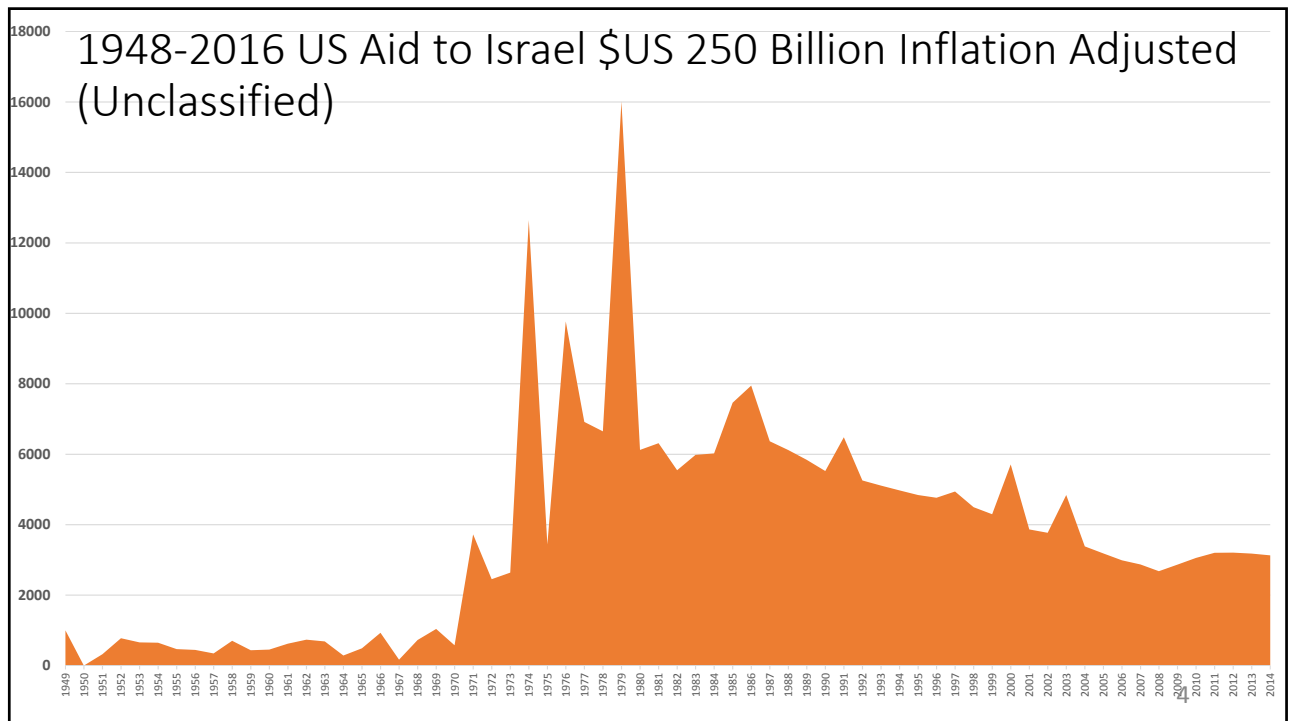
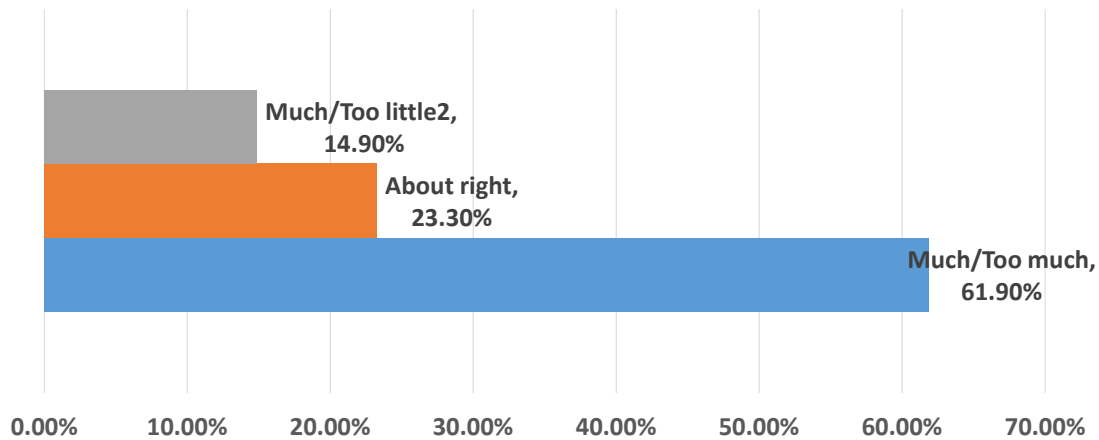


<p>HOW ISRAEL'S LOBBY MOVES AMERICA</p> <hr/> <p>BIG ISRAEL</p> <hr/> <p><i>"America is a thing you can move very easily..."</i> <i>Benjamin Netanyahu, 2001</i></p> <p>GRANT F. SMITH</p>	<h1>The Origin, Growth and Influence of the Israel lobby on US Middle East Policy</h1>
	<p>Grant F. Smith, IRmep</p>
	<p>Minnesota</p>
	<p>November 12, 2016</p>
	<p>1</p>





2016 IRmep Poll: The US gives Israel over \$3 billion annually (9% of the foreign aid budget and more than any other country). The amount is:



<https://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=x2dj6tz3npt7o&question=1&filter=&rw=1>

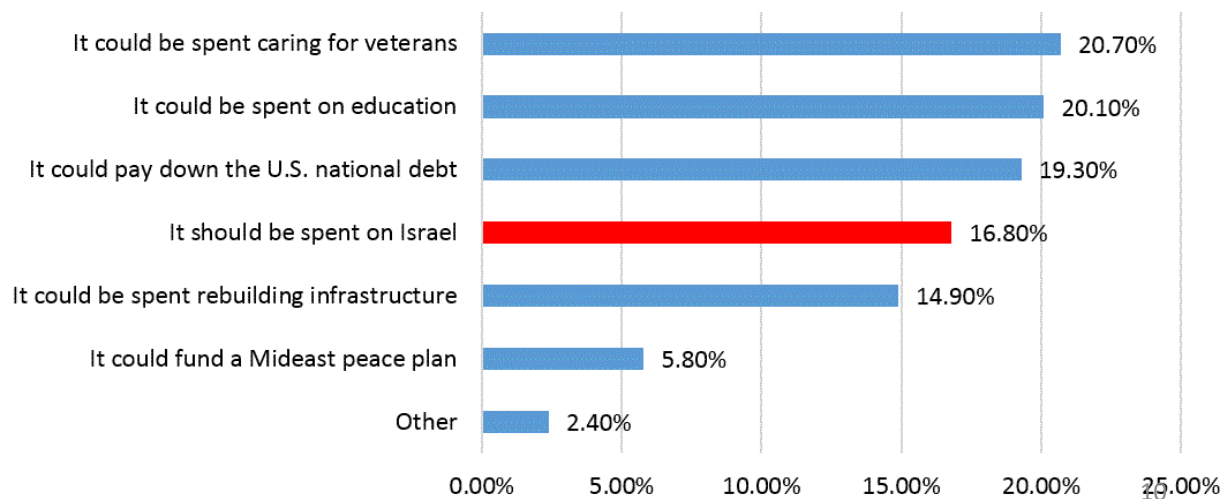
7

IRmep Polls: The US gives Israel over \$3 billion annually (9% of the foreign aid budget and more than any other country). The amount is

Israel	Google	Google	
Aid Poll	Sep-2014	Mar-2016	Difference
Much too much	33.9	32.5	-1.4
Too much	26.8	29.4	2.6
About right	25.9	23.3	-2.6
Too little	6.1	6.5	0.4
Much too little	7.3	8.4	1.1
Total	100	100	8



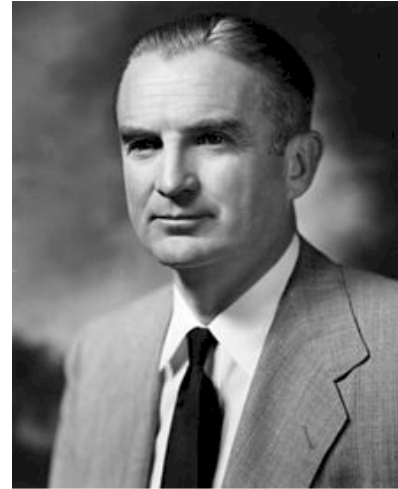
The U.S. just agreed to provide \$38 billion in military aid to Israel over the next ten years. In your opinion, how could this money be better spent?





Symington & Glenn Amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961

- U.S. prohibited from giving aid to non-signatories to the NPT
- Absent a:
 - Presidential Waiver
 - Explaining why it is in the U.S. National Security interest to do so.

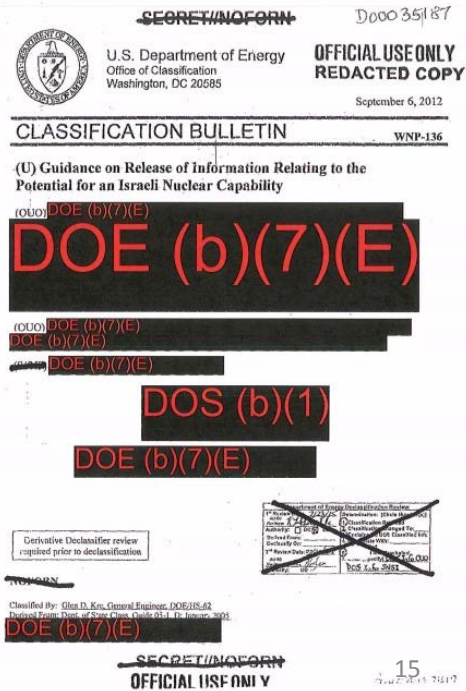


Senator Stuart Symington
13

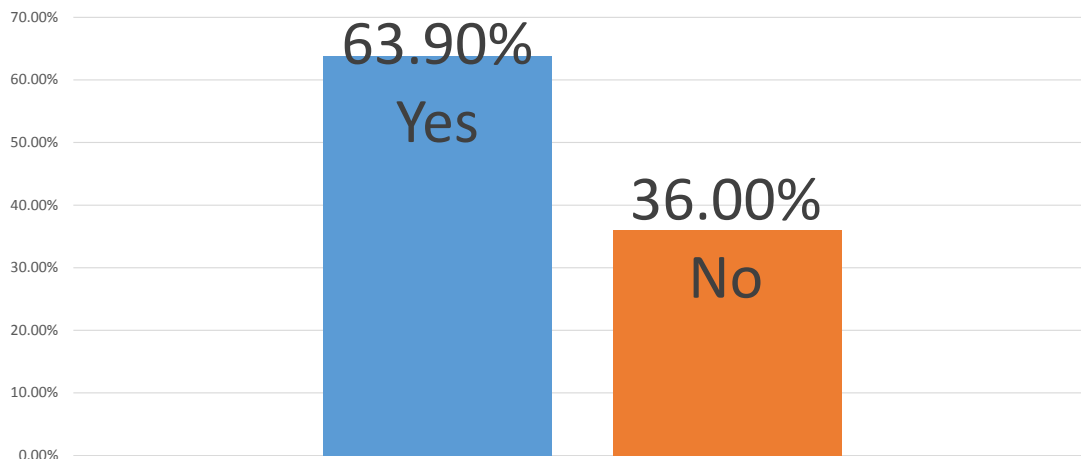


DOE/State Gag Order

- **“Guidance on Release of Information Relating to the Potential for an Israeli Nuclear Capability”**
- **U.S. Department of State Classification Guide 05 D**
 - “Reporting on and analysis of the internal affairs or foreign relations of a country is a central function of U.S. foreign service posts and is vital to the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy. This reporting should be unclassified when the subject matter is routine, already in the public domain, or otherwise not sensitive.”
- James Doyle



2014 Poll: Do you believe Israel has Nuclear weapons? a) Yes b) No



<https://surveys.google.com/view?survey=7gfftskexqbf4&question=1&filter=&rw=1&org=>



How much additional classified U.S. aid to Israel?



- “But the fact is, partly due to American military and intelligence assistance, which my administration has provided **at unprecedented levels**, Israel can defend itself against any conventional danger -- whether from Iran directly or from its proxies.” **President Obama – American University 8/5/2015**
- **\$1.884 billion intelligence aid?** (\$4.999 billion previous unadjusted high minus \$3.115 billion 2015 aid?)
- **\$13.205 billion?** (\$4.999 billion in 2015 dollars inflation adjusted to \$16.320 billion minus \$3.115 billion)
- **Sorry, that’s classified.**

17

U.S. Federal Agency doctrine today:

“The survival of the state of Israel is a paramount goal of U.S. Middle East policy.”

Glenn Greenwald, “NSA shares raw intelligence including Americans’ data with Israel.” *The Guardian*, September 11, 2013
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/11/nsa-americans-personal-data-israel-documents>

18

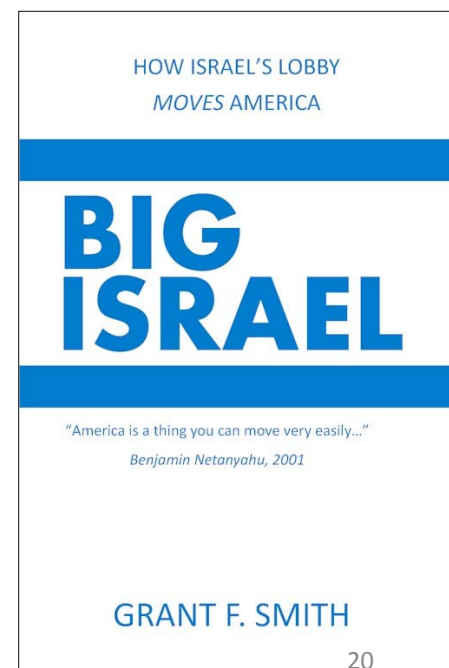
Secrecy, particularly at AIPAC, makes research difficult:

- The *Los Angeles Times* has lauded AIPAC “donor secrecy.”
- *Fortune* called AIPAC “calculatedly quiet.”
- One anonymous AIPAC official even confided to *The National Journal* that “there is no question that **we exert a policy impact, but working behind the scenes and taking care not to leave fingerprints, that impact is not always traceable to us.**”

19

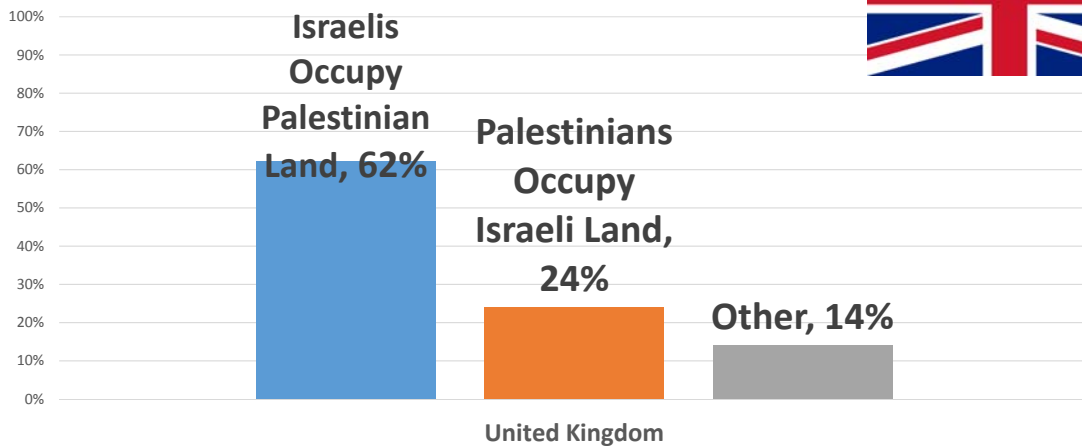
Questions

- Why is U.S. Middle East policy so detached from popular will?
- Why isn't there a bona fide debate in elite political and media circles?
- How did this situation, highly favorable to Israel, come about and how is it maintained?
- Where does the money come from and go?
- Why don't Americans know basic facts about the situation that other countries understand?



3/16 Poll: Which of the following do you believe to be true?

- a) Israelis occupy Palestinian land
- b) Palestinians occupy Israeli land

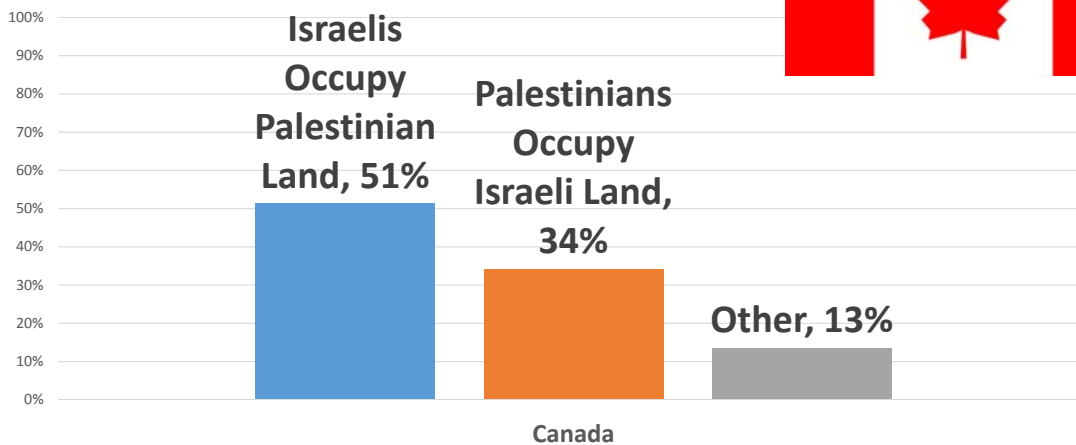


<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=drt5uldzf4w36&question=1&filter=&rw=1>

Google consumer surveys 21

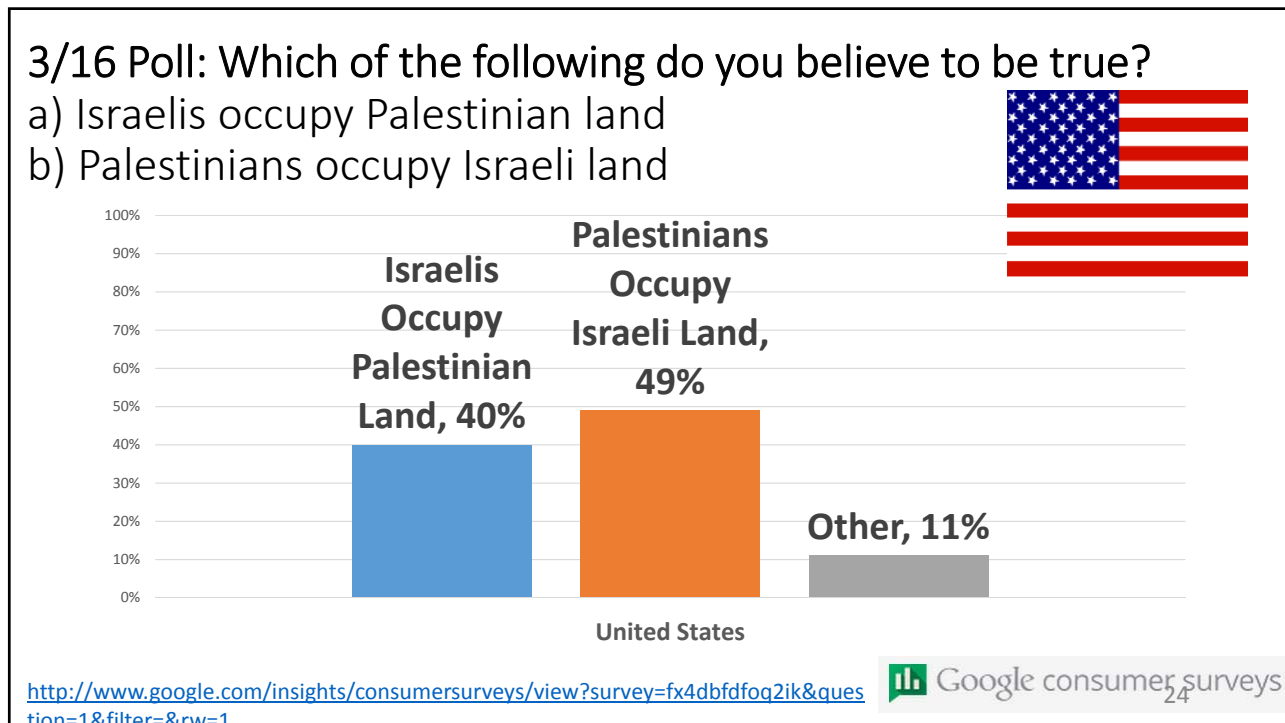
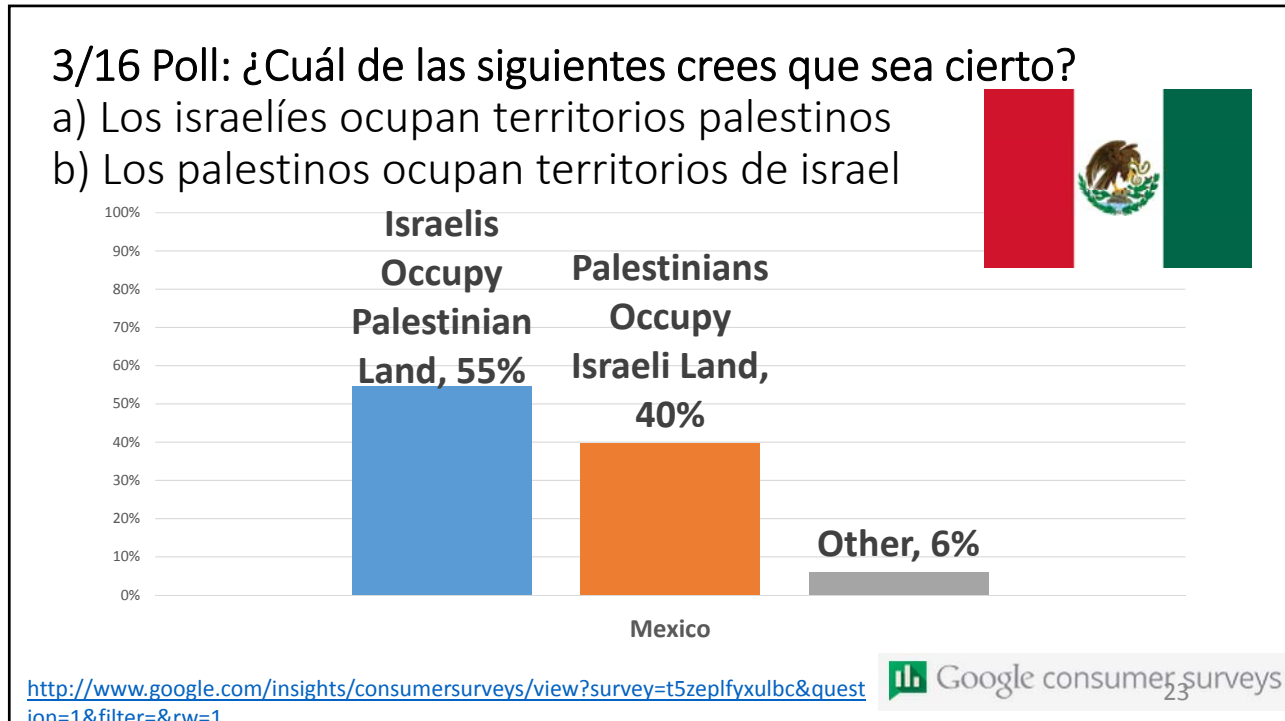
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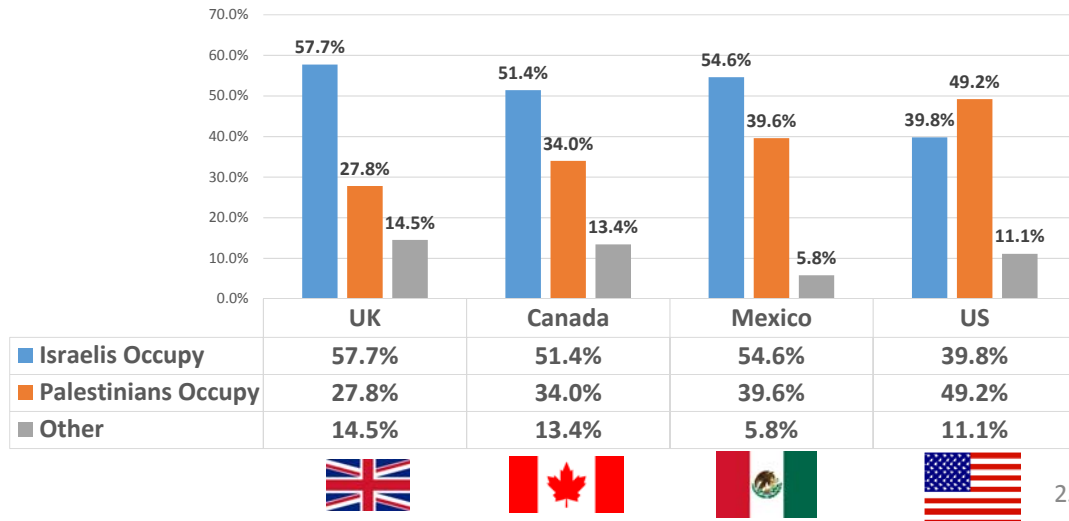
<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=2inkaaynowqjw&question=1&filter=&rw=1>

Google consumer surveys 22



3/16 Poll: Which of the following do you believe to be true?

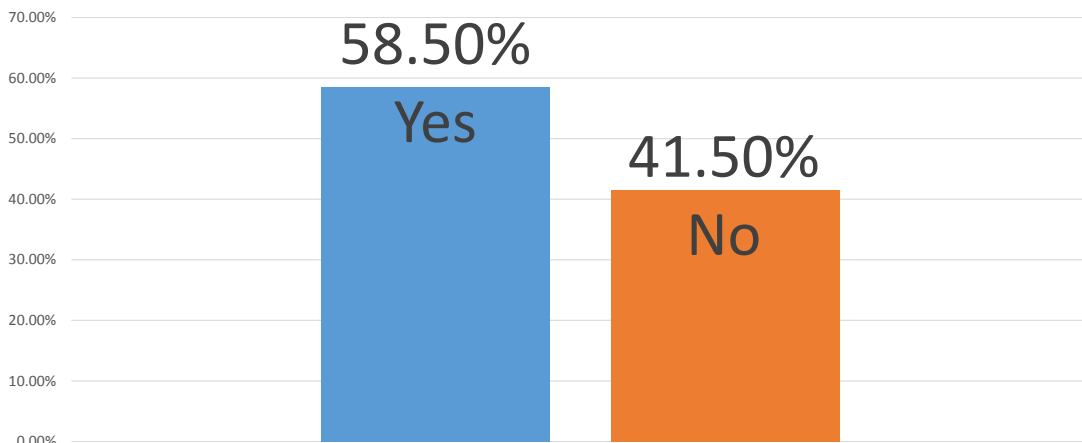
- a) Israelis occupy Palestinian land
- b) Palestinians occupy Israeli land



25

2014 Poll: Do you believe Iran has Nuclear weapons?

- a) Yes
- b) No



<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=cbykabh2p3an4&question=1&filter=&rw=1>

Google consumer surveys

Iran Nuclear Scare

- False intelligence
- Media blitz
- Israeli intelligence ops during U.S.-led negotiations
- Israel offers to “do whatever it takes” to get Congress to drop JCPOA



27

Agenda

1. Where did the Israel lobby come from? Before they evolved into a lobby for Israel, what social welfare needs did key organizations address and how?
2. What function does each major category of the Israel lobby serve? Which organizations lobby congress for foreign aid, and how do they work with hundreds of state-level lobbies to secure U.S. economic, diplomatic, financial and military support for Israel?
3. What Israel lobby organizations influence the media and what are their tactics? What core messaging and issue framing campaigns have they launched, and how have these changed over time?
4. Which Israel lobbying organizations work to sanction and punish domestic opposition to pro-Israel policies? What are their tactics?
5. Why has the United States provided more foreign aid to Israel than any other foreign country? How has American public opinion about aid changed over time?
6. How representative of the American Jewish community is the Israel lobby?
7. What key objectives will the Israel lobby try to achieve during the next administration?
8. What opposition has been mounted against Israel lobby programs, and how has this opposition changed over time?

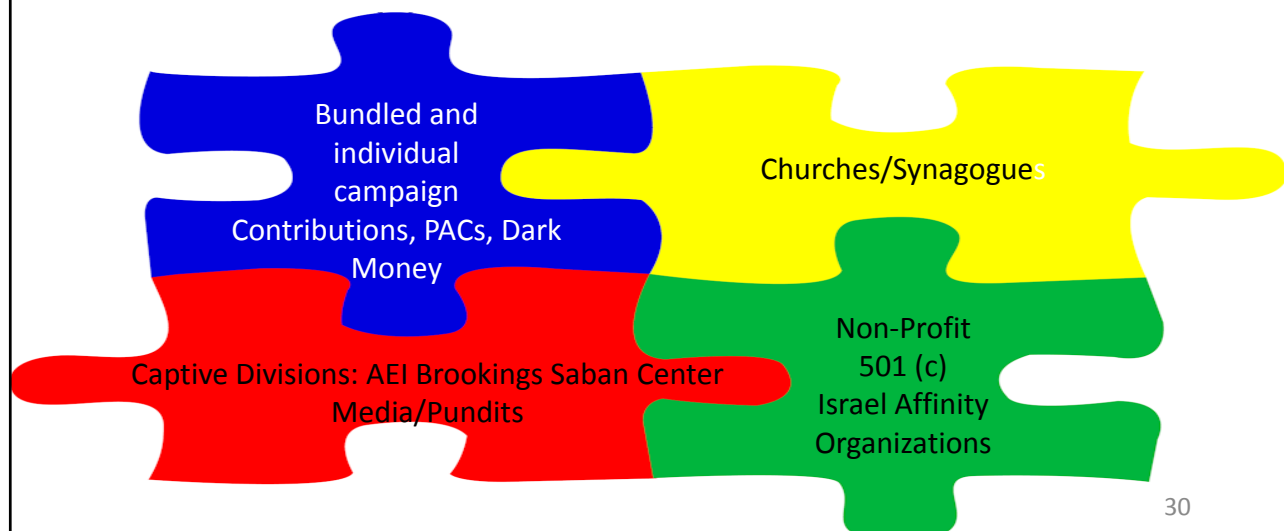
28

Clarification of terms:

- Israel Affinity Organization (IAOs)
 - 501(c) tax-exempt charities (336 in this study)
 - Stated primary objective is the advancement of Israel
 - Headquartered in the United States
- The Israel lobby
 - The collective of IAOs (336 in this study)
 - Congressional lobbying lead: American Israel Public Affairs Committee
 - Coordinating body: The Conference of Presidents

29

IAOs – Only one part of the puzzle



30

1.0 Where did the Israel Lobby come from?

31

B'nai B'rith est. 1843

- Fraternal lodge system serving wave of Jewish immigrants from German speaking countries – 1840-1870
- Modeled on Lodges of the “Odd Fellows,” Freemasons
 - Formed in Baltimore, Cincinnati, Philadelphia
- Maimonides Library, civic betterment materials, life insurance, Jewish Day schools
- Philadelphia hospital 1864, modern orphanage services
- 24,000 members by 1880
- “The most influential Jewish association in the United States and, indeed, in the world.”*

*“The Order of B'nai B'rith,” *Jewish Times*, February 15, 1879



B'nai B'rith – U.S. Foreign Policy

- 1903 attack on Jewish community in Kishinev inside Tsarist Russia
- Instigated by newspapers claiming a boy was murdered by the community.
- 50-120 Jews were killed and ten times as many injured, with 700 homes destroyed and 600 stores robbed, as police and military stood by



33



34

B'nai B'rith Spinoff – The Anti-Defamation League

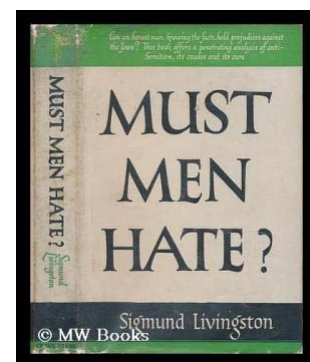
- B'nai B'rith, formed the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith on October 20, 1913 – response to Leo Frank murder trial
- Mission to fight the defamation of Jews
- Stated programs
 - Protests to editors
 - Economic boycotts
 - Correction of textbooks
- Membership requirements
 - “any reputable person, regardless of sex or creed” that signed a membership card



35

Early ADL efforts

- In 1930, the ADL successfully persuaded *Roget's Thesaurus* to remove an entry equating the word “Jew” as synonymous with “cunning rich, usurer, extortioner, heretic.”
- Sigmund Livingston publishes “Must Men Hate?” challenging claims of:
 - “Jewish responsibility for the Versailles Treaty”
 - Financing the Russian Revolution
 - Controlling the American press and radio industries



36

B'nai B'rith Spinoff – The American Jewish Committee

- Established 1906, incorporated by State of New York Legislature
 - Explicitly borderless mandate
 - Focused on influencing U.S. policy and organized action inside the U.S.
 - Drew representatives from 58 Jewish communities, but was not a representative or elective body*
- 1) To prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world;
 - 2) to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto;
 - 3) to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunities;
 - 4) the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews wherever they may occur.

Ninth Annual Report of the American Jewish Committee, *The American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 18, September 28, 1916 to September 16, 1917, 328

37

Early American Jewish Committee efforts

- Founder Jacob Schiff raised funds for Imperial Japan's war on Russia
 - Organized U.S. bank & insurance company purchase of \$180 million in Japanese bonds
 - Asked U.S. to mediate peace settlement held in Portsmouth New Hampshire
- Tried to prevent Federal Reserve from issuing \$25 million trade cred to Russia
- Pressured Associated Press to include plight of Jews angle in every story about Russia
- Intervened to prevent extradition of two Jews to Russia convicted of arson and murder
- Mission in 1915 to shape post WWI U.S. policy overseas and "accomplishment of Israel's work in America."



38

Milestones in Zionism

- 1896 “The Jewish State” by Theodor Herzl
- 1897 - Basel Program 1st Zionist Convention
- 1917 Balfour Declaration
- 1922 Jewish Agency for Palestine created (League of Nations mandate)

39

Formation of the Zionist Organization of America - ZOA

- Founders from organizations dedicated to Zionism and that its purpose was to safeguard against Jewish assimilation
- Legally the subsidiary of the World Zionist Organization
- Organized in Pittsburgh 1917, incorporated by act of the New York State Legislature in 1920

The object of said corporation shall be:

- (a) to further the aim of the Basle program, to wit; To establish a publicly recognized and legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine, and
- (b) to do any and all things that may be necessary or incidental to the attainment of this object...*

*Laws of New York, 1920, chapter 205, 707

40

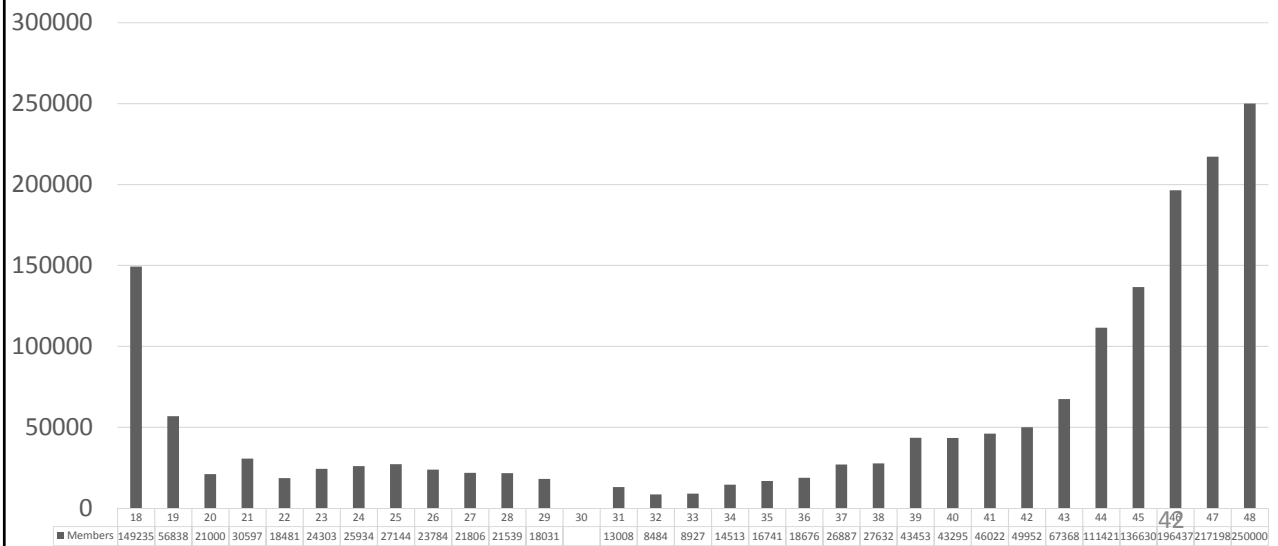
Early ZOA membership drive efforts failed

- 1935 “Zionist National Roll Call” drive to enlist 250,000 new members paying \$1
- Failed, less than \$20,000 raised
- 100,000 drive gathered only \$13,500



41

ZOA membership 1918-1948



Zionist battle to control federation “community chests”

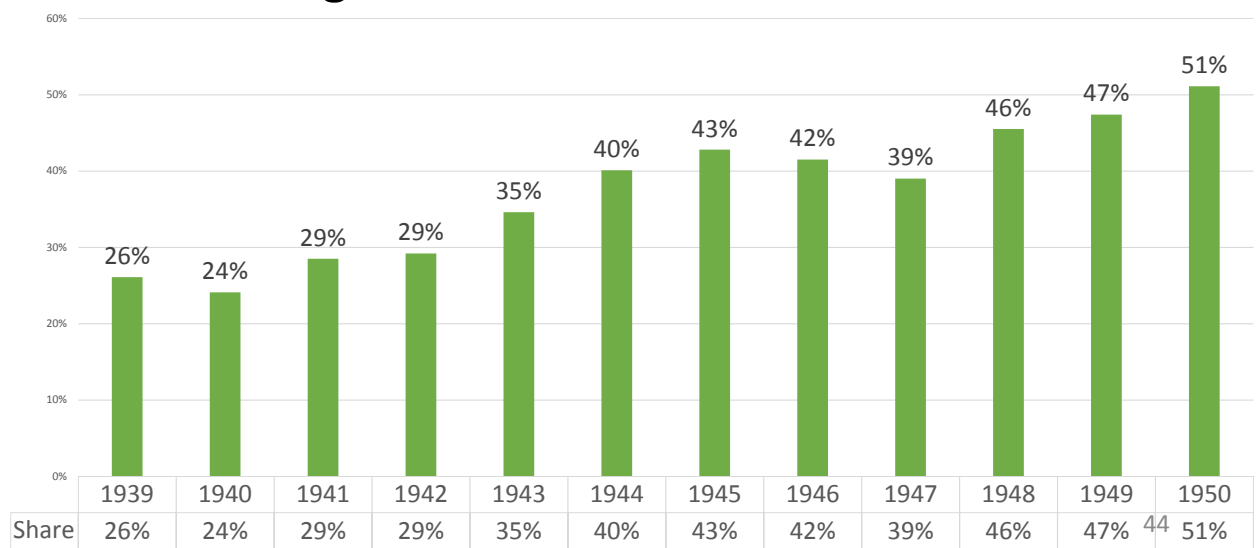
- Claimed that an “interlocking directorate of anti-Zionist plutocrats” controlled the largest fundraising pools
- Charged that grassroots were being ignored
- Unrepresentative nature of large organizations.
- Calls to “conquer the local Jewish Federations” and “infiltrate the welfare funds!”

“The Lakeport Jewish community is not so much led as controlled by a moneyed oligarchy which is only vaguely responsive to the ‘needs’ and ‘interests’ of the individuals supposedly being ‘served.’”*

*Zionist Organization of America, 38th Annual Report, 5-6

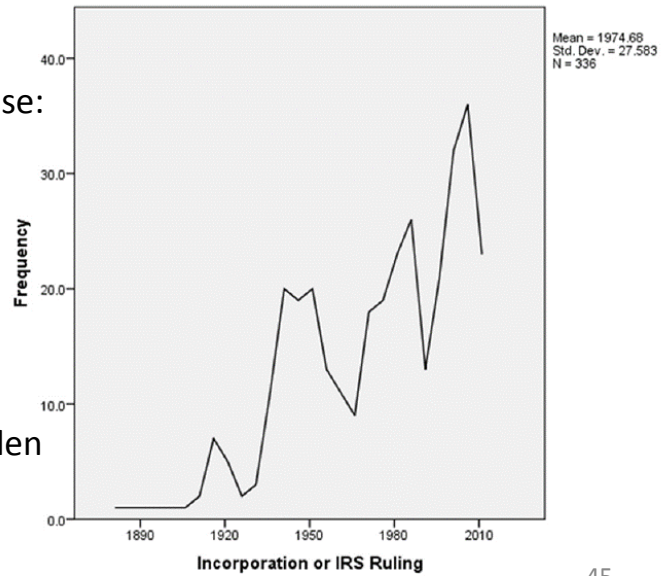
43

United Palestine Appeal (Israel) share of UJA fundraising



Before many organizations became part of the Israel lobby:

- Declared social welfare purpose:
 - Integration & immigrant aid
 - Life insurance
 - Cultural and educational infrastructure building
 - Charitable hospitals
 - Relief
 - News/information
 - Dabbled in foreign policy
- 1st wave clearly reduced burden on the US government



45

Early IAOs: were like “The Most Interesting Man Alive”



46

Campaign Contribution Bundler Pioneer Abraham Feinberg

- Best known for funding President Harry S Truman's "whistle stop" campaign, saving Truman's 1948 election campaign from almost certain defeat.
- "My path to power was cooperation in terms of what they needed—campaign money."
- PM Ben-Gurion named his chief North America fundraiser for Israel's nuclear weapons program – Weizmann Institute for Science and Technology
- Organized clandestine purchase of WWII weapons purchases for Israel
- LBJ administration depended on funding.



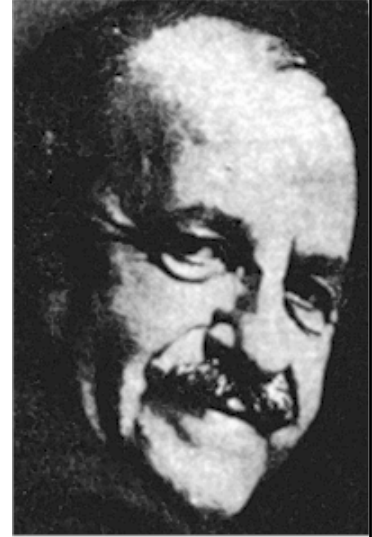
47

B-17 bomber smuggled by Charles Winters through the Jewish Agency smuggling network in violation of the Neutrality Act to fight in Israel's War of Independence - FBI file photo



AIPAC founder Isaiah L. “Si” Kenen

“The lobby for Israel, known as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) since 1959, came into existence in 1951. It was established at that time because Israel needed American economic assistance...” — **Isaiah L. Kenen**



Jewish Agency publicist

49
IRmep 2012

The American (Jewish Agency-funded) Zionist Council 1951-1962

American Zionist Council:
Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Progressive Zionist League
Bnai Zion

American Israel Public
Affairs Committee

50

AIPAC – Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs to founder of “America’s pro-Israel Lobby”

1948	Israel Office of Information (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	
1951-1953	American Zionist Council (Jewish Agency)	
1954-1959	American Zionist Council Jewish Agency	American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs
1960-1962	American Zionist Council Jewish Agency	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
1963	American Israel Public Affairs Committee Incorporated 1/2/1963 – IRS Exemption 1/25/1968	

51
2012 IRmep

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

515 PARK AVENUE * TELEPHONE PLAZA 2-1234 * NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
 Cable Address: AMZIONIST

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

American Jewish League for Israel • Bnai Zion • Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America (including Hapoel Hamizrachi Women and Mizrachi Women) • Labor Zionist Women • Progressive Zionist League—Hashomer Hatzair • United Labor Zionist Party • United Zionists-Revisionists of America • Zionist Organization of America



- Jewish Agency supplied funding through conduits, received reports
- 1954 – AZC trouble for lobbying with TD funding
- Kenen Forms unincorporated AZCPA lobbying division – JA funding
- Rebranded lobbying committee “AIPAC” in 1959

REPORT

Year: 19 59

MEMORANDUM TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN EMPLOYEE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THE REPORT SHOULD BE FILED WITH THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEES ON APPROPRIATE BUDGETS.

IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION, THE REPORT SHOULD BE FILED WITH THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEES ON APPROPRIATE BUDGETS.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL
 515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.


MEMORANDUM

TO: Fannie Speiser

FROM: Jay D. Leshin

SUBJECT:


Please issue a check to the American Zionist Council in the amount of \$20,000. \$5,000 of this amount will be for Mr. Kenen.



THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL

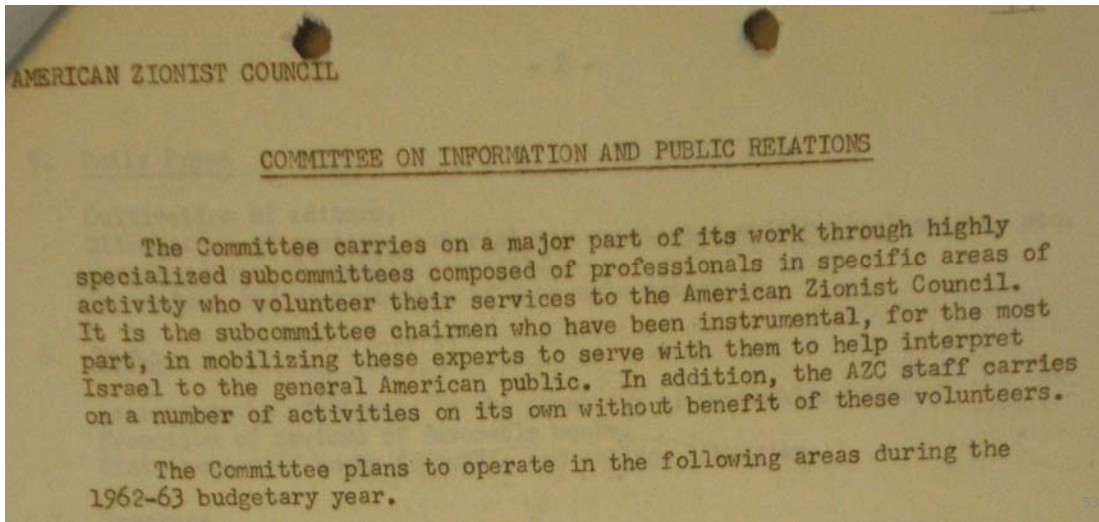
התאגדות היהודית לראש ישראל

June 26, 1958



52
2012 IRmep

AZC/AIPAC Internal Memo on Public Relations 1962-63 – Seized under Senate subpoena



Summary of Accomplishments

- ***"For obvious reasons our activities in this area cannot be minutely described, nor can we give names, dates, or places. We are, however, fighting hostile propagandists as one of our major activities throughout the year by: a. a careful check of newspapers, bulletins and confidential sources of our own, who can give us reliable information on the movements or itineraries of these propagandists. b. alerting our community contacts...c. requesting that all known meetings be monitored....furnishing speakers and arranging for them to address the forums..."***

“Magazines, TV, Radio, Films” AZC/AIPAC PR Plan

1. Magazines

Cultivation of editors.
Stimulation and placement of suitable articles in the major consumer magazines.
Reprinting and distribution of favorable materials which appear in the above publications.
Stimulation of articles in trade and specialized journals.
Liaison with writers resident in Israel via a literary agent in New York for ideas and placement.

2. TV, Radio, Films

The Department arranges for talks and interviews on Radio and TV, and servicing of film requests.
It also cultivates leading personalities in these media.
It encourages networks and stations to create programs revolving around Israel.

Accomplishment: Cover intent of Israel's nuclear program

- "The nuclear reactor story inspired comment from many sources; editorial writers, columnists, science writers and cartoonists. Most of the **press seemed finally to accept the thesis** that the reactor was **being built for peaceful purposes and not for bombs**. Some columnists felt that the U.S. should have awaited more information before 'ventilating its suspicions'. Drew Pearson's syndicated column **justified Israel's secrecy**; William Laurence in the *New York Times* **stressed Israel's peaceful intent**, in contrast to Arthur Krock who wanted the reactor placed under international safeguards. Arab protagonists in this country—including those in the State Department who **raised all the fuss initially**—used the occasion to try to cast doubt on Israel's friendship toward the U.S."

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL *JK*
142 MADISON AVENUE • TELEPHONE MUrray HElL 2-1140 • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Accomplishments

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL *AK*
 142 MADISON AVENUE * TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1140 * NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

- LIFE Magazine (February 17) carried a hostile editorial titled: 'The Crisis in Zionism'.
- The AZC stimulated **several hundred letters** to the publication in disagreement with the editorial; **a meeting** with one of the editors **has also been held** and under consideration is a piece on Zionism to **be prepared by us which they may print...**"

57

Today: Swapping Analysts: 2015



- Josh Block contacts VOA to propose a WINEP analyst rather than outspoken journalist Rula Jebreal
 - "Crazy"
 - "Anti-Semite"
 - "Nobody will appear with her"
- Jebreal invitation canceled
- The Israel Project gatekeeper to booking Israel officials and pundits



58

“Christian Religious Groups” AZC/AIPAC PR Plan

3. Christian Religious Groups

Cultivation of key religious leaders and groups.
 Setting up Seminars on Israel for Christian clergy.
 Stimulating of positive articles in the Protestant and Catholic press.
 Counteraction of hostile material in that press.
 Reprints and distribution of favorable materials from the church press.
 Stimulation of suitable articles in the journals of the Jewish religious groups.

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Accomplishments

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- "Kenneth Wilson did a **splendid piece for the Christian Herald** upon **his return [from Israel]**..The same applies to William Henry Chamberlin who two articles have already appeared in the Wall Street Journal and one in the New Leader... Earl Ubell continues to write and plan articles on Israel (he is now writing one for the Saturday Evening Post).

60

Accomplishments

- "During the months of November and December, there were **260 appearances in 83 cities and 24 states.**
- This brought the total number of engagements for this year to 2,124....The total number of speaking engagements—the overwhelming number of which were set up before **Christian and general audiences**—under the auspices of the Department came to the sum of 2,661."

61

Today: The Christian Evangelical IAOs

- 80 million evangelical Christians, courted by IAOs since the 1960s
- Significant number old enough and willing to vote based on feelings for Israel.
- Seed funding from IAO donors, diversify lobby's funding base
- Insignificant in terms of percentage of total Israel lobby revenue raised and number of organizations.
- Dispensationalism.
- Christian Evangelicals, along with others, in steep decline (2021 24.5%, 2042, 21.8%)



2012 Revenue: \$113.5 Million



2007 Revenue: \$2 million – given church association status by the IRS

62

"Academic Circles" AZC/AIPAC PR Plan

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4. Academic Circles

Support of the American Association for Middle East Studies.
 Support of the Inter-University Committee on Israel.
 Cultivation of leaders in the academic community.
 Stimulation of "Israel Day" on college campuses.
 Cooperation with colleges and universities in setting up of
 Seminars on the Middle East.
 Monitoring and counteraction of material in the campus press.
 Stimulating of articles in academic journals.
 Guidance to student Zionists and other Jewish students on Arab-Israel issues.
 Counteraction of hostile faculty and Arab students.
 Preparation of materials for elementary and high school faculty.

63

Accomplishments

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL *JK*

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- "We continue to cultivate faculty people in many areas and are making progress here...Efforts are being made by our friends in the San Francisco area to **persuade Stanford to drop Fayez Sayeh** from the faculty on the grounds that he is a **paid propagandist** rather than an **objective academician**...Dr. Zucker at the University of Utah is at **work attempting to obtain endowment of a chair to be held by a Jew who should be a distinguished Semiticist**, and the **prospects seem favorable**. This campus is especially significant as it is staffed with Arab professors and its 50 Arab students are highly active."

64

Accomplishments

- "Fayez Sayegh, noted Arab propagandist, is leaving Stanford to take up a one-year residence professorship in September at Macalester College in **St. Paul**. He was appointed to fill a Chair of International Studies endowed by DeWitt Wallace of the Readers Digest, (who will be giving Macalester \$3 million during the next few years.)...**We have alerted our friends in the area to Sayegh's propaganda activities** while at Stanford. There is much concern in the Jewish community and **approaches are being made to President Rice of Macalester**. Rice is being acquainted not only with Sayegh's record; the **public relations implications of Sayegh's off-campus activities will also be brought to his attention...**"

65

Accomplishments

- "The Department now monitors the publications containing information and comment on international affairs which go into the **elementary, junior and senior high schools...**"
- "Our representative in Israel continues to arrange meetings, receptions and **interview for visiting VIP Americans...**"

66

Today: CAP: *Fear Inc.: The Roots of Islamophobia*

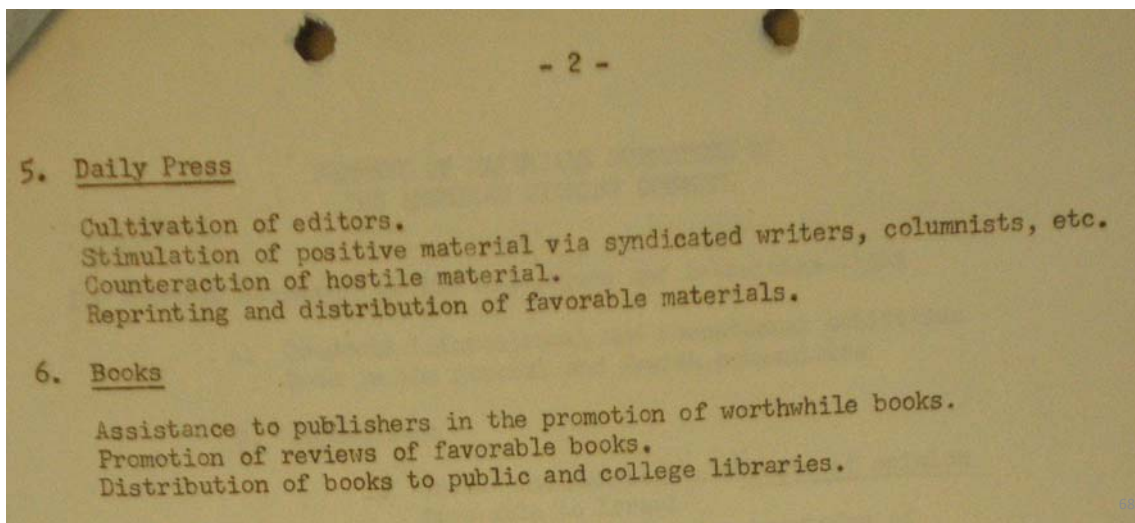
- Exposed the heavy involvement of Israel Megadonors in supporting key Islamophobia projects – Charles and Lynn Schusterman foundation, Abramowitz Family foundation, The Ginsberg Family Foundation
- AIPAC Surrogate Josh Block complains to CAP's Neera Tanden, CAP meetings with AIPAC
- Eli Clifton, Ali Gharib, Lee Fang, Zaid Jilana and other CAP authors ousted

January 2012, CAP President Neera Tanden warned she had received an email from Hillary Clinton's 2008 "advisor on Jewish matters," that CAP was going to have a problem until its writing "seems like it's not anti-Israel,"

67

"Daily Press, Books" AZC/AIPAC PR Plan

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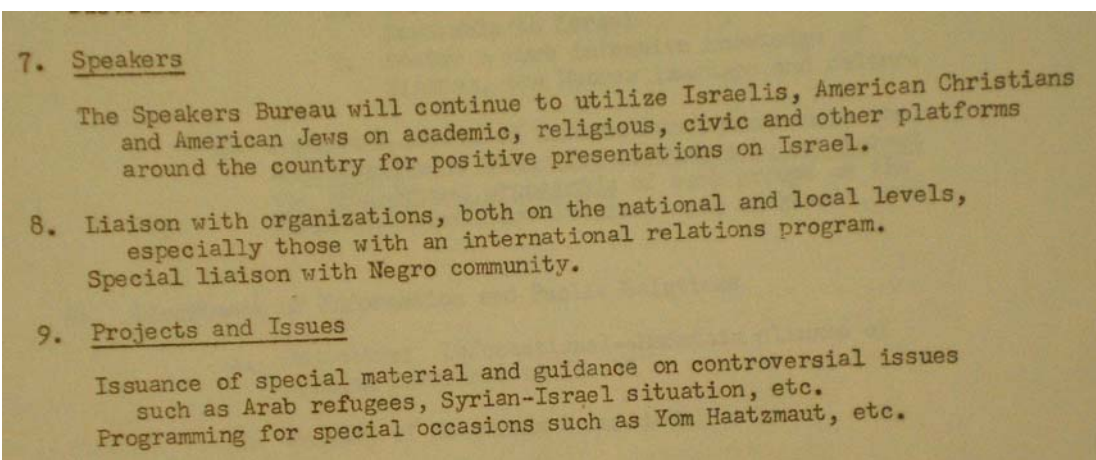


Accomplishments

- "The Atlantic Monthly in its October issue carried the outstanding **Martha Gellhorn piece on the Arab refugees**, which made quite an impact around the country. We arranged for the distribution of **10,000 reprints to public opinion molders in all categories**. Acting on information that **anti-Israel groups were bombarding the Atlantic with critical letters**, we stimulated a letter campaign designed to counteract their impact...Interested friends are making arrangements with the Atlantic for **another reprint of the Gellhorn article to be sent to all 53,000 persons whose names appear in Who's Who in America...**
- <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1961/10/the-arabs-of-palestine/304203/>

69

"Speakers, Liaison, Projects and Issues"



70

Accomplishments

- We continue to **counteract Arab speakers on all platforms** with pro-Israel speakers; thus, Hadawi was followed up by Matityahu Dagan and Shlomo Efrat, Hassan by Hedzini, etc...The Birmingham Zionist leadership has been effectively **counteracting the Arabs** in that area...
- "AZC continues to counteract all hostile speeches on campuses by placing appropriate speakers on the same platforms."
- "Representations by the Boston office resulted in the cancellation of an **inflammatory Arab film which dealt with the refugees.**"

71

"Visitors to Israel, Counteracting the Opposition"

10. Visitors to Israel
 Subsidization to individual public opinion molders to help provide them with an experience in Israel.
 Inter-University Committee Study Tour to Israel.
 Organize other tours in which public opinion molders will participate.
 Provide suitable arrangements in Israel for handling of American visitors.

11. Counteracting the Opposition
 The monitoring and counteraction of all activities carried out here by the Arabs, American Friends of the Middle East, and the American Council for Judaism.

12. Miscellaneous
 Answering requests for information and providing suitable literature for the many thousands of requests annually received.

72

Accomplishments

- AZC organizes tours of Israel through the American Christian Palestine Committee Study Tour.
- "We, therefore, turn to you once again to help in the selection of a suitable man or woman of some stature in your community who can upon his return **help interpret Israel to the general community.**
- An **educator, religious leader, editor,** or civic leader who ***is generally sympathetic to the aims of Israel,*** but one in need of **greater knowledge of Middle East problems,** would make the ideal tour participant."

73

Threat Analysis

- "The **ACJ [American Council for Judaism]** is today the most effective anti-Zionist and anti-Israel force on the American scene. It continues its aggressive campaign and is concentrating on the mass media and in church circles. **Its success is due primarily to the fact that being a Jewish organization** (they operate under the term 'Judaism') **it becomes acceptable to those in the communications field who thrive on controversy** and who can now present '**another Jewish point of view**'. Its position also finds an echo among those **Christians**—who, either because of some degree of latent anti-Semitism or because of obligations to the Arabs—**can now join the fray without fear of being called anti-Semitic;** ('I am in good Jewish company')."

74

Pushback

- "The American Council for Judaism has taken steps to see to it that **WCBS receives hundreds of letters and phone calls praising Berger's** remarks and thanking the station for inviting him to appear. (The ACJ has been conducting a campaign for months now to achieve such recognition in the mass media)."
- It would be most helpful if you could **stimulate your membership and friends to send notes to WCBS** or to make hone calls following the telecast **indicating displeasure** at their **having invited Berger** and **challenging his right to appear as a Jewish spokesman** in view of the fact that his organization has been denounced by all three Rabbinic organizations in Judaism.

75

Visits to Israel

- The U.S. contingent of **60 Mayors returned from Israel** where they attended the Conference this year. While in Israel, a number of them were **interviewed by our representative who sent stories back to their hometown papers**; they were also recorded in interviews for local radio stations. We notified community leaders of those mayors who attended the conference in Israel' in many cases, local Zionist leaders have already met with mayors and are developing plans to **place them before Jewish and Christian audiences, etc.**

76

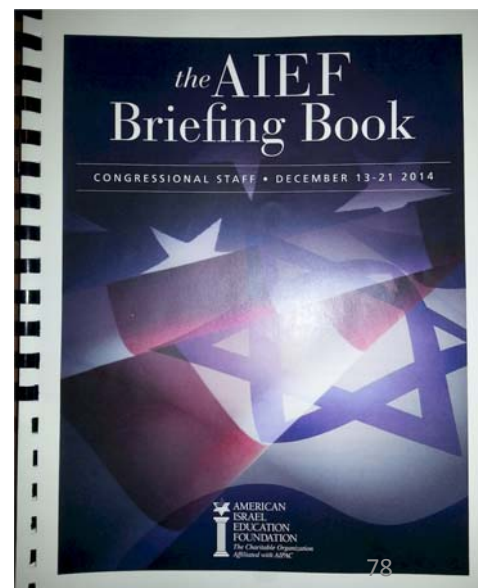
Visits to Israel

- "We continue to **encourage visits to Israel by public opinion molders** and, where possible, **assist with financial arrangements**...Recent visitors in whom we had more than a rooting interest returned from Israel quite enthusiastic and it is, therefore, hoped that they will be helpful to us in the future. These include: Harold Flanders, TV and movie writer, who has joined our Radio-TV Committee; James Flanagan, Associate editor of the Christian, (church publication) St. Louis; the Donald Harringtons of the Community Church in New York....**Agnes Mayer, co-owner of the Washington Post**, who has done some **excellent writing since her return**; the Ethridges of the Louisville Courier Journal....Our representative in Israel continues to meet with visiting Christians and arranges briefings, hospitality, etc..."

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Today: American Israel Education Foundation

- AIPAC's 501(c)(3) travel agency - \$55m 2014 revenues
- AIPAC officials accompany influencers on Israel trips
- 1,000 2001-2015
- Most popular "educational" destination for Congress
- Members of Congress learn that "Jerusalem is Israel's largest city – not a 'settlement.'"
- "Israel later incorporated the eastern half of the city and declared the unified Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel."



Summary - Core 1960's Israel Lobby Programs

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL *AK*
142 MADISON AVENUE * TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1140 * NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

- US government foreign aid and diplomatic support
- Saturate mainstream media with pro-Israel messaging/pundits
 - Displacing/subvert opposition access
- Israel promotion within Christian organizations
- Free “influencer” trips to Israel
- Patrol academia/promote pro-Israel programs/target academics
- Covert action against opposition groups
 - Infiltration/assessment/disruption

79

The AZC “ended” in 1962....well, not really.



American Israel Public
Affairs Committee
Incorporated 1/2/1963

80

Foreign Agents Registration Act

- US. Agents of foreign principals had to register with the State Department, later the Department of Justice
- Periodic reports of publicity, lobbying, expenditures
- All propaganda disseminated in the U.S. had to bear a stamp attributing it to a foreign principal.
- Foreign agent reports could be consulted by reporters and interested members of the public at a DOJ office.
- Act watered down over time.
- Still the law of the land.

- **Foreign Agents Registration Act—6/8/1938-4/28/1942**
- Chapter 11 -- FOREIGN AGENTS AND PROPAGANDA
- SUBCHAPTER I – GENERALLY
- Sec. 601. Acting as foreign government agent without notice to Secretary of State
- SUBCHAPTER II – REGISTRATION OF FOREIGN PROPAGANDISTS
- Sec.
- 611 Definitions
- 612 Registration statement; filing contents
- 613 Same; additional statement after 6 months; contents
- 614 Same; permanent record; public inspection
- 615 Failure to register; false statement; omission of material facts; penalties
- 616 Rules, regulations, and forms

81

2.0 What function does each major category of the Israel lobby serve today?

- Which organizations lobby congress for foreign aid
- How do they work with hundreds of state-level lobbies to secure additional U.S. economic, diplomatic, financial and military support for Israel?

82

Support for Jewish Immigrant Assimilation & Zionism 1800-1920s	Building State of Israel 1930s-1940s	Israel Justification & Defense 1980s-1990s	Pro-Israel Imposition on Campus Anti-Muslim/Lawfare 2000-Present
B'nai B'rith	United Jewish Appeal	U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum	The Israel Project
Jewish Telegraphic Agency	Jewish Federations of North America	Friends of the IDF	Investigative Project on Terrorism
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society	Jewish Council for Public Affairs	CAMERA/MEMRI	Foreign Policy Initiative
Zionist Organization of America	American Zionist Council – which spun off AIPAC	Middle East Forum	Israel on Campus Coalition
American Jewish Committee	American Society for Technion	Birthright Israel	The Lawfare Project
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	American Committee for the Weizmann Institute	Washington Institute for Near East Policy	United Against Nuclear Iran 83

Today: Major IAO Functional Categories



1. Subsidy
2. Fundraising and Local Political Action (mini AIPACs)
3. Education/Training/Indoctrination
4. Advocacy

Subsidy



- Subsidy orgs transfer privately raised, tax-exempt donations and some U.S. taxpayer funding into Israeli institutions, organizations and projects.
- Largest category members include the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and United Israel Appeal
- Includes sole recipient subsidy providers “American Friends of” such as the American Society for Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Inc.
- There are more than 100 subsidy IAGs.
- Provided \$2 billion in funding in 2012

85

Top Ten Subsidy IAOs



Incorporation or IRS Ruling Year	EIN	Employees	Volunteers	Organization	Actual US Revenue 2012	Forecast US Revenue 2020
1962	136192275	31	0	Bar Ilan University of Israel aka American Friends of	\$ 343,494,721	\$ 591,721,606
1914	131656634	154	47	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	\$ 316,241,721	\$ 526,990,589
1936	131760102	4	32	United Israel Appeal	\$ 193,137,000	\$ 125,993,929
1983	363256096	97	9	InterNational Fellowship of Christians and Jews	\$ 113,514,939	\$ 370,857,186
1958	136227366	0	0	Feinberg Graduate School of the Weizmann Institute of Science	\$ 110,670,090	\$ 163,565,804
1926	131659627	225	120	Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Israel)	\$ 103,460,271	\$ 138,024,203
1922	131656651	203	285458	Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America	\$ 100,945,808	\$ 51,235,026
1940	130434195	93	150	American Society for Technion - Israel Institute of Technology	\$ 91,660,482	\$ 73,442,837
1944	131623886	85	40	American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science	\$ 71,423,000	\$ 47,458,110
1981	133156445	130	69	Friends of the Israeli Defense Forces	\$ 68,314,942	\$ 326,662,872

Fundraising and Local Political Action



- 152 federations raise large amounts of funding through local, regional fundraising campaigns.
- Most major fundraising IAGs in this category are “federations.”
- They provide grants to local Jewish and Non-Jewish recipients, but also transfer large amounts to IAG’s in Education & Training, Advocacy and Subsidy categories.
- Political arms are “community relations councils.”
 - Local media and legislative watch dogs
 - Most (91%) claim they do not lobby – Those that do reported only \$1.3 million in 2012
 - Help favored political candidate campaigns by joining as “ independent fundraisers and campaign committees” and hosting events .
 - Lobby for local, city and state legislation but do not disclose lobbying.

87

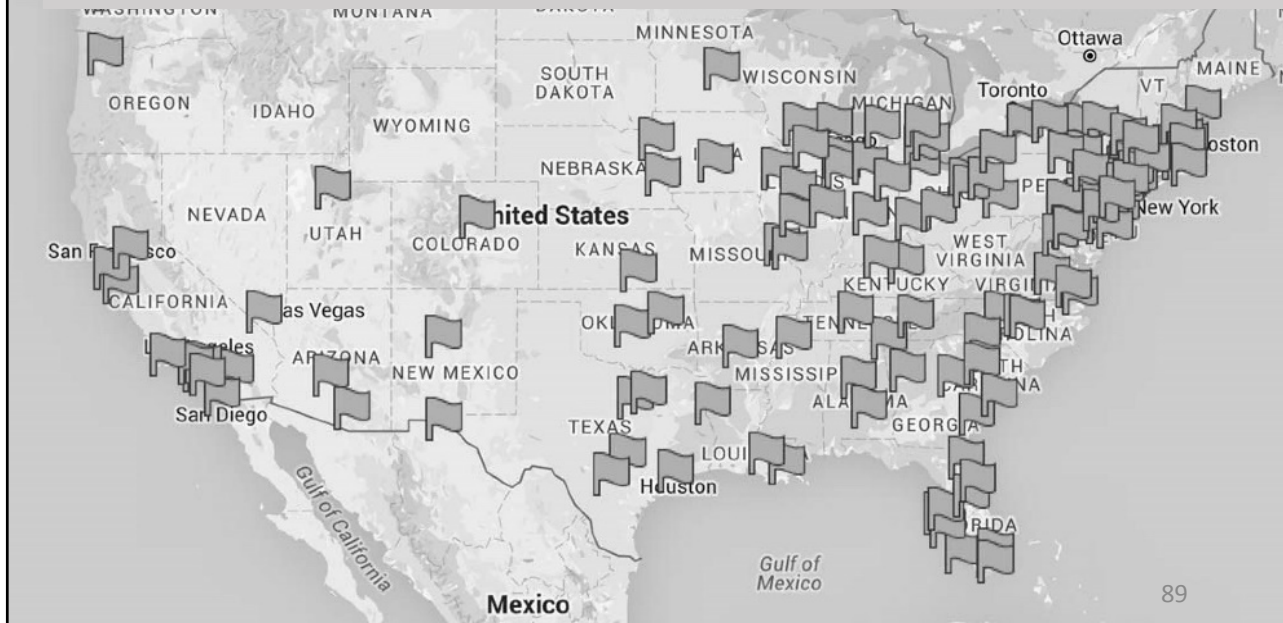
Top Ten Funding & Local Political Action IAOs



Incorporation or IRS Ruling Year	EIN	Employees	Volunteers	Organization	Actual US Revenue 2012	Forecast US Revenue 2020
1950	362167034	471	12177	Jewish United Fund Of Metropolitan Chicago	\$ 93,654,220	\$ 98,750,029
1964	956111928	29	100	Jewish Community Foundation of the Jewish Federation of Greater Los Angeles	\$ 69,603,775	\$ 67,295,725
1938	590624404	100	2200	Greater Miami Jewish Federation	\$ 65,704,827	\$ 42,591,525
1937	951643388	186	3166	Jewish Federation Council Of Greater Los Angeles	\$ 58,761,492	\$ 52,364,593
1950	520607957	150	7500	The Associated Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore	\$ 43,161,878	\$ 46,891,224
1901	231500085	117	2000	Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia	\$ 36,742,007	\$ 43,319,626
1946	520214465	83	7517	The Jewish Federation of Greater Washington	\$ 36,461,345	\$ 31,319,678
1955	221487222	181	719	Jewish Federation of Greater MetroWest NJ	\$ 35,305,689	\$ 29,292,132
1957	251017602	75	736	Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh	\$ 33,673,350	\$ 24,771,776
1968	581021791	67	900	Jewish Federation Of Greater Atlanta	\$ 30,791,644	\$ 31,736,865
1947	390806312	79	700	Milwaukee Jewish Federation	\$ 29,175,499	\$ 22,069,015

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JCRC distribution across the U.S.

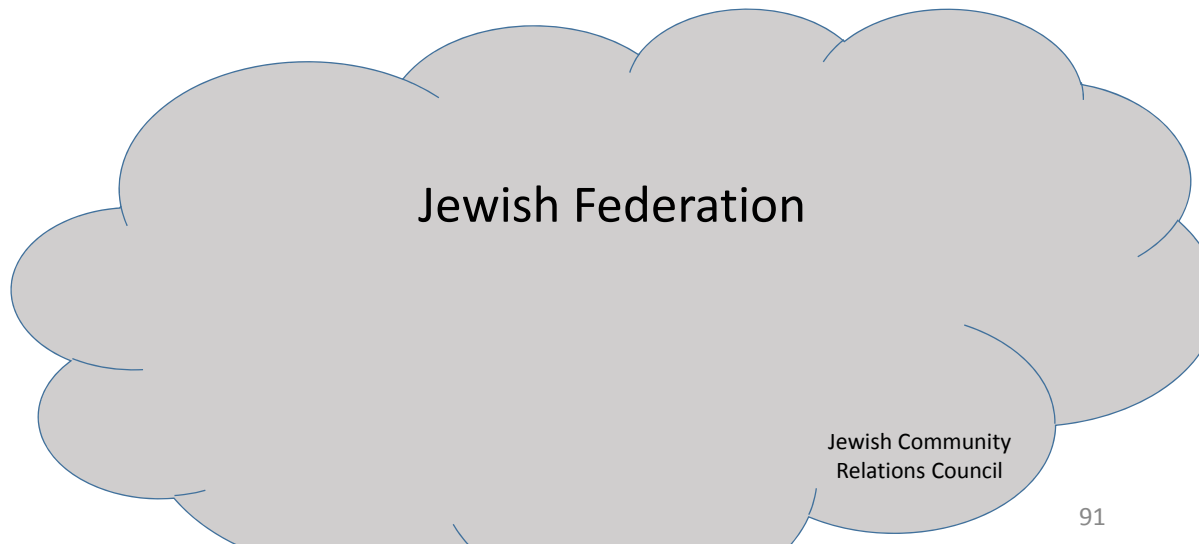


Today JCRCs use the original 1951-1962 AIPAC model

American Zionist Council:
Zionist Organization of America
Hadassah
Progressive Zionist League
Bnai Zion

American Israel Public
Affairs Committee

Today JCRCs use the original 1951-1962 AIPAC model



Opposition to disclosure

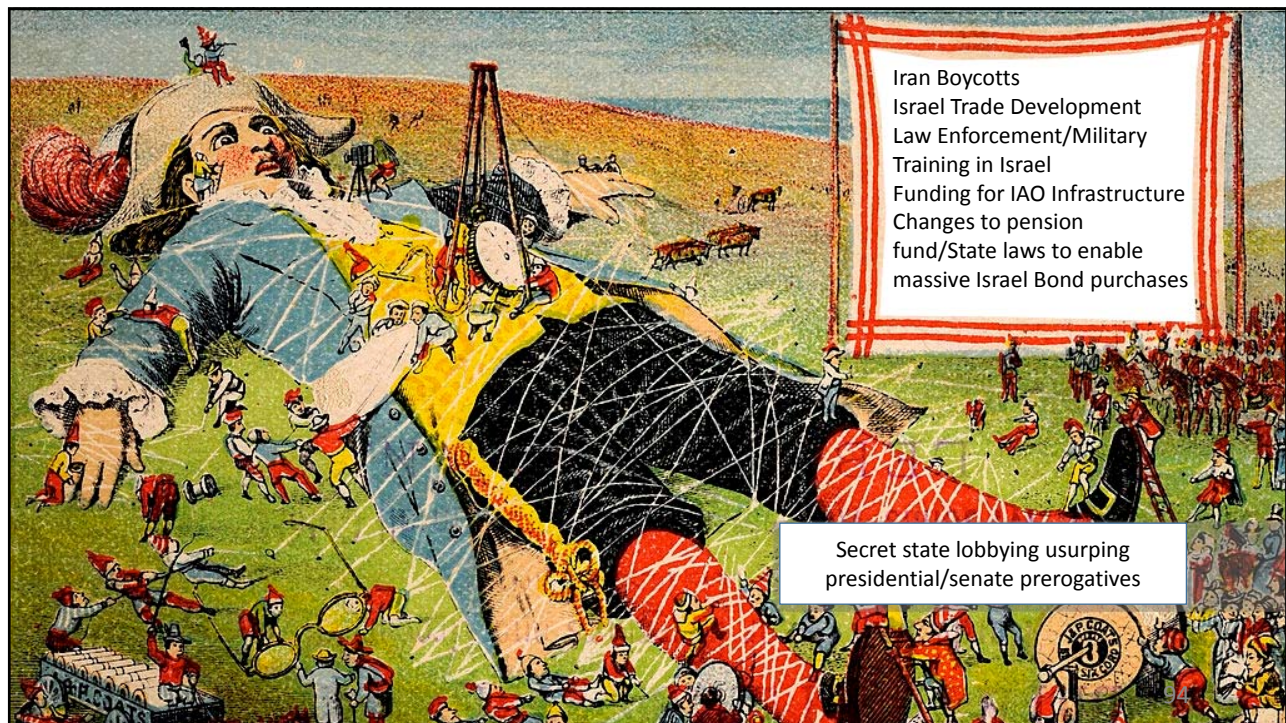
*The president's proposal to 'require lobbyists to disclose each contact' may result in treating 'citizen lobbying' by groups such as local **Jewish community relations councils** the same as corporate and labor interests... Some lawmakers may be hounded into also producing lists of unpaid / unregistered lobbyists, including constituents, they meet.. That could easily inhibit the willingness of lawmakers to meet...and discourage participation by citizen lobbyists **who fear becoming public targets.***

-Douglas Bloomfield, former AIPAC lobbyist

Israel lobby initiatives inserted into U.S. State legislatures by JCRCs

- Special subsidies for IAOs
- Trade promotion
- Joint Economic Development Projects
- Iran sanctions
- Anti-BDS initiatives
- Uncounted in public figures
- Lobbying under/not counted

93



California Resolution

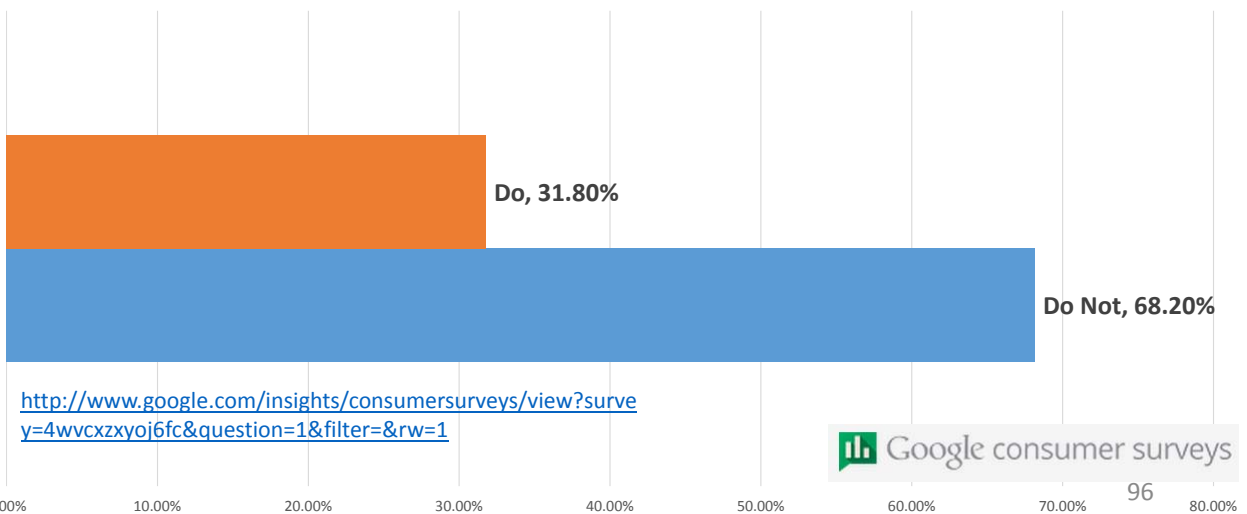
- *WHEREAS, California's Jewish community has been active socially, economically, and politically in the state's formation since the gold rush, and that involvement has had a positive impact on the state's multicultural and economic development; and*
- *WHEREAS, California is home to an estimated 2,000,000 Jews, making it the second largest concentration of Jews in the United States; and*
- *WHEREAS, For years, California and Israel have established business partnerships and trade relations with each other, and those partnerships have helped enhance the agricultural, educational, energy, entertainment, health, medical, scientific, and water policies in California, Israel, and the United States...*
- **RESOLVED, That the Legislature believes that Israel's borders should be determined by the Government of Israel.**

Source: Official California State Legislative Information, Bill ACR 65, introduced June 2, 2011

95

3/15 Poll: Congress and state legislatures pass scores of resolutions condemning Palestinians and voicing unconditional support for Israel every year:

- These resolutions **do not** represent my views.
- These resolutions **represent** my views.



Fundraising and Local Political Action IAOs

- Greater Miami Jewish Federations
- Jewish Federation Council of Greater LA, JCRC of Gtr Washington
- \$947 million/year
- High % direct and indirect transfers to Israel (destination organization can now legally be hidden due to 2008 IRS rule)
- Mini-unincorporated lobbying divisions – 2012 lobbying expenditure reports: only \$1.3 million reported

For every dollar of tax-exempt revenue the JCRC of Gtr Washington raised in 2012, it extracted \$1.58 in tax dollars for Israel.

97

Advocacy



- Advocacy organizations leverage and focus the collective might of other IAGs, from Federations to the wealthy donors that fund IAG's. This political power is focused at the Federal level to obtain weapons, political and diplomatic support through pressure on politicians via campaign contributions, fielding candidates, coordinating propaganda, and promoting legislation that implements Israeli government agenda.
- Advocacy IAOs publish news and information or organize activities that promote Israel. American Israel Education Foundation, an arm of AIPAC that takes politicians and other elites on free trips to promote Israel. Other organizations censure, sue and attempt to defund critics of Israel.

98

Top Ten Advocacy IAOs



Incorporation or IRS Ruling Year	EIN	Employees	Volunteers	Organization	Actual US Revenue 2012	Forecast US Revenue 2020
1963	530217164	401	0	American Israel Public Affairs Committee	\$ 71,844,486	\$ 157,348,849
1946	131818723	409	3500	Anti-Defamation League	\$ 53,574,910	\$ 66,972,652
1935	131624240	144	185	Jewish Federations of North America	\$ 49,030,087	\$ 37,839,387
1906	135563393	294	1896	American Jewish Committee	\$ 47,887,833	\$ 33,422,450
1989	521623781	0	0	American Israel Education Foundation	\$ 43,681,414	\$ 133,816,849
2002	230053483	0	5	Jewish Agency for Israel - North American Council	\$ 12,221,956	\$ 20,168,779
1985	521386172	17	50	Republican Jewish Coalition	\$ 10,067,507	\$ 11,376,271
1984	521376034	63	15	Washington Institute for Near East Policy	\$ 9,732,737	\$ 16,359,891
2001	010566033	72	97	Israel Emergency Alliance aka Standwithus	\$ 8,716,377	\$ 14,248,475
2001	134174402	37	32	Foundation for the Defense of Democracies	\$ 7,267,839	\$ 38,496,438

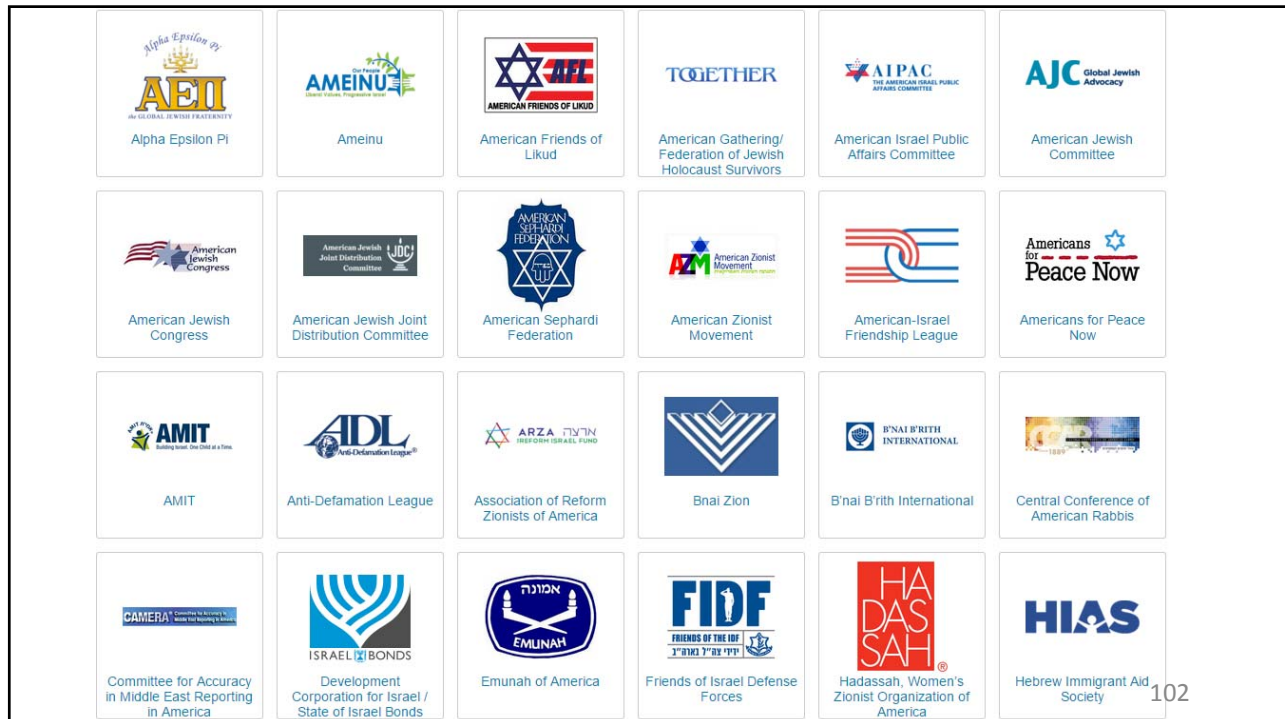
AIPAC's position through time

- 1950s Foreign Agent of the Jewish Agency for Israel - DOJ
- 1960s American Zionists and Non-Zionists supporting Israel – Rebrand inside AZC
- 1970s Jewish Religious Social Welfare Lobbying Association - IRS
- 1980s-1990's "Promoting the US-Israel Relationship" – Strategic Papers
- 2000's - Today "America's pro-Israel Lobby" – Website/pubs since 1996





Are top advocacy IAO's representative of the Jewish community?






- That is the PR position
- AIPAC's bylaws give corporate membership to every leader of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organization leader
- Fifty major organizations, now a "Super AZC"



 Jewish Community Centers Association	 Jewish Council for Public Affairs	 Jewish Federations of North America	 Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs	 Jewish Labor Committee	 Jewish National Fund
 Jewish Women International	 MERCAZ USA, Zionist Organization of the Conservative Movement	 National Council of Jewish Women	 National Council of Young Israel	 NA'AMAT USA	 NCSJ: Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia
 ORT America	 Rabbinical Assembly	 Rabbinical Council of America	 Religious Zionists of America	 Union for Reform Judaism	 Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
 United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism	 Women of Reform Judaism	 Women's International Zionist Organization	 Women's League for Conservative Judaism	 Workmen's Circle	 World ORT Educating for Life

 World Zionist Organization	 Zionist Organization of America
---	--

Adjunct member organizations

 Cantors Assembly	 Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life	 Maccabi USA	 Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association	 Shaare Zedek Medical Center in Jerusalem
---	--	--	--	---

Establishment news media has generally helped amplify such claims of representation/conflation:

“...the World Jewish Congress, which represents Jewish communities in 66 countries...” – ***The New York Times***

“But since the present troubles forced their way on to the front pages most major organizations representing America’s 6 million Jewish citizens have...” – ***The Guardian***

“IRS Sued on Jews’ Tax Exempt Status” ***The Washington Post***

“Address by Representative of U.S. Jews, and the Pope’s Reply” – ***The New York Times***

105

Reports: Israel Advocacy Organizations Opposing the Iran Nuclear Deal

- American Israel Public Affairs Committee
- American Jewish Committee
- Anti-Defamation League
- Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations
- **...must have been a reflection of Jewish American support...right?**

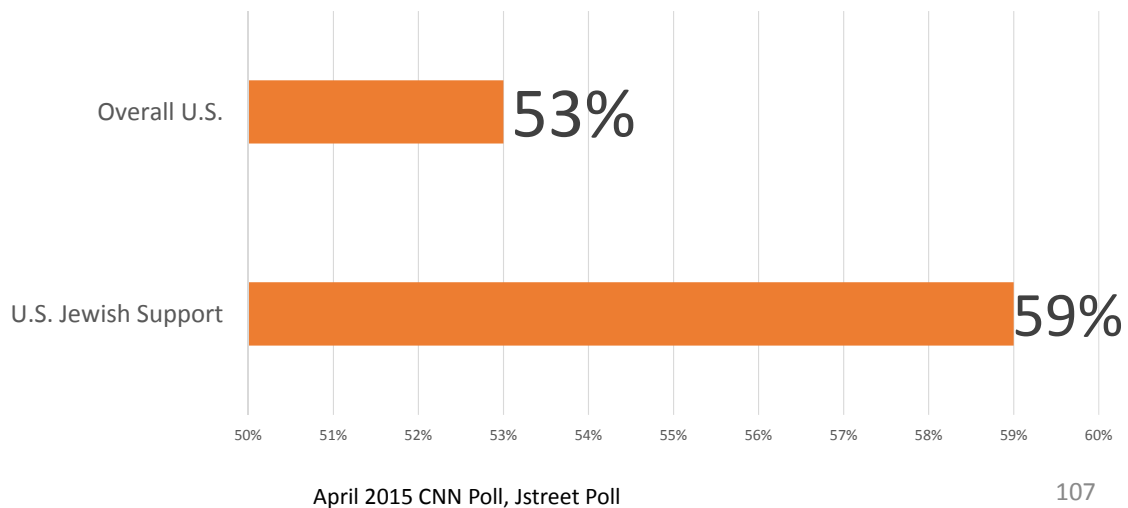


AIPAC



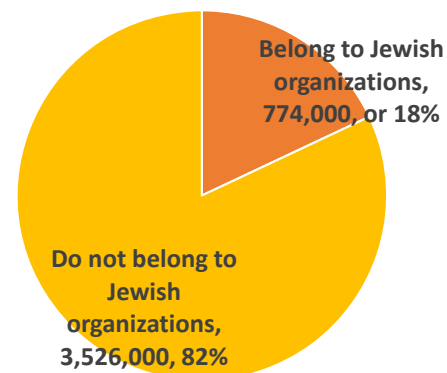
106

Support for the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal (JCPOA)



Most Americans of Jewish faith:

- **Do not belong to Jewish organizations (82%)**
- **Are only “somewhat” or “not at all” attached to Israel (70%)**
- **Have never traveled to Israel (57%)**
- **Think settlement building is a bad idea (44%)**



Source: A Portrait of Jewish Americans” Pew Research Center, October 1, 2013
<http://www.pewforum.org/2013/10/01/jewish-american-beliefs-attitudes-culture-survey/>

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JV4

Upper estimate of Jewish IAO membership

- 774,000 adults
- About the population of Charlotte, NC or Fort Worth, TX
- “Just on those numbers alone, we’ll be challenged as a community.” Michael Siegal*

*Chair of the Board of Trustees, Jewish Federations North America, speech to the General Assembly 2014

A large, homogeneous and growing special interest community...Not!



109

So who does the Israel lobby, and particularly the Advocacy IAO's, **really** represent?

- The views and concerns of a relatively small number of Jewish American “megadonors”
- Stagnant IAO boards of directors and top IAO officials
- Israeli government guidance— AIPAC’s heritage
 - Offices in Israel
 - Original startup funding

110

GS1 Judqw#Vplwk/#62:25349

Donor concentration & control

- Republican Jewish Coalition
 - 143 donors: 76% of 2006 funding
 - Sheldon Adelson: 8% of 2006 funding
- American Israel Public Affairs Committee:
 - 1,700 donors provided 56% of 2006 funding.
 - Top donor provided 13% of 2006 funding
- Zionist Organization of America
 - Top donor (Sheldon Adelson) 2013 earmark: \$1 million
 - Top donor provided 20% of 2013 funding



111

IAO Governance

- Despite bylaws, occasional voice votes, etc. most IAO's are authoritarian, unrepresentative organizations
- Same issues that Zionist organizations claimed in the 1930s and 1940s - "Most communities hold elections for the board, but challenges to the board's own slate of nominees are almost unheard of— largely because of public apathy."
- "...in some cities, including New York, the board chooses its own members with no pretense of an election."
- Overpaid, long-tenured, mostly male CEOs
 - Abraham Foxman – ADL national director 1987-2015 (28 years)
 - Daniel Pipes – Middle East Forum 1990-Present (26 years)
 - Mort Klein – Zionist Organization of America – 1993-Present (23 years)

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The Christian Evangelical IAOs

- 80 million evangelical Christians, courted by IAOs since the 1960s
- Significant number old enough and willing to vote based on feelings for Israel.
- Seed funding from IAO donors, diversify lobby's funding base
- Insignificant in terms of percentage of total Israel lobby revenue raised and number of organizations.
- Dispensationalism.
- Christian Evangelicals, along with others, in steep decline (2021 24.5%, 2042, 21.8%)



2012 Revenue: \$113.5 Million



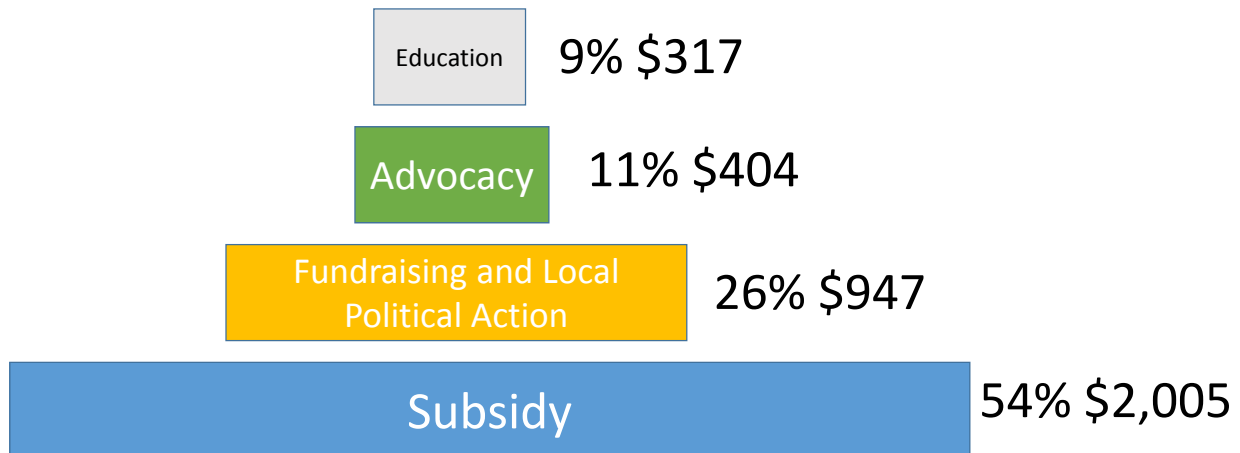
2007 Revenue:
\$2 million – given
church association
status by the IRS

113



114

2012 (501)(c) Israel Affinity Organization Categories, Revenues in \$ Million



115

Education/Training/Indoctrination



- **Education & Training Includes Zionist education programs in the U.S. for Jewish students from Kindergarten through college.**
- **For the general American public this category maintains Holocaust museums across the country, law enforcement tolerance and counter-terrorism training and “anti-bullying” curriculum to public and private schools.**
- **New efforts are being made to secure taxpayer funding at state levels to field “counter-extremism projects” directed toward Muslim communities.**
- **The 14 IAGs in this category raised \$317 million in 2012**

116

Top Ten Education IAOs



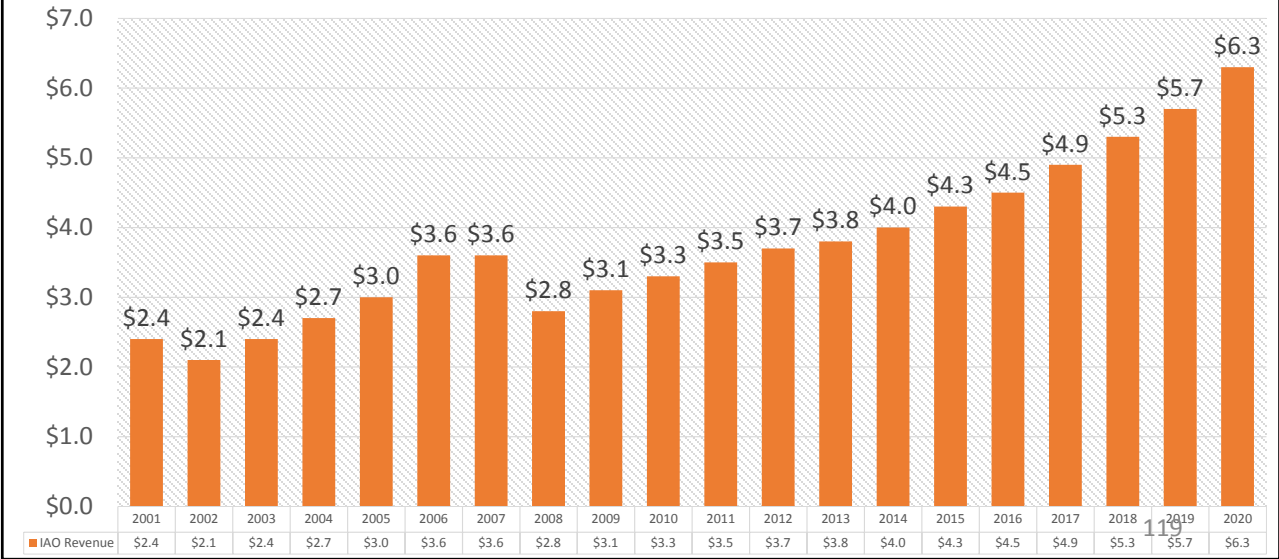
Incorporation or IRS Ruling Year	EIN	Employees	Volunteers	Organization	Actual US Revenue 2012	Forecast US Revenue 2020
1980	521309391	453	400	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum	\$ 124,145,507	\$ 171,860,770
1999	134092050	53	0	Birthright Israel Foundation	\$ 101,960,863	\$ 473,160,839
1984	521844823	1541	69	Hillel Foundation	\$ 27,903,405	\$ 17,966,418
1985	953964928	121	274	Simon Wiesenthal Center	\$ 23,754,251	\$ 19,457,068
1917	135599486	64	0	Jewish Community Centers Association of North America - JCC Association	\$ 21,120,717	\$ 35,744,537
1980	133041381	13	100	Women's International Zionist Organization	\$ 3,411,787	\$ 4,561,983
2004	113666684	5	0	Aish International - Hasbara Fellowships	\$ 2,915,757	\$ 908,783
1914	430769468	16	100	Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity	\$ 2,784,475	\$ 4,087,568
1994	521865861	6	0	American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise	\$ 2,642,808	\$ 27,933,788
1917	130887610	21		Jewish Telegraphic Agency	\$ 2,565,355	\$ 2,963,430

IAO Categories – Increase government burden

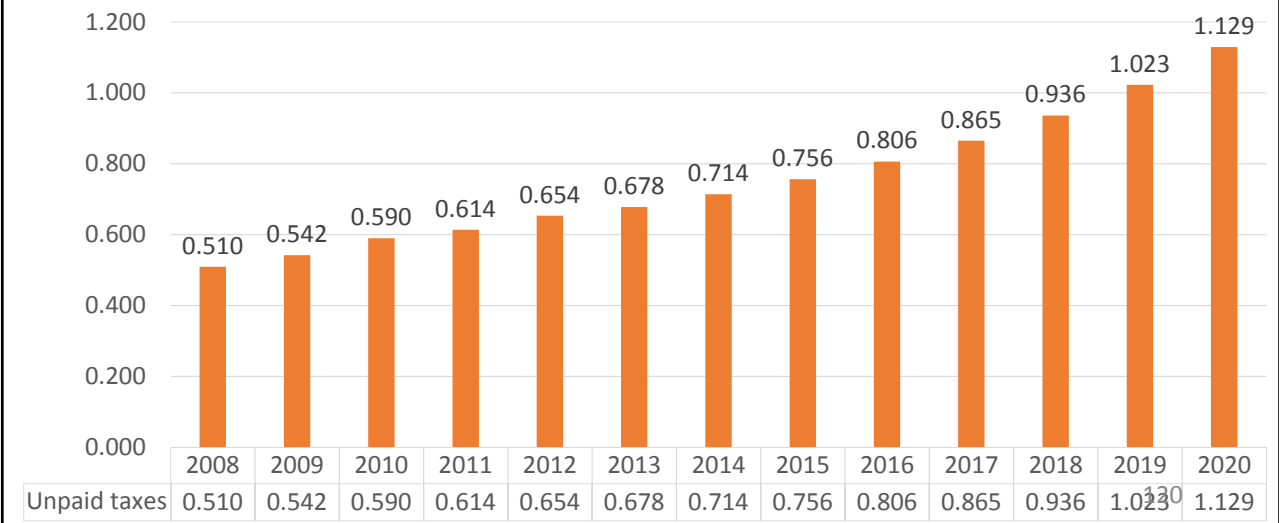


Category	Orgs	Employees (FTE)	2012 Revenue (\$ Million)	2020 Forecast Revenue (\$ Million)
Subsidy	116	1,984 Top Ten Advocacy IAOs	\$2,005.3	\$3,831.6
Fundraising & Political Action	138	7,701	\$946.6	\$917.5
Advocacy	68	6,633	\$408.5	\$762.2
Education	14	2,309	\$316.7	\$762.4
Total	336	14,076	\$3,672.1	\$6,273.7

Israel Lobby Revenue (through 2012) & Forecast (2020)



Direct Israel lobby tax burden (\$US Billion) of tax-deductibility

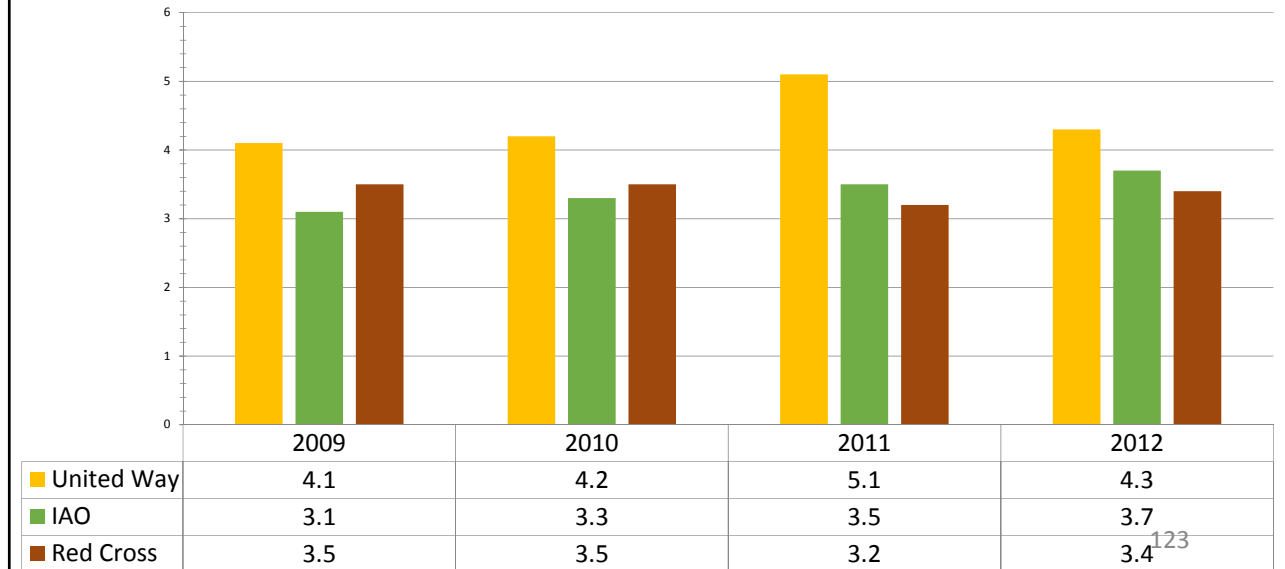


Support for Jewish Immigrant Assimilation & Zionism 1800-1920s	Building State of Israel 1930s-1940s	Israel Justification & Defense 1980s-1990s	Pro-Israel Imposition on Campus Anti-Muslim/Lawfare 2000-Present
B'nai B'rith	United Jewish Appeal	U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum	The Israel Project
Jewish Telegraphic Agency	American Society for Technion	Friends of the IDF	Investigative Project on Terrorism
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society	Jewish Council for Public Affairs	CAMERA/MEMRI	Emergency Committee for Israel
Zionist Organization of America	American Zionist Council – which spun off AIPAC	Middle East Forum	Israel on Campus Coalition
American Jewish Committee	American Society for Technion	Birthright Israel	The Lawfare Project
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	American Committee for the Weizmann Institute	Washington Institute for Near East Policy	United Against Nuclear Iran 121

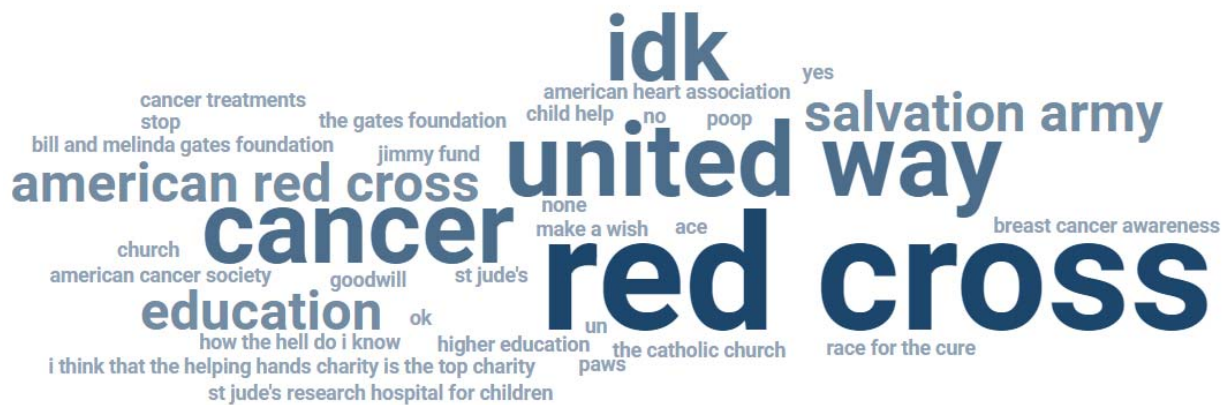
Name	Took office	Left office	Israel Affinity Category	Years in office
Mortimer Caplin	2/7/1961	7/10/1964	Yes	3.4
Sheldon Cohen	1/25/1965	2/20/1969	Yes	4.1
Randolph W. Thrower	4/1/1969	6/22/1971	No	2.2
Johnnie Mac Walters	8/6/1971	4/30/1973	No	1.7
Donald C. Alexander	5/25/1973	2/26/1977	No	3.8
Jerome Kurtz	5/5/1977	10/31/1980	Yes	3.5
Roscoe L. Egger, Jr.	3/14/1981	4/30/1986	No	5.1
Lawrence B. Gibbs	8/4/1986	3/4/1989	No	2.6
Fred T. Goldberg, Jr.	7/5/1989	2/2/1992	Yes	2.6
Shirley D. Peterson	2/3/1992	1/20/1993	No	1.0
Margaret Milner Richardson	5/27/1993	5/31/1997	No	4.0
Charles O. Rossotti	11/13/1997	11/6/2002	No	5.0
Mark W. Everson	5/1/2003	5/4/2007	No	4.0
Douglas H. Shulman	3/24/2008	11/9/2012	Yes	4.6
John Koskinen	12/23/2013	1/20/2017	No	3.1

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Biggest U.S. Charities by Revenue (\$Billion)



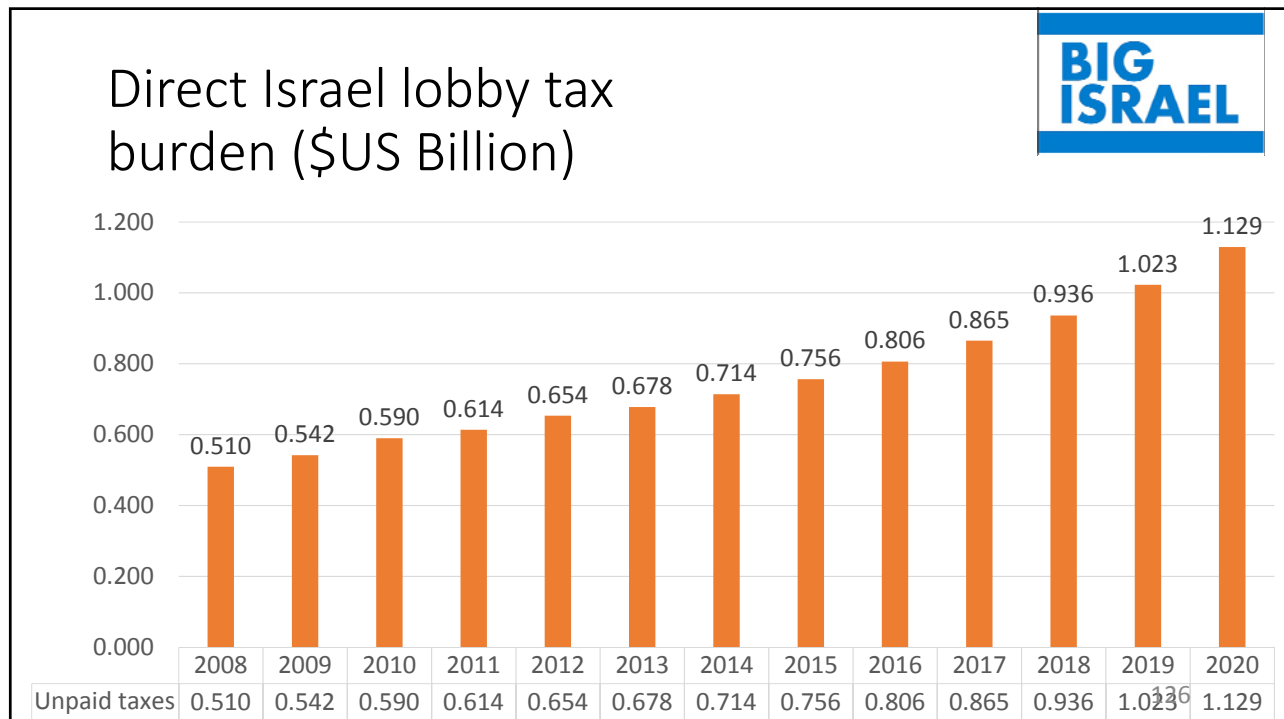
What do you believe is America's top charity or charitable cause in terms of total revenue raised?



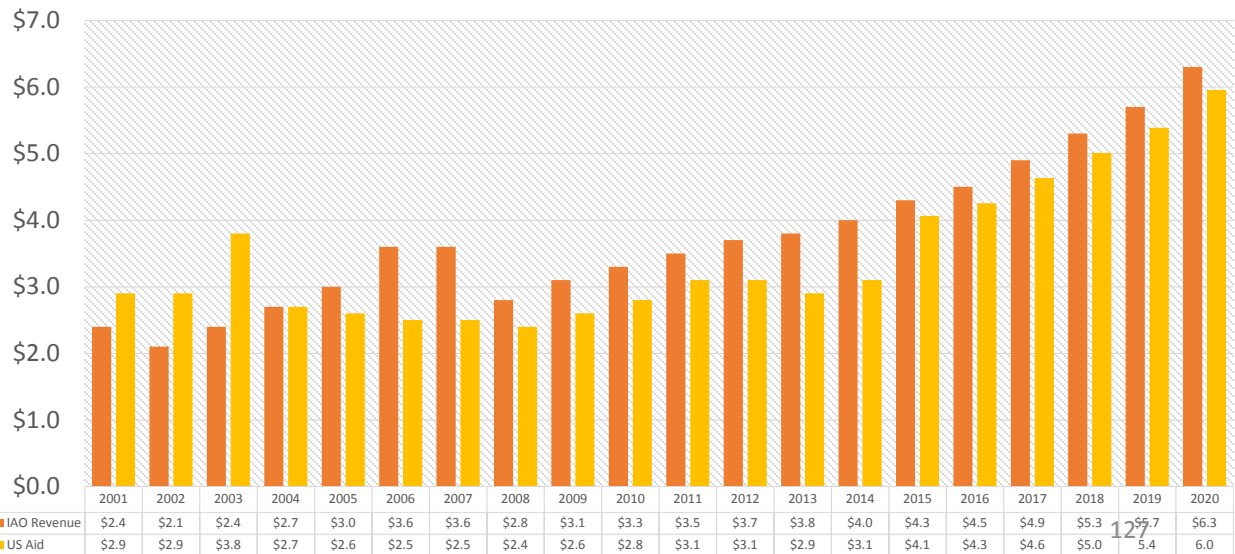
9.0 Tax-exempt status/making others pay for Israel subsidies

- 2001 Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative reporter David Caye Johnston contribution to “Big Israel”
- *‘When someone gets a tax break it shifts the burden of government onto others (or onto you).’*

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Israel Lobby Revenue and U.S. Foreign Aid (U.S. Billion) *A matching grants program?*

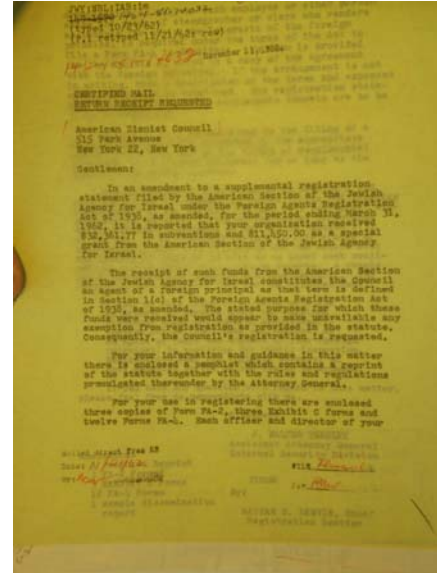


8.0 Organized Opposition to Israel Lobby Programs...What Happened?

- Department of Justice (1940-1970)
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1960s-1970s)
- American Council for Judaism (1940s-1960s)
- Organization of Arab Students (1960s-1970s)
- American Educational Trust FEC lawsuit (1980s-2000)
- West Coast Anti-Apartheid Campaign (1980s-1990s)
- FBI smuggling, espionage and theft of government property investigations (1940s-present)

Department of Justice (1940-1960)

- Drive to register AZC fell apart after JFK assassination, turnover at DOJ.
- Constant political interventions made DOJ rank and file realize that FARA would never be enforced for Israel organizations
- Fit, foreign ideology, foreign funded startup, nondisclosure.
- Paper reorganizations of major IAOs; Jewish Agency, ZOA.



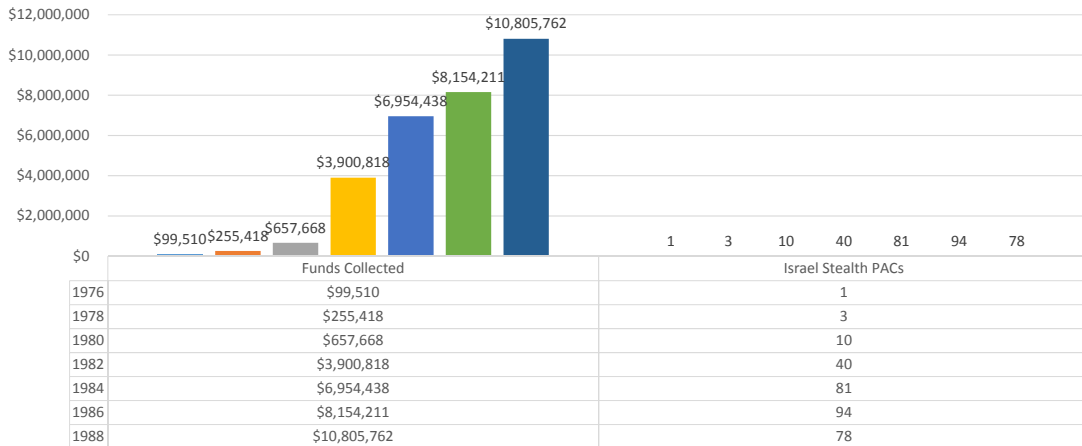
Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1960s)

- Organized IAO campaigns to oust leaders (J.W. Fulbright)
- IOA-friendly IRS commissioners would not act on Senate demand to investigate
 - Later granted, then backdated AIPAC request for tax-exempt status
- Growth of “stealth PACs” to avoid a repeat pressure from Congress

May 6, 1974 B'nai B'rith memo written to its national board of directors from Secretary-General Herman Edlesberg:

“...all of the indications suggest our actions in support of Governor Bumpers will result in the ousting of Mr. Fulbright from his key position in the Senate.”

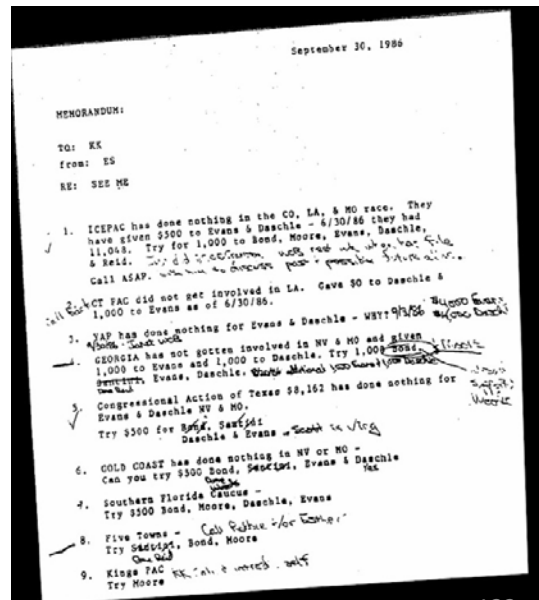
The Rise of Pro-Israel Stealth PACs 1978-1988



131

American Educational Trust FEC Lawsuit (1985s-2010)

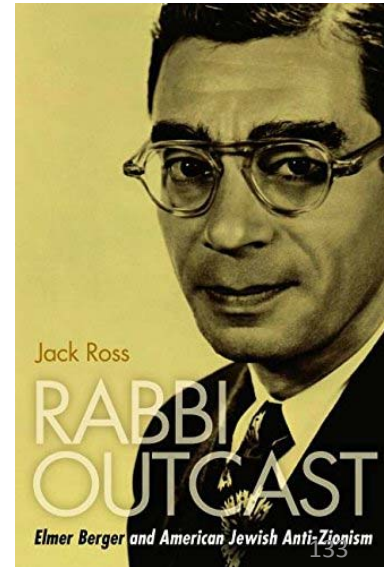
- FEC too weak and divided to enforce election and campaign contribution laws
- Standing
- No incentive for counsel or courts to resolve quickly
- Case languished for 20 years until Judge decided that the laws had changed enough to dismiss



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American Council for Judaism (1940s-60s)

- 1942 Reform movement response in opposition to fundraising for Haganah / Zionist takeover of UJA resources, morally opposed to Jewish state
- Largesse of donors such as Sears, Roebuck & Company heir and philanthropist Lessig Rosenwald not enough.
- Lost battle for access to philanthropic “community chests” (Federation and Joint fundraising) to Zionists
- Active counteraction by AIPAC/AZC
- Dependent on DOJ and Senate initiatives
- Nationalism and needs of Israel more compelling
- Later called for an equitable Arab Israel settlement



Organization of Arab Students

- 1960s brought together Arab international students and Arab-American students.
- Formed in 1952
- 18th International Ohio State conference 200 participants
- Focused on Palestinian situation
- Highlighted media failures on issue
- Relied on years of membership and Arab connection to screen for access to closed sections

Organization of Arab Students – ADL infiltration



- ADL sends in two “code named” agents under cover as reporter to even “Buckeye” and “Eve”
- “They are beginning to display a much greater understanding of how to present their arguments to the various levels of the American public (church groups, new left, lower middle class, etc); and any successes are certain to increase their confidence and, hence, their activity.”
- “On many campuses there are rules against discriminating on the basis of race, etc. Therefore it is illegal for the OAS to require its membership to be of Arab descent. In these places pro-Israeli forces could join and take over the machinery of the organization, its funds, etc. and at the same time dismantle it.”
- “concentrate on getting an Arabic-speaking Jew [recruited from HIAS] into the national machinery of the OAS.”

<https://electronicintifada.net/content/fbi-files-reveal-anti-defamation-league-spied-arab-students/12453>

135

West Coast Intersectionality Campaigns

- Progressive organization efforts to
 - Protesting Israel within opposition to Reagan doctrine in Central America and against Apartheid in South Africa
- Infiltrated and disrupted by ADL agents
 - Roy Bullock, joined, monitored, passed out Holocaust denial literature at Palestinian events.
 - Worked with South African intelligence agents to collect personal information of movement leaders



Roy Bullock

Photo by Jeffrey Blankfort

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Espionage investigations of AIPAC

- AIPAC Director Morris Amitay acquires and circulates Hawk missile sale data – 1975
- Israeli “Diplomat” Sam Halpern passes classified ITC data to AIPAC to lobby for America’s worst trade deal
- AIPAC executives and Col. Lawrence Franklin leak classified data to WAPO and Israel to set off U.S. military “pivot” to Iran - 2005



Former AIPAC employees Thomas Dine, Martin Indyk, Douglas Bloomfield and Steve Rosen



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A U.S.-ISRAEL FREE TRADE AREA

How Both Sides Gain

Peggy Blair

AIPAC Papers on U.S.-Israel Relations

Editors: Steven J. Rosen
Martin Indyk

Business Manager: Peggy Shay

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Lobbying Against UIFTA

- Abex Corporation
- AFL-CIO
- AG West, Inc.
- American Butter Institute
- American Dehydrated Onion and Garlic Association
- American Farm Bureau
- American Fiber Textile Apparel Coalition
- American Hoechst Corporation
- American Mushroom Institute
- American Protective Services
- Applewood Orchards
- Apricot Producers of California
- Arkansas Industrial Development
- Axette Farms, Inc.
- Belger Cartage Service
- Bob Miller Ranch
- Byrd Foods, Inc.
- California Avocado Commission
- California Dried Fig Advisory
- California League Food Processors
- California Tomato Growers Association
- California Tomato Research
- California-Arizona Citrus
- Casa Lupe, Inc.
- Davis Canning Company
- Dow Chemical, U.S.A.
- Ethyl Corporation
- Florida Citrus Mutual
- Furman Canning Company
- Gangi Bros Packing Co.
- Garden Valley Foods
- George B. Lagorio Farms
- Great Lakes Chemical Corporation
- Greater Chicago Food Brokers
- Harter Packing Co.
- Hastings Island Land Company
- Heidrick Farms, Inc.
- Hunt-Wesson Foods
- King Bearings, Inc.
- Langon Associates
- Leather Products Coalition
- Letica Corporation
- California Farm Bureau Federation
- Liquid Sugar
- Mallet and Sons Trucking Company
- McGladdery & Gilton
- Monsanto
- Monticello Canning Company, Inc.
- National Cheese Institute
- National Milk Producers Federation
- New Jersey Food Processors
- Ohio Farm Bureau Federation
- Otto Brothers Farms
- Pacific Coast Producers
- Perrys Olive Warehouse
- Radial Warehouse Company
- Rominger & Sons, Inc.
- Roses, Inc.
- Rubber Manufacturers Association Footwear Division
- San Jose Chamber of Commerce
- South Georgia Plant Growers
- Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturers Institute, Inc.
- Stephen Investments, Inc.
- Sun Garden Packing Company
- Sunkist Growers, Inc.
- Transport Associates, Inc.
- Tri/Valley Growers
- U.S. Bromine Alliance
- United Midwest Manufacturing Company
- University of California
- Victor A. Morris Farms
- Warren Hicks & Sons, Inc.
- Western Growers Association
- Westpoint Pepperell, Inc.
- Woolf Farming Co.
- Zonner, Inc.

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Lobbying for FTA

- A.P. Esteve Sales, Inc.
- AARJOY, Inc.
- Amalgamated Bank.
- American Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Inc.
- American Israel Public Affairs Committee
- Bake-N-Joy Foods
- California Olive Growers Association
- CMC Finance
- Crisafulli Pump Company, Inc.
- Dead Sea Bromine Group, Ameribrom
- Deitsch Plastic Export Company
- First Family of Travel
- Gordon Brothers Corp.
- H.S. Schnell & Co.
- Heritage International Bank
- Jewish War Veterans of the United States
- Kings Super Markets, Inc.
- Mast Industries, Inc.
- Midbar Imports
- Olive Growers Council
- Printing Plus Enterprises
- The Paul Rogers Company
- Wembley Industries, Inc.

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1985 FBI Investigation: Espionage/Theft of Government Property

FD-36 (Rev. 8-28-82)

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:
 Teletype
 Facsimile

PRECEDENCE:
 Immediate
 Priority
 Routine

CLASSIFICATION:
 TOP SECRET
 SECRET
 CONFIDENTIAL
 UNCLAS E F T O
 UNCLAS
 Date 6-20-84

FM WASHINGTON FIELD (66-15177) (P) (C-2)
 TO DIRECTOR, FBI PRIORITY

BT

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC DMW/BE/DFW
 ON 04-17-2009

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNSUBS; THEFT OF CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS FROM THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE; ESPIONAGE-ISRAEL;
 OO:WASHINGTON FIELD

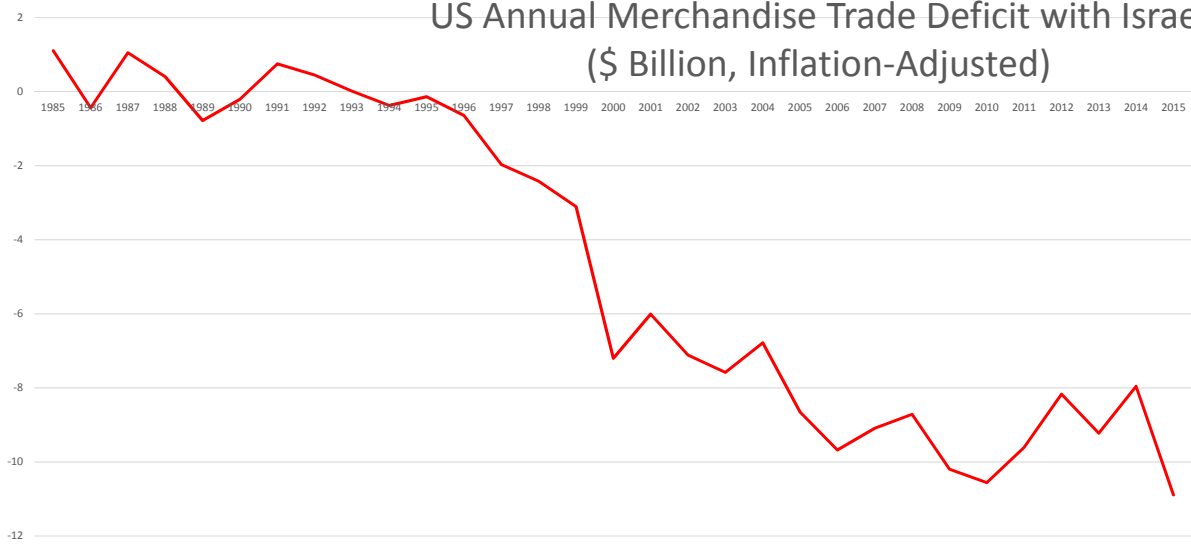
ON JUNE 19, 1984, [redacted] 73c) ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL, OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE, 600 17TH STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC), ADVISED THAT THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE FUNCTIONS TO ASSIST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN NEGOTIATING TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES. AMBASSADOR WILLIAM BROCK HEADS THIS AGENCY AND HOLDS CABINET LEVEL RANK.

[redacted] EXPLAINED THAT BEFORE THE PRESIDENT CAN ENTER INTO

4-770
 LW:sgt:cf
 (4)

Approved: [Signature] Transmitted (Number) 1 (Time)

US Annual Merchandise Trade Deficit with Israel (\$ Billion, Inflation-Adjusted)



	\$ US Billion	FTA	Inflation-Adjusted \$ US Billion
FTA Country or Bloc	Surplus or (Deficit) Year 2015 Only	Effective Year	Surplus or (Deficit) Since FTA Effective Year
NAFTA	\$(73.23)	1994	\$(2,165.50)
Israel	\$(10.89)	1985	\$(143.74)
S. Korea	\$(28.33)	2012	\$(92.07)
Colombia	\$2.45	2012	\$(7.64)
Jordan	\$(0.13)	2010	\$2.65
Oman	\$1.46	2009	\$3.23
Bahrain	\$0.37	2006	\$3.32
CAFTA	\$5.13	2009	\$9.46
Morocco	\$0.60	2006	\$10.97
Peru	\$5.07	2009	\$20.53
Chile	\$6.71	2004	\$42.44
Panama	\$7.43	2011	\$72.07
Singapore	\$10.42	2009	143 \$80.85
Australia	\$14.18	2005	\$161.85

1960s-1970s NUMEC diversion investigation

- ZOA leaders Ivan Novick (future national Pres) and Zalman Shapiro (Pittsburgh Chapter) establish a uranium processing facility for the Navy
- 336 kg goes missing
- FBI/CIA look into; CIA refuses to share into that NUMEC uranium picked up in Israel
- Compelling eyewitness testimony
- Israel's top spies invited into the plant by Shapiro
- Case lapses/covered up



The object of said corporation shall be:

- to further the aim of the Basle program, to wit; To establish a publicly recognized and legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine, and
- to do **any and all things that may be necessary or incidental to the attainment of this object...***

1990 ADL Espionage Investigation

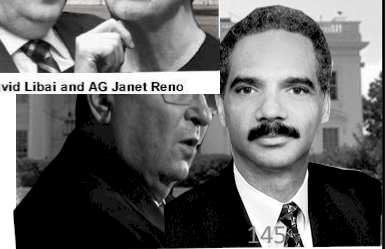
- 3/15/1993 FBI director memo
- "Unidentified individuals at the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in possession of Bureau classified information" along with "confidential police reports and files belonging to the San Francisco Police Department"
- ADL's Los Angeles and San Francisco offices were searched under warrant.
- Israeli officials lobby Janet Reno, who quashes the investigation



ADL Regional Director David Lehrer and National Director Abraham Foxman



Justice Minister David Libai and AG Janet Reno



Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Eric Holder

Analysis: Why does civic opposition fail?



- Reactive, vs proactive, focus on effect; not cause
- Non-governmental opposition groups don't have access to sufficient resources or the institutional wherewithal to mount sustained campaigns.
- Monitoring, infiltration and subversion by IAO's, particularly the ADL, is constant over time.
- Ecosystem awareness (research), strategy, effective programs, measurement and management usually lacking.

Analysis: Why does government regulation fail?



- Government opposition campaigns, or NGO drives counting on blind enforcement, sooner or later, stymied by captured government regulators willing and able to bury accountability.
- “Partnerships” with IAO’s demanded by political appointees
 - ADL-FBI “special relationship”
 - Law enforcement training in Israel
- Accurate or favorable or any media coverage cannot be counted on.
- Banned from releasing sensitive information under sunshine laws
- IAOs effectively argue that laws applicable to all others, do not apply to them.
- Capture, prosecutorial discretion, prioritization of anti-terrorism, other “higher” priorities.

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7. What key policy objectives will the Israel lobby likely try to achieve during this administration?

- Return to the “no daylight” secrecy policy of U.S-Israel relations
- Restart the “Peace Process” to give appearance of doing something while continuing settlements
- Increase U.S. foreign, intelligence and aid from states
 - Boost to a number in line with IAO funding levels - \$6-10 billion per year
- Overturn JCPOA, lobby for sanctions and U.S. strikes on proxies and inside Iran
- U.S. recognition of undivided Jerusalem as Israel’s Capital, move embassy and then encourage other countries to do same
- Enter Israel into the U.S. visa waiver program
- Hardline policies against Russia, Israel presented as “strategic asset”
- Protect Israel’s Middle East nuclear monopoly
- No meaningful moves against settlement building
- Fewer IRS reporting requirements of IAO donations/overseas expenditures
- U.S. pressure on Lebanon

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7.0 What is the profile of key political appointments will the Israel lobby likely try to achieve at the start of this administration?

- National Security Advisors
- State Department
- U.S. Treasury
- IRS
- Department of Defense
- Supreme Court

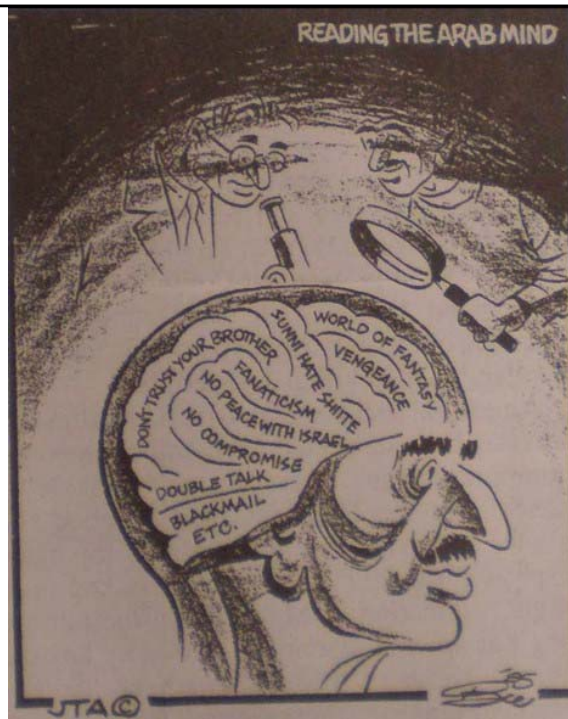
149

Core Israel Lobby Issue Frames: Palestinians

- Palestinians: terrorists, irrational, prone to violence, backward, prone to incitement, “never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity”
- The aggressors in the Israel/Palestine conflict
- Interlopers
- Squatters within “a land for a people for a people without a land”

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AIPAC Newsletter Cartoons



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Core Israel Lobby Issue Frames: Israel

- Constantly in danger of being “pushed into the sea” or otherwise vanquished
- U.S. and the West “owe” Israel reparations for failing to stop the Holocaust
- Rightful homeland of a 3,000 year old civilization
- Israeli as having “common values” with the United States
- “Only democracy” in a “bad neighborhood”
- “Inherently” a technology and innovation hub
- “America’s cop on the beat” protecting access to energy, fighting terrorism, etc.

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Core Israel Lobby Frames: US Opposition Movements

- Conflation
 - Israel = Judaism = All Jews
 - Therefore opposition = anti-Zionism = Antisemitism
- Israel lobby policies passed by Congress = Represent legitimate U.S. national interests
- Boycotts
 - Israel's targets = righteousness
 - BDS movements targets = Antisemitism
- Opposition is being a dead-ender, career killing, and will go on your "permanent record"
- Those not on Israel's side are on the "Wrong side of history"

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 **ADL** 
@ADL_National

 Follow

.@JGreenblattADL via @Medium: "BDS is a modern version of an irrational hatred of the Jewish people." bit.ly/2aAMAtK

1:00 PM - 26 Aug 2016



Think Twice Before Jumping on the BDS Bandwagon

By Jonathan A. Greenblatt

medium.com

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The Israel lobby does well when:

- It can manufacture or tailor an existing crisis to advance policy
- Jewish American groups who oppose their plans are silenced or marginalized
- It can work “behind the scenes” unhindered & unreported
- Americans are too afraid to criticize
- Only public opinion polls available are chartered by the lobby or friends
- It can appoint its political operatives into key agency positions with no public input or vetting
- Influencers believe there is a payoff for going along; and insurmountable penalties for opposing

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The Israel lobby does poorly when:

- Bad outcomes of its programs become known/tied to it while still unfolding
 - 1st Free Trade deal, Iraq war, as hijacker motivation for 9/11 attacks
- Scandals interrupt fund-raising and lobbying
 - Activities (vs official statements of activities) are exposed
 - AIPAC espionage affair (2005), AZC/AIPAC FARA order
- Americans voice mass opposition directly to Congress
 - Drive to bomb Syria over chemical weapons
- Meaningful Jewish American opposition surfaces
- Alternative media reports on the lobby, which leaks into mainstream
- Core lobby programs are challenged in court, e.g. settlement program financing, Treasury inaction, property seizures, etc.
- Bona fide polls are conducted

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www.gallup.com/poll/189626/americans-views-toward-israel-remain-firmly-positive.aspx

craigslis washington | Institute for Research | Why doesn't may aud | How to Move My Doc | The top 100 books of | OldColemanParts.com | Storyboard Editing Tri | https://www.google.c | Welcome to Flash Vid | Other

GALLUP' Topics ▾ Client Services ▾ Online Products ▾ SIGN IN SUBSCRIBE Search...

POLITICS FEBRUARY 29, 2016 PRINT SHARE

Americans' Views Toward Israel Remain Firmly Positive

AMERICANS' SYMPATHIES

PALESTINIANS	ISRAELIS
15%	62%

GALLUP POLL, FEB 3-7

GALLUP DAILY

REAL UNEMPLOYMENT
Department of Labor (U-6)
9.7% -

GALLUP GOOD JOBS
Percent of Adult Population
46.4% -

ENGAGED AT WORK
35.4% +0.2

ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE
-11 -

CONSUMER SPENDING
0.5 158

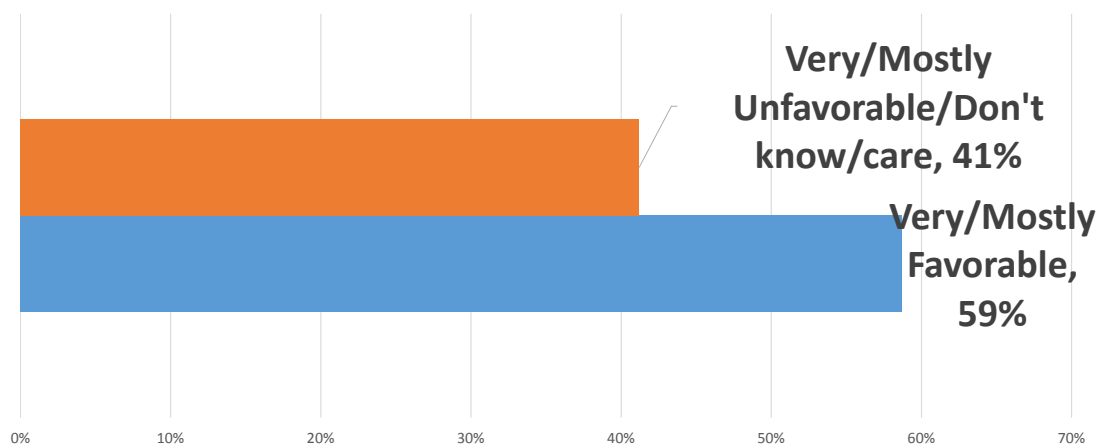
Questionable Polling: 2014 Chicago Council on Global Affairs

- Found in 2014 that “majority of Americans would keep economic and military aid to Israel, Mexico, Taiwan, Afghanistan Iraq, Egypt and Pakistan ‘about the same.’” as if the amount of aid to each country were even comparable.
- Mexico is \$206 million; Afghanistan is \$749 million while Pakistan is \$881 million with Iraq getting \$73 million. Meanwhile Egypt and Israel receive lion’s shares with \$1.6 billion to Egypt and a whopping \$3.1 billion for Israel.
- “They are also prepared to use force if necessary to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.” Though “55 percent would oppose sending U.S. troops to protect Israel if it struck Iran.”

<http://original.antiwar.com/smith-grant/2014/09/29/most-americans-say-us-gives-too-much-aid-to-israel/>

159

2/2016 Poll: What is your overall opinion of Israel?



<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=rnabtmfelthr6&question=1&filter=&rw=1>

Google consumer surveys 160

Why there's no "World Values Survey" fielded in Israel, or Google Consumer Survey



- **Official reason:** "Many thanks for making us aware of this discussion. As concerns your question, the only reason why the survey has been only conducted once in Israel and why responses to many of the questions we usually ask are missing is deficient funding. If we were able to raise sufficient funds, we had [would have] surveyed Israel more frequently and with a more complete questionnaire. I hope this explanation answers your questions."
- **Likely reasons:** Given it's unique history and development, Israeli public opinions and values are likely quite different than those of the U.S.

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"A lobby is like a night flower. It thrives in the dark and withers in the light." – Steven J. Rosen



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Conclusion

Resources

- <http://IRmep.org>
 - <http://IRmep.org/surveys>
 - <http://IRmep.org/CFP>
- <http://IsraelLobby.org>
- <http://WRMEA.org>
- <http://Antiwar.org>



Download these slides: <http://IRmep.org/11122016MN.pdf>

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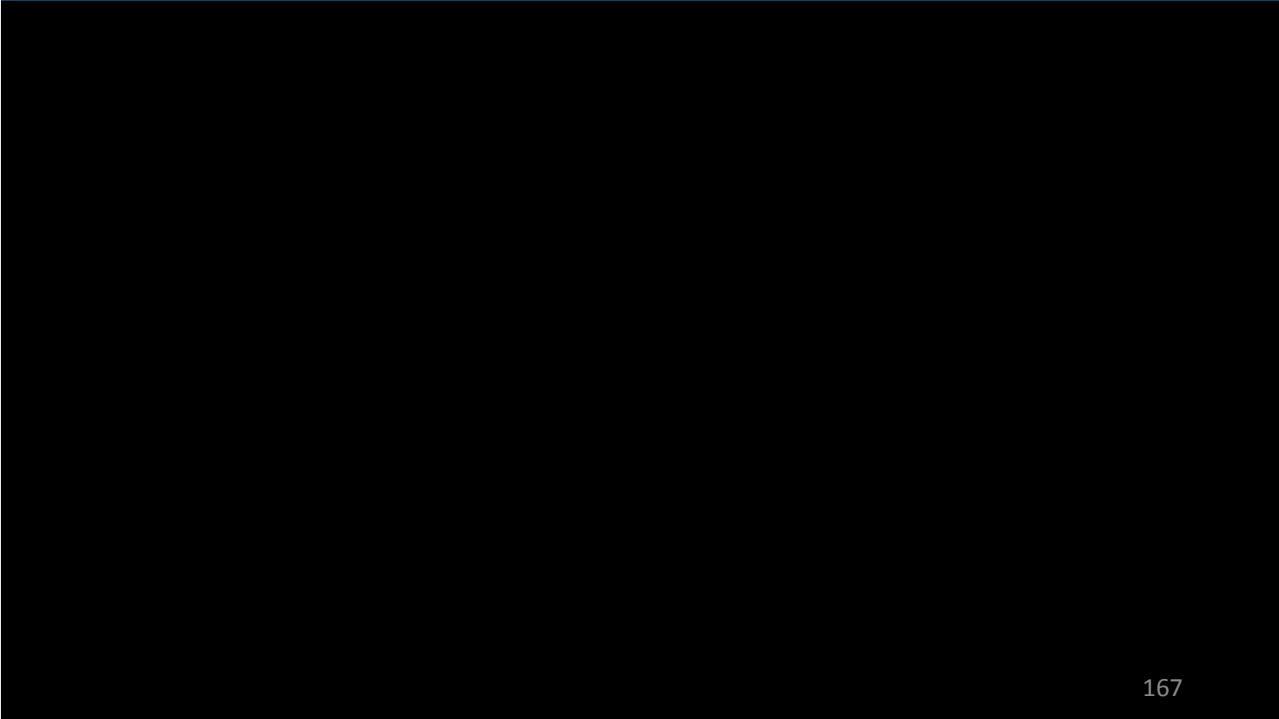


THE ISRAEL LOBBY AND AMERICAN POLICY

IsraelLobbyandAmericanPolicy.org

March 24, 2017 at the National Press Club, Washington, DC

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