

The Israel Lobby—More than a Lobby

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In their book *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt state that “The [Israel Lobby] is a loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively works to move U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction.” While I agree with the main elements of Mearsheimer’s and Walt’s analysis, the preceding statement by them is deficient in at least two regards:

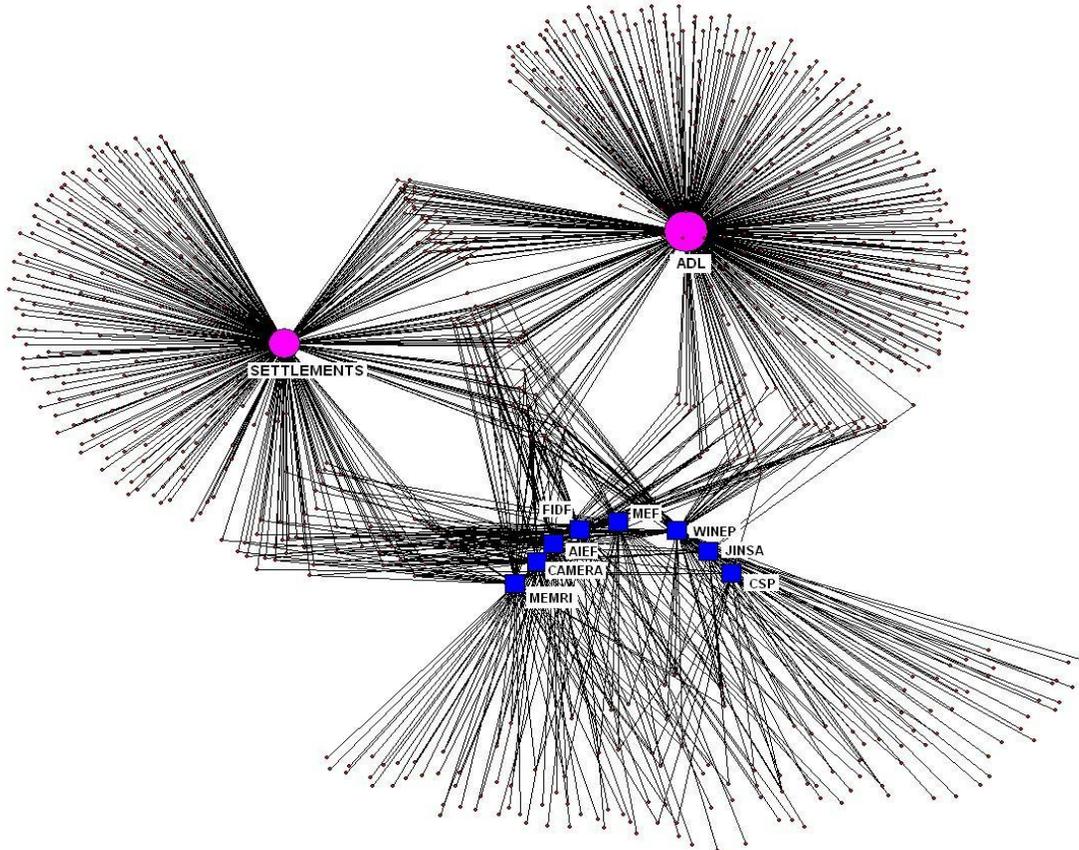
- (1) The Israel Lobby is more than a “loose coalition of individuals and organizations.” While not monolithic, the Israel Lobby displays a very high degree of coherence and unity of purpose.
- (2) The provision of illegal settlement funding by the Israel Lobby makes it more than an effort to influence U.S. foreign policy. The funding of illegal settlements by elements within the Israel Lobby makes it a virtual arm of the State of Israel.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the validity of the above assertions.

The Israel Lobby is more than a loose coalition of individuals and organizations

When one looks at the sources of funding for many of the organizations commonly considered as being included in the Israel Lobby it is apparent that they share a common source of funds. There are several ways to demonstrate this. First, the network diagram of the flow of money from grantors to elements of the Lobby is presented. In the following diagram the donors are represented by small dots, the recipient organizations by the larger, labeled circles or squares.

Figure 1. Face of the Israel Lobby



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Each line in the diagram represents a monetary grant from a donor foundation to one of the Lobby organizations (labeled)

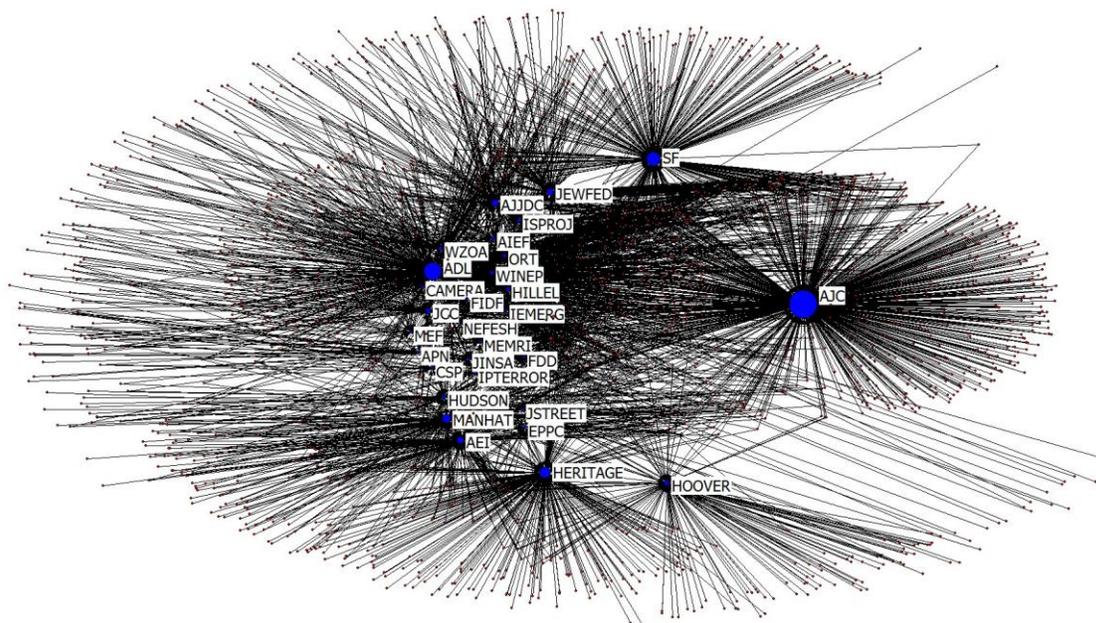
Data to create this diagram represent grants to nine organizations considered to be part of the Israel Lobby, and to an additional 16 organizations that have been identified as suppliers of funds to illegal settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). The data consist of grants or contributions made to these organizations from some 791 charitable foundations, the grants recorded in their U.S. IRS tax returns (form 990) for the years 2003 to 2012. (Not all charities filed returns for all of these years, and returns for 2011 and 2012 had not all been submitted. In fact 2012 were few in number.)

Many funding organizations were identified that supply funds to multiple organizations in the Lobby (including those that support illegal settlements). Such funding organizations tie together the various organizations that were identified as being part of the Israel Lobby, and demonstrate that there is indeed a coherence and structure to the network of organizations that is imposed by the funding sources.

The development of the above diagram was first described in *Funding the Israel Lobby and Illegal Settlements* (<http://www.opednews.com/articles/Funding-the-Israel-Lobby-a-by-Larry-Toenjes-130224-20.html>). The analysis has been extended (herein) to 29 organizations. The original 16 funnel money to the illegal settlements are still included. A new diagram depicting the linkages between the expanded network of 1,712 donor charitable foundations and 29 recipient Lobby-involved organizations, plus the 16 illegal settlement donors is shown below (Figure 2).

The visual structure of this diagram, with 29 organizations included in the Israel Lobby and 1,712 funding sources appears less well-defined than the previous diagram, which only dealt with nine organizations, but it is still striking. The data included 10,076 individual contributions. When aggregated over the 2003 to 2012 time period, with a single sum replacing multiple contributions from a single donor to a specific recipient, there remained 3,484 individual donor-recipient links.

Figure 2. The Israel Lobby: 29 Organizations and 16 Settler-related Funding Organizations

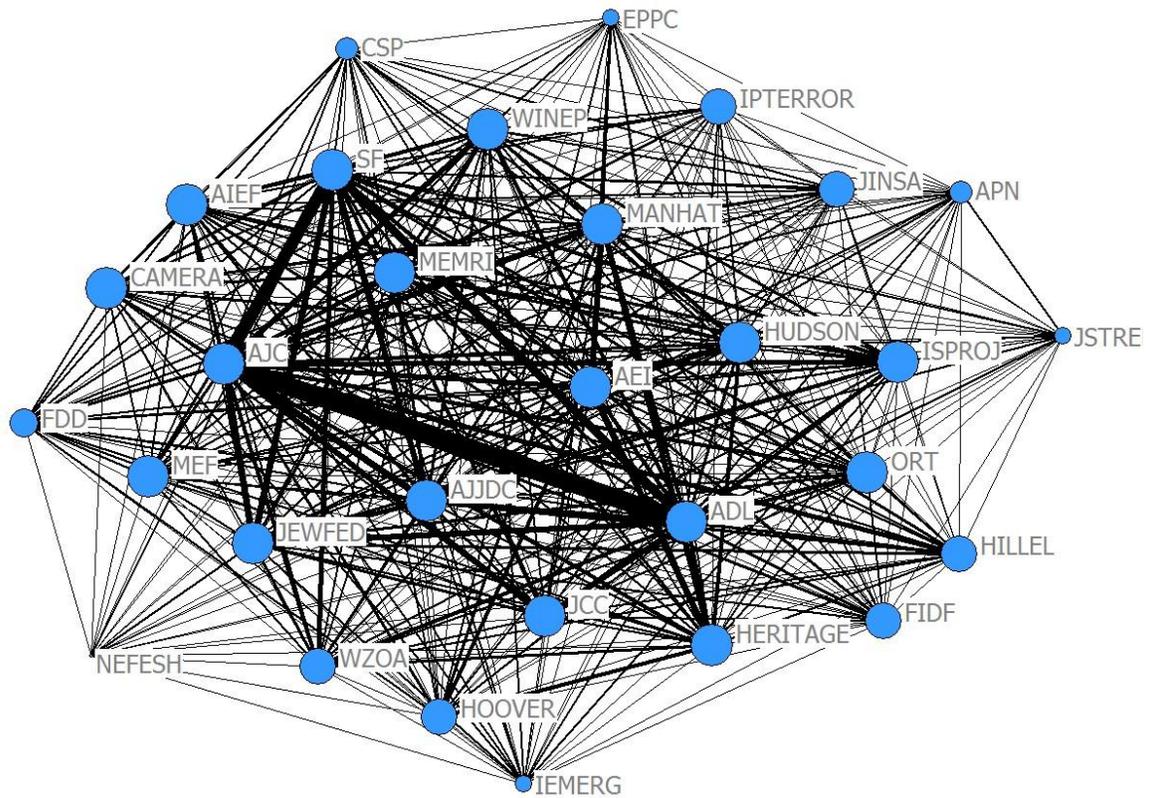


This diagram was created using UCINET 6 for Windows Software for Social Network Analysis: Borgatti, Everett and Freeman, © 1999-2002 Analytic Technologies, Inc.

The apparent high degree of interconnectedness is due to the large number of instances where single grantors provide grants to multiple recipient organizations. While 990 donors contributed to a single organization only, 23 donors contributed to 10 or more of the 29 organizations included in this study. Total contributions from the 1,712 donors were \$778 million. The 23 donors who contributed to 10 or more organizations contributed \$265.3 million, more than one-third of the total.

The next diagram (Figure 3) shows only the 29 organizations that are included in the Israel Lobby, plus “SF”, which represents the 16 illegal settlement flow-through charities. A link between two organizations occurs if a single donor makes one or more grants to both. The thickness of the connecting lines is greater for linkages where multiple donors make grants to the two connected organizations.

Figure 3. Israel Lobby Organizations Interconnected by Common Funding Sources



This diagram was created using UCINET 6 for Windows Software for Social Network Analysis: Borgatti, Everett and Freeman, © 1999-2002 Analytic Technologies, Inc

The full names of the organizations shown are provided in Appendix A.

The following table, shown below in two parts, shows the exact number of links between any two organizations shown in Figure 3. The numbers that appear on the diagonal of this 30 x 30 matrix represent the number of total grants received by the recipient organization from the donor foundations for which IRS 990 forms were obtained (and also shown in the column labeled “NBR OF DONORS TO”. To repeat, the grants for each donor-recipient pair were aggregated across the 2003-2012 time period.

Table 1-1: Numbers of Donors Shared by Israel Lobby Organizations

| RECIPIENT ORG. NAME | NBR OF DONORS TO | AJC (1) | ADL (2) | SF (3) | HERITAGE (4) | MANHAT (5) | AEI (6) | AJDC (7) | JEWFE (8) | HOOVER (9) | JCC (10) | WZOA (11) | HUDSON (12) | WINEP (13) | ISPROJ (14) | AIEF (15) |
|---------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| AJC | 709 | 709 | 193 | 133 | 37 | 56 | 46 | 69 | 66 | 17 | 55 | 38 | 26 | 53 | 44 | 38 |
| ADL | 435 | 193 | 435 | 86 | 34 | 31 | 35 | 47 | 54 | 12 | 50 | 38 | 19 | 32 | 28 | 25 |
| SF | 315 | 133 | 86 | 315 | 24 | 15 | 19 | 54 | 61 | 9 | 30 | 39 | 15 | 29 | 31 | 31 |
| HERITAGE | 235 | 37 | 34 | 24 | 235 | 50 | 61 | 16 | 15 | 34 | 12 | 17 | 29 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| MANHAT | 171 | 56 | 31 | 15 | 50 | 171 | 59 | 12 | 14 | 24 | 7 | 8 | 37 | 14 | 7 | 7 |
| AEI | 157 | 46 | 35 | 19 | 61 | 59 | 157 | 15 | 12 | 28 | 9 | 12 | 39 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| AJDC | 147 | 69 | 47 | 54 | 16 | 12 | 15 | 147 | 39 | 4 | 17 | 26 | 10 | 26 | 20 | 19 |
| JEWFE | 138 | 66 | 54 | 61 | 15 | 14 | 12 | 39 | 138 | 3 | 19 | 23 | 8 | 22 | 19 | 13 |
| HOOVER | 114 | 17 | 12 | 9 | 34 | 24 | 28 | 4 | 3 | 114 | 3 | 4 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| JCC | 100 | 55 | 50 | 30 | 12 | 7 | 9 | 17 | 19 | 3 | 100 | 16 | 8 | 8 | 12 | 8 |
| WZOA | 83 | 38 | 38 | 39 | 17 | 8 | 12 | 26 | 23 | 4 | 16 | 83 | 5 | 12 | 10 | 14 |
| HUDSON | 80 | 26 | 19 | 15 | 29 | 37 | 39 | 10 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 5 | 80 | 14 | 9 | 9 |
| WINEP | 80 | 53 | 32 | 29 | 8 | 14 | 6 | 26 | 22 | 1 | 8 | 12 | 14 | 80 | 19 | 16 |
| ISPROJ | 74 | 44 | 28 | 31 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 20 | 19 | 2 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 19 | 74 | 21 |
| AIEF | 69 | 38 | 25 | 31 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 19 | 13 | 4 | 8 | 14 | 9 | 16 | 21 | 69 |
| HILLEL | 68 | 40 | 27 | 27 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 19 | 21 | 3 | 12 | 11 | 6 | 12 | 6 | 12 |
| ORT | 63 | 28 | 30 | 27 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 14 | 17 | 2 | 12 | 14 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| MEMRI | 54 | 29 | 18 | 26 | 10 | 14 | 10 | 17 | 14 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 18 | 17 | 19 | 14 |
| CAMERA | 48 | 26 | 14 | 25 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 15 | 12 | 3 | 11 | 5 | 11 | 13 | 16 | 15 |
| MEF | 47 | 23 | 16 | 21 | 7 | 14 | 10 | 13 | 11 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 12 |
| FIDF | 47 | 22 | 19 | 21 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 |
| APN | 38 | 15 | 11 | 12 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 11 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| EPPC | 34 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 16 | 16 | 17 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| FDD | 31 | 18 | 10 | 16 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 14 | 10 | 8 | 10 |
| IPERROR | 29 | 13 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| CSP | 27 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 15 | 12 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 12 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| IEMERG | 27 | 16 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 15 |
| JINSA | 27 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| JSTREET | 23 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| NEFESH | 14 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Total | 3484 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The next table, Table 1-2, is a horizontal continuation of Table 1-1. Table 1-1 contains columns 1 to 15, table 1-2 contains columns 16 to 30.

Tables 1-1 and 1-2 show the numbers of funding sources that any two of the organizations have in common. Following are several examples of how to interpret the entries:

1. AJC received contributions from 709 charitable (501(c)3) organizations;
2. AJC and AIEF both received contributions from the same 38 charitable organizations;
3. AEI shared 61 donors with Heritage.

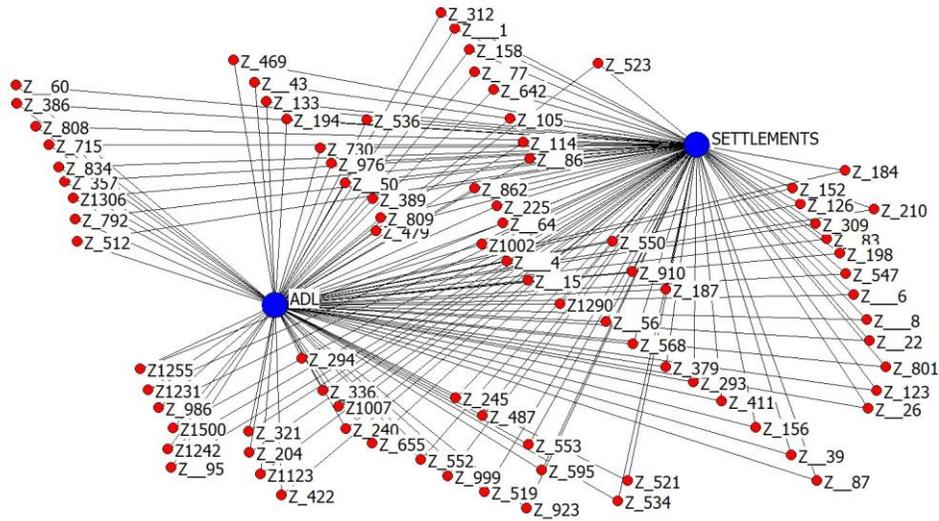
The entry in Table 1-1 corresponding to row SF and column ADL indicates that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and illegal settlement-funding organizations (SF) had 86 donors in common. In other words, 86 non-profit organizations which placed a premium on supporting ADL's commitment to "defending democratic ideals and eliminating anti-Semitism and bigotry in the United States and around the world" also placed a premium on supporting the expansion of illegal settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Table 1-2: Numbers of Donors Shared by Israel Lobby Organizations

| RECIPIENT ORG. NAME | NBR OF DONORS TO | HILLEL (16) | ORT (17) | MEMRI (18) | CAMERA (19) | MEF (20) | FIDF (21) | APN (22) | EPPC (23) | FDD (24) | IP TERROR (25) | CSP (26) | IEMERG (27) | JINSA (28) | JSTREET (29) | NEFESH (30) |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------|----------|------------|-------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------|----------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| AJC | 709 | 40 | 28 | 29 | 26 | 23 | 22 | 15 | 9 | 18 | 13 | 9 | 16 | 11 | 9 | 6 |
| ADL | 435 | 27 | 30 | 18 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 11 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 5 |
| SF | 315 | 27 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 21 | 21 | 12 | 4 | 16 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 11 |
| HERITAGE | 235 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 16 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| MANHAT | 171 | 6 | 6 | 14 | 8 | 14 | 3 | 6 | 16 | 12 | 5 | 15 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 1 |
| AEI | 157 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 17 | 10 | 4 | 12 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| AJJDC | 147 | 19 | 14 | 17 | 15 | 13 | 6 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 4 |
| JEW FED | 138 | 21 | 17 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 |
| HOOVER | 114 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| JCC | 100 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| WZOA | 83 | 11 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| HUDSON | 80 | 6 | 6 | 18 | 11 | 12 | 7 | 4 | 13 | 14 | 7 | 12 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| WINEP | 80 | 12 | 7 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 4 |
| ISPROJ | 74 | 6 | 6 | 19 | 16 | 16 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 4 |
| AIEF | 69 | 12 | 6 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 15 | 8 | 1 | 4 |
| HILLEL | 68 | 68 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| ORT | 63 | 8 | 63 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| MEMRI | 54 | 8 | 9 | 54 | 20 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 15 | 9 | 11 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 3 |
| CAMERA | 48 | 7 | 6 | 20 | 48 | 15 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| MEF | 47 | 4 | 5 | 14 | 15 | 47 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 6 | 12 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 2 |
| FIDF | 47 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 47 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| APN | 38 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 38 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| EPPC | 34 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 34 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| FDD | 31 | 5 | 3 | 15 | 12 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 31 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| IP TERROR | 29 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 29 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| CSP | 27 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 10 | 3 | 27 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| IEMERG | 27 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 27 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| JINSA | 27 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 27 | 1 | 0 |
| JSTREET | 23 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 23 | 0 |
| NEFESH | 14 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Total | 3484 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The lines that represent the contributions to ADL and SF (settlements) by those 86 tax-exempt charitable organizations are those that connect those organizations, as shown in Figure 1. Those connecting links are expanded in the following diagram, Figure 4. Short labels, to conserve space, identify the 86 donor organizations. Appendix B relates the labels to the full names of the organizations and also shows how much each contributed to ADL and to the settler-related organizations. In some cases the donor gave much more to ADL than to the settlement organizations, in other cases the opposite. Based on the data used herein, covering the years 2003 to 2012 (with many organizations not yet filing their returns for the last two years) the 86 donor organizations contributed \$5.9 million to ADL, \$10.2 million to settler-related organizations (see Appendix B)--\$5.9 million to ferreting out anti-Semitism and promoting democracy, \$10.2 million to the deprivation of the rights, land and other resources of the Palestinians.

Figure 4. Donors that Contributed both to ADL and Settlement-funding Organizations



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Yet another way to illustrate the high degree of interconnectedness of these organizations is to show, more generally, the amount of funds each organization receives from donors that fund other organizations. Since one of the focuses of this analysis is the funding of illegal settlements, the amount of funds each of the 29 recipient organizations receives from those donors that also fund illegal settlements is shown in Table 2. The four columns shown are:

- (Col 1) Abbreviated or short name of recipient Lobby organization (see Appendix A for full names).
- (Col 2) Total grants from 501c(3) donor organizations.
- (Col 3) Grants from same donors that gave to illegal settlement organizations.
- (Col 4) Column 3 as percent of Column 2.

Table 2. Total Grants Received and Grants Received from Donors that also Provided Funding to Illegal Settlements

| Recipient Organization Name | Total Grants (\$) | Grants from agencies that also contributed to settlements funds (\$) | Percent of grants from agencies also supporting settlements (%) |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| SF | 34,783,312 | 34,783,312 | 100.0 |
| NEFESH | 13,610,000 | 13,000,000 | 95.5 |
| AJJDC | 184,627,840 | 151,423,808 | 82.0 |
| IPERROR | 1,039,534 | 826,534 | 79.5 |
| WZOA | 34,251,208 | 27,029,476 | 78.9 |
| ISPROJ | 15,954,480 | 11,056,300 | 69.3 |
| FDD | 19,389,032 | 13,382,180 | 69.0 |
| JSTREET | 1,865,590 | 1,152,140 | 61.8 |
| APN | 2,021,315 | 1,217,815 | 60.2 |
| AIEF | 25,322,770 | 15,153,371 | 59.8 |
| MEF | 3,169,195 | 1,779,030 | 56.1 |
| MEMRI | 5,441,541 | 2,896,400 | 53.2 |
| WINEP | 5,363,205 | 2,723,580 | 50.8 |
| JCC | 12,225,366 | 5,982,360 | 48.9 |
| CAMERA | 2,657,117 | 1,294,500 | 48.7 |
| JEWFED | 36,195,272 | 17,462,068 | 48.2 |
| HILLEL | 4,892,533 | 1,652,018 | 33.8 |
| IEMERG | 2,681,530 | 873,450 | 32.6 |
| ORT | 2,437,262 | 732,384 | 30.0 |
| JINSA | 1,390,190 | 404,250 | 29.1 |
| AJC | 61,389,496 | 17,274,996 | 28.1 |
| FIDF | 4,093,130 | 902,980 | 22.1 |
| ADL | 28,855,244 | 5,883,073 | 20.4 |
| CSP | 4,957,430 | 806,430 | 16.3 |
| EPPC | 7,792,981 | 1,200,000 | 15.4 |
| HUDSON | 26,744,386 | 3,279,407 | 12.3 |
| MANHAT | 33,691,912 | 3,958,310 | 11.7 |
| AEI | 74,214,256 | 5,312,579 | 7.2 |
| HERITAGE | 81,657,280 | 2,518,083 | 3.1 |
| HOOVER | 45,323,724 | 1,140,100 | 2.5 |
| ALL | 778,038,131 | 347,100,934 | 44.6 |
| W/O SETTLERS | 743,254,819 | 312,317,622 | 42.0 |

The grant recipients shown in Table 2, all included in the Israeli Lobby by virtue of their common funding sources as well as their interrelated purposes and actions, are ranked on the basis of the percentage of funds received from donors that support illegal settlements. The percentage for the first row is 100 percent by default, as SF refers to those organizations that receive grants that are used to support illegal settlements. Although IPERROR in row 4 only receives \$1,039,534 in grants from 501c(3) donors, 79.5 percent of its grants are from donors that also give to organizations that support illegal settlements in the OPT. It is

surprising that JSTREET receives 61.8 percent of its grant funding from donors that also support illegal settlement activity, if only indirectly, inasmuch as JSTREET stresses its desire to promote an independent Palestinian state.

Only 20.4 percent of grants to the ADL came from foundations that also supported illegal settlement activity, but this still amounted to over \$5.8 million. In all cases, these 29 members of the Lobby individually receive hundreds of thousands of dollars, over \$100 million in the case of AJJDC, from foundations that also support illegal settlement activity. From this perspective of common funding sources, many of these organizations, all part of the Israel Lobby, are in fact closely intertwined.

The funding of illegal settlements by elements within the Lobby makes it a virtual arm of the State of Israel.

In addition to providing evidence for a tight-knit relationship between these members of the Israel Lobby the fact that 22 of the 29 organizations received at least one million dollars from those foundations that supplied \$34.8 million to U.S. organizations that funnel money to illegal settlements is evidence that the Israel Lobby does more than merely “lobby” in the traditional sense. It directly assists in implementing the settlement program of the Israel government.

In addition to sharing resources from the same funding pool that supports illegal settlement activities, a number of these organizations are heavily involved in molding U.S. public opinion, and the attitudes of members of the U.S. Congress, into acceptance in or at least acquiescence of Israel’s illegal settlement program. Some of these organizations regularly and strenuously raise objections to voices that oppose Israel’s settlement policies or the annual \$3 billion U.S. aid to Israel that facilitates those policies and programs.

By providing free but orchestrated trips for members of Congress to visit Israel, the American Israel Education Foundation (AIEF) uses the soft-sell approach to gaining their support and allegiance. Organizationally, AIEF is a charade. AIEF is an in-house captive servant of AIPAC. Its employees’ salaries are paid by AIPAC. It is housed in AIPAC’s offices. A majority of the members of its board of directors are also members of AIPAC’S board. However, unlike its parent, AIEF is a 501c(3) non-profit organization, and is therefore eligible to accept tax-exempt contributions and to provide expense-paid trips to Israel for members of Congress. Those trips are designed to instill a greater sense of loyalty to the State of Israel as well as a sense of gratitude to AIPAC. (For additional information on the AIEF-AIPAC relationship, see various writings and postings by Grant Smith at www.irmep.org)

Also connected to the AIEF/AIPAC influence are the 30 or so pro-Israel PACs which have been identified by the Center for Responsive Politics as primarily focused on helping candidates for Congress who strongly support Israel, and which oppose candidates who deviate in any way from a pro-Israel viewpoint. AIEF/AIPAC is strongly linked to these pro-Israel PACs by the substantial personal contributions made to them by the members of the board of directors of AIPAC and AIEF.

As of 2010 there were 50 members on AIPAC’s board. Twenty-seven of them were also on the board of AIEF, comprising a controlling majority of that board. Including members of their immediate families, 72 individuals—AIEF/AIPAC board members and members of their immediate families-- made political contributions to congressional candidates, their leadership PACs, party organizations, and pro-Israel PACs. During the 2009-2010 election cycle these individuals contributed \$369,760 to the pro-Israel PACs, \$2,108,658 to the principle campaign committees of congressional candidates, and \$465,402 to other federally regulated political organizations, such as party committees or leadership PACs.

Table 3 presents the amounts contributed to 19 of the pro-Israel PACs by AIPAC board members. Note in particular the substantial amounts to the first two: \$107,500 to National PAC, \$67,760 to National Action Committee.

Table 3. Contributions to pro-Israel PACs from AIPAC Board Members

| Pro-Israel PACs | Contributions to PACs from Board Members | Nbr of AIPAC Board Members |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| National PAC | \$107,500 | 30 |
| National Action Cmte | \$67,760 | 34 |
| Citizens Organized PAC | \$38,500 | 9 |
| NorPAC | \$33,500 | 11 |
| Northern Californians for Good Govt | \$27,900 | 11 |
| Heartland PAC | \$20,000 | 4 |
| Florida Congressional Cmte | \$16,500 | 7 |
| World Alliance for Israel | \$10,250 | 10 |
| Maryland Assn for Concerned Citizens | \$10,000 | 2 |
| SunPAC | \$10,000 | 4 |
| Joint Action Cmte for Political Affairs | \$7,000 | 6 |
| Americans United in Support of Democracy | \$5,000 | 1 |
| Republican Jewish Coalition | \$5,000 | 1 |
| Washington PAC | \$3,000 | 4 |
| Desert Caucus | \$2,850 | 8 |
| Louisiana for American Security | \$2,500 | 4 |
| JStreetPAC | \$1,000 | 1 |
| Mid Manhattan PAC | \$1,000 | 1 |
| MOPAC | \$500 | 1 |
| | \$369,760 | |

Table 4 lists the amounts contributed to congressional candidates during 2009-2010 by 44 of the AIPAC board members and their immediate families, totaling \$2,108,658. It is often reported in the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs (various issues) that the approximately 30 pro-Israel PACs contribute some \$3 million to their favorite congressional candidates each election cycle. But the figures presented here show that just 44 AIPAC board members (and their immediate family members) contributed over \$2 million, separate from the pro-Israel PAC contributions. They also gave \$369,760 to the pro-Israel PACs as well. As many of the AIPAC board members also have positions of influence in many of the pro-Israel PACs, it doesn't require much imagination to see how this small group can directly control upwards of \$5 million in contributions to congressional candidates. For example, receiving part of the \$2.1 million in direct contributions from AIPAC board members were:

1. Kirk for Senate \$98,050
2. Nita Lowey for Congress \$47,850
3. Friends for Harry Reid \$43,710

These individuals also received substantial contributions from the pro-Israel PACs themselves.

Such large amounts given directly to lawmakers may simply represent rewards for services rendered. However, their magnitude and the degree of control over them by a relatively small number of individuals comprise an implicit threat to virtually every member of Congress. It would be no trick at all for these individuals to redirect several hundred thousand dollars to the opponent of a member of Congress who departs from the Israel Lobby's agenda.

Table 4. Political contributions from members of the board of directors of AIPAC to congressional candidates' principal committees (2009-2010)

| AIPAC Board Members | Contributions to committees | Number of Contributions |
|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| BAKER_P | \$110,000 | 73 |
| TUCHIN | \$89,598 | 70 |
| WULIGER | \$87,618 | 70 |
| MAZER | \$86,450 | 61 |
| ASHER | \$77,500 | 47 |
| KASSEN | \$72,200 | 62 |
| FRIEDKIN | \$63,492 | 68 |
| COHEN | \$60,100 | 49 |
| DAVIS | \$59,450 | 71 |
| BROWNSTEIN | \$57,450 | 49 |
| MIZEL | \$56,800 | 38 |
| KARGMAN | \$56,508 | 50 |
| BAKER_B | \$55,750 | 31 |
| LEVY | \$54,000 | 42 |
| MANNIS | \$53,300 | 54 |
| ALBERS | \$52,474 | 61 |
| RODAN | \$52,307 | 61 |
| MANOCHERIAN | \$52,050 | 48 |
| DARIVOFF | \$50,050 | 52 |
| HORWICH | \$50,050 | 54 |
| STERNBERG | \$44,950 | 53 |
| GREEN | \$44,550 | 39 |
| DIAMOND | \$44,200 | 40 |
| AMIR | \$43,950 | 41 |
| ZIMMERMAN | \$42,500 | 38 |
| HOLDSTEIN | \$42,492 | 52 |
| SWIG | \$41,659 | 61 |
| KAPLAN | \$41,000 | 42 |
| LEVIN | \$40,800 | 43 |
| FRIEDMAN | \$40,300 | 38 |
| GERBER | \$39,957 | 33 |
| VICTOR | \$38,000 | 47 |
| WEINBERG | \$35,200 | 38 |
| ROSENBERG | \$34,368 | 49 |
| SIEGEL | \$31,200 | 29 |
| COOPER | \$31,000 | 33 |
| ROSENTHAL | \$30,700 | 26 |
| SILVERMAN | \$30,500 | 34 |
| SOMEKH | \$29,051 | 37 |
| FISHER | \$28,100 | 34 |
| DIENER | \$23,650 | 28 |
| DOW | \$16,050 | 35 |
| CORDISH | \$9,750 | 10 |
| COHEN_R | \$7,584 | 18 |
| Total | \$2,108,658 | |

Just as AIEF attempts to induce members of Congress to be more sympathetic towards Israel by sending them on all-expense paid, programmed trips to Israel, there are several organizations whose purpose is to diminish Americans' sympathies for Israel's perceived enemies. The Center for American Progress published a lengthy study on Islamophobia, titled *Fear, Inc.: The Roots of the Islamophobia Network in America* (2011). Several of the organizations that are included in this study as being members of the Israel Lobby were identified in that report as participating in the effort to create a climate of Islamophobia in the U.S. These included Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPTERROR), Middle East Forum (MEF), Middle East Media and Research Institute (MEMRI), and the Center for Security Policy (CSP). The first three of these all received more than half of their grants from foundations that also supplied funds to illegal settlement activity (see Table 2 above). IPTERROR, MEF, CSP and other organizations are also discussed in *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims*, by Nathan Lean (2012).

What goes around comes around—the circular flow of money, influence, conflict, money...

The result of the various relationships described above is a network that, among other achievements, accomplishes the following: (a) free trips to Israel for members of Congress that include both pleasure and indoctrination; (b) political contributions to pro-Israel PACs and directly to approximately 300 members or new candidates for Congress by AIPAC board members; (c) Congressional appropriation of U.S. aid to Israel amounting to over \$8 million per day. In addition, the executive director of AIPAC—Howard Kohr - receives an annual salary in excess of half a million dollars. He and others in similar positions certainly have a personal interest in perpetuating the system, and it is a system.

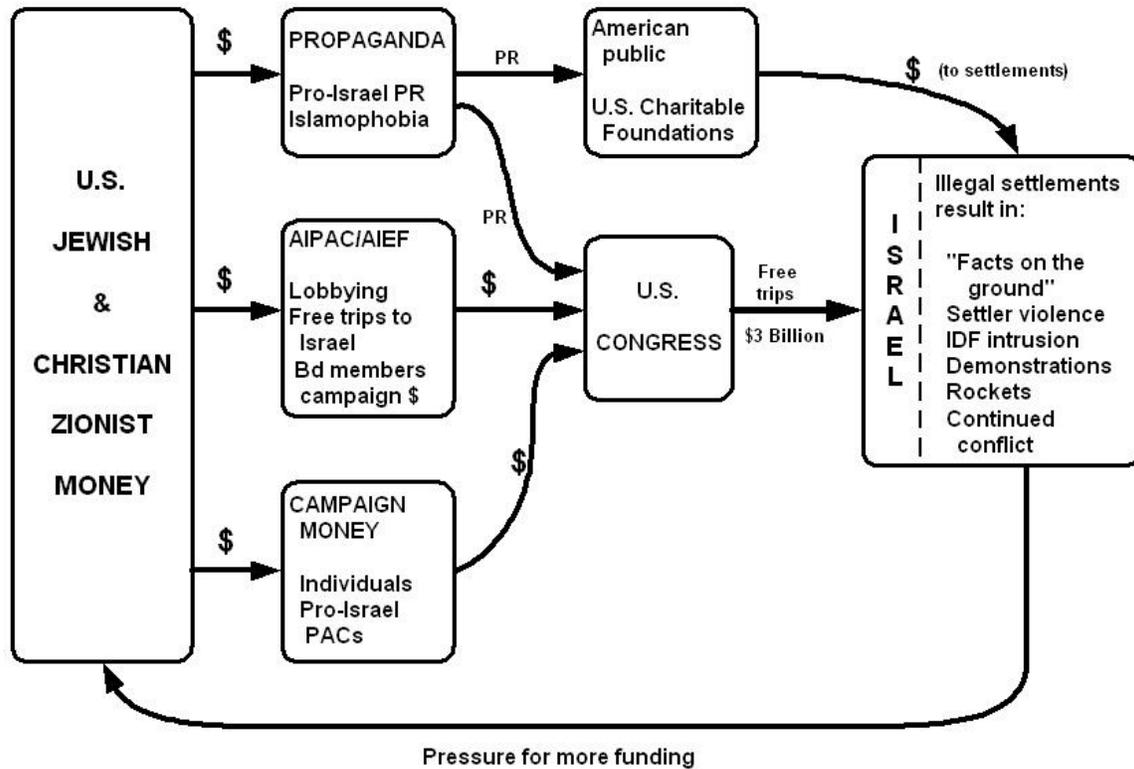
Some of the linkages between elements of the Israel Lobby, pro-Israel PACs, Congress, the State of Israel, and the illegal settlements are depicted in the next diagram (Figure 5). The broad pattern show there can be described as follows:

- U.S. Jewish and Christian Zionist monetary contributions fund the AIEF/AIPAC program of providing all-expense paid trips to Israel for U.S. members of Congress;
- The same donors also support the several organizations mentioned above that generate feelings of Islamophobia among the general population as well as among members of Congress;
- The pro-Israel PACs receive contributions that in turn are channeled to congressional candidates to most effectively promote the interests of the State of Israel. Many of the contributors to these PACs also make direct campaign contributions to the same Congressional candidates.
- U.S. Jewish and Christian Zionist donors also send money to “charitable foundations” that use those funds to support illegal settlement activity in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The sixteen such organizations for which data were obtained and used herein received monies from 315 different private charitable foundations;
- Members of Congress receive their free trips to Israel, deposit their campaign contributions, and in turn annually appropriate \$3 billion in aid to Israel which is used by Israel's military to purchase a variety of weapons, including cluster bombs and phosphorous explosives which have been used against the residents of Gaza.
- The results of these various interrelated activities include:
 - More “facts on the ground” in the form of illegal settlements and their infrastructure in the Occupied Palestinian Territories;
 - More settler violence towards the nearby Palestinian residents;
 - More Israeli Defense Forces to “protect” the illegal settlers;
 - More demonstrations by Palestinians attempting to prevent unhindered expansions of the settlements, unlawful seizure and destruction of their lands, orchards, and sources of water. These demonstrations often end with the IDF firing tear gas canisters at the demonstrators, the demonstrators throwing rocks at the IDF soldiers and the settlers, with occasional deaths when the IDF resort to live fire.
 - Continued conflict

- The continuation of conflict following from the settlement expansion reinforces the impact of the pro-Israel propaganda and the fabricated Islamophobia back in the U.S. and is used to increase the pressure on the participating organizations to provide even more funds for the illegal enterprise.

Figure 5

THE PRO-ISRAEL CONGRESSIONAL LOBBYING MACHINE



One measure of the success of this ongoing process is the number of Jewish settlers who now live in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Estimates are as high as 500,000 and still growing.

Conclusion

The Israel Lobby is not merely a “loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively works to move U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction,” as described by Mearsheimer and Walt. Rather the Israel Lobby is a well-coordinated, well-funded system of many organizations and individuals, shown above, that work together in a highly integrated manner to carry out the policy of the State of Israel to create more “facts on the ground” in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

The tightly integrated nature of the Israel Lobby, as exemplified by the 29 organizations for which data were included in this study, is difficult to deny. The fact that many of these components of the Lobby are linked together with dozens, even hundreds of funding organizations in common with each other is persuasive. The fact that large proportions of the funding received by these organizations come from the same charitable foundations that send funds to the illegal settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories provides evidence that the Israel Lobby does more than just lobby, in the traditional sense. By

assisting Israel's illegal settlement program the Israel Lobby is acting directly on behalf of a foreign government and in direct violation of U.S. policy that opposes those settlements. The funds provided by AIEF to finance free trips to Israel for members of Congress, the campaign contributions provided to those same members of Congress by members of AIPAC's board of directors to help finance their reelection bids, the program of generating a climate of Islamophobia by other organizational members of the Israel Lobby, all contribute to promoting the perceived interests of the State of Israel. Those interests are promoted by purchasing or coercing members of Congress to continue the annual U.S. military assistance of \$3 billion to that country and in minimizing public resistance to it.

In view of the continuing expansion of illegal settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, U.S. policy in opposition to them has been ineffectual, irrelevant, ignored by Israel, and overwhelmed in part by those organizations and individuals in the U.S. that comprise the Israel Lobby and which support and assist in the settlements activity.

Appendix A

Names of Organizations

| | |
|----------|--|
| ADL | Anti-Defamation League |
| AEI | American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research |
| AIEF | American Israel Education Foundation |
| AJC | American Jewish Committee |
| AJJDC | American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee |
| APN | Americans for Peace Now, Inc. |
| CAMERA | Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America |
| CSP | Center for Security Policy |
| EPPC | Ethics and Public Policy Center |
| FDD | Foundation for the Defense of Democracies |
| FIDF | Friends of the Israel Defense Forces |
| HERITAGE | Heritage Foundation |
| HILLEL | Bnai Brith Hillel Foundation |
| HOOVER | Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace |
| HUDSON | Hudson Institute |
| IEMERG | Israel Emergency Alliance |
| IPERROR | Investigative Project on Terrorism |
| ISPROJ | Israel Project |
| JCC | Jewish Community Centers Association of North America |
| JEFED | Jewish Federations of North America |
| JINSA | Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs |
| JSTREET | J Street Education Fund, Inc. |
| MANHAT | Manhattan Institute for Policy Research |
| MEF | Middle East Forum |
| MEMRI | Middle East Media Research Institute |
| NEFESH | Nefesh B'Nefesh Jewish Souls United, Inc. |
| ORT | ORT America |
| SF | Various (16) settlement funds |
| WINEP | Washington Institute for Near East Policy |
| WZOA | Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America |

Appendix B

Contributions to Anti-Defamation League and Illegal Settlements (2003 to 2012)

| Donor Short Names | Donor Foundations | Anti-Defamation League (\$) | Grants to Organizations Funding Illegal Settlements (\$) |
|-------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| Z__1 | The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation, Inc. | 30,000 | 2,700,000 |
| Z__4 | Swartz Foundation | 6,000 | 221,800 |
| Z__6 | The Marcus Foundation, Inc. | 92,630 | 5,000 |
| Z__8 | Klarman Family Foundation | 40,000 | 520,000 |
| Z_15 | Hertog Foundation, Inc. | 55,000 | 1,005,000 |
| Z_22 | The New York Community Trust | 919,500 | 898,972 |
| Z_26 | Bialkin Family Foundation | 23,000 | 5,500 |
| Z_39 | Koret Foundation | 91,000 | 427,500 |
| Z_43 | Circle of Service Foundation | 369,000 | 215,000 |
| Z_50 | Saban Family Foundation | 73,750 | 35,000 |
| Z_56 | Nash Family Foundation | 115,000 | 131,522 |
| Z_60 | Arie and Ida Crown Memorial | 322,777 | 1,000 |
| Z_64 | The Cooper Family Foundation, Inc. | 30,000 | 35,000 |
| Z_77 | Ruderman Family Foundation | 25,000 | 300,878 |
| Z_83 | The Russell Berrie Foundation | 18,000 | 5,000 |
| Z_86 | Silicon Valley Community Foundation | 7,000 | 1,000 |
| Z_87 | The Milken Family Foundation | 10,500 | 1,008,748 |
| Z_95 | The Laszlo N. Tauber Family Foundation | 750,000 | 27,900 |
| Z_105 | The Community Foundation for the National Capital Region | 54,000 | 1,500 |
| Z_114 | The Judy and Michael Steinhardt Foundation | 5,000 | 50,000 |
| Z_123 | Forest City Enterprises Charitable Foundation, Inc. | 30,000 | 41,200 |
| Z_126 | Wilf Family Foundation | 134,000 | 100,960 |
| Z_133 | The Grosfeld Foundation | 500,500 | 2,500 |
| Z_152 | The John and Lisa Pritzker Family Fund | 26,000 | 617,000 |
| Z_156 | Boston Foundation, Inc. | 231,450 | 11,000 |
| Z_158 | The Capital Group Companies Charitable Foundation | 4,000 | 2,500 |
| Z_184 | Community Foundation of Greater Memphis | 3,000 | 236,950 |
| Z_187 | The Litwin Foundation, Inc. | 202,000 | 160,000 |
| Z_194 | Aufzien Foundation, Inc. | 22,500 | 9,000 |
| Z_198 | The Community Foundation for Greater Atlanta | 113,750 | 2,000 |
| Z_204 | Charles and Mildred Schnurmacher Foundation, Inc. | 380,000 | 100,000 |
| Z_210 | Charles and M. R. Shapiro Foundation, Inc. | 25,000 | 60,000 |
| Z_225 | The Seattle Foundation | 26,450 | 9,000 |
| Z_240 | Charles E. Smith Family Foundation | 29,000 | 5,000 |
| Z_245 | Omaha Community Foundation | 189,434 | 50,000 |
| Z_293 | Robert and Myra Kraft Family Foundation, Inc. | 47,500 | 60,000 |
| Z_294 | The JPMorgan Chase Foundation | 28,500 | 95,044 |

| | | | |
|-------|---|---------|---------|
| Z_309 | Z. S. & M. Wilf Foundation, Inc. | 16,000 | 10,000 |
| Z_312 | William S. and Ina Levine Foundation | 98,040 | 22,500 |
| Z_321 | Susan and Barry Tatelman Family Foundation | 75,000 | 160,000 |
| Z_336 | The Cleveland Foundation | 43,800 | 1,000 |
| Z_357 | The Selig Foundation | 5,100 | 1,800 |
| Z_379 | Hart N. and Simona Hasten Family Foundation, Inc. | 30,000 | 128,550 |
| Z_386 | Howard and Geraldine Polinger Family Foundation | 55,000 | 3,000 |
| Z_389 | Robert M. Beren Foundation, Inc. | 1,800 | 1,800 |
| Z_411 | Irwin Chafetz Family Charitable Trust | 20,000 | 63,000 |
| Z_422 | Verizon Foundation | 125,300 | 1,000 |
| Z_469 | Ross Family Fund | 11,400 | 10,000 |
| Z_479 | The Jess & Sheila Schwartz Family Foundation | 5,000 | 97,150 |
| Z_487 | The M-K LINK Foundation | 10,750 | 80,000 |
| Z_512 | The Philadelphia Foundation | 20,000 | 1,000 |
| Z_519 | Robert H. Smith Family Foundation | 40,000 | 2,500 |
| Z_521 | The Joseph and Florence Mandel Foundation | 5,000 | 1,000 |
| Z_523 | Federated Investors Foundation, Inc. | 2,000 | 15,000 |
| Z_534 | The Melvin Garb Foundation | 50,000 | 25,000 |
| Z_536 | Norman and Barbara Seiden Foundation | 6,100 | 70,000 |
| Z_547 | Capital One Foundation | 6,000 | 50,000 |
| Z_550 | The Morton and Beverley Rechler Family Foundation, Inc. | 10,000 | 15,000 |
| Z_552 | Theodore H. Cutler Family Charitable Trust | 21,667 | 33,620 |
| Z_553 | Katten Muchin Rosenman Foundation, Inc. | 19,750 | 2,433 |
| Z_568 | Sy Syms Foundation | 10,000 | 32,500 |
| Z_595 | The Baltimore Community Foundation | 1,000 | 20,000 |
| Z_642 | Joseph F. Stein Family Foundation Inc. | 1,000 | 47,500 |
| Z_655 | Bachmann Strauss Family Fund | 1,000 | 10,000 |
| Z_715 | The Marilyn and Jeffrey Katzenberg Foundation | 10,000 | 10,000 |
| Z_730 | Berkshire Taconic Community Foundation | 3,000 | 1,000 |
| Z_792 | The Flatley Foundation | 3,000 | 30,000 |
| Z_801 | The Rhoda & David Chase Family Foundation, Inc. | 20,500 | 1,667 |
| Z_808 | EQT Foundation, Inc. | 25,000 | 5,500 |
| Z_809 | The Glickenhau Foundation | 2,000 | 1,000 |
| Z_834 | The J. S. & S. Michaan Foundation | 5,000 | 4,000 |
| Z_862 | Weingart Foundation | 4,000 | 2,000 |
| Z_910 | Schaeffer Family Foundation | 18,000 | 1,000 |
| Z_923 | The Zahava and Moshael J. Straus Family Foundation | 1,500 | 1,000 |
| Z_976 | Jerry and Emily Spiegel Family Foundation, Inc. | 3,375 | 2,000 |
| Z_986 | The Dow Chemical Company Foundation | 15,000 | 3,000 |
| Z_999 | The Chicago Community Trust | 10,000 | 5,000 |
| Z1002 | Mechia Foundation | 5,000 | 5,000 |
| Z1007 | Aaron & Marion Gural Foundation | 15,000 | 1,000 |
| Z1123 | Isermann Family Foundation, Inc. | 1,000 | 7,500 |
| Z1231 | Olive Bridge Fund, Inc. | 3,000 | 1,500 |
| Z1242 | N. Bud and Beverly Grossman Foundation | 3,750 | 5,180 |
| Z1255 | The Cosette Charitable Fund | 6,000 | 1,000 |
| Z1290 | Allen A. Stein Family Foundation, Inc. | 1,000 | 2,200 |

| | | | |
|-------|--|-----------|------------|
| Z1306 | Jerome A. and Deena L. Kaplan Foundation | 5,000 | 1,000 |
| Z1500 | The Argo Family Fund | 2,000 | 1,000 |
| | | 5,883,073 | 10,156,374 |

Data Source: IRS form 990s, Foundation Center (www.foundationcenter.org)

Note: Many organizations had not yet filed tax returns for years 2011 and 2012 as of the date when these data were retrieved.