

HOW ISRAEL'S LOBBY  
MOVES AMERICA

# BIG ISRAEL

"America is a thing you can move very easily..."

*Benjamin Netanyahu, 2001*

GRANT F. SMITH

## Ten ways Israel's Lobby *Moves* America

...to our growing detriment.

Grant F. Smith, IRmep

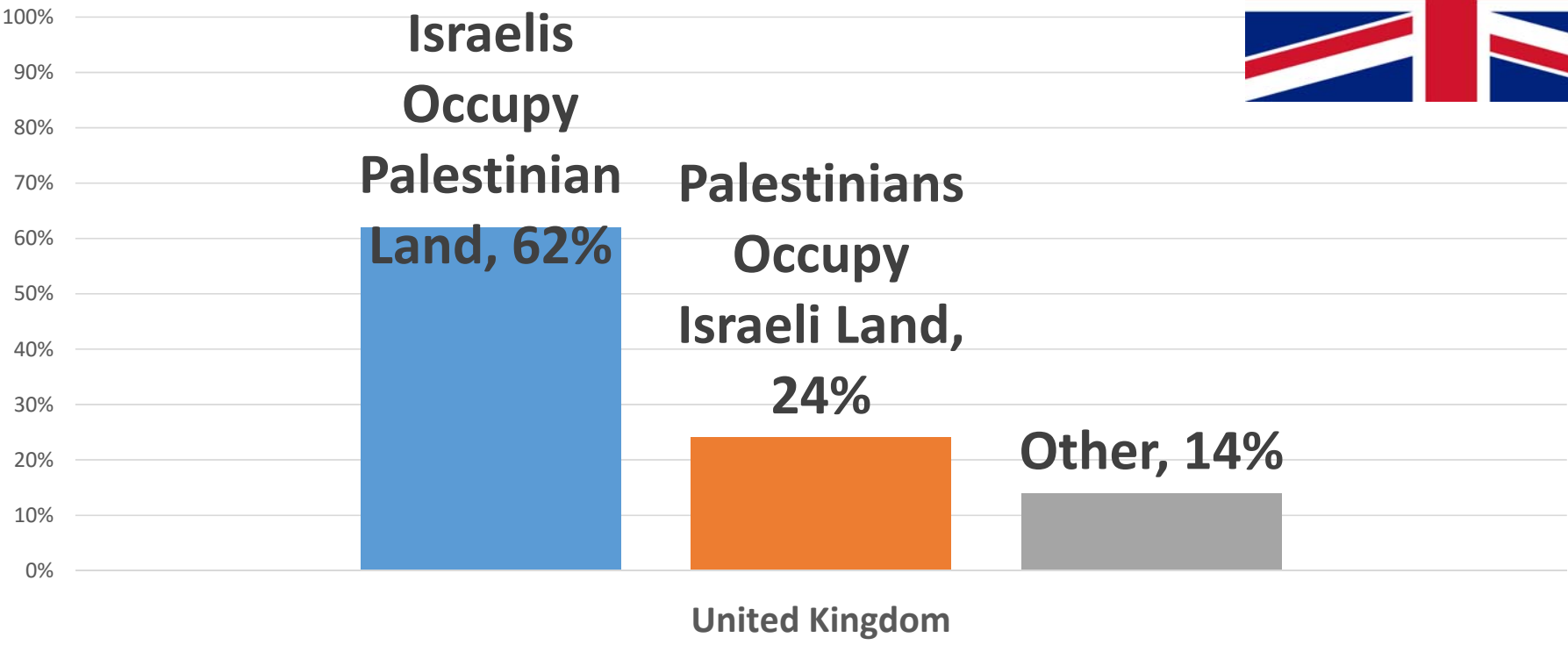
Israel's Influence: Good or Bad for America?

National Press Club, Washington, DC

March 18, 2016

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

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

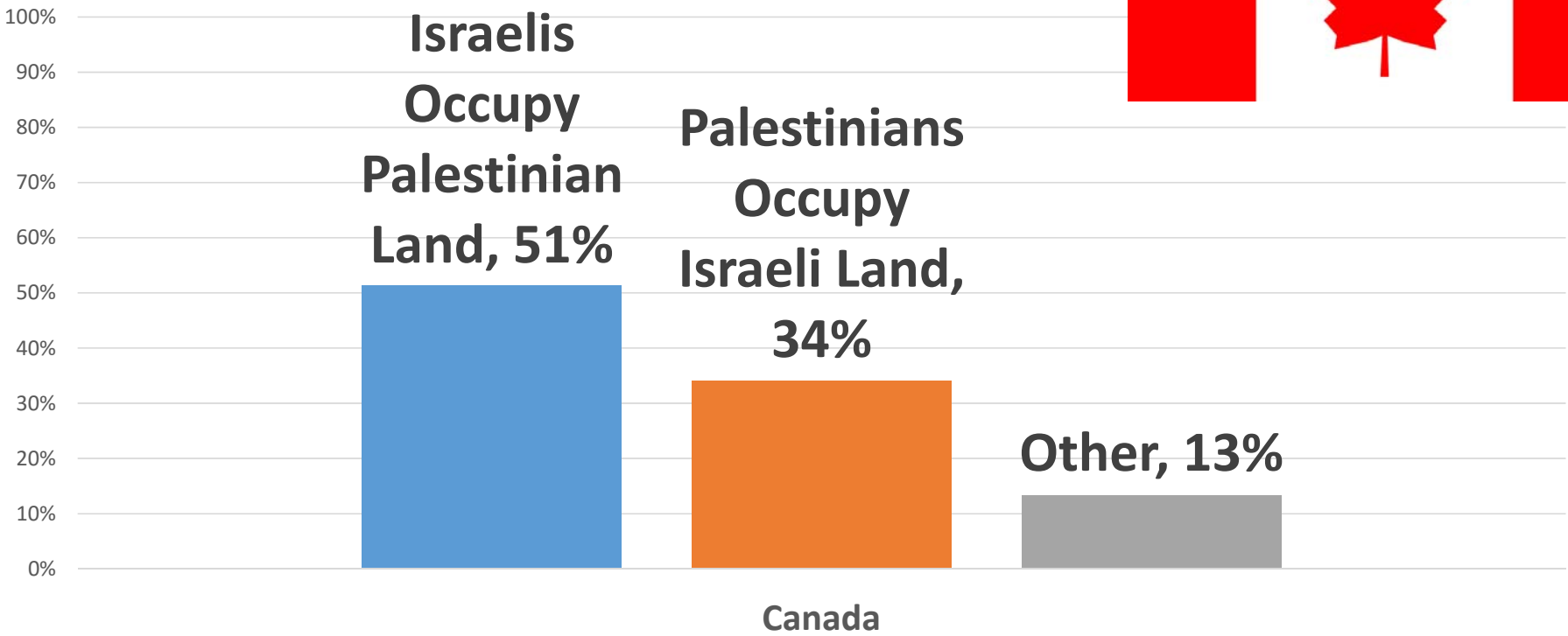


<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=drt5uldzf4w36&question=1&filter=&rw=1>



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

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

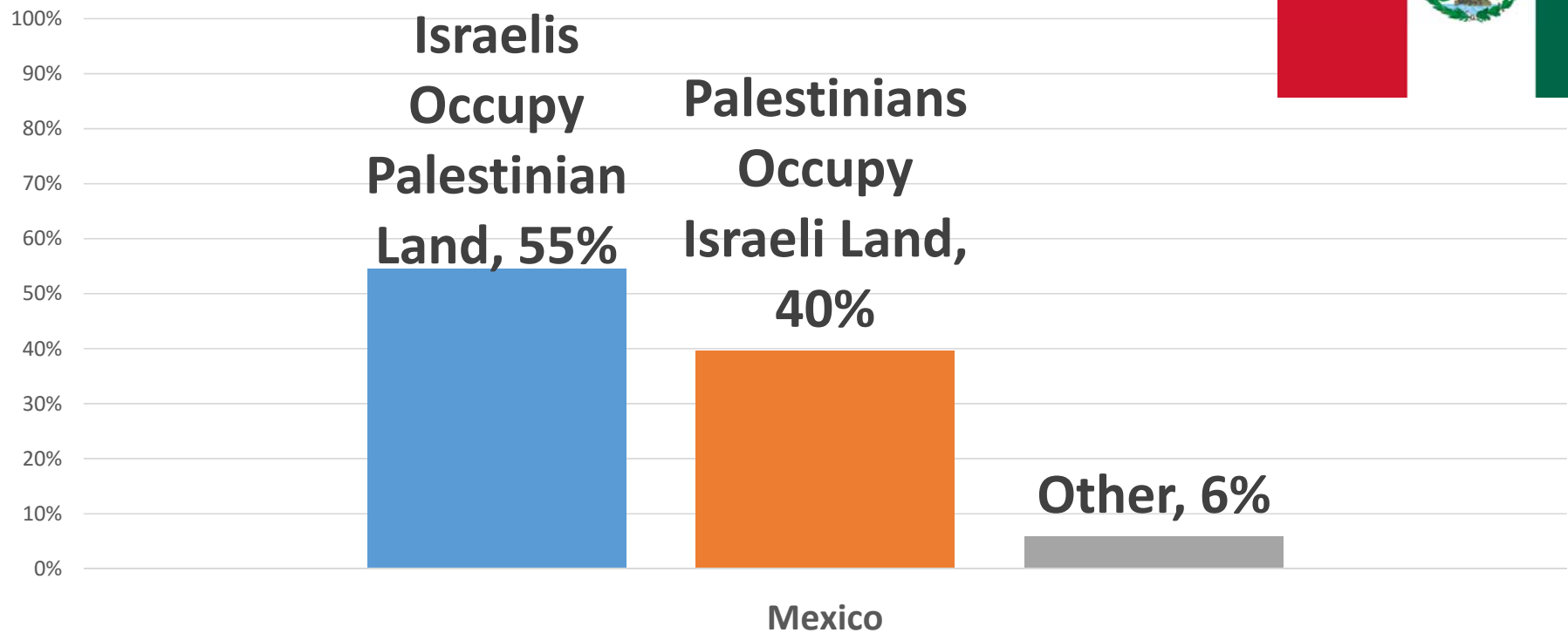


<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=2inkqaynowqjw&question=1&filter=&rw=1>



# 3/16 Poll: ¿Cuál de las siguientes crees que sea cierto?

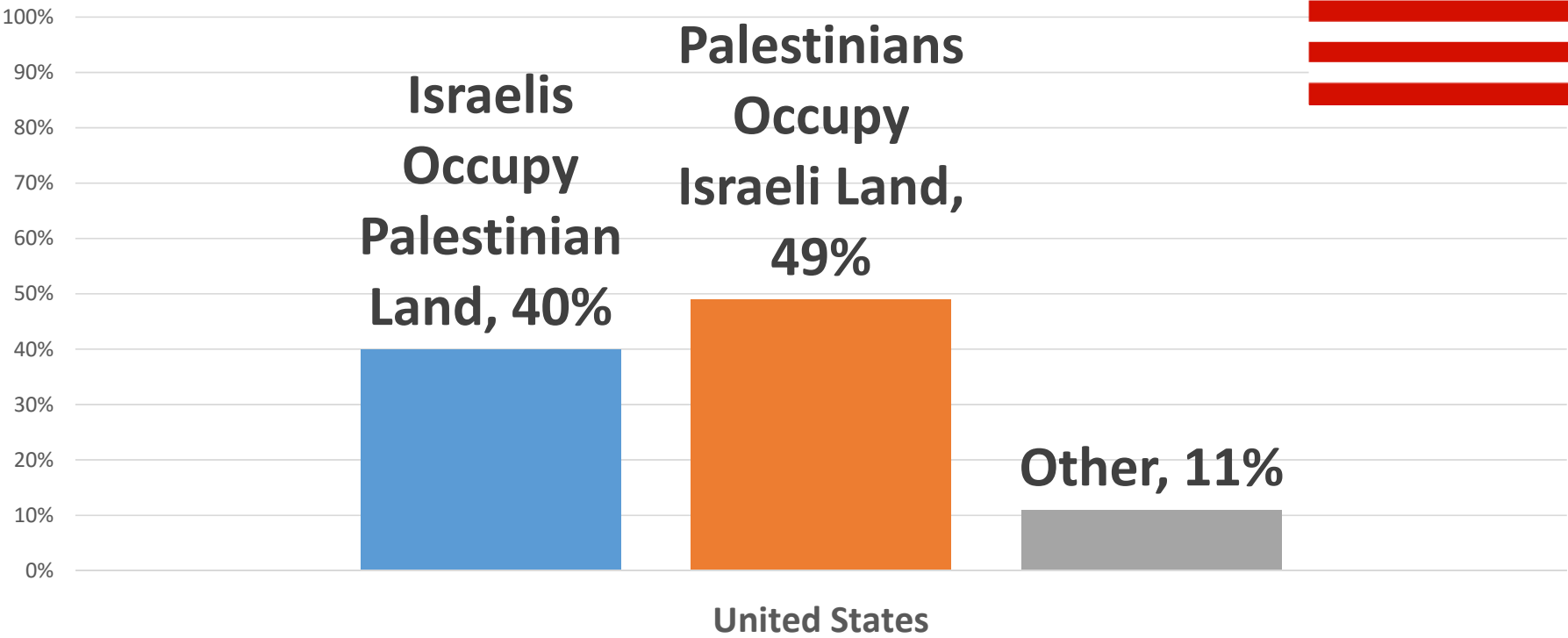
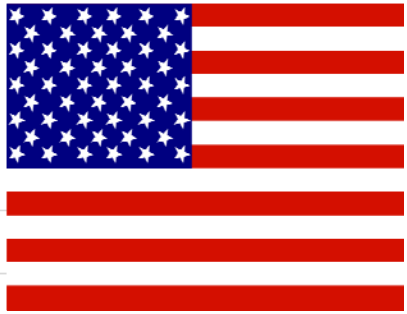
- a) Los israelíes ocupan territorios palestinos
- b) Los palestinos ocupan territorios de israel



<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=t5zeflfxulbc&question=1&filter=&rw=1>

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

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



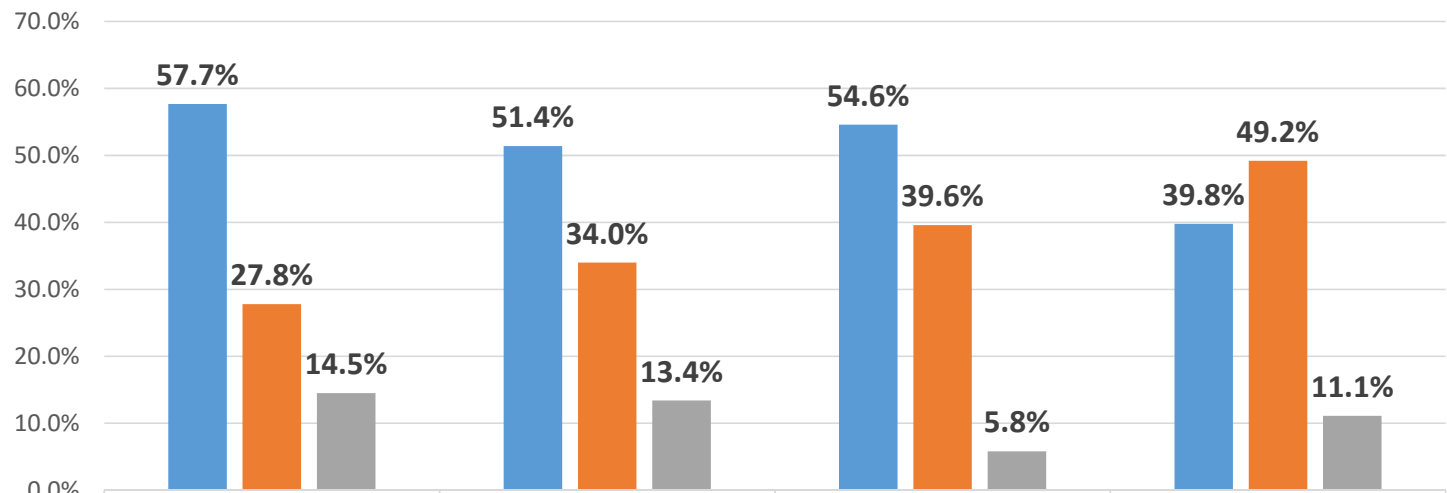
<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=fx4dbfdfoq2ik&question=1&filter=&rw=1>



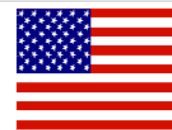
# 3/16 Poll: Which of the following do you believe to be true?

a) Israelis occupy Palestinian land

b) Palestinians occupy Israeli land



	UK	Canada	Mexico	US
■ Israelis Occupy	57.7%	51.4%	54.6%	39.8%
■ Palestinians Occupy	27.8%	34.0%	39.6%	49.2%
■ Other	14.5%	13.4%	5.8%	11.1%



# Netanyahu statement - context

- “I know what America is, America is a thing you can move very easily, move it in the right direction. They won’t get in our way.”
- Statement made in Hebrew in 2001 to West Bank settlers.
- Translated and circulated within United States in 2011.



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>



## Clarification of terms

- Israel Affinity Organization (IAOs)
  - 501(c) tax-exempt charities (336 in this study)
  - 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

## Five false narratives the Israel lobby uses to *Move America:*

- 1. Americans who are Jewish are Israel Affinity Organizations members who support their lobbying initiatives. **False!**
- 2. Americans who are Evangelical Christians are a major force in building Israel Affinity infrastructure. **False!**
- 3. Israel Affinity Organizations have diverse, broad member funding. **False!**
- 4. Israel Affinity Organizations are representative bodies. **False!**
- 5. Americans who generally favor Israel also favor massive U.S. annual foreign aid packages to Israel. **False!**

Establishment news media generally helps amplify such claims:

“...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***

# Reports: Israel Advocacy Organizations Opposing the Iran Nuclear Deal

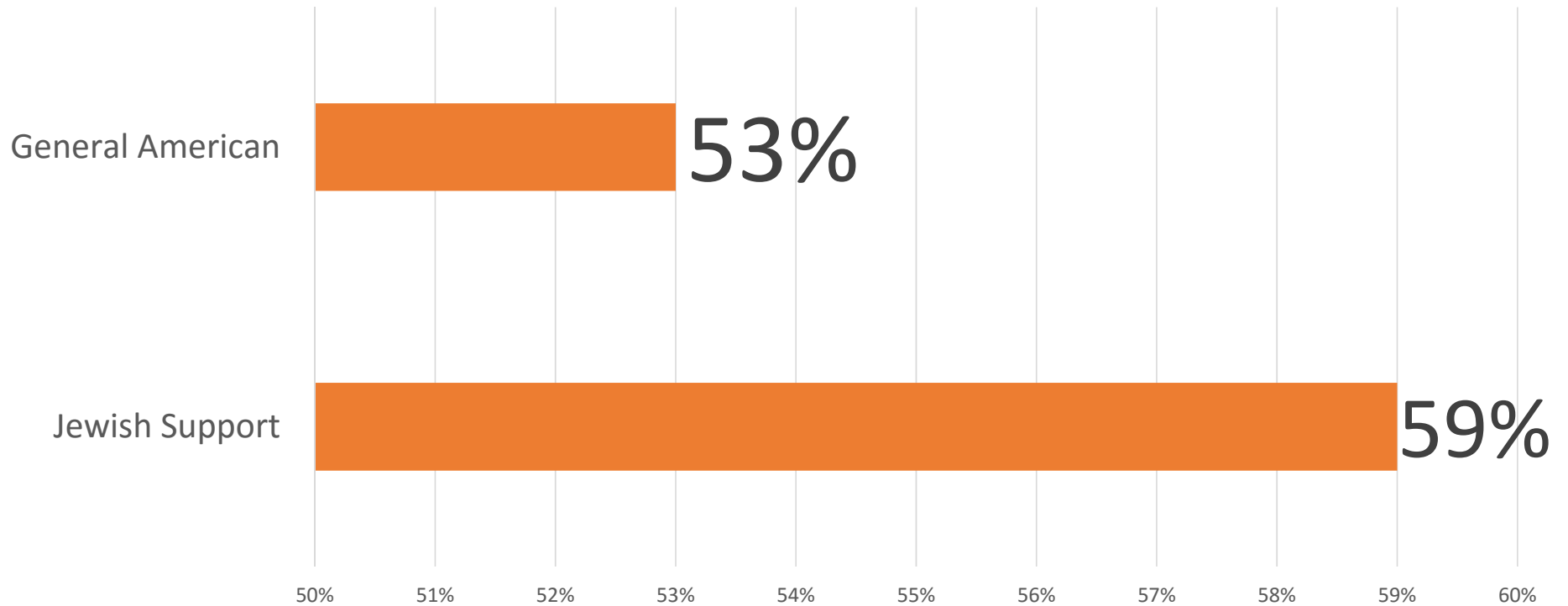
- American Israel Public Affairs Committee
- American Jewish Committee
- Anti-Defamation League
- Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations
- **...must have been a reflection of Jewish American support...right?**



**AIPAC**



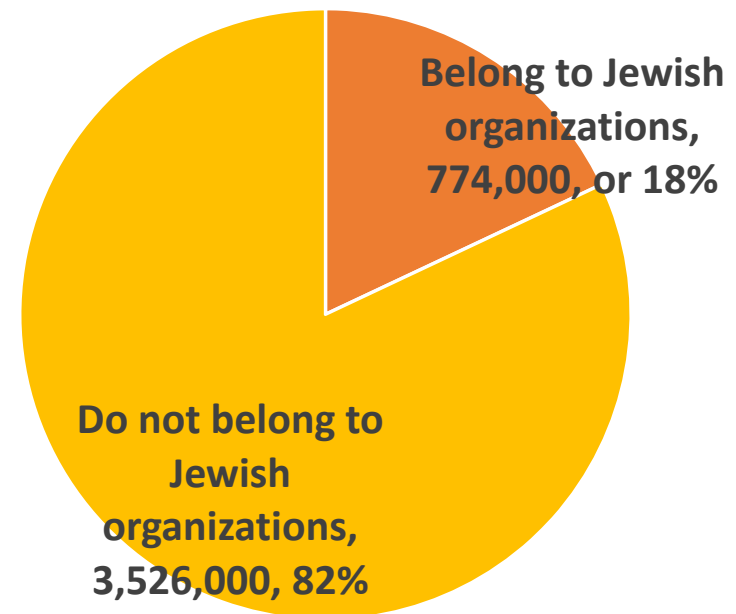
# Americans and American Jews Supported the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal



April 2015 CNN Poll, Jstreet Poll

## 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/>

## 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!



Volgh#!

---

JV4#

Judgw#Vplwk/#62:25349



# Who does the Israel lobby 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

# 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



# IAO Governance

- Despite bylaws, occasional voice votes, etc. most IAO's are authoritarian, unrepresentative organizations
- “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)

# 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%)

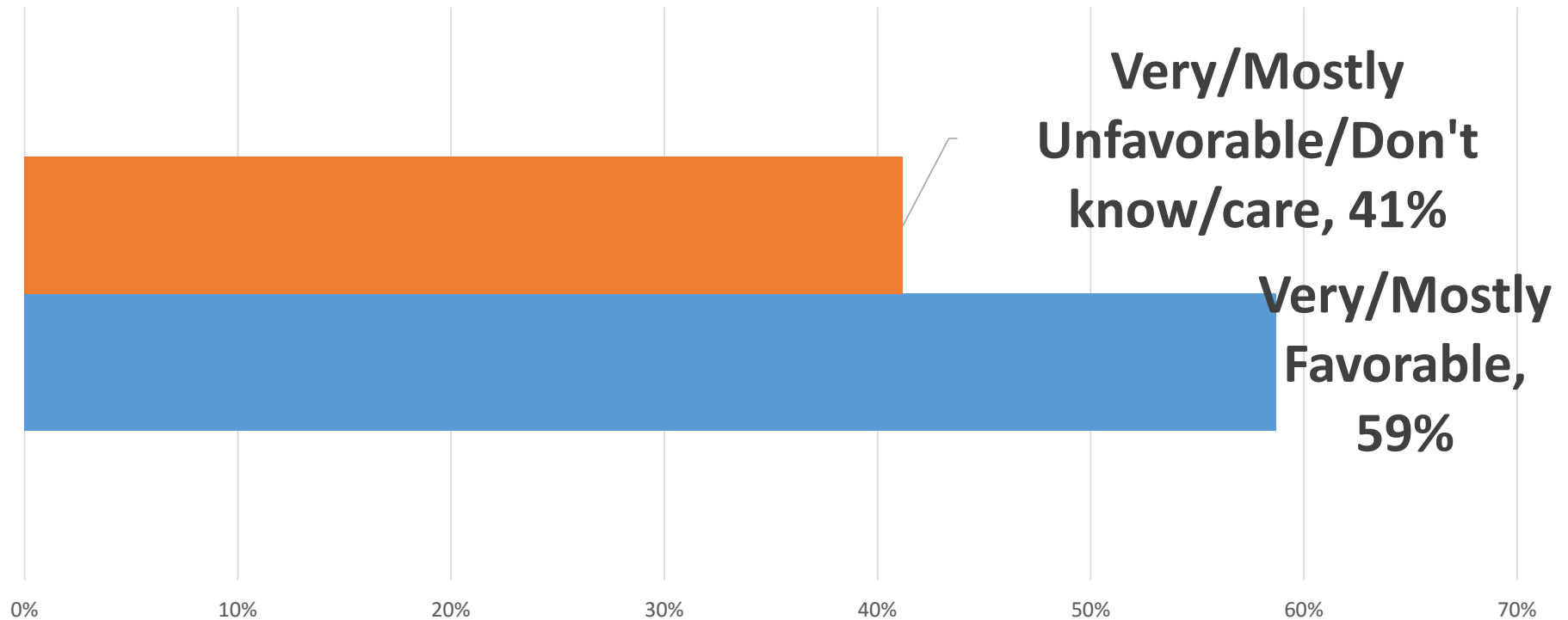


2012 Revenue: \$113.5  
Million



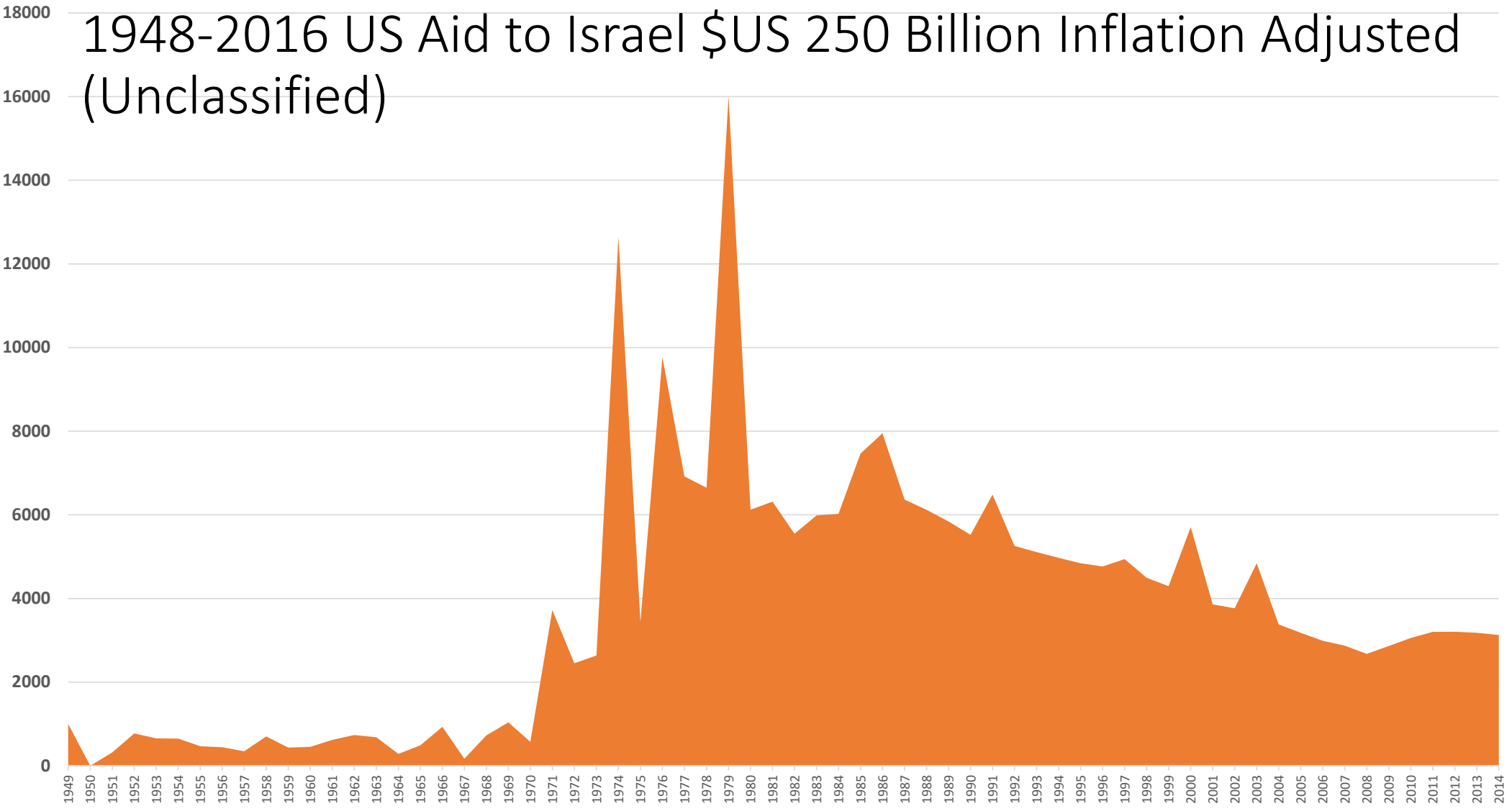
2007 Revenue:  
\$2 million – given  
church association  
status by the IRS

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



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

# 1948-2016 US Aid to Israel \$US 250 Billion Inflation Adjusted (Unclassified)

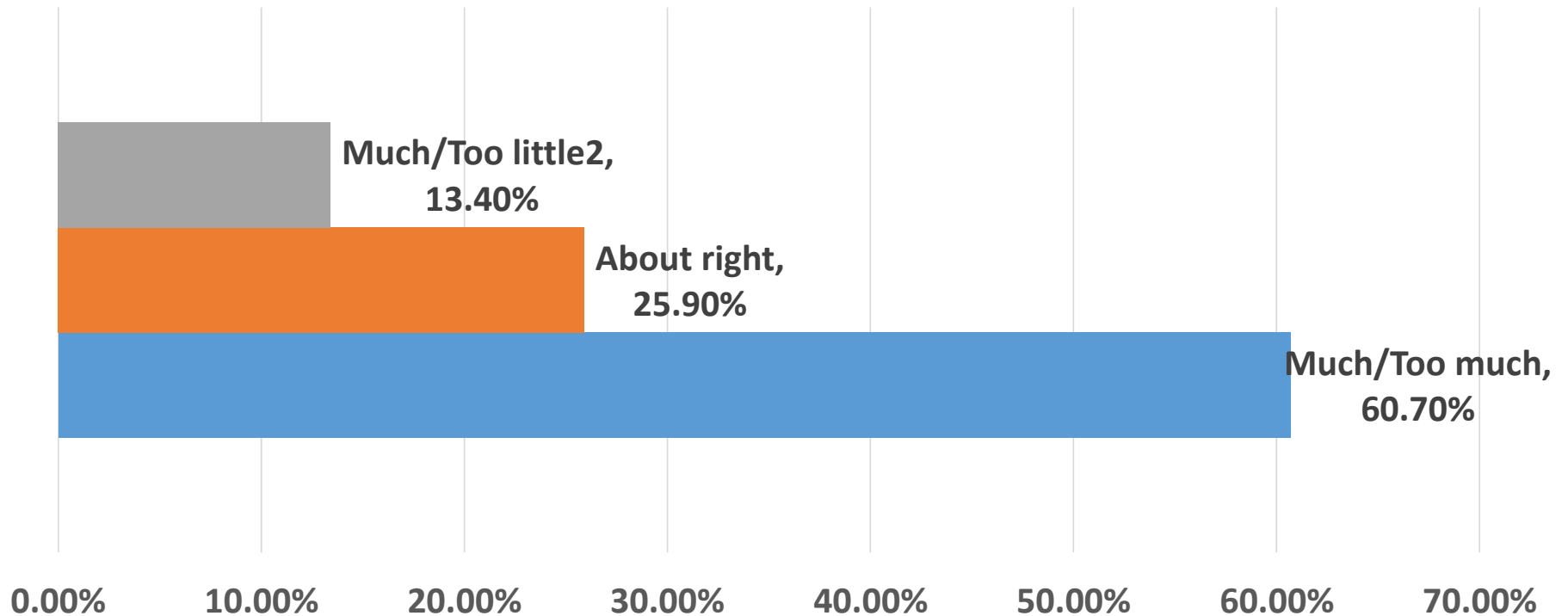


# How much Classified U.S. Aid to Israel?



- “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.***

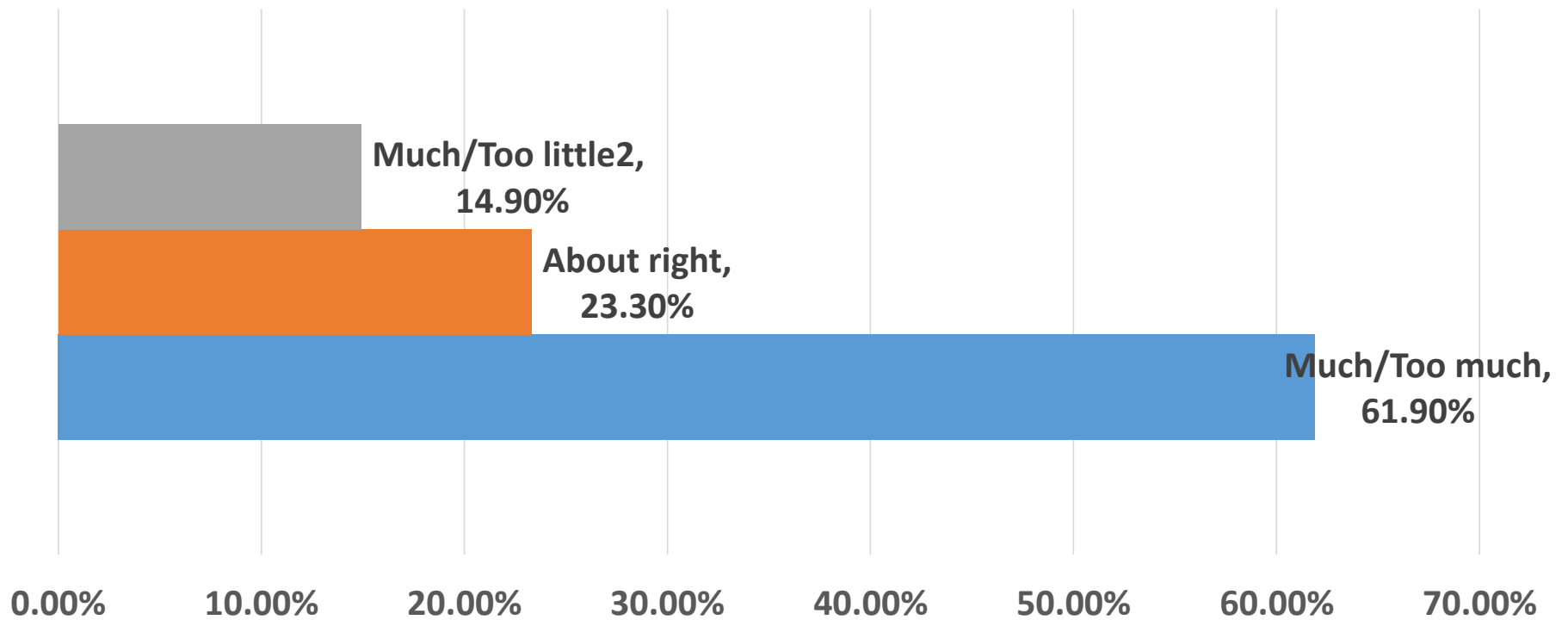
2014 Poll: The US gives Israel over \$3 billion annually (9% of the foreign aid budget and more than any other country). The amount is:



<http://www.google.com/insights/consumersurveys/view?survey=ajhtw3i4spqy&question=1&filter=&rw=1>



2016 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>

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

<b>Israel</b>	<b>Google</b>	<b>Google</b>	
<b>Aid Poll</b>	<b>Sep-14</b>	<b>Mar-16</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Much too much	33.9	32.5	<b>-1.4</b>
Too much	26.8	29.4	<b>2.6</b>
About right	25.9	23.3	<b>-2.6</b>
Too little	6.1	6.5	<b>0.4</b>
Much too little	7.3	8.4	<b>1.1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	

## Five false narratives the Israel lobby uses to *Move America*:

- 1. Israel Affinity Organizations represent American who are Jewish and support their lobbying initiatives...**Except they don't!**
- 2. Christian Evangelical Israel Affinity Organizations are a major force building Israel lobbying infrastructure...**they aren't!**
- 3. Israel Affinity Organizations have diverse, broad member funding....**but they don't!**
- 4. Israel Affinity Organizations are representative bodies...**uh, no.**
- 5. Americans generally favor Israel (**somewhat**) and massive annual foreign aid packages to Israel..... **they don't!**

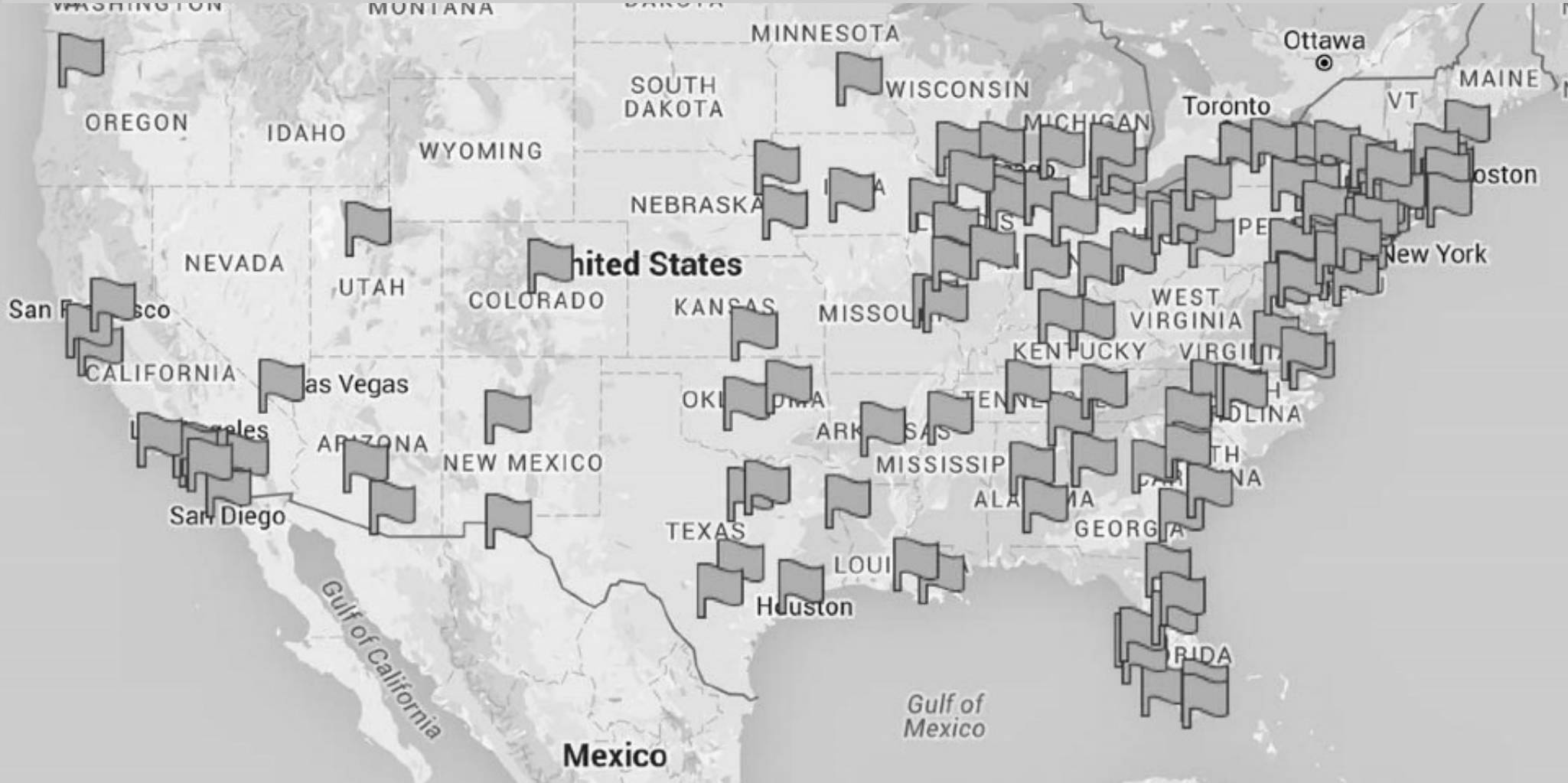
Five harmful and unchallenged Israel lobby *activities* that *Move America*:

- 6. Inserting Israel appropriations/mandates foreign policy initiatives into state legislatures/governments
- 7. Demanding immunity/prosecutorial discretion over IAO malfeasance
- 8. Inserting IAO operatives/affinity allies into federal agencies
- 9. Abusing tax-exempt status to make others pay for increasingly uncharitable activities
- 10. Agitation/disinformation for U.S. policies and actions against Israel's enemies

## 6.0 Israel lobby initiatives inserted into U.S. States

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

# JCRC distribution across the U.S.

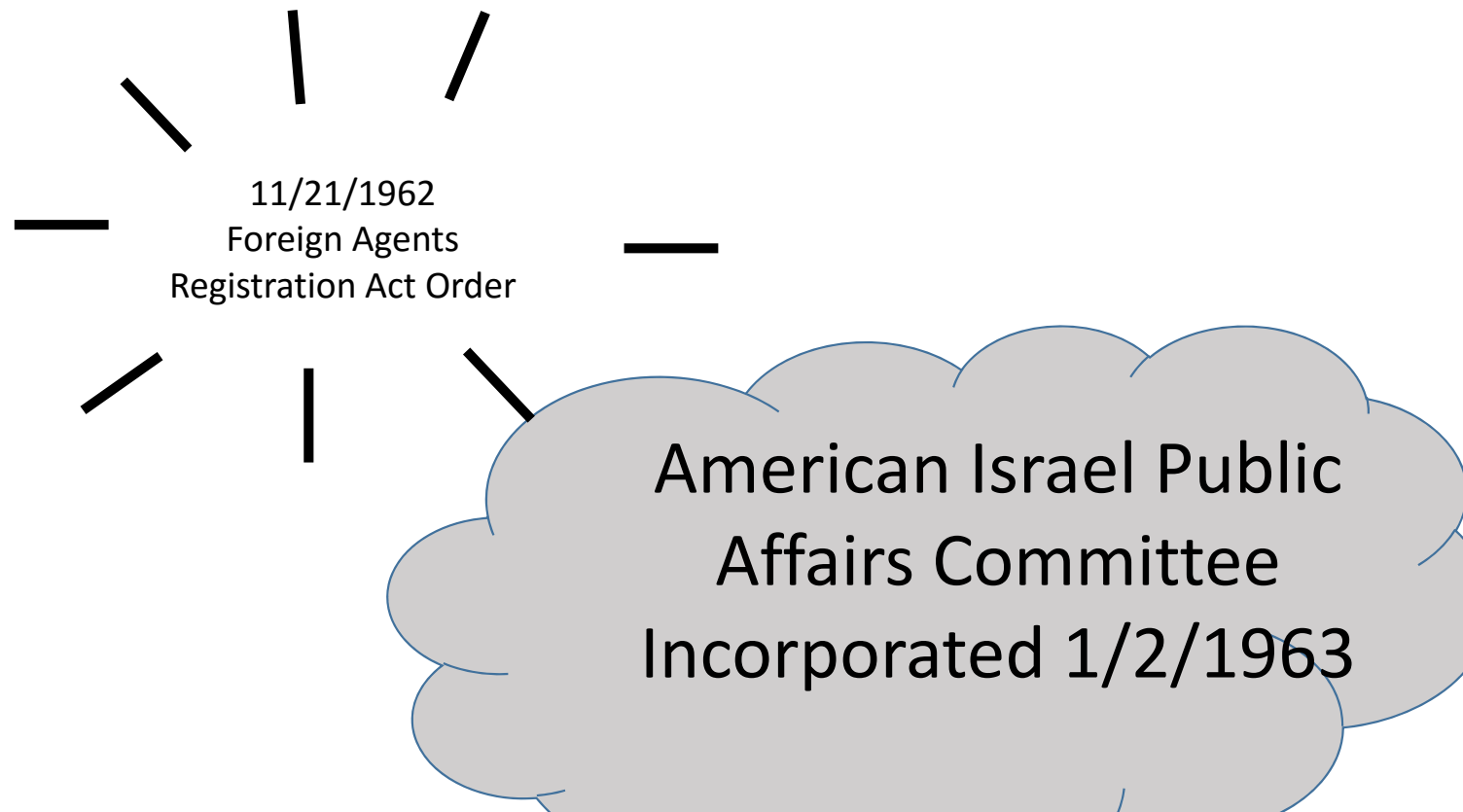


JCRCs use the original 1951-1962 AIPAC model

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

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee

# Using the original 1951-1962 AIPAC model

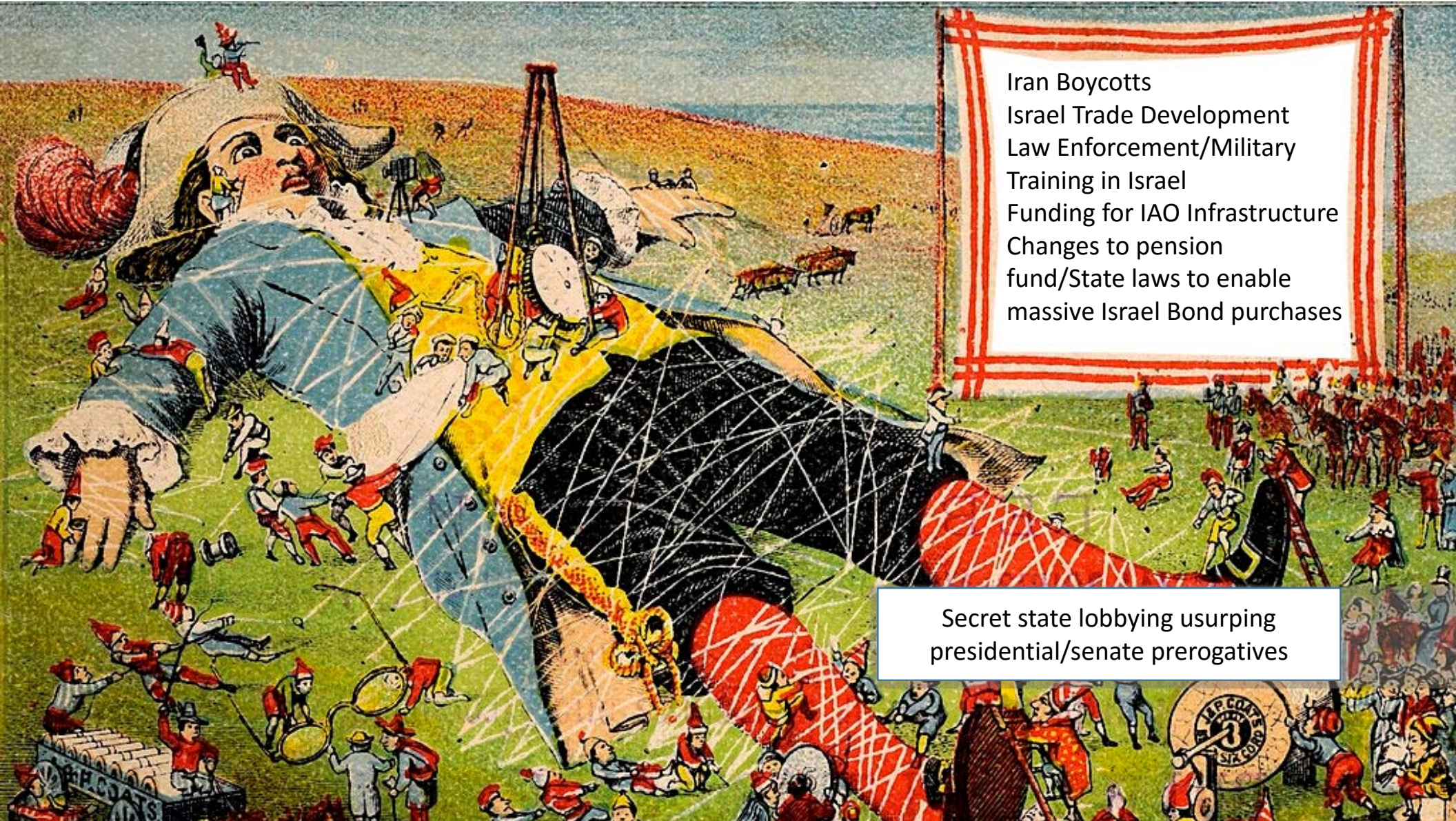




# Opposition to disclosure

*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**



Iran Boycotts  
Israel Trade Development  
Law Enforcement/Military  
Training in Israel  
Funding for IAO Infrastructure  
Changes to pension  
fund/State laws to enable  
massive Israel Bond purchases

Secret state lobbying usurping  
presidential/senate prerogatives

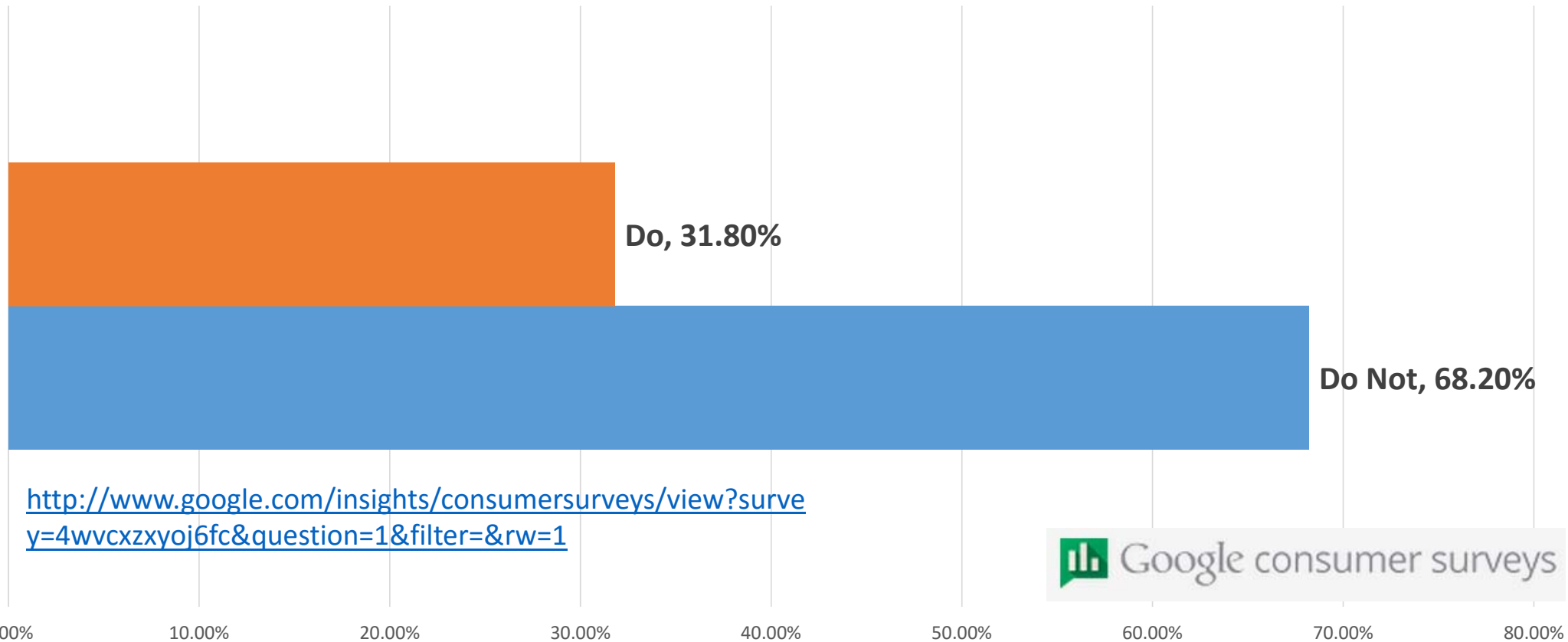
# California Resolution

- *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

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

- a) These resolutions **do not** represent my views.
- b) 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.

## 7.0 IAOs enjoy incredible criminal immunity

- No high-level criminal prosecutions of IAO conventional weapons smuggling in the 1940s.
- Seven ZOA orders to register as a foreign agent.
- AZC dodges FARA order by spinning off AIPAC in 1963
- No high-level criminal prosecutions of IAO nuclear smuggling
- AIPAC espionage cases in 1976, 1985, 2005 – shut down by DOJ
- ADL “Files Case” 1990s – DOJ refusal to prosecute solid FBI case
- UANI/Victor Restis classified information case – Shut Down by DOJ order in 2015

## 8.0 Israel Affinity in Executive, State and Federal Agencies - Recent

- US Department of State – Dennis Ross
- US Department of Justice – Neil Sher
- Ohio State Treasury – Josh Mandel
- Pentagon – Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Douglas Feith
- U.S. Department of Treasury – Stuart Levey, David S. Cohen
- FBI-ADL Liaison, ongoing since 1950s
- IRS Commissioners

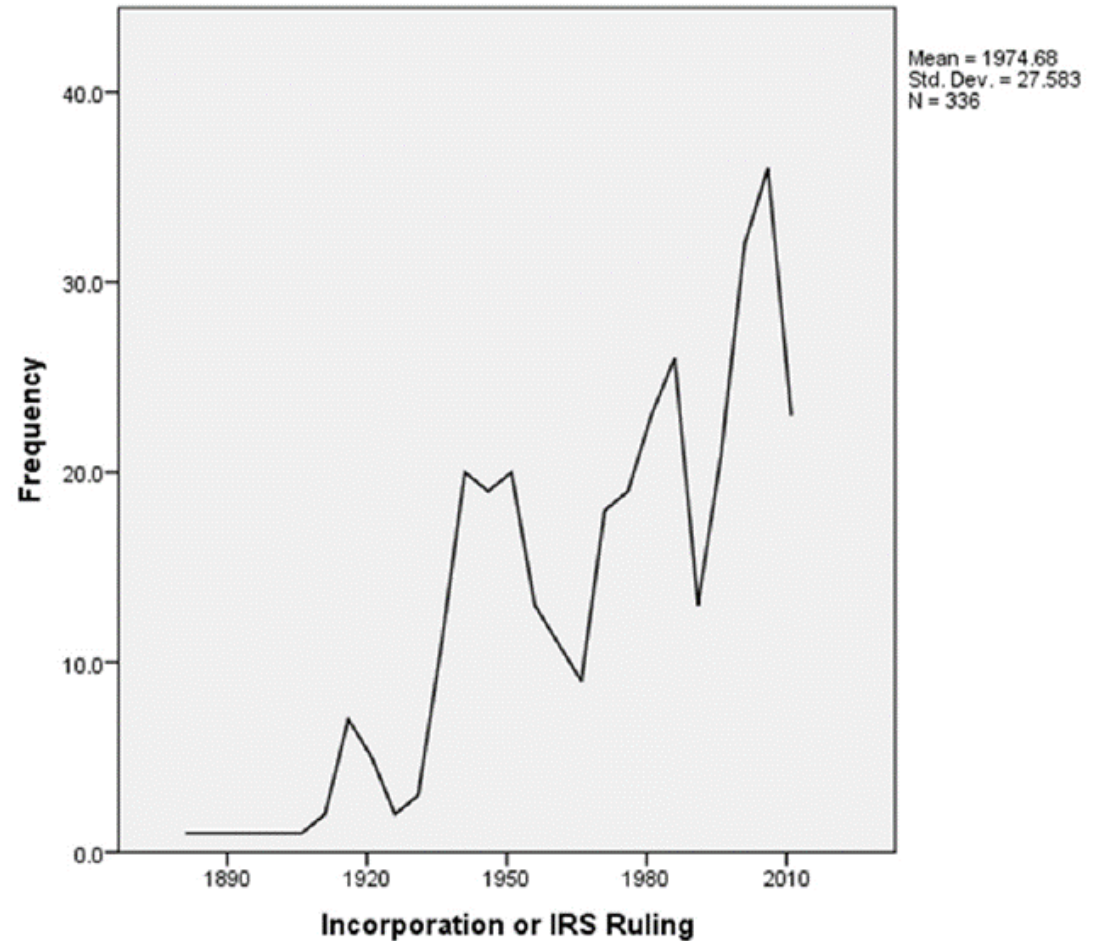
Name	Took office	Left office	Israel Affinity Category	Years in office
Mortimer Caplin	2/7/1961	7/10/1964	Yes	3.4
Sheldon Cohen	1/25/1965	2/20/1969	Yes	4.1
Randolph W. Thrower	4/1/1969	6/22/1971	No	2.2
Johnnie Mac Walters	8/6/1971	4/30/1973	No	1.7
Donald C. Alexander	5/25/1973	2/26/1977	No	3.8
Jerome 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



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

# Before many organizations became part of the Israel lobby:

- Many had a clear social welfare purpose:
  - Immigrant aid
  - Life insurance
  - Cultural and educational infrastructure building
  - Charitable hospitals
  - Relief
  - News/information
- Tended to reduce burden on the US government

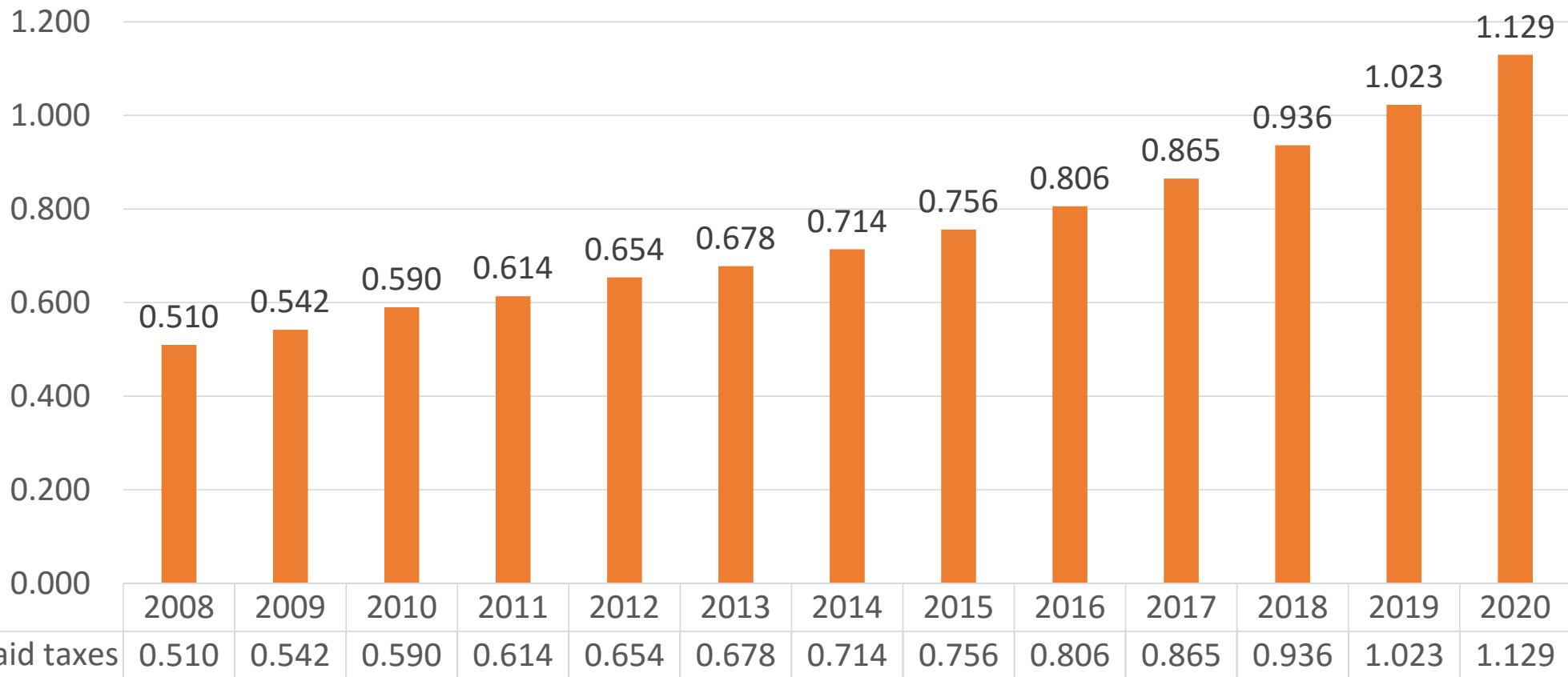


<b>Support for Jewish Immigrant Assimilation &amp; Zionism 1800-1920s</b>	<b>Building State of Israel 1930s-1940s</b>	<b>Israel Justification &amp; Defense 1980s-1990s</b>	<b>Pro-Israel Imposition on Campus Anti-Muslim/Lawfare 2000-Present</b>
B'nai B'rith	United Jewish Appeal	U.S. Holocaust Memorial 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

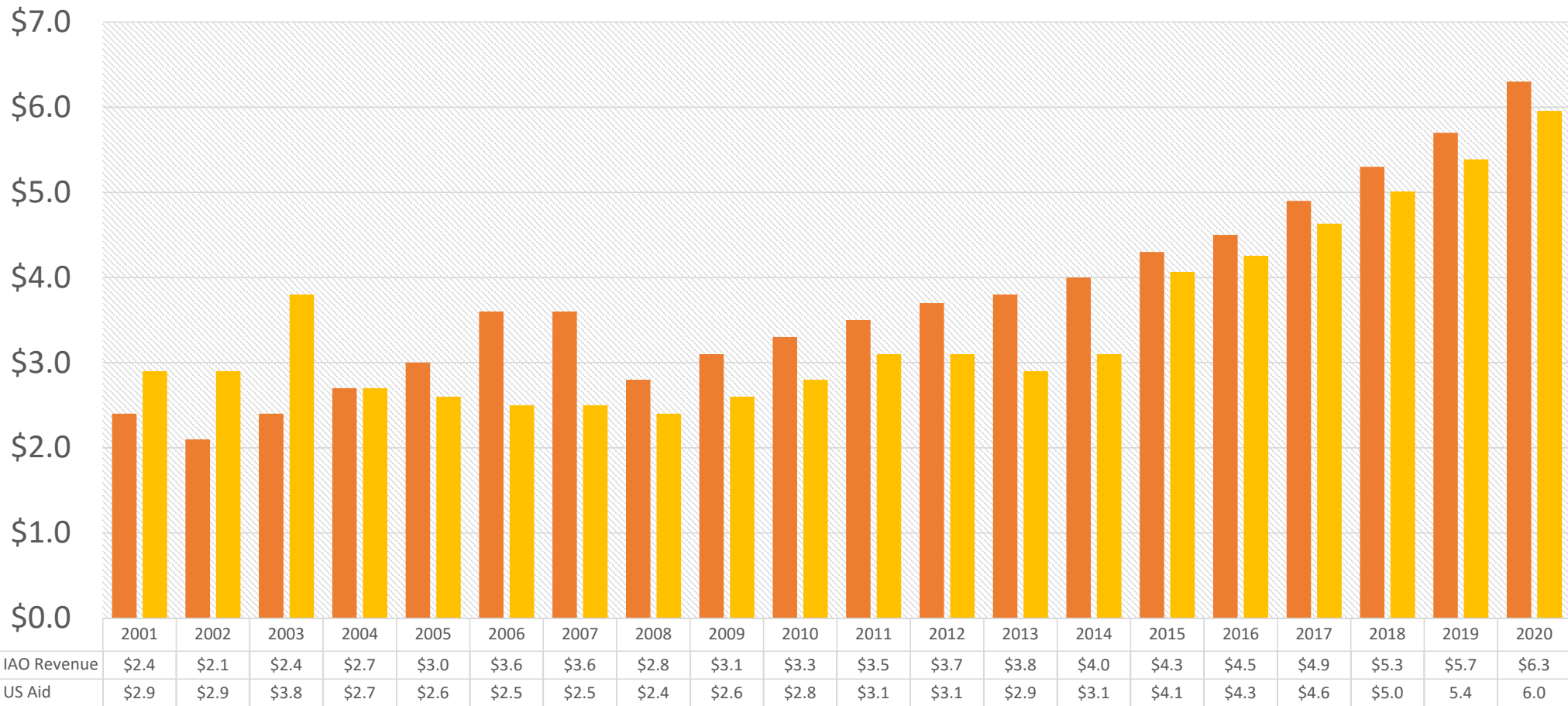
## IAO Categories – Increasing government burden

Category	Orgs	Employees (FTE)	2012 Revenue (\$ Million)	2020 Forecast Revenue (\$ Million)
Subsidy	116	1,984	\$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
<b>Total</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>14,076</b>	<b>\$3,672.1</b>	<b>\$6,273.7</b>

# Direct Israel lobby tax burden (\$US Billion)



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



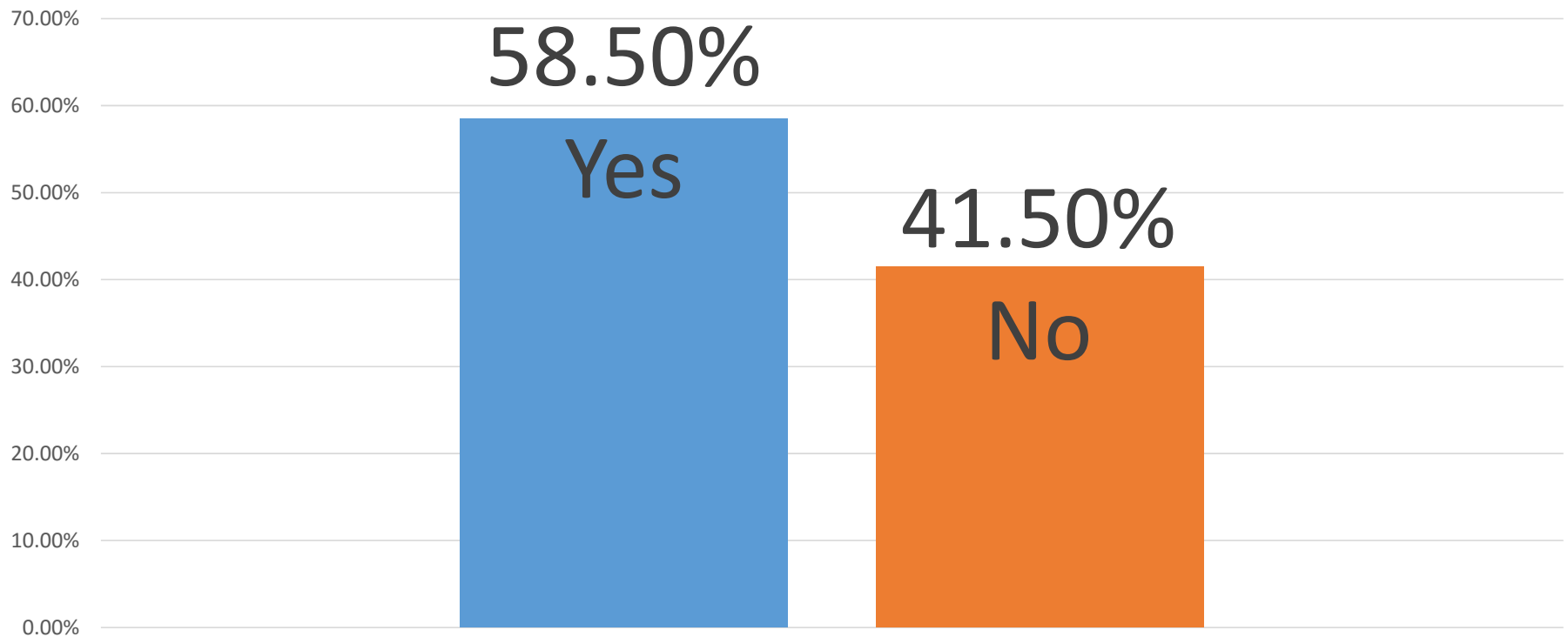
# 10.0 Agitating/propagandizing for policy and US military action against Israel's enemies

- Coordinated Disinformation Campaigns
- Deliberate dissemination of false information and innuendo about
  - Palestinians
  - Iraq
  - Iran

# 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>



## Conclusions

- America has been ***too*** easily moved.
- Americans are unknowingly ***paying*** the transport bill.
- Only through greater awareness and informed challenges will the downward spiral of illegitimacy ***stop***.