, she was editor of equity research at W.R. Hambrecht and Co., an investment bank. Regent Park was a consultant at Booz Allen Hamilton, a military contractor specializing in intelligence, from 1995 to 1997. During the January 2024 Regents Meeting, Regent Sures proposed a policy that would prohibit faculty from publishing political statements on university webpages. Regent Park expressed support for the action and said, "I do not think it is unreasonable to remind people that there are guardrails and a professional context in the exercise of [the university's tripartite mission of research, teaching, and service]."

this very position in 2003. The money for this endowment was forwarded to the tribe by Station Casinos of Las Vegas. With benefits, Sarris made more than $200,000 a year at Sonoma State. In April 2003, the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria announced it had selected Station Casinos to be its partner in developing a casino on its reservation. The casino opened in 2013 and has been wildly successful (it is among the 5 most successful Indian casinos in the nation) as the closest casino to San Francisco. In 2022, the tribe announced plans for a massive, $1 billion expansion that will almost double its gaming floor and make the Graton Resort & Casino the second-largest casino in California. Interestingly, Regent Sarris' Native American roots have been called into question, since he was raised in a white adoptive family and only came to know of his Indian heritage in his early 30's. His unwed, 16-year-old Jewish mother died less than two weeks after he was born. Only decades later, through his own research, did he learn (through looking at his mother's high school yearbook) that his father was Emilio Hilario, who was part-Filipino, part-Indian descended from Native Americans who inhabited Marin and Sonoma counties. Hilario was deceased at the time that Sarris learned that he was his biological father. He has not taken a DNA test, claiming that his tribe would have to approve such a step. Sarris' second cousin from his biological father's side has also publicly accused him of lying about his Indian heritage. All that said, proving/disproving Native American ancestry is a complicated subject with numerous political and historical factors at play. Sarris has been a vocal advocate for indigenous and undocumented students in the Board of Regents.

MERHAWI TESFAI is the 2023-24 Student Regent. He is a graduate student at UCLA studying social welfare. Regent Tesfai was born in Eritrea and immigrated to the United States as a child. He is a first-generation transfer student. He previously worked at the Venice Family Clinic where he assisted unhoused patients access Medi-Cal benefits. He also has worked at Venice Community Housing assisting clients in supportive and transitional housing. He served as a counseling intern at CRI-Help Residential Treatment Center and Helpful Hands Intensive Outpatient Program where he facilitated individual and group counseling sessions. He expressed weak disapproval of Regent Sures' January 2024 proposal to prohibit faculty from publishing political statements on university websites.

JOSIAH BEHARRY is the 2023-24 Student Regent-designate. He is pursuing a Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Humanities at UC Merced, where he studies liberatory pedagogy, decolonizing curriculum, and trauma-rooted healing. He is a first-generation student and immigrated from Trinidad during his childhood. He was a mentor and aided in developing the Gateway Scholars program at UC Merced's Bright Student Success Center. He has been involved in organizations such as Central Valley Pride Center, ACLU, UCLA Dream Summer, and APALA National. He expressed strong disapproval of Regent Sures' January 2024 proposal to prohibit faculty from publishing political statements on university websites.

KEITH ELLIS is the 2023-24 Alumni Regent. He is a vocal advocate for people with disabilities and Vice President of the Alumni Associations of the University of California (AAUC). He currently serves as a Procurement Analyst for the California Department of Rehabilitation where he supports Californians with disabilities. Previously, he worked in disability services at Folsom Lake and Cosumnes River Colleges. In addition to having served on several shared governance committees at Los Rios Community College District, he also served as a campus representative for the Los Rios Classified Employees Association. He has previously served as the Legislative Advocacy Committee Chair for the California Association for Postsecondary Education and Disability (CAPED). He currently serves on the California Assistive Technology Advisory Commission providing oversight for the implementation of the Assistive Technology Act. He is also legally blind and is usually accompanied by a guide dog named Bubba. In January 2024, Regent Sures proposed restricting faculty from using some university websites to make opinionated and political statements. Regent Ellis said he was concerned that the policy could be used "as a weapon" against faculty.

JOEL RAZNICK is the 2023-24 Alumni Regent. He is the President and CEO of Undivided, a strategic brand planning and marketing firm that has worked with companies like JPMorgan and Chase & Co. He is also Chief Communications Officer at NEFT Vodka. He is a past president of the UC Santa Barbara Foundation Alumni Board of Directors, and has been a UC Santa Barbara Foundation Trustee since 2019. He is currently the President of the Alumni Associations of the University of California (AAUC).

GEOFFREY PACK is a 2023-24 Alumni Regent-designate and a retired naval officer. His naval career included command of a destroyer, a hovercraft facility, and a squadron of logistics ships, all operating in the Indo-Pacific region. He also served four US ambassadors as Defense Attaché to Denmark and Naval Attaché to Lithuania. He was awarded an honorary knighthood by Queen Margrethe for his contribution to Danish and US security cooperation. He later worked in local government for the City of San Diego in positions including emergency management and violence prevention. In 2014, Regent Pack was the Supervising Preparedness and Response Officer for the San Diego Department of Homeland Security, which is funded by the federal Department of Homeland Security. He currently serves as the Secretary-Treasurer of the UC Riverside Alumni Association (UCRAA), where he has served on the Board of Directors for the past six years. He is currently the Treasurer of the Alumni Associations of the University of California (AAUC).

member of the UC Berkeley Foundation Board of Trustees. He served as the Acting-Under Secretary for the California Technology Trade and Commerce for Governor Gray Davis. Salazar served as director of the Los Angeles Business Team in the Office of the Mayor Richard Riordan. He also served in various positions in economic development for the City of Los Angeles, including: senior business representative; acting director of the U.S. Department of Commerce Economic Development Administration's Infrastructure Grant Program; and coordinator for the Minority Business Opportunity Committee. While a student at UC Berkeley, he served on a University Task Force advocating for the establishment of an Ethnic Studies requirement (American Cultures).

GAVIN NEWSOM, ex-officio, is the Governor of California. He was lieutenant governor of California from 2011 to 2019 and the Mayor of San Francisco from 2004 to 2011. In March 2024, Newsom wrote a letter addressed to California's Muslim, Palestinian American, and Arab American communities, saying "I support President Biden's call for an immediate ceasefire as part of a deal to secure desperately needed relief for Gazan civilians and the release of hostages...I also unequivocally denounce Hamas's terrorist attack against Israel." He has fallen short of demanding a permanent ceasefire, instead just echoing the White House's position. In late November, Newsom chastised the Oakland City Council for passing a resolution calling for a ceasefire in Gaza without condemning Hamas. When the California Department of Education released a draft curriculum for high school ethnic studies classes in 2019 that had mentions of BDS it drew a wave of conservative and moderate backlash. Newsom later said the draft "will never see the light of day...It was offensive in so many ways." Newsom has long touted the relationship between Israel and California. Following the October 7 attacks, he announced a surprise trip to Israel to meet with the families of hostages.

ELENI KOUNALAKIS, ex-officio, has been serving as the lieutenant Governor of California since 2019 and is a candidate for Governor in the 2026 election. From 2010-13, she was the U.S Ambassador to Hungary. She is the daughter of Angelo Tsakopoulos, a Sacramento developer. According to the Panarcadian Federation of America, Tsakopoulos is "one of the richest Greeks of America." Prior to 2009, Kounalakis was President of AKT Development Corporation, her father's real estate firm. Kounalakis served for nearly ten years as a Trustee of the World Council of Religions for Peace. Kounalakis was appointed in 2014 by Governor Jerry Brown to serve as the chair of the California Advisory Council for International Trade and Investment. She has been strongly critical of the pro-Palestinian protests on UC and CSU campuses. On October 15, 2023, she participated in a pro-Israel rally in Los Angeles and held a sign that said "I stand with Israel". In 2021, she participated in a panel discussion with the Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister and the CEO of the Israel Innovation Authority on "the future of California's economic relationship with Israel and what can be done to ensure it continues to flourish."

ROBERT RIVAS, ex-officio, is currently serving as speaker of the California State Assembly. On January 4, 2024, he was dismissive of Jewish Voice for Peace's protest at a California legislative session. On October 7, 2024, he condemned Hamas' attack in Israel, However, he has not made any public statements on the conflict or genocide since then. He was raised in farmworker housing and his grandfather, Servando Flores, was a migrant farmworker who fought alongside Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta to deliver important labor protections for fellow farmworkers.

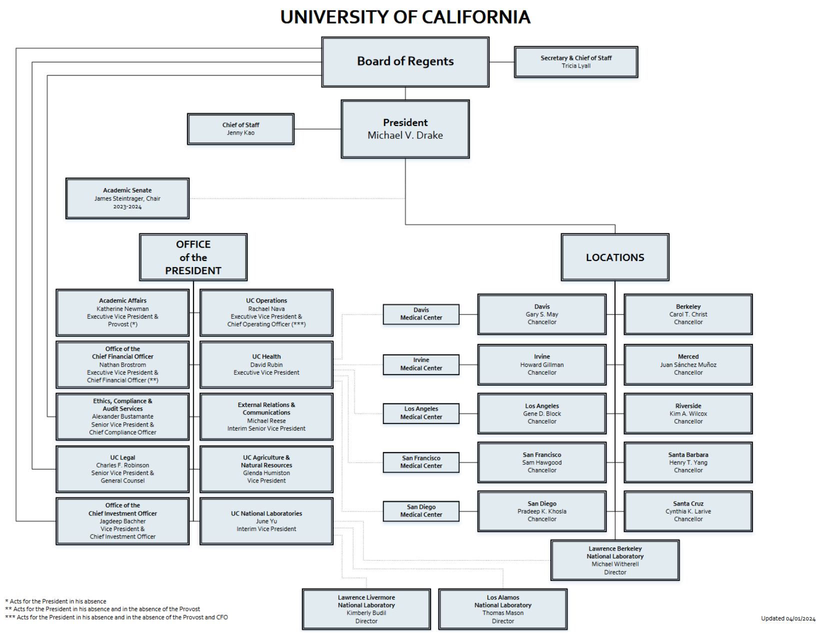
TONY THURMOND, ex-officio, is the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He is a candidate for Governor of California in 2026. He previously represented the 15th Assembly district at the State Assembly from 2014 to 2018. Thurmond is the second African American to hold the office of Superintendent. He has been involved in nonprofit and social work focused on improving service provision to current and former foster youth and directing educational programs that provided job training to at-risk youth in the East Bay. When the California Department of Education released a draft curriculum for high school ethnic studies classes in 2019 that had mentions of BDS, Thurmond was critical of the proposal and said in a meeting that there were problems with the creation of the group responsible for developing the ethnic studies curriculum that allowed it to be politicized. Later, the curriculum was scrapped for a new one that did not mention BDS.

MICHAEL V. DRAKE, M.D, ex-officio, has been president of the University of California since 2020. From 2014 to June 2020, he was the president of The Ohio State University. From 2005 to 2014, Drake was the Chancellor of UC Irvine. In 2007, Drake made the controversial decision to fire Erwin Chemerinsky (then Dean of UCI Law School). Many have speculated that this was due to Chemerinsky making numerous public statements and appearances pertaining to his progressive stances (including reforming the state's "three strikes" law and judicial review for detainees held at Guantanamo Bay). It's widely assumed that political pressure from the right led the chancellor to withdraw the offer. Drake expressed support for the UCLA administration following their decision to call the police on protesters at a pro-Palestinian encampment. At a Regents meeting on November 15, 2023, Dr. Drake announced an initiative aimed at "university policies [related to the conflict in the Middle East] are supportive, preventative and viewpoint-neutral."

revenues) and the UC investment portfolio. UCOP's System-wide Labor Relations negotiates and administers the collective bargaining agreements for academic and staff employees across the UC.

Excerpts from the Board of Regents bylaws (emphases added):

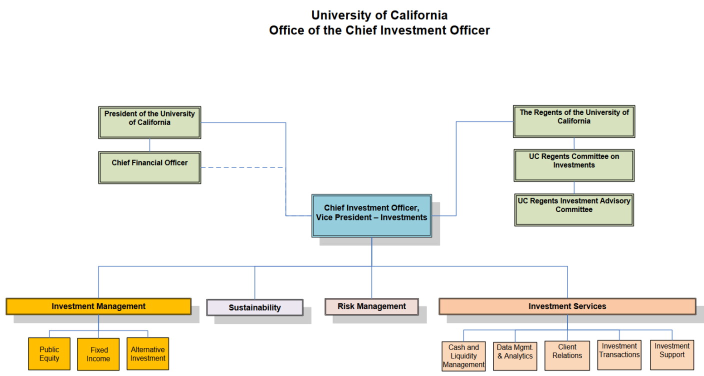
- "The President facilitates the development by the Board of the University's direction, goals and strategy. *The President implements the policies and objectives of the Board,* and keeps the Board informed of all significant developments affecting the University."
- "*The President develops, and on the approval of the Board, manages the University budget* and is authorized to determine fees that are not reserved to the Regents."
- "*Except as otherwise reserved to the Regents or the Principal Officers of the Regents,* the President is authorized to appoint, determine compensation, promote, demote, and dismiss University employees and to carry out the collective bargaining responsibilities of the University under the Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act."



UC organization chart. Source: UCOP

UC Investments (Office of the Chief Investment Officer)

The UC Investments office "manages the University of California's retirement, endowment, working capital, and cash assets" under the policies set by the Regents. UC Investments is led by the Chief Investment Officer, who is appointed by the Regents—see Bylaw 23.5(d). The CIO and UC Investments staff are responsible for the day-to-day management of the University's investment operations. The Investments Office is responsible for brokering the now quite famous BlackRock deal, for instance.



UC Investments (Office of the Chief Investment Officer) organization chart, dated 2015. Accessed May 2024.

The Board of Regents has the fiduciary responsibility under the state constitution for overseeing UC's pension and endowment funds. The CIO has dual responsibility to the Regents and the President of the University: they report to The Regents on the performance of the investment portfolios, and to UCOP for

The UC Finance office manages the UC annual operating budget, which in 2023-2024 was $51.4 billion. It also oversees "financial and capital project management" at the UC campuses, medical centers and LBNL, which includes "external relationships with rating agencies, investment houses, banks, financial auditors and financial regulators." The Finance Office is led by the Executive Vice President and Chief Financial Officer (CFO). In 2024 the CFO is Nathan Brostrom, who also sits on the boards of the Keck Telescope and the Thirty-Meter Telescope.

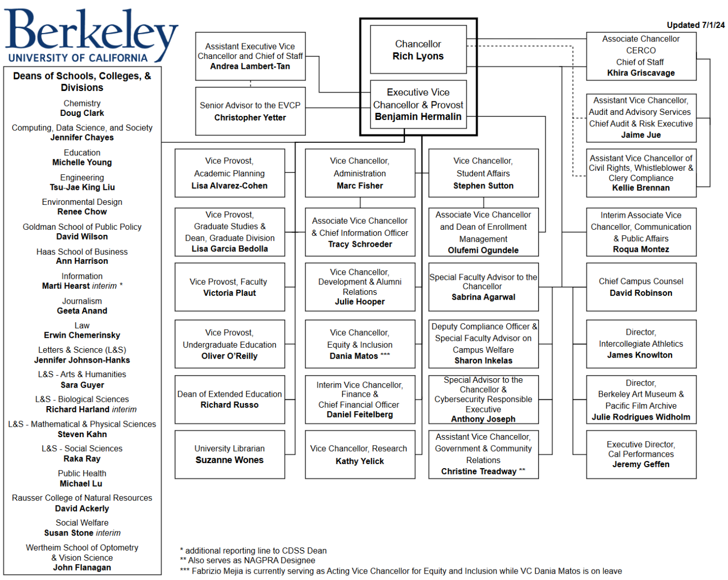
UC campuses

Chancellors

Each campus has a Chancellor. The Chancellors are appointed by the Regents, and are charged with serving "as the executive heads of their respective campuses, *implementing the policies and objectives of the Board and of the President of the University*" (emphasis added). Chancellors set the policies and internal administration of their respective campuses, "within the budget and policies approved by the Board and/or the President of the University."

At least two of the Chancellors—Gary May of UC Davis and Gene Block of UCLA—have or have had direct connections to the defense sector, as noted elsewhere in this document.

The University also has 11 "legally separate, tax-exempt, affiliated foundations," one for each campus and LBNL. Each Foundation is a nonprofit organization primarily concerned with fundraising for its campus, managing the endowment, and advising the chancellor. Foundations are headed by either a Board of Trustees or a Board of Directors, elected by a committee of board members. Almost all philanthropic donations go through this Board.



From UC Berkeley Organizational Charts.

Chancellor's cabinet

The Chancellor's Cabinet is "the campus' topmost administrative committee," advising and receiving assignments from the Chancellor on such sectors as campus capital projects, finances, alumni relations, undergraduate and graduate affairs, and government and community relations.[8] For instance, the Vice Chancellor for University Development and Alumni Relations (UDAR) reports to the Chancellor through the Cabinet. UDAR encompasses and staffs the UC Berkeley Foundation.

EVCP

Below the Chancellor is the Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost (EVCP)—the Chancellor's "leading senior executive responsible for UC Berkeley's day-to-day operations," (EVC) and the "chief academic officer, responsible for the [implementation] of all academic programs" (Provost). At UC Berkeley these are combined into one joint position. The EVCP oversees faculty recruitment, appointments, retention, and promotion. Planning education programs for both undergraduate and graduate students is done "in partnership with" the Academic Senate.

Board of Visitors

The Board of Visitors is a group of 18-24 people external to the UC who act as an advisory board (on such things as campus developments and capital projects) to the Chancellor and other campus leadership. It also interfaces with the UC Berkeley Foundation; the chair of the Foundation is a voting member of the Visitors.

UC Berkeley Foundation committees

We introduced the Berkeley Foundation in a **section above**. Here we'll just point out a few key Foundation committees and their function; a more complete list can be found here.

- **Executive Committee**
  - Can act on behalf of the Board of Trustees on matters that arise between Board meetings. Reviews the general endowment pool spending & payout policy, i.e. how much of the endowment is to be reinvested as capital versus how much can be "paid out" and spent on university functions.
- **Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) Subcommittee**
  - Broadly speaking, ESG is an approach to investment seeking to take account of companies' environmental, social, and governance impact into investment decisions. Evidence that the ESG industry is anything more than a ruling-class charade is radically scarce.
  - The Berkeley Foundation ESG subcommittee's stated purpose is to help integrate ESG factors into the Foundation's investment management. The subcommittee makes recommendations to the Executive Committee and recommends what instructions should be given to BEMCO.
  - Importantly, if ever the UC Berkeley Foundation decides to initiate a divestment task force or investigation, the ESG subcommittee is the first layer that must approve the task force's findings. More on this in the **above section** on the Foundation's divestment process.
- **Capital Strategies Committee**
  - A joint committee between Board of Visitors & Foundation to advise the Chancellor on matters relating to campus commercial income producing properties, land use, housing and other real estate investments
- **Research Committee**
  - Joint Board of Visitors and Foundation committee that advises on major research initiatives and considers intellectual property, innovation and application of research to address societal needs.

Research funding administration at UC Berkeley

There are quite a few administrative offices at UC Berkeley involved in processing awards and institutional partnerships. Two of them, the SPO and IAO/IPIRA, seemed most central and relevant for our purposes.

- **Sponsored Projects Office (SPO)**
  - Negotiates, accepts and supervises contracts and grants with not-for-profit sources. These include:
    - Federal agencies: DOE, DOD, DHHS and NIH, NSF, NOAA, NASA, EPA, the State Department, others.
    - Non-Federal agencies: state and local governments, foreign governments, UC-funded programs, foundations, nonprofits and NGOs.
- **Office of Intellectual Property and Industry Alliances (IPIRA)** has two branches.
  - **Industry Alliances Office (IAO):** handles industry-sponsored research grants and partnerships.
    - Processes awards from for-profit organizations and industry.
    - Handles industry contracts and grants with international partners.
    - Manages *incoming* material transfer agreements (MTAs).
    - Manages Small Business Innovation or Small Business Technology Transfer (SBIR/STTR) awards.
  - **Office of Technology Licensing (OTL):** manages *outgoing* MTAs, i.e. transfers of research materials *from* Berkeley to industry.

Planning Committee (campus land use decisions and capital investments) and the University Partnership Program (campus-level business partnerships such as those with BMO Bank, Peet's Coffee and PepsiCo).

IV. UC Research: Grants, Contracts & Partnerships

The term "sponsored project" describes any arrangement in which the university produces something (usually research) that is of public value or has a direct benefit to the sponsor. This includes grants, cooperative agreements, all manner of contracts, memoranda of understanding (MOUs), material transfer agreements (MTAs, whereby research materials are exchanged between two organizations), and industry affiliate programs.

UC Single-Audit Report

The most comprehensive documents we were able to find on the UC's sponsored projects were the Single Audit Reports (SARs), which can be found in the Federal Audit Clearinghouse. Here we look at the FY2023 Report.

The UC is required to complete annual SARs in compliance with the Single Audit Act. SARs include an audit of both the UC's financial statements and its compliance with Federal award requirements. We can use SARs to track all the federal funds that go to or through the UC (see the *"Schedule of Expenditures of Federal Awards"* beginning on page 108). These data should include all awards coming from the Pentagon into or through the UC. This category excludes contracts/grants from private defense companies, unless the private entity is acting as a pass-through for Pentagon funds (which is common).

Our findings on the UC's investments, discussed in section II above, are based on documents published by the UC Investments Office. Somewhat frustratingly, the figures described in the SAR don't match up with those in the UC Investments Office's documents; the auditor and the UC seem to "bin" the pots of money in different ways.[9] We assume these discrepancies are simply due to different accounting practices. However, we were not able to decipher the precise correspondence between figures in the Investments Office reports and figures in the SAR. Therefore, when it comes to investments, we base our discussion on the UC Investments documents, hope that these are accurate, and leave it as an exercise for readers with more sophisticated accounting backgrounds to reconcile the two sets of data.

Schedule of Expenditures of Federal Awards

The 2023 SAR includes a table titled "Schedule of Federal Expenditures," which has a column labeled "Direct Funding/Pass Through." Here's what this category means:

- **Direct Funding:** The UC received these funds directly from the federal government—in our case specifically the Department of Defense—without any intermediaries
- **Pass-Through Funding:** These funds were initially awarded by the federal government to another entity and are subsequently passed onto the UC. The UC then allocates these funds but it is *not* the initial recipient. The original receiving entity is responsible for complying with regulations prior to it reaching the UC.
- In some cases, the UC will choose to pass on part of the grant to other sub-recipients. This is what the final column, "**Funds Passed Through to Subrecipients**," signifies.

We parsed through the Schedule of Expenditures for FY2023: here is the full schedule, formatted as a more easily searchable spreadsheet.[10] The entries we selected from the Schedule of Expenditures are broken down in this spreadsheet.

We identified awards and contracts as "DOD-sponsored" if Agency or Pass-Through Entity was listed as either the Air Force, Navy, or Other DOD category. These include "direct" funds from DOD sub-agencies as well as "pass-through" funds which originate in the DOD but came to the UC through an intermediary entity. Subtracting the funds that the UC then chose to pass through to a different sub-recipient, we obtain the following Gross and Net amounts for each category:

	Gross	Net	UC passed through to sub-recipients
Air Force	$41,871,575	$33,310,049	$8,561,526
Navy	$2,730,322	$1,009,527	$1,720,795
Other DoD	$271,926,166	$231,865,225	$40,060,941

Besides DOD, there also several other organizations that support the U.S military and the current genocide of Palestinians by the Israeli government while also providing research and development funding to the UC system. A few of such organizations are highlighted below.

	Gross	Net	UC passed through to sub-recipients
Department of Homeland Security	$1,222,990	$962,072	$260,918
Hebrew University of Jerusalem	$538,334	$538,334	$0
Lockheed Martin	$29,525	$29,525	$0
Northrop Grumman	$193,550	$193,550	$0
Battelle	$2,926,149	$2,926,149	$0
Triad National Security	$1,125,211	$1,125,211	$0

Battelle Memorial Institute (or simply Battelle) is a private nonprofit that manages or co-manages 10 national Department of Energy (DoE) laboratories, as well as the National Biodefense Analysis and Countermeasures Center on behalf of the Department of Homeland Security.

Triad National Security, LLC is equally owned by the Battelle Memorial Institute, the Texas A&M University System, and the University of California. Its primary mission is to contribute to national security by overseeing scientific research and operations at Los Alamos National Laboratory, which is primarily focused on nuclear stockpile stewardship.

Grants and contracts

For years, the University of California's Information Center had published the sponsors of contracts and grants it received going back to 2005 here. However, sometime around late 2024, the university removed its sponsored projects dashboard and all its historical sponsorship data with it. The authors of this report had already reviewed and saved some of the data from the UC's sponsored project dashboard before it was removed. It is an extraordinary coincidence that the UC decided to remove this information from their websites just as they were facing increasing scrutiny for their ties to weapons manufacturers and the genocide in Palestine.

The sponsorship data going back to 2005 indicates that UC campuses have received funds from the Government of Israel, the Israeli Ministry of Defense, and several companies and foundations (described below) in the U.S military industrial complex. The following table lists how much money the University of California has received from these sources, among others, from 2005 to 2023.

The US-Israel Binational Science Foundation (BSF) promotes scientific relations between the U.S. and Israel by supporting collaborative research projects in a wide area of basic and applied scientific fields. Its core program supports approximately 100 projects each year based on joint applications by US and Israeli researchers, with funding directed to both US and Israeli investigators on binational research teams. The BSF has provided over $12 million in grants to the University of California since 2005.

The US-Israel Binational Agricultural Research and Development Fund (BARD) helps US and Israeli scientists address agricultural challenges of concern to both countries. California is BARD's largest US partner with 302 grants awarded through 2019. Funded California institutions include nine campuses of the University of California, Stanford University, Carnegie Institute of Washington-Stanford, Scripps Research Institute, California State University, Caltech, and the USDA Forest Service, with the top three awardees being UC Davis, UC Riverside, and UC Berkeley.

Chevron and Hewlett Packard (HP) are both listed as boycott targets by the Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC). Intel and Chevron are both listed as divestment targets by the BNC. Teva Pharmaceutical Industries (Teva) is listed as a pressure target by the BNC. Lockheed Martin, Honeywell, and Raytheon are military contractors that have all historically serviced the Israeli military.

Table: UC Sponsors of Contracts and Grants

	Govt. of Israel	Israeli Ministry of Defense	U.S Israel BSF	U.S Israel BARD	Chevron	Honeywell	HP	Intel	Lockheed Martin	Raytheon
2005-06	-	-	369,021	281,000	557,157	269,061	4,054,349	3,324,851	1,561,205	1,209,8[illegible]

2009-10	300,000	-	510,952	433,000	994,663	335,994	1,583,878	4,308,265	1,705,111	2,291,5
2010-11	100,000	-	379,274	512,596	7,034,807	159,409	529,470	6,379,588	2,034,913	588,8
2011-12	841,521	-	546,435	328,000	949,841	432,757	338,800	8,084,832	1,114,713	754,5
2012-13	100,000	169,000	592,095	412,000	4,379,209	666,310	3,212,887	2,893,642	780,897	552,1
2013-14	344,240	-	626,185	814,316	4,369,626	687,248	125,000	2,648,137	134,753	696,7
2014-15	431,520	150,000	848,361	160,000	5,291,687	1,003,633	50,000	5,046,601	741,479	554,8
2015-16	250,000	99,960	685,465	854,000	4,520,665	645,000	785,000	11,227,322	549,951	
2016-17	250,000	100,000	1,231,249	481,500	1,589,000	1,463,032	60,000	7,964,094	2,819,414	289,9
2017-18	200,000	400,209	574,471	314,008	1,613,000	1,282,272	131,361	7,563,048	1,963,380	
2018-19	159,904	-	666,064	660,000	3,449,004	427,468	-	4,291,161	290,596	
2019-20	300,000	-	1,104,464	426,800	1,720,184	892,440	1,039,949	12,270,803	130,000	
2020-21	140,000	146,090	1,107,422	530,508	439,727	158,492	50,000	7,204,564	528,870	209,0
2021-22	70,000	153,909	990,662	1,418,500	3,470,197	-	-	5,838,876	143,392	120,0
2022-23	-	-	925,162	1,148,400	1,073,131	-	-	5,280,273	280,807	314,0
2005-23	**$3,487,185**	**$1,219,168**	**$12,833,511**	**$11,071,901**	**$49,559,022**	**$10,639,311**	**$17,840,339**	**$109,247,972**	**$18,006,331**	**$9,825,1**

Snapshot of a year: DOD funding for UC research

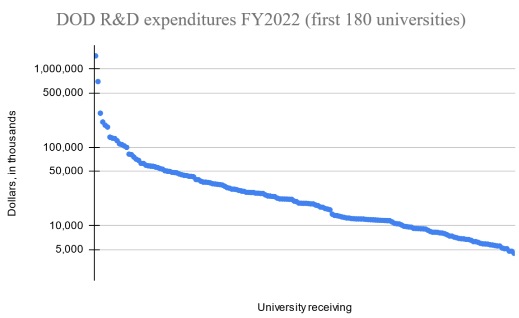
Here we give an example of the picture that one can try to stitch together from different, incomplete, and usually contradictory sources of data. We focus on UC Berkeley, since it is the campus the authors are most familiar with. We'll use the following three sets of data:

1. NCSES HERD Survey (HERD data).
2. UC Info Center, "Sponsors of contracts and grants" (UCOP data).
3. UC Berkeley "Sponsored Projects Funding" (SPO data).

Macro-level DOD R&D expenditures in higher education

In FY 2022 (the year ending September 30, 2022), the U.S. government spent well over $700 billion on its military—about $1.5 trillion, by one estimate. According to official USASpending data, the DOD had a total of $1.64 trillion budgetary resources available to it (which includes unspent resources from previous years) and it committed $1.19 trillion of that as obligations. That is, in FY 2022 it officially 'committed' to spend $1.19T, leaving a half trillion unobligated and saved for the next year.

Of the total $1.19 trillion DOD obligations for FY 2022, $9.6 billion was awarded through grants, per USASpending. The NCSES Higher Education Research and Development (HERD) Survey for the academic fiscal year 2022 (ending June 30), which presents data on R&D expenditures at higher education institutions, reported $7.98 billion R&D expenditures funded by the Department of Defense.



Distribution of DOD R&D expenditures for the top 180 receiving U.S. universities. Source data: NCSES HERD Survey FY2022, Table 60

UC campus	DOD R&D expenditures, in millions: FY 2021	DOD R&D expenditures, in millions: FY 2022	Main research fields
UCSD	$79.6	$104.6	Primarily in geosciences, atmospheric and ocean science; also life sciences and engineering.
UCLA	$50.4	$55.3	Life sciences & engineering
Berkeley	$42.8	$48.2	Mostly engineering ($25M), physical sciences ($9.4M) and life sciences ($5.8M)
UCSF	$37.4	$49.6	Life sciences
UCSB	$32.0	$43.0	Engineering
Davis	$23.2	$27.6	Life sciences and engineering.
Irvine	$13.8	$19.4	Life sciences and engineering.
Riverside	$7.0	$9.9	Life sciences and engineering.
UCSC	$5.9	$9.2	Engineering and geosciences
Merced	$1.6	$1.7	Life and physical sciences
UC TOTAL	**$293.7**	**$368.5**	

DOD R&D expenditures received by the UC, according to HERD data.

However, if we now compare this to the UC Information Center's "Sponsors of contracts and grants" database, we find discrepancies. See the data collected from this database on our spreadsheet here. According to the UCOP data, if we add up the contributions from all sponsoring DOD sub-agencies in federal FY 2022, UC Berkeley only received $17.6 million in DOD-sponsored awards, in total disagreement with the $48 million figure from HERD.

(Berkeley FY 2022) DOD, by sub-agency:	TOTAL: $17,613,449	Num. awards
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)	$1,025,995	3
Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR)	$3,333,019	9
Office of Naval Research (ONR)	$7,152,664	9
Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering	$1,421,206	1
Dept. of Army Research, Washington D.C. Office (DAR)	$2,713,895	8
Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA)	$996,336	2
National Security Agency (NSA)	$970,334	1

UC Berkeley FY 2021-22 grants sponsored by DOD sub-agencies.
Data from the UC Information Center, accessed April 2024.

If we look back to FY 2021 the data agree a bit better: UCOP reports that Berkeley received about $46 million in sponsored project funding from DoD sub-agencies, which agrees better with the 2021 HERD number: $43M.

(Berkeley FY 2021) DOD, by sub-agency	$46,463,806	Num. awards
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)	$13,478,667	5
Air Force Research Laboratory	$9,751,303	1
Office of Naval Research (ONR)	$8,242,128	14
Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR)	$7,296,531	7
Dept. of Army Research, Washington D.C. Office	$6,731,177	8
US Army Research Laboratory	$500,000	1
US Army Contracting Command	$450,000	1
National Security Agency (NSA)	$14,000	1

UC Berkeley FY 2020-21 grants sponsored by DOD sub-agencies.
Data from the UC Information Center, accessed April 2024.

There is yet a third source of data we can compare to: UC Berkeley's Sponsored Projects Office (SPO) has its own public data interface. If we take the sum of funding sponsored by the Air Force, Army, DARPA, Navy, and Other Defense categories, we find:

DOD, by department:	FY 2021	FY 2022	FY 2023
Environmental Science, Policy, and Management	$592,433	$2,965,631	
Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering	$656,145		$660,000
Chemistry Department	$3,150,783	$1,203,384	$3,342,001

Molecular & Cell Biology	$3,647,894		
California Institute for Quantitative Biology (QB3)	$2,120,233	$1,233,903	$297,021
Center for Effective Global Action		$355,303	$1,065,905
Helen Wills Neuroscience Institute		$149,275	
Simons Institute for the Theory of Computing	-$11,324		
Division of Social Sciences: The Social Science Matrix	-$68,289		
Museum of Vertebrate Zoology			$1,385
TOTAL:	**$48,085,805**	**$31,239,107**	**$33,349,677**

UC Berkeley 2020-23 grants sponsored by DOD sub-agencies.
Data from the [Berkeley SPO](), accessed April 2024.

For FY 2021, the total of $48 million roughly agrees with the previous figures ($46M from UCOP, $43 from HERD). For FY 2022, the $31M figure does not resolve the discrepancy—recall that UCOP reported $17.6M and HERD reported $48M.[11]

How much of Berkeley's funding comes from the DOD?

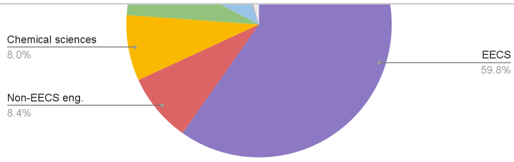
According to the SPO data, in 2023 UC Berkeley received over $1 billion in research grants, most of it (46%) from federal grants and only 7% from the private sector. Of this $1 billion, just $33.3 million came from sponsors marked as DOD sub-agencies—or 3.3% of the total awards.

The UCOP data diverge pretty significantly from Berkeley SPO's, but the fraction of DOD funding is at least in the same ballpark: out of $644M total award funding received by Berkeley in FY 2023, $25.8M, or 4%, came from DOD sub-agencies. Both of these (UCOP and SPO) estimates exclude any funding from the National Nuclear Security Administration and private military contractors, as well as "pass-through" DOD funding that comes to Berkeley through an intermediate entity.

(Berkeley FY 2023) DOD, by sub-agency:	$25,845,814	Num. awards
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)	$3,603,274	4
Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR)	$4,003,619	8
Office of Naval Research (ONR)	$6,379,097	5
Naval Information Warfare Systems Command	$646,335	1
Dept. of Army Research, Washington D.C. Office (DAR)	$4,261,494	5
U.S. Army Research Laboratory	$850,000	2
Air Force Research Laboratory	$5,398,530	1
Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA)	$496,225	1
National Security Agency (NSA)	$207,240	1
National Geospatial Intelligence Agency	$1,426,422	1
Other sponsors:	**$14,830,996**	**Num. awards**
U.S.-Israel Binational Science Foundation	$145,710	3
Lockheed Martin Corp.	$181,807	1
Boston Dynamics AI Institute, LLC	$3,000,000	2
Exxon Mobil Corp.	$1,015,000	1
Gilead Sciences, Inc.	$487,837	1
Intel Corp.	$200,000	1
Chevron Corp.	$660,000	1
Shell USA, Inc.	$1,637,616	5
Lawrence Livermore National Security, LLC	$4,002,314	11
National Technology & Engineering Solutions of Sandia, LLC	$720,712	7
UT-Battelle, LLC	$120,000	1
Triad National Security, LLC	$2,660,000	1

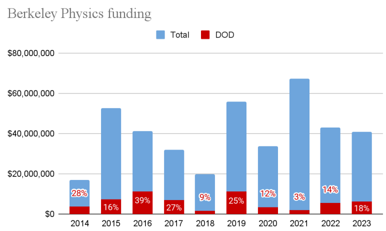
UC Berkeley FY 2022-23 grants sponsored by DOD sub-agencies. Data from the [UC Information Center]().

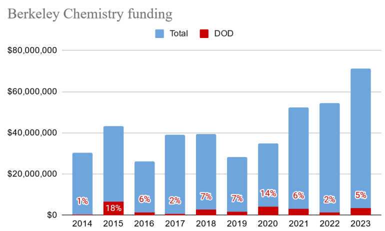
Given the discrepancy between UCOP and SPO data, we cannot confidently give *any* exact figures when it comes to UC research funding. Nevertheless, it may be encouraging to see that, at least *at the macro level*, it seems completely severing ties with the DOD would not cripple the Berkeley research community. At the division- and lab-level, of course, things are very different.

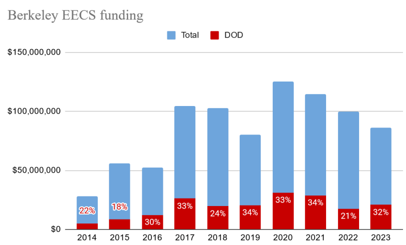


See [UC Sponsors of Contracts and Grants](#) for data and corresponding plots.

First, DOD funding is not distributed evenly. More than half of it at Berkeley goes to the EECS department alone. The next biggest chunks go to Physics, non-EECS engineering, and Chemistry.







See [UC Sponsors of Contracts and Grants](#) for data and corresponding plots.

Moreover, even within *each* department the defense funding is distributed highly unevenly. Though we do not report any numbers to support this here, anecdotally the authors can report that groups in the Physics department either receive a large fraction of their funding from the DOD, or none at all.

We conjecture that this uneven distribution of Pentagon funds broadly holds across the UC system. We further conjecture that this is a reflection of the fact that much research funding in academia is allocated according to subject area—specifically to those areas the Pentagon believes could be beneficial to U.S. interests either in the near or distant future—rather than "subcontract style" where any Physics or Engineering or Chemistry group can choose whether or not to pick up a certain project for the war machine.

Public-private partnerships

'Corporate and industrial affiliate programs' is the official term for public-private partnerships in academia. Multiple laboratories on campus—including Lawrence Berkeley National Lab!—offer membership to private companies, offering benefits such as board memberships, access to pre-publication research, and streamlined technology licensing or 'tech transfer'. A few UC Berkeley corporate affiliate programs of interest can be found in the table below. Corporate affiliates that have significant ties to the U.S military, are a branch of the U.S military, or are [listed as a BDS target](#) by the BDS National Committee (BNC) are shown in bold font.

Lab or Campus Program	Corporate and Industrial Members/Affiliates
Berkeley Emerging Technologies Research (BETR) Center	Lam Research, Applied Materials, SK Hynix, Atomera, TSMC, **Intel**, AMD, Meta
Berkeley College of Engineering	General Motors, **Siemens**, **Chevron**, Lam Research, Micron

Marvell Nanofabrication Laboratory	Technologies, Nanoshift, Neuralink, Omnitron Sensors, PSI Quantum, Pivotal Systems Corporation, Precision Neuroscience, Rigetti & Co, Science Corporation, Serinus Labs, Sonera Magnetics, Texas Instruments, inSync Resonance, nEYE Systems
Berkeley Sensor and Actuator Center	Analog Devices, Azbil, Bosch, Brembo, **Chevron**, Faurecia, TDK, Murata, NGK, Qorvo, Rosemount, Samsung, Synergy Group, Texas Instruments, TSMC
California Partners for Advanced Transportation Technology	**DARPA, Lockheed Martin, Honeywell, Northrop Grumman, Booz Allen Hamilton**, and many more
School of Optometry and Vision Science	Haag-Streit, Bosch, VSP, CooperVision, Alcon, Allergan, Zenni, Luxottica, Hoya, Paragon CRT, Essilor, Meta, Topcon, Bausch & Lomb, Euclid, Box Medical Solutions, Pioneer International, Johnson and Johnson Vision, Optovue, National Vision, Micromass, VTI, Sight Sciences, Zeiss, Tear Science, Vision West, **U.S Army**, FirstSight, CenterVue, Bruder, Keeler, Heine Optotechnik
FHL Vive Center for Enhanced Reality	Microsoft, Intel, Via, Vive, **Siemens**
iCyPhy	Avast, Camozzi Industries, Denso, Ford, **Siemens**, Toyota
Manufacturing 360	Diamond Foundry, **Lawrence Livermore, Navy**
Berkeley Institute for Data Science	Accenture Applied Intelligence, Goldman Sachs, John Deere, Johnson & Johnson, **Microsoft, Siemens**, State Street
C3.ai Digital Transformation Institute	C3.ai, **Microsoft**, Baker Hughes, Shell plc
Center for Information Technology Research in the Interest of Society and the Banatao Institute (CITRIS)	Enel, Hitachi, **Intel**, Kajima Corporation, Komatsu, Lam Research, Meta, **Microsoft**, **MITRE**, OSIsoft, PG&E, **Siemens**, Sun Yat-Sen University, Tecnologico de Monterrey, VTT, WilmerHale
Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity	**Booz Allen Hamilton**, Charles Koch Foundation, Google, **HP**, **Intel**, Meta, **Microsoft**, and more
Berkeley Fung Institute for Engineering Leadership	Blue Goji, MSCI, Asurion, Ripple, Starkey, Linkedin, **Microsoft**, General Motors, and Lyft
Berkeley Haas Center for Responsible Business	Levi Strauss and Co, Orsted, Ramboll, **Microsoft**
Berkeley Food Institute Center for Diversified Farming Systems	CS Fund, National Science Foundation, **The U.S. Army Research Laboratory's Army Research Office,** USDA-NIFA: Renewable Energy, Natural Resources, and Environment Program, The Walker Fund

V. UC in the nuclear weapons complex

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICANW) issued a report in 2019 on the ways U.S. universities "are involved in the research and design of U.S. nuclear weapons." A longer excerpt from the full report, which is hereafter referred to as ICANW, was quoted in this document's introduction but we'll repeat it here:

> "The University of California arguably has the longest-standing and highest profile connection to the nuclear weapons complex of any university. While the UC administration has continued to pursue such connections, it has done so at points without the support of many of its constituent faculty and students. In 1970, student protests caused university officials to consider whether to maintain its ties to the weapons labs it managed, ultimately deciding to do so. [46] When the federal government decided to competitively bid the contract for the management of Los Alamos National Laboratory in 2005, students protested against UC involvement again. [47a, 47b] When the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory contract was awarded to the UC system and its partners in 2007, students embarked on a hunger strike."

At various points even faculty have objected to the UC's connection to the nuclear weapons laboratories. Here is another extended excerpt from ICANW (p. 16):

> "In 1989, a UC Academic Senate Committee found this connection and the classified work at the labs to be 'contrary to the fundamental nature of the university.' In a 1990 vote across all the UC campuses, 64% of faculty voted to end the relationship with the labs. In 1991, the UC Academic Senate voted 50 to two for the same. In 2004, when the management of the labs was again an open question, another poll of the faculty was taken. This time, 67% of the faculty preferred to keep the university connection with the labs, with one significant caveat. Only 25% of faculty felt that the production of plutonium pits, a key ingredient for nuclear warheads, was "an appropriate activity" for the

> *levels, or for the purpose of nuclear warhead replacement or production, UC should reassess its participation in the management of that Laboratory.'*
>
> Current proposals by the National Nuclear Security Administration call for renewed investments at the Los Alamos lab to support the expanded production of plutonium pits."

This 2020 URA report uses the University of California as an example of what effective university-lab partnerships look like (see pages 5-6).

- The UC operates Lawrence Berkeley (LBNL), Los Alamos (LANL) and Lawrence Livermore (LLNL) National Laboratories and "reinvests its fee revenue in initiatives with long-term benefit of the laboratory enterprise, including research partnerships and other initiatives."
- The U.C. operates LBL, LANL, and LLNL and
- The U.C. National Laboratories Fee Research Program (LFRP), a UCOP program, uses the net fee income the University receives for managing LANL and LLNL to support research of strategic importance to UC and the national laboratories.
  - LFRP research awards go to U.C. faculty and laboratory scientists working in strategic areas.
  - LFRP fellowships go to graduate students, allowing them to pursue dissertation research at LANL or LLNL.
- U.C. has also established programs outside of research and student programs to experiment with new business models and technology transfer mechanisms.
- Though not mentioned in this URA report, the UC also has a number of partnerships with Sandia National Laboratories.

The pages below provide a skeleton of the UC's connection with these national laboratories. More detailed investigation into the *content* of these connections, e.g. the concrete research output that has resulted from UC-national lab collaborations, is left to future investigation.

Los Alamos National Laboratories

UC has managed the Los Alamos National Lab (LANL) since 1943, at first being its exclusive manager. Since at least 2006 LANL has been managed under the GOCO (Government-Owned Contractor-Operated) model.

Since 2018, the UC has been one of 3 members (along with Battelle[12] and Texas A&M University) of Triad National Security, LLC, which offers "management services in the fields of nuclear energy, nuclear nonproliferation, national security," and "stockpile stewardship and management."

According to ICANW (p. 53), LANL "provides design and engineering for several nuclear warhead types, conducts simulated experiments to evaluate warheads, and has the capacity to produce plutonium pits[13], the core material for nuclear warheads. Department of Energy funding for the Lab in FY2019 was $2.48 billion, of which 76% comes from the NNSA's Weapons Activities Appropriations."

The fixed fee awarded to Triad for executing the contract is about $20 million per year, with an additional $25-30 million available through award fees should it meet certain performance benchmarks. This is the money Triad receives above the costs of operating the facility. The University of California estimated that it would receive $8.9 million in net fee revenue from Triad for FY2019, which it plans to reinvest in lab oversight functions and funding for research partnerships between UC campuses and the labs. (ICANW, p. 53)

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories

LLNL was founded in 1952 by Ernest Orlando Lawrence and physicist Edward Teller.[14] Like Los Alamos, Livermore's primary task is to design and engineer nuclear weapons. DOE funding for LLNL in FY2019 was $1.56B.

The University of California held exclusive management rights over LLNL from its inception until 2007, when the DOE announced that Lawrence Livermore National Security (LLNS), LLC would become the contractor managing Livermore. The UC is a leading partner in LLNS. Other partners include Bechtel National, BWX Technologies, Amentum, and Battelle (which is also a part of Triad National Security, LLC, see above.)

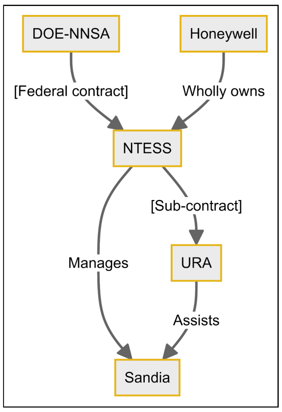
LLNS "is scheduled to receive a fixed fee of nearly $13 million in FY2019, with performance incentive fees of up to $30 million also available. It is unclear exactly how the partners in the LLC divide the fees. The University of California estimated that it would receive $13.6 million in net fee revenue from this lab for FY2019, which it would reinvest in lab oversight functions and funding for research partnerships between UC campuses and the labs." (ICANW, p. 53) collection of labs, with the two main campuses in Albuquerque, NM and Livermore, CA. Though Sandia remains government-owned, it is privately managed by a subsidiary of Honeywell International, of cluster bomb-manufacturing fame.

Sandia's research focuses on weapons systems—for instance, the world's first self-guiding bullet was invented at Sandia—and in particular on the non-nuclear components of nuclear weapons (basically, everything in the nuclear weapon except for the plutonium.)

Sandia was operated by UC until 1949, when management was taken over by a subsidiary of AT&T, which in 1993 was taken over by Lockheed Martin. In late 2016, lab management changed hands again: since December 2016 Sandia National Laboratories has been managed by National Technology and Engineering Solutions of Sandia (NTESS), a subsidiary of the defense contractor Honeywell International.

There are two large institutional connections between the UC and Sandia: the Universities Research Association and the Sandia Universities Partnership Network.

Universities Research Association (URA)



Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, UCLA, Riverside, UCSD and UCSB are members of URA, a consortium of over 94 universities. The URA is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, established in 1965 to operate research laboratories like Fermilab and Sandia "in the national interest."

The relationship between URA and Sandia can be summarized as follows:

- In 2016 the NNSA awarded NTESS the contract for managing Sandia. The original proposal submitted by Honeywell included the URA as a subcontractor to NTESS.
- In 2018 the NTESS-URA subcontract went into effect, with the goal of "promoting the talent pipeline, and facilitating strategic engagement within academia."

However, it's not made clear what services the URA actually lends to Sandia. The URA website says it "supports external calibration, strategic planning, university partnerships, and diverse talent development" for Sandia, and "assists Sandia to identify and assess current and future research fields that align with the Laboratories' mission." According to ICANW, on the URA's IRS Form 990 for FY2017, Sandia was the largest program in terms of expenses (about $527k that year). More recently, URA recently began funding a Sandia Summer Fellows Program.

The URA's main governing body is the Council of Presidents of its member universities, which delegates management of corporate affairs to the URA Board of Trustees. The President of URA serves simultaneously on Sandia's Board of Managers. UC Davis Chancellor Gary May was Chair of the URA Council of Presidents in 2021. Former Chancellor of UCLA Gene Block was also on the URA Board of Trustees.[16]

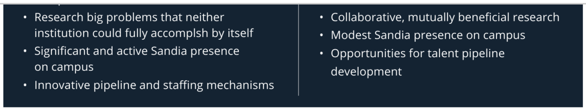
Sandia University Partnerships Network (SUPN)

ICANW reported that Berkeley, Davis and UCLA are all partners in Sandia National Laboratories' Campus Executive Program, but we believe this is now called the Sandia University Partnerships Network (SUPN). See this report, referred to hereafter as SBCR:

SANDIA-UC BERKELEY Collaboration Report 2021-2022

University members of SUPN fall into two categories: Alliance Partners and National/Regional Partners. It seems these function roughly like a "core" and "outer ring" of partnerships.

- UC Berkeley is an Alliance Partner in SUPN.



See SBCR, pg. 13

Formal relationships with Sandia allow universities to apply for Laboratory Directed Research and Development funding to pay research stipends. Also (presumably) as part of the agreement, these 3 UC campuses regularly host Sandia recruiting events.

The partnership with UC Berkeley was established in 2022, with the goal of "enhancing collaboration between principal investigators (PI) on LDRD projects, developing a sustainable workforce, and accelerating technology adoption," and potential "to increase jointly held Intellectual Property." (SBCR p. 24)

> "Strong areas of synergy were identified in climate change, energy systems, pandemic resiliency, food security, cybersecurity, infrastructural renewal, aerospace, advanced manufacturing, biodefense, materials engineering, cybersecurity and data analytics, nuclear non-proliferation, quantum information systems, nuclear and radiological sciences, design methodologies, and computational science." (SBCR p. 25)

A cursory look at Sandia's public list of academic papers shows, for instance, that UC Berkeley researchers collaborate with Sandia on wargame analysis through PEGASIS and PoNG. A more in-depth investigation of joint UC-Sandia research is left as a task beyond the scope of this document.

Other Sandia agreements with UC campuses: MOUs and recruitment

- In 2022 Sandia signed memoranda of understanding with UC Berkeley and five other universities. The news release confirms that Sandia works with UC Berkeley on nuclear deterrence, global security and quantum information science projects. It's not clear how this MOU is related to the SUPN partnership described above.
- In July 2023 UC Davis announced a memorandum of understanding with Sandia to collaborate on research and education related to national security. The agreement is meant to foster exchange of intelligence, **sharing research equipment and facilities**, and **access to funding sources not normally available to either party independently.** There may also be opportunities for Sandia staff to get involved in teaching or receive technical training, and summer research opportunities at Sandia for UC Davis faculty.
- In February 2024 UC Davis partnered with Sandia for a networking symposium.
- UC Berkeley also has a number of recruitment conduits to Sandia set up. In addition to regularly recruiting at Berkeley's STEM career fairs, Sandia claims (SBCR, p. 27) that:
    - Berkeley held 11 virtual recruiting events in 2021 on opportunities at the Labs.
    - Sandia has a collaboration with Latino/a Association of Graduate Students (LAGSES) and Society of Women Engineers (SWE). In February 2022, Sandia hosted a panel and dinner with LAGSES.
    - In March 2022, Sandia and UC Berkeley held a virtual Diversity in STEM Symposium.
- UC Berkeley leads the Nuclear Science and Security Consortium, which "provides funding and training for students pursuing careers in nuclear weapon security." The NSSC also includes UC Davis, LBNL, LLNL, LANL and Sandia.

The rationale behind Sandia's academic partnerships

In FY2021, Sandia engaged in research with 148 universities and invested $58 million into contracts with them. Below we try to identify the key benefits that Sandia obtains from its partnerships with universities, and vice-versa, according to their own reports and advertising.

Source 1: *Sandia-Berkeley Collaboration Report 2021-2022.*
Sandia's Academic Programs umbrella encompasses (1) SUPN, (2) the Faculty Loan Program for Joint Appointments, and (3) the Postdoctoral Research Program Office, a postdoc fellowship program. These programs allow Sandia to: **accelerate technology transfer via partnerships; provide joint funding to seed "strategic" research; exchange staff, faculty, students, and postdoctoral appointees; create opportunities for advisory board memberships and faculty sabbaticals.**

Source 2: *Sandia Academic Alliance Program Collaboration Report 2021.*
Sandia's Academic Alliance (SAA) Program (later renamed to SUPN) had the goals of "growing the total annual inexperienced **hires** from each out-of-state SAA university," and to "establish and sustain **strategic research**

company formation.

Source 3: *Sandia's Campus Executive Program.*
The Campus Executive Program was the precursor to SAA and SUPN. [17] Already in 2001 Sandia boasted of working with 120 universities annually. The Campus Executive Program, created in 1997, was created to foster "more joint research, more graduate students coming to Sandia to work as interns and eventual employees, more interaction between the university faculty members and our staff, and more collaboration." Basically, its purpose was to **encourage research collaborations and grease the school-to-lab recruitment pipeline.**

> "The Campus Execs and deans worked together to figure out ways the universities and Sandia could be partners — both in recruiting top students from the schools to the Labs and in cooperative research. Sandia, Chuck says, has always valued its relationships with universities — realizing that they are a source of future Labs engineers and scientists and that the universities conduct top-notch research in areas in which Sandia has specific interests. In 2000 Sandia spent $28 million in joint research projects with universities. (Sandia works with 120 universities annually and has 700 active contracts with them.) The Labs has devoted an additional $15 million a year for graduate student support and university and science outreach. …
>
> Our relationship is more of a partnership, with both partners in a win-win situation. … Universities get research dollars, access to the unique research capabilities of Sandia, and training for faculty and students. We gain access to research that supports our mission and an emerging talent pool. Both partners enhance their and the country's competitiveness."

The article suggests that **recruitment efforts, joint research projects, and "graduate student support"** (i.e. fellowships or seed funding for graduate students) are key university-Sandia ties to look out for. For instance, some universities (Utah, Arizona, Colorado) were developing fellowships for PhD students, which is great for them because "the students know that their fellowships and research are funded by Sandia, making them aware that the Labs might be a great place to work," and they make a Sandia researcher a member of the student's dissertation committee, which lets the lab build up "relationships with other professors and with the students and [offer] direct input in the research direction."

The article also says that at some universities, either **faculty members will spend time at Sandia** (through sabbaticals or summer appointments) or **Sandia scientists will go to the university**. Also, at some schools, Sandia has relationships with "the University president's office, ... committees and advisory councils, even former staff now serving as Deans or faculty at several schools."

Source 4: *UT Austin-Sandia partnership.*
UT Austin's website lists the following opportunities, some of which were mentioned above.

- **Laboratory Directed Research and Development (LDRD)** offers funding for "seed" projects to facilitate collaborations between faculty/students and Sandia PIs. Sandia's "sole source of discretionary R&D funding," LDRD seeks to "invest in high-risk, potentially high-payoff activities that enable national security missions" and advance science. (See also the CU Boulder - Sandia partnership: "The use of these funds will be directed by your campus executive, in concert with Sandia's LDRD program.")
- **Faculty appointments (Sabbatical and Summer Faculty Research Appointments):** Sandia scientists are encouraged to do joint research with university faculty by inviting them for short-term appointments at Sandia. "Academic faculty can connect to specific projects, engage in sabbatical or summer faculty research, hold a Sandia joint appointment, or serve on Sandia advisory boards." (source: Sandia faculty collaborations). Sandia staff can also participate in the Joint Appointments Program, which allows them to work part time at a host university while remaining a full employee at the Labs.
- **Advisory boards and adjunct professorships for Sandia staff:** Sandia staff are on university external advisory boards, and vice-versa. Sandia also encourages its staff to serve as adjunct professors at other universities. "Experts from universities frequently serve on Sandia advisory boards and provide strategic insight. Sandia also encourages its staff to serve as adjunct professors at universities and participate on academic advisory boards." (source: Sandia faculty collaborations).
- **Joint research proposals:** the Academic Alliance partnership between UT Austin and Sandia lets joint proposals be submitted for external funding.
- **Research internships and fellowships***:* for undergrad, grad, and postdoc level.

Summary

Summarizing the above sources, we can say that the mutually beneficial partnership between Sandia (and, by extension, other national defense research

additional sources of funding that Sandia brings.
3. The ability to invite faculty to spend time at Sandia, and send Sandia staff to spend time at the university, serve a similar purpose.
4. Giving Sandia staff access to university committees and advisory boards opens further opportunities for the defense lab to influence university affairs. The other direction, inviting academic faculty to sit in Sandia advisory boards, may also benefit Sandia's internal research operations and governance.
5. The laboratory-university partnership helps accelerate "technology transfer," i.e. turning R&D into commercial products. This aspect deserves close scrutiny, but we leave that to future investigation.

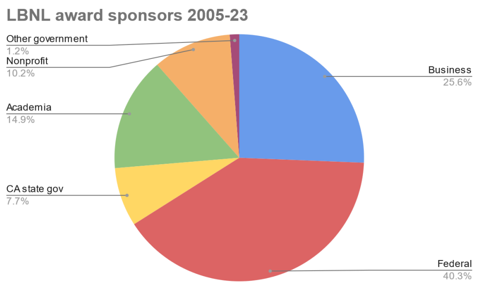
Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory

Though not typically regarded as a defense research hub—in part because scientists at LBNL historically resisted the influence of the military, and fought to reject both DOE and DOD funding—today LBNL carries out DOD- and even private sector-funded research in various "strategic" areas.

Berkeley Lab has received funding from the DOD through the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), who are funding the BELLA-μ project. This project is part of a larger DARPA initiative to create a muon-imaging system to "peer deep underground to locate chambers and tunnels." The LBL project aims to create a compact muon source for use in such an imaging device, using the laser-plasma expertise of the Accelerator Technology & Applied Physics Division.

The DOD's Test Resource and Management Center (TRMC) has provided funding for the 88-inch cyclotron of the Nuclear Sciences Division. The TRMC provides "testing and evaluation capabilities to develop ... effective weapons systems to meet current and future needs of the warfighter." The funding was provided to upgrade the cyclotron's ability to produce certain heavy ions, in order to ensure that the DoD's partners have the "capabilities to test parts." The 88 inch cyclotron has also received funding (in conjunction with the Berkeley Accelerator Space Effects) from the US Air Force, the Missile Defense Agency, and is used by private military contractors (e.g. Lockheed Martin).

Below we use UCOP's sponsors of contracts and grants data to see a list of agencies that have sponsored research grants for LBNL. It's not clear how complete this database is—over the period 2005-2023 it shows LBNL receiving just 8 NSF awards, amounting to $3M, which seems unlikely (over the same period, UC Berkeley got almost $2 billion in NSF grants). With that note of warning, for all listed fiscal years (2005-6 through 2022-23), we obtain the numbers tallied in **this spreadsheet**. Out of a total of $2.5 billion received by LBNL, 41% came from federal grants and 25% from the private sector.



See UC Sponsors of Contracts and Grants for data and corresponding plots.

These include the following sponsoring entities:

Agency	Total Funding	Number of Awards
Battelle Memorial Institute	$2.2M	10
DARPA	$26.5M	58
Defense Threat Reduction Agency	$41.3M	86
Department of Army/Army Misc Bases and Agencies	$5.5M	25
Department of Homeland Security	$55M	33
DN Naval Air Systems Command	$149k	1
DOD Pacific Command	$1.77M	4
DOD/Separate misc agencies	$37.4M	74
Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity (IARPA)	$22.3M	7
Joint IED Defeat Organization	$921k	1

Nevada Operations	$100k	1
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	$5.17M	14
Office of Naval Research	$1M	8
Office of the Director of National Intelligence	$296k	1
US Army Fort Liggett	$9.4M	6
US Army Research Laboratory	$1.6M	17
State Department	$26M	22
UC Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory	$1.5M	17
UC Los Alamos National Lab	$940k	6
US-Israel Binational Science Foundation	$156k	1
World Bank	$280k	2

The private sector contributed 25.5% (a total of $634M):

Agency	Total Funding	Number of Awards
Babcock & Wilcox	$2.7M	6
Battelle Savannah River Alliance, LLC	$26k	1
BP	$6.5M	10
Chevron	$20.3M	64
Consolidated Nuclear Security, LLC	$3.4M	15
Exxon	$1.7M	6
Gilead Sciences	$4.4M	6
Honeywell	$3.5M	14
Intel	$40M	20
Lawrence Livermore National Security, LLC	$21M	107
Leidos, Inc	$18.8k	2
Lockheed Martin	$435k	2
Los Alamos National Security, LLC - DO NOT USE USE CODE VJD2	$8.9M	37
Monsanto	$97.5k	1
National Security Technologies, LLC - DO NOT USE - USE CODE VJ9A	$2M	9
NTESS	$27.2M	64
Northrop Grumman	$2.4M	2
Pfizer	$1.9M	7
Savannah River Nuclear Solutions, LLC	$5M	16
UT-Battelle, LLC	$213M	176

Conclusion: further potential areas of investigation

Broadly speaking, universities today are in an advanced stage of financialization, and operate under a constant drive to grow, to accumulate capital, and to aid other entities in the process of accumulation. This being the case, it seems less useful to ask "who" rules the UC than to ask "what" rules the UC—to which the answer is: the law of value in the age of monopoly capital.

Some aspects of this dynamic have been (glancingly) touched on in this document—namely, the increasingly financialized nature of university investments, the growing list of university-industry partnerships, and the continuing role universities fulfill in the U.S. defense apparatus, e.g. through partnerships with national laboratories. However, other aspects have been left almost entirely

One of the functions of the university is to produce research, which then guides the direction of future investment and innovation in the productive sphere (i.e. "the economy"). Intellectual property (IP) is a crucial link in this process, and universities—particularly since the Bayh-Dole Act in 1980—increasingly rely on IP to facilitate the valorization of their research output.

The UC owns all IP produced by UC employees in the course of their work: see the UCOP Guide to IP. If it was produced during work hours, was part of a sponsored research project, or used university resources, then the UC probably owns it.

IP held by universities can take the form of patents (usually for inventions or significant technological developments), copyright (for works of authorship like writing, art, and software) and trademarks (unique identifiers like names or symbols). The Regents have put some energy in recent years into the UC's Innovation Transfer and Entrepreneurship program, which deserves to be looked into and fit into the broader picture of how the University operates.

Real estate

The University of California leases its properties to generate additional revenue. UCOP's Real Estate Services and Strategies (RESS) office is responsible for negotiating these acquisitions, sales and ground leases. The authors of this report did do some investigation as to whether these properties were being leased to weapons manufacturers, the U.S military, or other companies that profit from the genocide in Palestine. Specifically, the authors requested from RESS:

- All lease summaries dated between 2019-2024, inclusive.
- All licensing forms where the UC Regents are the licensor signed between 2019-2024.
- Any and all records relating to outright gifts of real estate property to the UC Regents and/or the endowment of the University of California received between 2019-2024.

The authors of this report were able to obtain all the data we requested. We did not immediately see any significant ties between RESS and genocide profiteers. However, since we did not have sufficient time to analyze the data more carefully, it could be worth taking a closer look at this data in the future.

Defense research

Our investigation of the UC's research contribution to the defense sector is, in a sense, quite limited. We have made some quantitative remarks about the size and distribution of Pentagon funds entering the UC, but—with a few exceptions, namely in the section on the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory—we have *not* given any qualitative examples or analysis of what this funding is used for. We are aware that other organizers at the UC have begun to tackle this question and encourage those interested to look into their work: _____

The qualitative piece of the analysis is, in our view, even more important than the quantitative, but we do not broach this subject here for reasons of space and organizing capacity. The appendix includes a section describing how we began to collect some limited information about the defense research grants that enter the UC.

Appendix A: Glossary of financial terms

Public equity: this is what "common stocks" essentially refers to, i.e. shares in companies which are *publicly* traded on the stock market.
Private equity: these are shares of companies which are *not* publicly traded. Investments in start-ups is one familiar example, though it's certainly not restricted to start-ups. Precisely because private equity is not traded on the stock exchanges, it is almost impossible for an outsider to track.
Fixed income assets: these are more commonly known as bonds. They are shares in the debt of governments (i.e. treasury bonds), corporations and other large institutions which are publicly traded on the bond market.
Index fund: investing in an index fund essentially entails (indirectly) purchasing shares of some list of companies in ratios specified by an "index"—e.g. "0.1% should be used to buy company A stock, 0.6% should be used for company B stock, etc." The index itself is just trying to mimic the performance of "the market," which is why index funds are called *passive* investments. Contrast this with actively-managed investments, where professional portfolio managers try to use their expertise to yield better returns than the market.
Mutual fund: pooled investments (i.e. an aggregation of assets from multiple, possibly many, different investors) that are actively managed by investment managers who are trying to beat the market. Mutual funds are publicly traded,

managed investments) but they are not publicly available for daily trading on market exchanges. Instead, hedge funds are only offered privately, to high-net worth investors, and they pursue riskier, more aggressive investment strategies.

Appendix B: Glossary of terms relating to federal grants

Action date: The date the award was issued or signed by the government, or a binding agreement was reached. This is in contrast with the "period of performance start date," which is the date when actual awardee effort or labor begins.[18]
Appropriations: The process by which Congress designates and approves spending for a specific purpose (e.g., a project or program).
Award: Money the federal government has promised to pay a recipient. May be a contract, grant, loan, insurance, or direct payment.
Budget authority: The permission granted by Congress for a federal agency to spend money. Budget authority can be granted through an appropriation law, which specifies a purpose, usually a maximum amount of money, and a set time period. Budget authority can also be granted for spending unused funds from a previous year, or to spend money that the agency takes in.
Budgetary resources: Amounts available to incur obligations in a given year. Budgetary resources consist of new budget authority (from appropriations, borrowing authority, contract authority, or offsetting collections) *and* unobligated balances of budget authority provided in previous years.
Fiscal year (FY): the federal fiscal year starts October 1 and ends September 30. The University of California usually uses the *academic* fiscal year, which is July 1—June 30 instead. The year of the *second* half is what labels the fiscal year, e.g. FY2024 means 7/1/23 through 6/30/24.
Grants:

- **Formula grant:** awarded to state and local governments for continuing activities that aren't confined to a specific project — for example, Medicaid. **Block grants** are similar but with still more flexibility.
- **Project grant:** funding of specific projects for a fixed amount of time, e.g. fellowships, scholarships, research grants, survey grants, and construction grants.
- **Pass-through grants:** awarded to one organization that then distributes the funds to other organizations or individuals so they can carry out a program or project.

Obligation: a binding agreement in which a government agency promises to spend money now or in the future, e.g. when it places an order, signs a contract, awards a grant, or purchases a service.
Outlays: when federal money is actually paid out, not just promised to be paid ("obligated"). It's more common to measure spending by obligations than outlays.
Pass-through entity: a non-Federal entity that provides a subaward to a subrecipient to carry out part of a Federal program.
Prime award recipients and subrecipients: say University A, the prime recipient, receives an R&D grant from the NSF. University A needs University B to perform an initial step in the research, so University A awards University B a sub-award. University B is the sub-grantee. (To avoid double-counting the overall value of a prime award, do not sum up sub-award amounts and prime award obligations or outlays; sub-award amounts are funded by prime award obligations and outlays. In theory, the total value of all sub-award amounts for any given prime award is a subset of the Current Award Amount for that prime award)
Unique Entity Identifier (UEI): alphanumeric code for an awardee or recipient in the System for Award Management (SAM.gov), which is also used by USAspending.

Appendix C: Tracking federal defense grants at the UC

Different sources offer different (and sometimes contradictory) information, so there is some work to do in trying to stitch together a coherent picture. Here is a summary of the different sources we used, along with examples of data from each source. Many of these were compiled or scraped not by us but by organizers elsewhere in the UC.

USAspending

USAspending.gov compiles data from different government award systems. The Advanced Search feature can filter awards by the date of the agreement ("action date"), award type (purchase order, definitive contract, block grant, direct loan, ...), awarding agency, place of performance, recipient name or UEI code, and more.

To track down information on the University of California, we used the UEI (Unique Entity Identifier) codes corresponding to each UC campus. Some of these codes can be found by Googling "UC [campus X] UEI code." Most were found by looking up "University of California" in the USAspending recipients database.

- **Campus UEI Codes**

DTIC

The Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC) reports to the Under Secretary of Defense (Research and Engineering). Their mission is "to preserve, curate, and share knowledge from DoD's annual multi-billion dollar investment in science and technology, multiplying the value and accelerating capability to the warfighter."
Most of the DTIC database is access-controlled, but they offer limited access to the general public to some unclassified information. Also, there aren't very many grants publicly listed on DTIC. However, unlike other sources, DTIC gives the name of the PI recipient.

To track down information on the University of California, we can simply filter the DTIC search engine by research organization (e.g. "University of California, Berkeley") and remove non-DOD funders. DTIC can yield information like the following:

- **Berkeley Scraped DTIC Data**
- **LBNL Scraped DTIC Data**

Grant title	Funding sub-agency	PI name	Grant abstract	Amount ($)	Funding period (start year-end year)
High-Fidelity, 2D Noise-Resilient Superconducting Quantum Processors	National Security Agency	Irfan Siddiqi	We propose to design, fabricate, and benchmark planar 2D superconducting processors with ...	11,918,116	2022-2026

UC Single Audit Reports

We described these in a section above, "UC Single-Audit Report." Single Audit Reports (SARs), which every university that receives federal funding should have, include long "schedules" of expenditures of federal awards. Unfortunately, many of the DOD-funded expenditures listed don't have an identifier code listed. Moreover, many identifier codes don't seem to be related to anything in the public domain on the Internet.

- **UC Single Audit Reports**

UC's public data interfaces

- Award explorer:
  - **Scraped data**
- Sponsors of contracts and grants:
  - **Scraped data**
- UC Berkeley Sponsored Projects Office database:
  - **Our manual data**

As for different grant sponsors within the Pentagon, the DOD profile on USAspending lists 26 sub-agencies; SAM lists 41. The ones we encountered most frequently are the following:

1. Office of Naval Research (ONR; Department of the Navy)
1. Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR; Department of the Air Force)
2. Army Research Office (ARO; Department of the Army)
3. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)
4. National Security Agency (NSA)

Appendix D: Previous UC divestments

The University has entertained the notion of divestment before. Today the UCRP and GEP investment policies include clauses like "The Regents have established that the purchase of securities issued by tobacco and fossil fuel companies and companies with business operations in Sudan are prohibited in

In 2004, the United States government recognized the events of 2003 in the war in Darfur as genocide under the United Nations Genocide Convention. This lay the legal groundwork for the Regents to divest from Sudan, as in 2006 the Regents adopted a policy allowing for divestment from a foreign government when the *U.S. government* declares that a foreign regime is committing acts of genocide. Here are a few notable events on the timeline leading up to this decision, gathered primarily from the minutes of two Regents meetings.

- At the November 14, 2015 meeting of the Regents' Committee on Investments , student-Regent Adam Rosenthal presented a proposal ("Item RE-63") requesting that the University divest its UCRP and GEP holdings from four "foreign companies engaged in significant business relations with the government of Sudan," and further "that a policy of divestment from a foreign government shall be adopted by the University only when the United States government declares that a foreign regime is committing acts of genocide."
  - The public comment period featured many students and other community members speaking in support of divestment and of Item RE-63.
  - Students called attention to the fact that peer institutions like Stanford, Harvard and Dartmouth had divested from several companies significantly engaged with the Sudanese government.
    - As a side note, Professor Emeritus Charles Schwartz also spoke at this meeting, arguing that the University ought to disclose "data on assets held and performance for each individual external investment manager engaged by the University" and "management fees paid to each external manager as well as a listing of commissions paid to all brokers" in its quarterly and annual reports.
  - It seems that, preceding these events, the student-led University of California Sudan Divestment Taskforce had "gained support of federal and state political leaders, an interfaith religious community, foreign policy experts and other community notables." Indeed, the November 2015 minutes mention that "a letter in support of divestment from Congresswoman Lee had been distributed to the [Regents'] Committees."
  - The Regents' Investments Committee (composed of 5 Regents and 2 advisory members) approved Rosenthal's RE-63 recommendation and voted to present it to the full Board of Regents.
- On March 16, 2006, the Regents voted to divest from nine companies that were linked to the Sudanese government. The divestment proposal had the following conditions (paraphrasing for brevity):
  - Previously, in November 2005, the Regents decided to adopt a policy of divestment from a foreign government *only when the United States government declares that a foreign regime is committing acts of genocide.*
  - The proposal is to divest all UC shares in nine offending companies, with the policy applying *to both indexed and actively managed, publicly-traded equity portfolios.*
  - Also prohibit future purchase of shares in the companies until the Office of the Treasurer reports that a company has materially improved its operation and is no longer believed to be contributing to the suffering in the Darfur region of Sudan.
  - The divestment is *conditioned* upon the California legislature and Governor enacting legislation to *indemnify past, present, and future individual Regents, and University employees, for all costs and defense of any claim arising from the decision to divest.*
  - The divestment is to take place over 18 months.
  - "Communicate the decision to divest shares held in the nine companies to the managers of commingled accounts in which assets of the UCRP and GEP are invested, with a request that they consider the University's stand on this issue as they make their investment decisions."
  - Communicate the divestment decision to the investment committees of the campus Foundations, so they may consider implementing similar policies.

The Regents voted to approve the recommendation. This implied divesting from holdings in the nine companies, *including those combined in index funds*. This is crucial. It means that the Regents *can* withdraw *indirect* investments as well as direct, if they choose to.

Another crucial aspect of this divestment decision is the way it was preconditioned (1) on the *U.S. government* declaring that a foreign government was committing genocide, and (2) on the California legislature insuring the Regents and University from any liability or fallout from the decision to divest.

Fossil fuels

Over the past few years, the UC has declared that it has a "fully fossil-free portfolio." It can be a bit hard to separate the truth from the self-congratulating

threat of substitution of other energy sources.
  - One member of the Investment Advisory Group, one Mr. Martin, "expressed his hope that the sale was done for economic reasons. Mr. Bachher affirmed that the decision was based on due diligence from an economic standpoint."

- At a meeting of the Board of Regents in July 2019, at which public comments were permitted, several UC professors urged the University to divest from fossil fuels.
  - A faculty representative from the Academic Senate, "May stated that he had transmitted a memorial from the Academic Senate calling on the Regents to divest from fossil fuel companies. He quoted the memorial, noting UC's investment in 200 publicly traded fossil fuel companies with the largest carbon reserves. The memorial received an affirmative vote in the Academic Senate of 76.7 percent of voters.

- In September of 2019, UC CIO Jagdeep Singh Bachher and UC Regent Richard Sherman co-authored a piece for the LA Times in which they stated that they believed "hanging on to fossil fuel assets is a financial risk," and reassured the investor community that their decision had nothing "political" to it — it was simply a risk calculation.

- At a September 2019 meeting of the investments committee, "Mr. Bachher explained how the Office of the CIO came to the decision to divest from fossil fuel companies. At the behest of students, the Office of the CIO set up a task force and committed to adopting a sustainable investment framework, which included climate change, diversity, equity, and inclusion, and to considering the risks posed from a financial perspective. The Office of the CIO [sold] its coal and oil sand holdings four years ago and gradually reduced its fossil fuel investments. The Pension would be the next to be divested from fossil fuel companies, and the Office of the CIO would continue to sell assets that would be a financial risk."

- At the May 2020 meeting of the Regents' investment committee, "Committee Chair Sherman asked about the University's exposure in the fossil fuel asset class, given what has happened in the energy markets. Mr. Bachher replied that the Office of the CIO announced that the *endowment* was free of fossil fuel investments in September 2019. As of today, the *pension* and all *working capital* pools were also free of fossil fuel investments, which meant that the University's $125 billion of investment assets were all free of fossil fuel investments" (emphases added).
  - That same day, the UC Investments Office posted a self-laudatory memo announcing the same: that it had sold over $1 billion worth of fossil fuel assets from its endowment, retirement and working capital pools.
  - "From a practical standpoint, UC Investments' implementation of the decision to avoid fossil fuel investments was made easier by *MSCI's creation, at UC's request, of a publicly available index that excludes tobacco and fossil fuels*" (emphasis added).

This provides strong evidence that **the UC could request a custom index excluding American weapons manufacturers, Israeli firms, firms that have been implicated in human rights violations in occupied Palestine, and/or firms that profit directly from the occupation.** The reason this has not happened is, of course, political.

- At the May 2022 meeting of the investments committee, "Committee Chair Sherman observed that the returns have continued to demonstrate that transitioning to a fossil-free index has benefited UC." It was also indicated that "as was done with the endowment, pension, and working capital, the Office of the CIO would reduce UCRSP's exposure to fossil fuel companies in the coming months."
  - Recall that the UC Retirement Savings Plan (UCRSP) is separate from the UC pension, or UCRP.
- At the September 2022 investments committee meeting it was reported that UCRSP had removed its fossil fuel investments by June 30, 2022. Regent Makarechian also remarked that "taking investments out of China would help the University achieve its goal of removing fossil fuel investments."

Did the UC fully divest from fossil fuels?

No.

Why did the UC divest at all?

In either of the two cases above, did divestment happen due to grassroots pressure, or was it simply a financial calculation on the part of the UC portfolio's managers? Due to lacking information and analysis, this report does not attempt to answer that crucial question.

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[2] The distinction between options (i) and (ii) is not clear. Indeed, the UC's figures count both categories toward the GEP totals.

[3] Cf. the table above, $18,122,833,000 + $2,586,784,000 = $20.7 billion in the GEP

[4] Shares in publicly-traded companies.

[5] Investments in privately-held companies that are not publicly traded on stock exchanges.

[6] We could not ascertain which of the UC's investment pools encompass these holdings.

[7] The fossil-fuel-excluding varieties of the S&P and MSCI funds don't have publicly listed weights. However, as we are only after an estimate, and the weights for most companies are likely to be almost the same between the vanilla and FF-excluding funds, we can safely use the weights reported by the vanilla funds. A more careful analysis is provided by other researchers here: https://ucinvestments.info/.

[8] If you've ever wondered what a Vice Provost or an Interim Vice Chancellor does, the Cabinet's description won't help.

[9] For instance, the SAR puts (i) investments held in GEP *by* campus foundations and (ii) *non*-foundation investments in GEP into separate categories. It also separates UC retirement funds from the university's other "investments."

[10] See the "[Marked] Research & Development" tab with the "Defense View" filter-view on.

[11] The non-negligible discrepancies between Berkeley- and UCOP-level data is a persistent issue we ran into while writing this document.

[12] Battelle is a private R&D nonprofit that appears to have been floating in the defense/natsec sphere for almost a century. It currently manages at least 9 national labs and centers, including Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos, and the National Biodefense Analysis & Countermeasures Center.

[13] Triad apparently had some issues at a Plutonium Facility in 2021, for which they were issued a DOE Preliminary Notice of Violation in 2023.

[14] Edward Teller was an infamous warhawk. Among many other fun stories, he used Project Plowshare to disguise military nuclear bomb tests as exploratory civil engineering research. He was a major proponent of the SDI "Star Wars" program, one of his ideas being to create a nuclear death ray weapon called "Excalibur." At the time, thousands of scientists pledged not to accept SDI funding.

[15]Sandia National Labs is hereafter referred to simply as "Sandia," not to be confused with the Sandia Corporation (a subsidiary of Lockheed Martin) or National Technology and Engineering Solutions of Sandia (NTESS, a subsidiary of Honeywell.) The latter two corporations have *managed* Sandia Laboratories at various times, but are not synonymous with it.

[16] As was Norman Augustine, who at various times has been chairman and CEO of Lockheed Martin, member of the advisory board to Homeland Security, Regent at the University of Maryland, and a trustee at MIT, Johns Hopkins and Princeton.

[17] See the reports from 2019 and 2020-21. Then, in 2021 (see SBCR pg. 12), the Academic Alliance Program became the Sandia University Partnerships Network (at the time of writing Sandia's link "/sandia- academic-alliance-program/" goes to the SUPN page).

[18] The "base transaction action date" is the action date of the original Prime Award associated with a grant (rather than any sub-awards). When searching for grants, sorting by the base transaction action date shows only grants that *came into existence* in some date range. In USAspending.gov, selecting "Show new awards only" will filter for prime awards whose base transaction date lies in the selected date range. Unselecting it means that if a prime award's base transaction action date (X) and latest transaction action date (Y) overlap at all with the selected date range (X < D < Y) then the prime award will be listed in the table.