

The transatlantic network:

Funding Islamophobia and Israeli settlements

Sarah Marusek

Introduction

Against the backdrop of the latest global economic recession, endless foreign-backed violence across the Middle East and increasing levels of migration into Europe, Islamophobia has somehow become a more acceptable form of racism in the West. Indeed, the trend is startlingly clear. In the US, billionaire businessman Donald Trump won the 2016 presidential election after promising to ban Muslims from entering the country.¹ Across the Atlantic, far right politician Marine Le Pen stands a chance in 2017 of winning the French presidency,² after a spate of horrible attacks in the country were committed by individuals widely described as Muslim fundamentalists, even though they hardly practised their religion.³ And in Germany, the most recent local elections have seen newfound success for anti-immigrant parties.⁴ The electoral gains of the far right indicates that the Islamophobic fringe is increasingly becoming mainstream, often displacing (although not totally replacing) the vicious anti-Semitism of the past.⁵ Hafez (2015) has argued that this shift from anti-Semitism to Islamophobia goes beyond European borders and enables Europe's far right to connect to extremist Israeli parties and the far right in the US, creating a well-funded transatlantic movement. This chapter examines whether or not the empirical evidence supports Hafez's argument by investigating some of the key funders and relationships sustaining what can be called the transatlantic Islamophobia network.

Two things are important to stress up front. Firstly, I am not in any way claiming that all supporters of Israel are part of the transatlantic Islamophobia network; this is certainly not the

case. The individuals and groups specifically examined here are exceptional, albeit politically powerful. Secondly, narrowing in on those right-wing individuals and groups within the pro-Israel lobby that are peddling Islamophobia qualifies neither as a conspiracy theory nor anti-Semitism.⁶ I am relying upon empirical evidence (tax filings) as the primary source to try to shed light on a powerful political force, not a religion. Indeed, this chapter examines the funding and relationships that sustain hatred towards Islam by focussing on a narrow group of activists mostly on the extreme end of the pro-Israel movement. Furthermore, the Americans involved in this network are overwhelmingly Republican. While a 2016 survey found that 79 per cent of Democrats held favourable views of Muslims and 64 per cent of Islam, favourability among Republicans was a dismal 42 per cent for Muslims and 24 per cent for Islam.⁷

Meanwhile, although Western support for Israel's policies in the occupied territories is declining, this is not true among Republicans, who have further moved to the right. This shift was visible in January 2017 when Republican senators Ted Cruz and Lindsey Graham set in motion a bill that would defund the United Nations after the Security Council approved resolution 2334 condemning Israeli settlements.⁸ While the US has long protected Israel from criticism at the UN, censuring its settlement expansion was previously standard American policy. Furthermore, Republican senators Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz and Dean Heller introduced another bill to cut the funding for embassy security globally (except in Tel Aviv) if the US did not move its Israeli embassy to Jerusalem, in line with Trump's campaign promise.⁹ Again, while the house and senate have long called for moving the embassy, if enacted, this law would put American lives at risk. The combination of all these developments has inspired strategic new alliances between anti-Islam Republicans and supporters of Israeli expansion into historical Palestine not only in the US, but also in Europe, Israel and the occupied territories.

While none of the organisations in the transatlantic Islamophobia network are required to publicly list their donors, searching through the individual tax documents of registered charities and foundations in the US and UK allows one to ascertain to whom they send funds. I focus on the US, where philanthropy has always played an important role because the government has a weaker influence on society than in European countries. Thus, private American donors inevitably play an oversized role in giving, whether domestically or abroad. Ostrower's (1995) study of New York philanthropists illustrates that the elites who fund charities are actually quite heterogeneous; there are various social pressures at work alongside different moral and political agendas. Nevertheless, philanthropy generally works to reproduce the class hierarchies that it depends on. While considerable scholarly attention has been paid to the important role that liberal American foundations have historically had in the reproduction of global capitalism and forms of cultural imperialism (see Roelofs 2007), despite whatever good intentions they may have (see Arnove and Pinede 2007; for a critique of this literature see Berndtson 2007), less focussed consideration has been paid to their conservative counterparts. Furthermore, meaningful studies on the specific elite networks that foundations help to propagate are thin on the ground (for an analysis of their historical role both within the US and in pushing American hegemony abroad, see Parmar 2012).

Focusing particularly on a group of right-wing anti-Islam organisations based in the US, Europe and Israel, this chapter looks at the main American personalities that are funding them. Instead of centring on one group of elites or selected charities/foundations, the originality here is to first make an empirical connection by finding out who is donating money to the Islamophobic network, and then to check whether or not these charities/foundations are also funding Israeli settlements. Of course, this approach also has its limitations: sending donations does not necessarily mean that all donors are in full agreement with the groups in question, let alone fully aware of their agenda.

However, since the donations do have political consequences, it is imperative to follow the money. This research draws on a series of projects undertaken by Public Interest Investigations on neoconservatism, the transatlantic Islamophobia network and right-wing pro-Israel groups, examining the various connections between them (Cronin et al. 2016; Griffin et al. 2015; Marusek and Miller 2015; Mills et al. 2013 and Mills et al. 2011). Based on investigative research of media, NGO, policy reports and internet archives, we follow the money to engage in social network analysis, highlighting the relationships between people, organisations and power (see Cronin, Marusek and Miller 2016: 11-12). Data in this chapter is drawn particularly from annual reports lodged by charities, foundations, think tanks and other groups with regulators in the US and UK. In the US, we examined annual tax filings with the Internal Revenue Service; and in the UK, annual reports and accounts lodged with the Charity Commission.¹⁰ The data includes documents associated with those organisations that we are interested in; but more importantly, also with the charities and foundations that pass money to such anti-Islam groups.

Key organisations peddling Islamophobia

There are a number of influential American organisations overtly promoting an anti-Islam agenda. These include (in alphabetical order): the Center for Security Policy, Clarion Project, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA), David Horowitz Freedom Center, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Investigative Project on Terrorism, Gatestone Institute, Middle East Forum, Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) and Washington Institute for Middle East Policy (WINEP). While there are many other groups in the US promoting Islamophobia, I focus primarily on these ten organisations as the most active and influential in the media and in policy debates. In addition to the above, there are other groups in the US, Israel and Europe that are promoting a range of issues that include Islamophobia, and which, the data

shows, share many of the same funders as the more overt organisations highlighted above. The additional four I focus on are (in alphabetical order): the European Foundation for Democracy in Brussels, Henry Jackson Society in London, NGO Monitor in Jerusalem and UN Watch in Geneva.

The determination of these 14 organisations as being key to the transatlantic Islamophobia network builds on existing research. A report published by the Center for American Progress names the heads of the Center for Security Policy, David Horowitz Freedom Center, Investigative Project on Terrorism and Middle East Forum as ‘the leading lights of the Islamophobia network’ in the US (Ali, W. Clifton, E., Duss, M., Fang, L., Keyes, S. and Shakir, F, 2011: 7). The Southern Poverty Law Center also lists the heads of these four organisations, in addition to Robert Spencer, head of Jihad Watch, a project of the David Horowitz Freedom Center, as anti-Muslim extremists.¹¹ A subsequent report by the Council on American-Islamic Relations, or CAIR, (2013) adds the Clarion Project and MEMRI to this list. Furthermore, the Southern Poverty Law Center lists the Center for Security Policy as a hate group, saying that: ‘For the past decade, [its] main focus has been on demonising Islam and Muslims under the guise of national security;’¹² as well as the David Horowitz Freedom Center, calling the latter ‘the premier financier of anti-Muslim voices and radical ideologies, as well as acting as an exporter of misinformation that seeks to increase popular appeal for Horowitz’s fears and phobias’.¹³ The data shows that both the Center for Security Policy and David Horowitz Freedom Center share at least one funder with all of the above organisations. Furthermore, the Center for Security Policy’s director, Steve Emerson, is also a director of MEMRI, while his wife sits on the board of NGO Monitor. As this chapter shows, there are many other organisational and financial linkages that justify grouping them together as a network to be interrogated.

So, while not every organisation above is explicitly peddling an Islamophobic agenda, their shared funders indicate that there is also a shared political mission. Indeed, a careful examination of their relationships, activities and publications backs up this claim. Public Interest Investigations' research shows that each of these groups appears to be prominent in what we call the transatlantic Islamophobia network, although it is important to stress again that the network is not limited to these 14 organisations alone. *Table 1* provides some background on each organisation, including key people. Note that Robert Spencer, an American right-wing activist banned from entering the UK in 2013 for his extremist views,¹⁴ is affiliated with two of the below 14 organisations. Abe Foxman, head of the Anti-Defamation League, has argued that Spencer and others like him promote 'a conspiratorial anti-Muslim agenda under the pretext of fighting radical Islam,' drawing comparisons between their worldview and the anti-Semitism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹⁵ Spencer and Pamela Geller co-founded the group Stop Islamization of America, which the Southern Poverty Law Centre has also classified as a hate group.¹⁶

Table 6.1: Foundations identified with the transatlantic Islamophobia network

Organisation	Location	Key people	Notes
Center for Security Policy	Washington DC	Frank Gaffney	Gaffney argues that: 'nearly every major Muslim organisation in the US is actually controlled by the [Muslim Brotherhood] or a derivative organisation. Consequently, most of the Muslim-American groups of any prominence in America are now known to be, as a matter of fact, hostile to the US and its Constitution' (Ali et al, 2011: 30).
Clarion Project	Washington DC	Robert Shore	Initially linked with Aish HaTorah, ¹⁷ the Clarion Project produces virulently anti-Muslim films, including <i>Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West</i> and <i>The Third Jihad: Radical Islam's Vision for America</i> . Robert is the brother of Ephraim Shore, who heads the pro-Israel media watchdog HonestReporting. ¹⁸
Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA)	Boston, MA	Andrea Levin	Monitors both the American and British media for alleged anti-Israeli bias, as well as US college campuses. ¹⁹ Its website has an extensive database of journalists that it has targeted over the years, including many prominent Israelis. ²⁰
David Horowitz Freedom Center	Sherman Oaks, CA	David Horowitz and Peter Collier	The Anti-Defamation League charges that the centre has 'consistently [vilified] the Islamic faith under the guise of fighting radical Islam' and 'introduced a growing number of Americans to its conspiratorial

			anti-Muslim agenda'. ²¹ The anti-Muslim author and activist Robert Spencer currently serves as its 'Jihad Watch Director'. ²²
European Foundation for Democracy	Brussels	Roberta Bonazzi, Nicola Dell'Arciprete and Miguel Papi Boucher	Dell'Arciprete previously worked as an assistant to an MEP with the far-right Italian party Lega Nord (Northern League), ²³ during which time she participated in a tour of occupied east Jerusalem hosted by Ateret Cohanim, an organisation affiliated with Israeli settlers. ²⁴ The foundation has adopted a number of political campaigns that echo policies advocated by the Israeli establishment; for example, proposing a European ban on television channels linked to Hamas and Hizbullah. ²⁵
Foundation for Defense of Democracies	Washington DC	Clifford May and R. James Woolsey	Eli Clifton of <i>Salon</i> news website has called the foundation 'Washington's premiere hawkish think tank'. ²⁶ It has organisational and financial ties to the European Foundation for Democracy.
Gatestone Institute	New York, NY	Nina Rosenwald and John Bolton	Among the writers it has published are Peder Nøstvold Jensen (who previously wrote under the pseudonym of Fjordman), a far-right blogger 'idolised' by Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik; and Robert Spencer. ²⁷
Henry Jackson Society	London	Alan Mendoza and Douglas Murray	Murray once infamously said that 'conditions for Muslims in Europe should be made harder across the board' and that all immigration from Muslim countries 'should be stopped'. ²⁸ After the brutal attack on 7 January 2015 against Charlie Hebdo newspaper, he blamed Islamists for being behind anti-Semitic hate crime in Europe, asking 'Why do they always target the Jews?', this question following a reference to the Muslim 'population who came to Europe since the Holocaust'. ²⁹
Investigative Project on Terrorism	Washington DC	Steve Emerson	Emerson once presented the <i>Associated Press</i> with a purported FBI dossier showing ties between Muslim American organisations and radical Islamist groups. The agency's reporters 'concluded [that] the dossier was created by Emerson and that [Emerson] had edited out all phrases, taken out anything that made it look like his' (Ali et al, 2011: 49). In January 2015, Emerson falsely told <i>Fox News</i> that Birmingham is a 'Muslim-only city' where non-Muslims 'don't go'. The subsequent public outcry forced him to apologise. ³⁰
Middle East Forum	Philadelphia, PA	Daniel Pipes	Lean (2012: 5) has called Pipes 'the grandfather of Islamophobia'. He created widespread controversy in 2002 when he launched a website called Campus Watch, which posted dossiers on academics critical of Israel and encouraged students to report comments or behaviour that might be considered hostile to Israel (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006: 47). The dossiers were removed after only two weeks, but the website continues to solicit student complaints of academic deemed anti-Israel.
Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)	Washington DC	Yigal Carmon, Meyrav Wurmser and Steve Emerson	Distributes free English language translations of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Pashto and Turkish media reports. Carmon is a former Israeli military intelligence officer. Brian Whitaker, a journalist for <i>The Guardian</i> , has argued that it poses 'as a research

			institute when it's basically a propaganda operation'. ³¹ Robert Spencer hails MEMRI as 'a goldmine of translated material' (Ali et al, 2011: 94).
NGO Monitor	Jerusalem	Gerald Steinberg	Exists in partnership with the Institute for Zionist Strategies, led by Israel Harel, a founder of the Gush Emunim settler movement. ³² Israeli journalist Didi Remez says that NGO Monitor 'is a partisan operation that suppresses its perceived ideological adversaries through the sophisticated use of McCarthyite techniques – blacklisting, guilt by association and selective filtering of facts.' ³³
UN Watch	Geneva	Morris Abram	Under the control of the American Jewish Committee since 2001, its mission is to campaign against United Nations officials critical of Israel. ³⁴ Former chess champion Garry Kasparov, a UN Watch board member, penned an editorial in the <i>Wall Street Journal</i> arguing that Islamists were waging a 'global war on modernity,' setting 'the time machine to the Dark Ages'. ³⁵
Washington Institute of Near East Policy	Washington DC	Martin Indyk and Barbi Weinberg	Sometimes referred to as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) think tank, ³⁶ its board of advisors includes formerly high-ranking US security officials, such as, Richard Perle, former US Assistant Secretary of Defence, and Robert McFarlane, former US National Security Advisor. ³⁷

The transatlantic Islamophobia network's key figures and funders

As noted above, overlapping relations are not uncommon in the transatlantic Islamophobia network. For example, in addition to chairing the Foundation for Defense of Democracies,³⁸ R. James Woolsey, former director of the CIA, is also an advisor to the Henry Jackson Society,³⁹ MEMRI,⁴⁰ NGO Monitor,⁴¹ and WINEP.⁴² In 2010, Woolsey co-authored a book on the perceived threat of *shariah* (Islamic) law in the US, with, amongst others, retired military general William Boykin and Frank Gaffney, head of the Center for Security Policy. Then there is Nina Rosenwald, head of the Gatestone Institute, who is also affiliated with the Center for Security Policy, CAMERA and Middle East Forum.⁴³ Furthermore, her Abstraction Fund finances nine of the 14 organisations highlighted above. Indeed, Max Blumenthal has dubbed Rosenwald 'the sugar mama of anti-Muslim hate' due to the claim that she uses 'her millions to cement the alliance between the pro-Israel lobby and the Islamophobic fringe'.⁴⁴ And finally, Elliott Abrams, a former US national security advisor, has been a member of the Center for Security Policy, a director of

MEMRI,⁴⁵ an author at the Gatestone Institute,⁴⁶ and an outside expert at WINEP.⁴⁷ Figure 1 gives us a better idea of how some of the key figures of the transatlantic network are connected not only to each other, but also to the Israeli government and affiliated institutions like the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya, which has connections to Israeli intelligence and military.⁴⁸ For example, Woolsey is a frequent speaker at the annual conference of the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT),⁴⁹ housed at the IDC. Matthew Levitt, who sits on the advisory board of Foundation for Defense of Democracies,⁵⁰ and is director of WINEP's Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence,⁵¹ is also on the advisory board of the ICT.⁵²

Figure 6.1: Key personalities in the transatlantic Islamophobia network



As noted in *Table 1*, Daniel Pipes heads the Middle East Forum. The Center for American Progress argues that both Pipes and the Middle East Forum are part of a network of ‘misinformation experts’ that ‘peddle hate and fear of Muslims and Islam’ (Ali et al, 2011). He once wrote that, ‘Western European societies are unprepared for the massive immigration of brown-skinned peoples cooking strange foods and maintaining different standards of hygiene... All immigrants bring exotic customs and attitudes, but Muslim customs are more troublesome than most.’⁵³ In a similar anti-Islam vein, Douglas Murray, the associate director of the Henry Jackson Society, has stated that ‘conditions for Muslims in Europe should be made harder across the board’.⁵⁴ On the Israeli side, Dore Gold, head of the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs – which lists NGO Monitor as one of its online publications⁵⁵ – is a former advisor to Israeli Prime Ministers Benjamin Netanyahu and Ariel Sharon.⁵⁶ While he is not vocal about Muslims in Europe, Gold has argued that east Jerusalem must be under Israeli sovereignty because ‘Muslim Palestinians are looking to obliterate other faiths’ from the city.⁵⁷

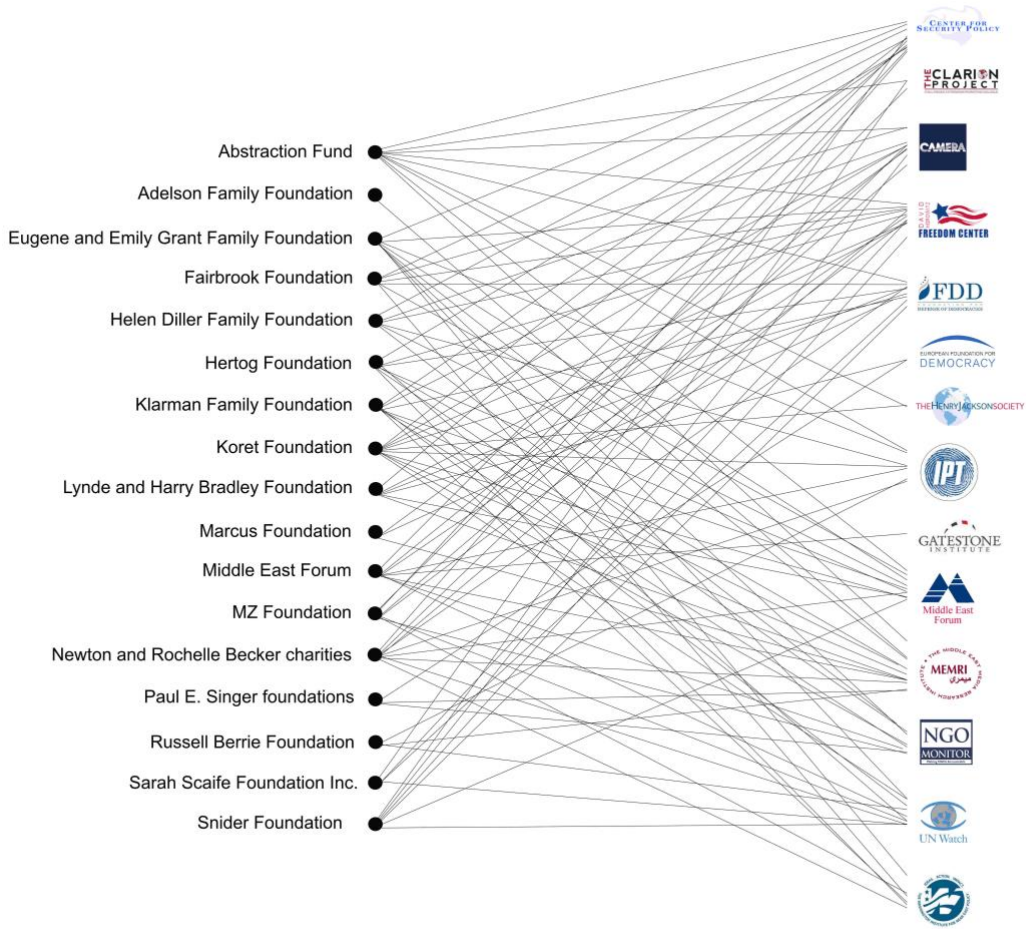
However, human resources are not the only thing that this network has in common; it also shares funders. Although none of these organisations publish their list of donors, it was possible to track down a number of their backers through online searches and piecing together the wider network of related organisations. In total, we discovered that 60 US-based charities donated almost \$41 million to the 14 organisations outlined above that are promoting a right-wing anti-Islam agenda between 2009–2013. A complete listing of all the known funders of these groups and the total amount that they granted during this time can be accessed online at Powerbase, an online wiki project published by Spinwatch. It is noteworthy that the majority of these funders, indeed over 80 per cent, support multiple organisations that collectively make up the Islamophobia industry.

Table 6.2 focusses on the top ten donors, along with the total they granted and their grantees, while Figure 2 illustrates the interconnectedness of this financial network.

Table 6.2: Top ten donors to the transatlantic Islamophobia network between 2009–2013

Charity/foundation	Amount (US\$)	Grantees
Abstraction Fund	3,439,130	CAMERA, Center for Security Policy, Clarion Project, David Horowitz Freedom Center, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Henry Jackson Society, Investigative Project on Terrorism, Middle East Forum and MEMRI
Middle East Forum	4,876,434	NGO Monitor, CAMERA, Center for Security Policy, David Horowitz Freedom Center, Gatestone Institute, Investigative Project on Terrorism and MEMRI
Klarman Family Foundation	2,600,000	NGO Monitor, Center for Security Policy, CAMERA, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Middle East Forum, MEMRI and WINEP
Koret Foundation	1,840,000	NGO Monitor, CAMERA, Center for Security Policy, David Horowitz Freedom Center, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Henry Jackson Society, Investigative Project on Terrorism, Middle East Forum and MEMRI
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	2,832,150	Center for Security Policy, David Horowitz Freedom Center, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Middle East Forum and MEMRI
Marcus Foundation	12,155,000	CAMERA, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, European Foundation for Democracy and MEMRI
Newton and Rochelle Becker charities	5,409,775	UN Watch, CAMERA, Center for Security Policy, Clarion Fund, David Horowitz Freedom Center, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Investigative Project on Terrorism, MEMRI, Middle East Forum and WINEP
Paul E. Singer foundations	1,475,000	NGO Monitor, European Foundation for Democracy and MEMRI
Russell Berrie Foundation	1,620,000	Investigative Project on Terrorism and MEMRI
Sarah Scaife Foundation Inc.	2,600,000	Center for Security Policy, David Horowitz Freedom Center and Foundation for Defense of Democracies

Figure 6.2 - Donors who provided more than \$700,000 to the transatlantic Islamophobia network between 2009–2013



The largest donors include familiar names like Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum (giving \$4,876,434) and Nina Rosenwald's the Abstraction Fund (giving \$3,439,130). Of the other top donors, several are notable for being key funders of Republican causes. For example, the largest funder of Islamophobia is billionaire pharmacist, retail entrepreneur and philanthropist Bernard Marcus. Marcus donated almost \$13.5 million to Republicans in 2016,⁵⁸ while his Atlanta-based foundation provided more than \$12.1 million to the transatlantic network between 2009–2013. Marcus sits on the board of directors of the Republican Jewish Coalition, the most significant Republican pro-Israel lobbying group in the United States,⁵⁹ alongside Paul E. Singer, whose affiliated foundations are another major donor to Republicans and the transatlantic network

(giving the latter almost \$1.5 million). Another billionaire businessman and philanthropist, Singer is currently the second largest conservative donor in the US, giving \$23.5 million to Republican causes in 2016.⁶⁰ And finally, businessman turned philanthropist Seth Klarman gave almost \$3 million to Republican causes in 2016,⁶¹ while his Klarman Family Foundation gave \$2.6 million to the transatlantic network. As Klarman, Marcus and Singer are also key funders of the settlements, they will be discussed in more detail below, alongside other major donors.

Connections to the settlements

Although the international community is almost uniform in its condemnation of Israeli settlements, Israel's expansion of illegal blocs is financed obliquely through community organisations that receive funding from abroad – mostly from the US (often 'American Friends of' organisations). In recent years, scholars and the media have increasingly been paying attention to the funding of Israeli settlements via American charitable donations. Several (2011) has provided background on the opacity of some of the key organisations funding the occupation,⁶² and in their extensive report on private American financial contributions to Israel, Fleisch and Sasson (2012) included over 40 registered charities in the US that fund the settlements. More recently, Israel's *Haaretz* newspaper published an in-depth report on this subject in 2015.⁶³ While conducting my own research on this issue, I was surprised by the significant overlap between the funders of Islamophobia and Israel's occupation of Palestine. In 2012, the Israeli government passed a new law to grant tax breaks for donations to organisations that promote pro-Zionist causes and the settlements (Hever, 2013: 20); but in the US, these donations are also tax-deductible when steered through a registered charity. A complete table of the same charitable organisations as in the previous table, but this time detailing which groups they have funded between 2009–2013 that support the continuing occupation of Palestine, as well as the total amount granted, can also be accessed online at Powerbase.

What was surprising to me, is that out of the 60 known charities/foundations that fund the transatlantic Islamophobia network, the data shows that 45 also finance organisations that Public Interest Investigations has identified as supporting Israel’s occupation and/or settlements, giving almost \$169 million in only five years (2009–2013). The 2015 *Haaretz* report found that American donors gave over \$220 million to Israeli settlements during the same time.⁶⁴ While our research is still a work in progress, our own figures for the total funding are likely higher, as we have included groups that further both the occupation and the settlements, as well as several organisations that are supporting them to some degree. That said, the majority of ‘pro-settler organisations’ that we have identified overtly and/or uniformly fund Israel’s occupation and/or settlement enterprise. However, it is also important to point out that there are many pro-settler organisations that do not share any funding ties to the charities/foundations affiliated to Islamophobia. Here, we have identified 38 pro-settler organisations that share funders with the transatlantic Islamophobia network (the 14 organisations outlined above), 30 of which overtly and/or uniformly fund Israel’s occupation and/or settlements. The charities/foundations that contributed more than one million dollars each to them between 2009–2013 are included in *Table 3*.

Table 6.3: Donors of Israel’s occupation/settlements giving at least \$1 million between 2009–2013

Charity/Foundation	Amount (US\$)	Grantees
Abramson Family Foundation	1,984,265	Birthright Israel
Adelson Family Foundation	83,078,844	Birthright Israel, Christians United for Israel, Jewish National Fund and Zionist Organization of America
Goldhirsh family foundations	1,300,000	Birthright Israel, Friends of Ir David, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem and Jewish National Fund
Hertog Foundation	4,605,683	American Friends of Beir Orot, American Friends of the College of Judea & Samaria, American Friends of Hebrew University, Birthright Israel, Central Fund of Israel, Friends of Ir David, Friends of the IDF and Israel Independence Fund
Hochberg Family Foundation	1,217,259	Birthright Israel, Friends of the IDF, Jewish National Fund, One Israel Fund, Proclaiming Justice to the Nations, StandWithUs and Zionist Organization of America
Jacobson Family Foundation Trust	8,495,000	Central Fund of Israel, Friends of the IDF, Friends of Ir David and Jerusalem Foundation
Klarman Family Foundation	7,510,000	Central Fund of Israel, Friends of Ir David, Friends of the IDF, Jewish National Fund and StandWithUs

Koret Foundation	15,400,000	American Friends of the Hebrew University, Birthright Israel, Friends of the IDF, Jewish National Fund, StandWithUs and Zionist Organization of America
Marcus Foundation	11,321,800	Birthright Israel, Christians United for Israel, Friends of the IDF and Jewish National Fund
Milken family foundations	2,203,000	Aish HaTorah, American Friends of Ariel, Ariel University Center of Samaria, Central Fund of Israel, Friends of the IDF, Jewish National Fund, StandWithUs and Zionist Organization of America
Moskowitz family foundations	20,917,300	American Friends of Ateret Cohanim, American Friends of Beit Orot, American Friends of Bet El Yeshiva, American Friends of Old City Charities, American Friends of Shiloh, American Friends of the College of Judea & Samaria, American Friends of the Everest Foundation, American Friends of Yeshiva High School in Kiryat Arba, American Friends of Bimad Alon Moreh, Americans for a Safe Israel, Central Fund of Israel, Friends of Ir David, Friends of Itamar, Friends of the IDF, Friends of Yeshivat Nir, Kiryat Arba, Gush Etzion Foundation, Haztalah Yehuda and Shamron, Hebron Fund, Israel Allies Foundation, Israel Independence Fund, One Israel Fund, Proclaiming Justice to the Nations, Shavei Hevron Institutions, Shilo Israel Children's Fund, Shuva Israel, StandWithUs and Zionist Organization of America
Newton and Rochelle Becker charities	1,351,000	Christians United for Israel, Friends of the IDF, Israel Allies Foundation, StandWithUs and Zionist Organization of America
Paul E. Singer foundations	2,062,000	Aish HaTorah, Birthright Israel, Friends of the IDF and Israel Independence Fund
Shillman Foundation	1,428,150	Christians United for Israel, Friends of the IDF, Jewish National Fund and Zionist Organization of America

As noted above, not every organisation above is overtly and/or uniformly funding the occupation and/or settlements. For example, one of the causes that Public Interest Investigation has identified as supporting the occupation in some way is the New York-based Friends of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), the US fundraising arm of the Israeli military – including its occupation forces. Friends of the IDF is the largest known international donor to the Israeli military, giving over \$72 million in 2013 alone. Another organisation, Birthright Israel, is a pro-Zionist organisation based in west Jerusalem that arranges and finances trips to Israel for Jewish young adults from around the world, aiming to strengthen their relations with the State of Israel. However, this includes trips to settlements in the occupied territories without acknowledging them as such.⁶⁵ In 2013, the Birthright Israel Foundation in New York reported an income of over \$74 million. Other organisations that have a wider mission, but also still support the occupation and/or settlements, include: Aish HaTorah, American Friends of Hebrew

University, Christians United for Israel, Jerusalem Foundation, Jewish National Fund, StandWithUs and Zionist Organisation of America.

Otherwise, the remaining 30 organisations either run projects overtly supporting the colonisation of Palestine, or focus on individual settlements or the ethnic cleansing of Jerusalem. One that falls into the first group is the New York-based Central Fund of Israel, which supports a Jewish state in all of historical Palestine.⁶⁶ It channels donations to Palestinian Media Watch,⁶⁷ and extremist Israeli groups like Im Tirtzu,⁶⁸ a far right extra-parliamentary youth movement that has campaigned against universities, non-governmental organisations and peace groups.⁶⁹ Then there is the One Israel Fund, also based in New York, which was initially established in 1994 as the American Friends of Yesha – the Yesha Council is the umbrella organisation of municipal councils of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Other organisations give to one particular settlement in the occupied territories, for example, American Friends of Ariel, American Friends of Beir Orot, American Friends of Bet El, American Friends of Kedumim, Gush Etzion Foundation and the Hebron Fund, among others. And finally, others focus exclusively on ethnically cleansing east Jerusalem, like Ir David and Friends of Ateret Cohanim. Ir David, also known as Elad, uses archaeology to stake exclusively Jewish claims over the land. The Israeli government granted it management of the national park in the east Jerusalem neighbourhood of Silwan, which Hever (2013: 23) says: ‘is used by Ir David to try and prove that the biblical King David was an historical figure, and that his kingdom in ancient Jerusalem justifies the Israeli occupation of the region and efforts to Judaise it (and to expel the indigenous Palestinian population through various means).’ Ateret Cohanim, on the other hand, is known for appropriating Palestinian homes in east Jerusalem. It also runs a yeshiva (a centre for the study

of religious scripture) in the Old City, where its students have sported sweatshirts calling for the destruction of Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest site in Islam.⁷⁰

Main funders of Islamophobia and the occupation/settlements

Both the organisations funding the occupation and/or settlements and the transatlantic Islamophobia network are considerable in numbers and scope; however, there are several large donors who repeatedly appear, making the core of the network much tighter than its outlying elements. Indeed, among the largest funders of both Islamophobia and the settlements are the following charities/foundations: Adelson Family Foundation, Marcus Foundation, Moskowitz family foundations, Koret Foundation, Newton and Rochelle Becker charities, Klarman Family Foundation, Paul E. Singer foundations and Hertog Foundation. This section provides more information on the wealthy financiers behind them.

Sheldon Adelson, a conservative casino billionaire, is by far the largest donor to the occupation and/or settlements, the Adelson Family Foundation giving over \$83 million between 2009–2013. He and his wife Miriam also granted \$25 million to Ariel University in the occupied West Bank.⁷¹ Adelson has claimed that the Palestinians are ‘an invented people’ whose ‘purpose ... is to destroy Israel’.⁷² He sits on the board of the Republican Jewish Coalition and owns the right-wing Israeli daily *Israel Hayom*, which is so closely associated with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that it is typically referred to as *Bibiton* (*‘Bibi’* is Netanyahu’s nickname; *iton* is Hebrew for ‘newspaper’).⁷³ His foundation funded the transatlantic network through MEMRI (giving \$750,000); however, in previous years, Adelson reportedly donated more than \$1.5 million to the Foundation for Defense of Democracies,⁷⁴ as well as over \$300,000 to CAMERA.⁷⁵ He is currently the top US donor to Republican causes, giving almost \$78 million in 2016.⁷⁶

Indeed, during the lead up to the 2016 presidential campaign, potential Republican candidates all competed in what is known as the 'Adelson primary' to secure access to his vast fortune.⁷⁷ When it became obvious that outsider Donald Trump was ahead, Adelson was one of the few Republican donors to back him, later taking 'an honorary position as a member of Trump's inauguration committee'.⁷⁸ According to *Forbes*, he is currently worth \$31 billion.⁷⁹

The second largest donor is the above-mentioned Marcus Foundation, giving almost \$23.5 million to Islamophobia and the occupation and/or settlements combined. A co-founder of the American retailer Home Depot, its founder Bernard Marcus serves as director of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, which he also generously funds (he gave it almost \$11 million between 2009–2013). Alongside Israeli Ayre Carmon, in 1991 Marcus co-founded the Israel Democracy Institute, described by one writer at the *Jerusalem Post* as being extremely well financed, secular, on the Israeli left and having 'close links to unelected [Israeli] elites, chiefly in the legal establishment, the media and academia, who determine so much of public policy'.⁸⁰ Marcus was a vocal critic of the Obama administration, calling it 'amateurs in the White House' and 'amateurs surrounded by amateurs'.⁸¹

The third largest donor is California-based casino magnate Irving Moskowitz, giving almost \$21 million to the occupation and/or settlements and over \$500,000 to Islamophobia (all to MEMRI). Moskowitz has been buying property in occupied east Jerusalem for decades;⁸² more recently, he acquired Palestinian farmland in the occupied West Bank for a new settlement, a move that was embraced by Israel but condemned by American officials.⁸³ A long-time Republican donor, in 2012 he gave his largest donation yet: \$1 million to a super PAC linked to the neoconservative Karl Rove.⁸⁴ Moskowitz has also reportedly funded groups that question the legitimacy of

President Barack Obama's US citizenship, 'and others that stoke fears about the [former] president's alleged ties to "radical Islam"'.⁸⁵

The Koret Foundation comes in fourth place, giving more than \$17 million in total to both causes. Based in San Francisco, the foundation was established in 1978 by Russian-born Joseph Koret and his wife Stephanie, alongside Tad Taube, friend and chief executive officer of their women's sportswear company, Koret of California, Inc., which they sold to Levi Strauss Company in 1979. Joseph's second wife, Susan, became chair for life of the foundation after his death in 1982, and Taube currently serves as its president.⁸⁶ A personal friend describes Taube as 'a strong Republican, very right-wing'.⁸⁷ In January 2016, he was embroiled in a scandal when it was reported that several women at Stanford University's Hoover Institution 'complained about Taube's "lewd" behaviour as part of an investigation into the treatment of women at the conservative think tank.'⁸⁸ Taube is also locked in another legal battle with Joseph Koret's second wife Susan, who decided to sue him 'and other Koret board members in 2014, accusing them of steering the foundation's money to conservative causes and Taube's pet projects rather than helping the needy'.⁸⁹

In fifth place is the the Klarman Family Foundation, which gave a total of over \$10 million to Islamophobia and the settlements. As noted earlier, the foundation is run by billionaire Seth Klarman, whose worth *Forbes* estimates to be about \$1.38 billion.⁹⁰ *Forward* newspaper describes Klarman as a 'wealthy American Jewish investor... following in the footsteps of Sheldon Adelson and Ron Lauder [president of the World Jewish Congress and another close ally of Netanyahu] in acting on his belief that coverage of Israel within Israel itself is unbalanced and unjustifiably hostile – and that he can do something about it.'⁹¹ And indeed he did; he financed the right-wing Israel newspaper *The Times of Israel*. Klarman has publicly stated that he opposes

the settlements, saying in 2012, 'We think it was a bad policy from the beginning and continues to be a bad policy.'⁹² Nevertheless, his foundation continued to funnel money to pro-settler organisations after this statement.

Other major donors include the late Newton Becker and his wife Rochelle. The Becker's have two foundations that support pro-settler and anti-Islam causes: the Newton and Rochelle Becker Foundation and Newton and Rochelle Becker Charitable Trust. Together, they donated over \$6.8 million. The 2011 report by the Center for American Progress names both charities as among the seven top contributors of Islamophobia in the US, contributing \$1,136,000 to Islamophobic organisations between 2001–2009 (Ali et al, 2011: 19). According to the pro-settler group StandWithUs, Newton Becker 'shifted the paradigm of pro-Israel activism. Without him, the pro-Israel community would not be as strong and effective as it is today.'⁹³ Another big donor is conservative businessman turned philanthropist Roger Hertog. His Hertog Foundation granted almost \$5.5 million in total to both causes. Hertog is currently chairperson of the New York-based Tikvah Fund, which was first established by the late American billionaire Zalman Bernstein and finances right-wing settlement projects in the occupied territories. Its board members include: Elliot Abrams, national security advisor during the George W. Bush administration; William Kristol, founder and editor of the right-wing political magazine *The Weekly Standard*; and Sallai Meridor, former Israeli Ambassador to the United States.⁹⁴ And finally, the last major donor I want to highlight is Paul E. Singer, whose foundation spent more than \$3.5 million. Singer's estimated worth is \$2.2 billion, having earned his fortune as the CEO of Elliott Management Corporation, a hedge fund he founded in 1977.⁹⁵ During Israel's 2014 attack on the Gaza Strip, Singer characterised Palestine solidarity demonstrations in Paris as 'pogroms' and accused European governments of signalling that 'it is ok to be anti-Semitic'.⁹⁶

Concluding comments

This chapter focuses only on selected key American funders of the transatlantic Islamophobia network. It is important to stress, once again, that not every donor is rich or Republican; nor do all of them finance Israel's occupation and/or settlements. However, the fact that 75 per cent of them do fund the latter, and that a small number of wealthy conservatives are funnelling tens of millions of dollars every year to both Islamophobia and the occupation and/or settlements, indicates that while the geographical reach of the transatlantic network is vast, it does not necessarily represent people on the ground. Indeed, a recent poll shows that more Americans support UN resolution 2334 condemning the settlements than oppose it (35 per cent approve, 28 per cent reject and 36 per cent hold no opinion or do not know).⁹⁷ A 2016 Pew Research Center survey found that only 17 per cent of American Jews think that continued settlement building helps the security of Israel, while 44 per cent say it hurts Israel.⁹⁸ And a 2015 survey found that 37 per cent of Americans support either economic sanctions against Israel over the settlements or more serious action, while 31 per cent prefer verbal sanction and only 27 per cent recommend doing nothing.⁹⁹

The irony, as writer Jason Zengerle points out, is that most American Jews vote Democrat, and yet the Republican party has become transformed into a pro-Israel stalwart by a small group of donors and activists, especially since the election of President Barack Obama.¹⁰⁰ Zengerle reports one prominent Jewish member of the GOP rhetorically asking: 'Long term, do more Jews become Republicans? Who gives a shit? What matters is that the Republican Party as a whole has become unapologetically and unflinchingly pro-Israel.'¹⁰¹ And being pro-Israel now appears to be more important than steering clear of anti-Semitism: the Republican Jewish Coalition, Zionist Organization of America and *Israel Hayom* – all affiliated with Sheldon Adelson – recently spoke out in defence of Steve Bannon,

President Donald Trump’s White House chief of strategy, who has been subject to widespread ‘allegations that he peddled in anti-Semitism when he was chief of *Breitbart News*’.¹⁰² As President Trump is sworn in at the time of writing, it is worth quoting Zengerle’s 2015 article at length:

Under the next Republican president, one neoconservative foreign-policy thinker predicts, the American Embassy in Israel will be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. American military aid to Israel, already substantial, will become even more substantial. “They’ll get whatever they want. They’ll get shit they don’t want. We’ll arm them to the teeth.” And it won’t just be Israel. On other national-security issues, ranging from domestic surveillance to Iranian nukes, the priorities of Adelson and his fellow Jewish Republicans are now the priorities of the GOP. “Now, when the GOP ultimately does succeed and takes back the White House,” this neocon says, “the hawks will have their way.”¹⁰³

This myopia is dangerous for the world. Although Republican politicians are increasingly out of step with the American public – not to mention the international community – on Israel, the peddling of Islamophobia has helped them to win a majority in the house and senate, and now even the presidency. It is hard to imagine a European public acting as complacent, but as long as these organisations do not have to reveal their funders, it is difficult to know for sure who is influencing politics anywhere, especially in relation to Israel.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the research and advice of the following people all of whom have been involved in projects on this and related issues with Public Interest Investigations: Hilary

Aked, Tom Anderson, David Cronin, Alex Doherty, Tom Griffin, Melissa Jones, Azeezah Kanji, Freddie Mackereth, Narzanin Massoumi, David Miller, Tom Mills, Tom Pye, Luke Starr, Jamie Stern-Weiner and Karen from Corporate Watch.

References

Ali, W. Clifton, E., Duss, M., Fang, L., Keyes, S. and Shakir, F. (2011) *Fear Inc.: The Roots of the Islamophobia Network in America* Washington DC: Center for American Progress.

Arnove, R. and Pinede, N. (2013) 'Revisiting the "Big Three" Foundations', *Critical Sociology*, Volume 33, 2007. 389-425.

Berndtson, E. (2007) 'Review essay: Power of foundations and the American ideology,' *Critical Sociology*, 33:575–587.

CAIR (2013) *Legislating Fear: Islamophobia and its Impact in the United States* Washington DC: CAIR.

Cline, E. H. (2008) 'Review: *The Fight for Jerusalem: Radical Islam, the West, and the Future of the Holy City* by Dore Gold, *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall.

Cronin, D., Marusek, S. and Miller, D. (2016) *The Israel Lobby and the European Union* (Glasgow: Public Interest Investigations).

Fleisch, E. and Sasson, T. (2012) *The New Philanthropy: American Jewish Giving to Israeli Organizations* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University).

Griffin, T., Aked, H., Miller, D. and Marusek, S. (2015) *The Henry Jackson Society and the Degeneration of British Neoconservatism* (Glasgow: Public Interest Investigations).

Hafez, F. (2014) 'Shifting borders: Islamophobia as common ground for building pan-European right-wing unity', *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 48, No. 5:479-499.

- Hever, S. (May 2013) 'The Economy of the Occupation', *Alternative Information Center*, Socioeconomic Bulletin No. 29-30.
- Lean, N. (2012) *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Far Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims* London: Pluto Press.
- Marusek, S. and Miller, D. (2015) *How Israel attempts to mislead the United Nations: Deconstructing Israel's campaign against the Palestinian Return Centre*. Glasgow: Public Interest Investigations.
- Mearsheimer J., and Walt, S. (2006) 'The Israel lobby and US foreign policy', *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, Fall: 29-87.
- Mills, T., Griffin, T., and Miller, D. (2011) *The Cold War on British Muslims: An examination of Policy Exchange and the Centre for Social Cohesion* Glasgow: Public Interest Investigations.
- Mills, T., Miller, D., Griffin, T. and Aked, H. (2013) *The Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre. Giving peace a chance?* Glasgow: Public Interest Investigations.
- Ostrower, F. (1995) *Why the wealthy give: The culture of elite philanthropy* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Parmar, I. (2012) 'Foundational networks and American hegemony,' *European Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1:1-25.
- Roelofs, J. (2007) 'Foundations and Collaboration,' *Critical Sociology*, 33:479–504.
- Several, M. (2011) 'The strange case of American tax-exempt money for settlements,' *The Palestine-Israel Journal*, Volume 17, Number 12.

¹ Jeremy Diamond, 'Donald Trump: Ban all Muslim travel to US', *CNN*, 8 December 2015. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/>. Accessed 19 September 2016.

² See Adam Nossiternov, 'Marine Le Pen's anti-Islam message gains influence in France,' *The New York Times*, 17 November 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/18/world/europe/marine-le-pens-anti-islam-message-gains-influence-in-france.html?_r=0. And Angelique Chrisafis, "'The nation state is back": Front National's Marine Le Pen

rides on global mood,' *The Guardian*, 18 September 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/18/nation-state-marine-le-pen-global-mood-france-brexit-trump-front-national>. Both accessed 19 September 2016.

³ Gareth Davies and Peter Allen 'Police question Bastille Day killer's 73-year-old male lover as it is revealed murderer was a "sex maniac" who searched for ISIS beheading videos online,' *MailOnline*, 19 July 2016.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3697136/Mohamed-Lahouaiej-Bouhlel-s-73-year-old-male-lover-questioned-wake-Nice-Bastille-Day-attack.html#ixzz4KhSPE1ZN>. Accessed 19 September 2016.

⁴ The anti-immigrant party Alternative for Germany won 11.7 per cent of the vote in Berlin state elections. See 'Germany: Merkel's party suffers loss in Berlin election,' *Aljazeera*, 19 September 2016.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/09/germany-merkel-party-suffers-loss-berlin-election-160918185412444.html>. Accessed on 19 September 2016.

⁵ Of course, this is not to argue that anti-Semitism has been overcome, but merely pushed to the side. Anti-Semitic politics and acts of hatred against Jews sadly continue.

⁶ See the testimony of Fiyaz Mughal, founder of Tell MAMA, at 'Home Affairs Committee Oral evidence: Hate Crime and its violent consequences, HC 609,' UK Parliament, 13 December 2016.

<http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/home-affairs-committee/hate-crime-and-its-violent-consequences/oral/44438.pdf>. Accessed 5 February 2017.

⁷ Shibley Telhami, 'American attitudes toward Muslims and Islam,' Brookings, 11 July 2016.

<https://www.brookings.edu/research/american-attitudes-toward-muslims-and-islam/>. Accessed 22 January 2017.

⁸ Amir Tibon, 'Republicans move to defund UN over censure of Israeli settlements,' *Haaretz*, 12 January 2017.

<http://www.haaretz.com/us-news/1.764706>. Accessed 13 January 2017.

⁹ Zaid Jilani, 'Senators threaten to cut worldwide embassy security If US doesn't move its Israeli embassy to Jerusalem,' *The Intercept*, 5 January 2017.

<https://theintercept.com/2017/01/04/senators-threaten-to-cut-worldwide-embassy-security-if-u-s-doesnt-move-its-israeli-embassy-to-jerusalem/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.

¹⁰ Charity Commission documents were accessed at

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/showcharity/registerofcharities/RegisterHomePage.aspx>; IRS documents were accessed at <http://foundationcenter.org/find-funding/990-finder>.

¹¹ 'A journalist's manual: A field guide to anti-Muslim extremists,' Southern Poverty Law Center, 25 October 2016.

<https://www.splcenter.org/20161025/journalists-manual-field-guide-anti-muslim-extremists>. Accessed 21 January 2017.

¹² 'Center for Security policy,' Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/center-security-policy>. Accessed 14 January 2016.

¹³ 'David Horowitz,' Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/david-horowitz>. Accessed 21 January 2017.

¹⁴ 'US bloggers banned from entering UK,' *BBC News*, 26 June 2013. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-23064355>. Accessed 2 July 2015.

¹⁵ 'Stop Islamization of America,' Anti-Defamation League, 19 September 2012. <http://www.adl.org/civil-rights/discrimination/c/stop-islamization-of-america.html>. Accessed 31 October 2015.

¹⁶ 'Active Anti-Muslim Groups,' Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d.

<http://www.splcenter.org/node/3502/activegroups>. Accessed 2 July 2015.

¹⁷ Meg Laughlin, 'Senders of Islam movie "Obsession" tied to Jewish charity,' *Tampa Bay Times*, 26 September 2008.

<http://www.tampabay.com/news/politics/national/senders-of-islam-movie-obsession-tied-to-jewish-charity/827910>. Accessed 25 March 2015.

¹⁸ Robert Shore, TV.com, n.d. <http://www.tv.com/people/david-shore/biography/>. Accessed 7 December 2015.

¹⁹ 'About CAMERA,' Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting, n.d.

http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=24. Accessed 14 January 2017.

²⁰ 'Names in the news,' Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, n.d.

http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=8. Accessed 8 July 2015.

²¹ Anti-Defamation League, 19 September 2012.

²² 'About,' Jihad Watch, n.d. <https://www.jihadwatch.org/about-robert>. Accessed 21 January 2017.

²³ Documents registering European Foundation for Democracy, Belgium Justice Ministry, 24 May 2006.

http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/tsv_pdf/2006/06/06/06092519.pdf. Accessed 7 November 2015.

²⁴ 'EU rep tours with Ateret Cohanim in the heart of Jerusalem,' American Friends of Ateret Cohanim, n.d.

<http://www.jerusalemchai.org/contents/read.cfm?categoryID=115&CID=1202>. Accessed 7 November 2015.

²⁵ Alexander Ritzmann, 'Germany bans Hezbollah's al-Manar TV,' European Foundation for Democracy, 24 November 2008. <http://europeandemocracy.eu/2008/11/germany-bans-hezbollahs-al-manar-tv/>. Accessed 7 November 2015.

-
- ²⁶ Eli Clifton, 'Home Depot founder's quiet \$10 million right-wing investment,' *Salon*, 5 August 2013. http://www.salon.com/2013/08/05/home_depot_founder%E2%80%99s_quiet_10_million_right_wing_investment/. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ²⁷ 'Experts', Gatestone Institute, n.d. <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/experts/>. Accessed 1 July 2015.
- ²⁸ Paul Goodman, 'Letters', *The Spectator*, 15 October 2011.
- ²⁹ Douglas Murray, 'The siege in a kosher shop in Paris proves why Israel needs to exist', *The Spectator*, 9 January 2015. <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/douglas-murray/2015/01/the-siege-in-a-kosher-shop-in-paris-proves-why-israel-needs-to-exist/>. Accessed 13 January 2015.
- ³⁰ 'Apology for "Muslim Birmingham" Fox News claim', *BBC News*, 12 January 2015. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-30773297>. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ³¹ 'Email debate: Yigal Carmon and Brian Whitaker', *The Guardian*, 23 January 2003. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jan/28/israel2>. Accessed 3 November 2015.
- ³² Didi Remez, 'Bring on the transparency', *Haaretz*, 26 November 2009. <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/bring-on-the-transparency-1.3326>. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ³³ Didi Remez, 'Bring on the transparency'.
- ³⁴ 'UN Watch, AJC seal partnership', American Jewish Committee, 4 January 2001.
- ³⁵ Garry Kasparov, 'The Global War on Modernity', *Wall Street Journal*, 20 January 2015. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/garry-kasparov-the-global-war-on-modernity-1421800948>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ³⁶ MJ Rosenberg, 'Who funds Muslim-baiting in the US?', *Aljazeera*, 27 August 2011. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/08/201182713537929189.html>. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ³⁷ 'Board of Advisors', Washington Institute for Near East Policy, n.d. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/about/board-of-advisors/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ³⁸ 'Our team: R. James Woolsey', Foundation for Defense of Democracies, n.d. <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/team-overview/r-james-woolsey/>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ³⁹ 'International Patrons', Henry Jackson Society, n.d. <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/about-the-society/international-patrons-2/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁴⁰ Powerbase (2016) 'Middle East Research Institute,' 29 February. http://powerbase.info/index.php/Middle_East_Media_Research_Institute. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁴¹ 'James Woolsey', NGO Monitor, n.d. <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/about/boards/r-james-woolsey/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁴² 'Board of advisors,' Washington Institute for Near East Policy, n.d. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/about/board-of-advisors>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁴³ 'Nina Rosenwald,' Gatestone Institute, n.d. <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/biography/Nina+Rosenwald>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁴⁴ Max Blumenthal, 'The Sugar Mama of Anti-Muslim Hate', *The Nation*, 13 June 2012. <http://www.thenation.com/article/168374/sugar-mama-anti-muslim-hate#>. Accessed 29 March 2015.
- ⁴⁵ Powerbase (2015) 'Elliott Abrams,' 5 March. http://powerbase.info/index.php/Elliott_Abrams. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁴⁶ 'Authors', Gatestone Institute, n.d. <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/authors/>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ⁴⁷ 'Outside authors: Elliott Abrams', Washington Institute for Near East Policy, n.d. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/experts/view/elliott-abrams>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ⁴⁸ Powerbase (2015) 'Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya,' 11 March. http://powerbase.info/index.php/Interdisciplinary_Center_Herzliya. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁴⁹ Woolsey spoke at the 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 annual IDC conferences.
- ⁵⁰ 'Matthew Levitt,' Foundation for Defense of Democracies, n.d. <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/team-overview/matt-levitt/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁵¹ 'Fellows: Matthew Levitt,' Washington Institute for Near East Policy, n.d. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/experts/view/levitt-matthew>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ⁵² 'Professional Advisory Board', IDC Herzliya, n.d. <http://www.ict.org.il/Content.aspx?ID=30>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ⁵³ Brian Whitaker, 'US pulls the plug on Muslim websites,' *The Guardian*, 10 September 2001. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2001/sep/10/internetnews.worlddispatch>. Accessed 4 October 2016.
- ⁵⁴ Douglas Murray, 'What are we to do about Islam? A speech to the Pim Fortuyn Memorial Conference on Europe and Islam', The Social Affairs Unit, 3 March 2006. Archived at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20080201133647/http://www.socialaffairsunit.org.uk/blog/archives/000809.php>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ⁵⁵ 'About the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs', Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, n.d. <http://www.jcpa.org/about-jun04.htm>. Accessed 3 July 2015.

-
- ⁵⁶ 'Dore Gold articles', Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, n.d. <http://jcpa.org/publication/dore-gold-articles/>. Accessed 3 July 2015.
- ⁵⁷ Cline, *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2008. <http://www.meforum.org/2023/the-fight-for-jerusalem>. Accessed 17 January 2017.
- ⁵⁸ According to Open Secrets, accessed on 18 January 2017. <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/summ.php?disp=D>
- ⁵⁹ 'RJC Leadership', Republican Jewish Congress, n.d. <http://www.rjchq.org/leadership>
- ⁶⁰ According to Open Secrets, accessed on 18 January 2017. <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/summ.php?disp=D>
- ⁶¹ Ibid. During the 2016 election, however, Klarman denounced the Republican candidate Donald Trump. 'Billionaire Klarman slams Trump, vows to work for Clinton,' *Reuters*, 8 August 2016. See <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-klarman-idUSKCN10E2TR>. Accessed 17 January 2017.
- ⁶² Several, *The Palestine-Israel Journal*, 2011. <http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=1280>. Accessed 6 February 2017.
- ⁶³ Uri Blau, 'U.S. donors gave settlements more than \$220 million in tax-exempt funds over five years,' *Haaretz*, 7 December 2015. <http://www.haaretz.com/settlementdollars/1.689683>. Accessed 17 January 2017.
- ⁶⁴ Uri Blau, 'U.S. donors gave settlements more than \$220 million in tax-exempt funds over five years.'
- ⁶⁵ Julia Wedgle and Chase Carter, 'On "Birthright," a checkpoint is called a tollbooth, and Jews have E-ZPass,' *Mondoweiss*, 8 March 2015. <http://mondoweiss.net/2015/03/birthright-checkpoint-tollbooth/#sthash.a55xNjwB.dpuf>. Accessed on 19 January 2017.
- ⁶⁶ *The New York Times* reported in 2010 that the Central Fund of Israel has 'raised tens of thousands of dollars to help erect temporary structures' in an Israeli settlement in the occupied West Bank to keep 'the community going until officials lifted the building ban' on further construction. Jim Rutenberg, Mike Mcintire and Ethan Bronner, 'Tax-exempt funds aid settlements in West Bank', *The New York Times*, 5 July 2010. www.nytimes.com/2010/07/06/world/middleeast/06settle.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ⁶⁷ 'Support us', Palestinian Media Watch, n.d. <http://palwatch.org/pages/donate1.aspx>. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ⁶⁸ Barak Ravid, 'Foreign Ministry working with rightists against Palestinian incitement', *Haaretz*, 7 May 2010. <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/foreign-ministry-working-with-rightists-against-palestinian-incitement-1.288828>. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ⁶⁹ Michael Felsen, 'Im Tirtzu's Zionism without democracy', *Haaretz*, 7 January 2013. <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/im-tirtzu-s-zionism-without-democracy.premium-1.492403>. Accessed 2 July 2015.
- ⁷⁰ Richard Silverstein, 'Ateret Cohanim Yeshiva students sport sweatshirts calling for destruction of Dome of Rock', *Tikun Olam*, 17 January 2012. <http://www.richardsilverstein.com/2012/01/17/ateret-cohanim-yeshiva-students-wear-sell-sweatshirts-calling-for-destruction-of-dome-of-rock/>. Accessed 29 March 2015.
- ⁷¹ JNS, 'Sheldon and Miriam Adelson to donate \$25 million to Ariel University,' *The Algemeiner*, 24 June 2014. <http://www.algemeiner.com/2014/06/23/sheldon-adelson-to-donate-25-million-to-ariel-university/>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁷² Jason Zengerle, 'Sheldon Adelson is ready to buy the presidency,' *NY Magazine*, 9 September 2015. <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2015/09/sheldon-adelson-is-ready-to-buy-the-presidency.html>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁷³ Jason Zengerle, 'Sheldon Adelson is ready to buy the presidency.'
- ⁷⁴ Eli Clifton, 'Home Depot founder's quiet \$10 million right-wing investment,' *Salon*, 5 August 2013. http://www.salon.com/2013/08/05/home_depot_founder%E2%80%99s_quiet_10_million_right_wing_investment/. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁷⁵ Uri Blau, 'Times of Israel cofounder gave \$1.5 million to right-wing media watchdog That Routinely Goes After News Outlets,' *Haaretz*, 5 September 2016. <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.740340>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁷⁶ According to Open Secrets, accessed on 20 January 2017. <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/summ.php?disp=D>
- ⁷⁷ Jason Zengerle, 'Sheldon Adelson is ready to buy the presidency.'
- ⁷⁸ Nathan Guttman, 'How Sheldon Adelson's bet on Trump made him 2016 election's biggest winner,' *Forward*, 9 January 2017. <http://forward.com/news/national/356644/how-sheldon-adelsons-bet-on-trump-made-him-2016-elections-biggest-winner/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁷⁹ 'Sheldon Adelson,' *Forbes*, n.d. <http://www.forbes.com/profile/sheldon-adelson/>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁸⁰ Yitzhak Klein, 'The strange case of the Israel Democracy Institute,' *The Jerusalem Post*, 26 April 2009. <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-Ed-Contributors/The-strange-case-of-the-Israel-Democracy-Institute>. Accessed 19 January 2017.

-
- ⁸¹ Eli Clifton, 'Home Depot founder's quiet \$10 million right-wing investment', *Salon*, 5 August 2013. http://www.salon.com/2013/08/05/home_depot_founder%E2%80%99s_quiet_10_million_right_wing_investment/. Accessed 31 October 2015.
- ⁸² Richard Silverstein, 'Irving Moskowitz's bingo madness,' *The Guardian*, 6 August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2009/aug/06/irving-moskowitz-israel-obama-settlements>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁸³ Barak Ravid, 'US Condemns Defense Minister Ya'alon's Decision to Expand Settlement Bloc,' *Haaretz*, 8 January 2016. <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.696369>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁸⁴ Paul Blumenthal, 'Irving Moskowitz, controversial backer of Israeli settlements, gives \$1 million to anti-Obama super PAC,' *Huffington Post*, 4 December 2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/entry/irving-moskowitz-israeli-settlements-anti-obama-super-pac_n_1416041. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ 'Our Legacy,' Koret Foundation, n.d. <http://koret.org/about/legacy/>. Accessed 19 September 2016.
- ⁸⁷ Meredith May, 'Tad Taube escaped Nazis, created own empire,' SFGATE, 13 March 2011. <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Tad-Taube-escaped-Nazis-created-own-empire-2389263.php>. Accessed 19 September 2016.
- ⁸⁸ Katy Murphy, 'Sexual harassment claim: Stanford ignored Tad Taube's "lewd" behaviour, Hoover fellow alleges,' *The Mercury News*, 20 January 2016. <http://www.mercurynews.com/2016/01/20/sexual-harassment-claim-stanford-ignored-tad-taubes-lewd-behavior-hoover-fellow-alleges/>. Accessed 19 September 2016.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ '#1367 Seth Klarman', *Forbes*, n.d. <http://www.forbes.com/profile/seth-klarman/>. Accessed 17 January 2017.
- ⁹¹ Josh Nathan-Kazis, 'The softspoken man behind Times of Israel', *Forward*, 29 February 2012. <http://forward.com/news/152169/the-softspoken-man-behind-times-of-israel/>. Accessed 6 November 2015.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ Elad Benari, 'Pro-Israel Philanthropist Newton Becker Dies at 83,' *Arutz Sheva*, 2 September 2012. <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/151525>. Accessed 22 January 2017.
- ⁹⁴ 'Board members,' Tikvah Fund, n.d. <https://tikvahfund.org/about/board/>. Accessed 21 January 2017.
- ⁹⁵ 'Paul Singer,' Inside Philanthropy, n.d. <http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/wall-street-donors/paul-singer.html>. Accessed 19 September 2016.
- ⁹⁶ Staff, 'Paul Singer notes rich irony of French riots', *ValueWalk*, 22 July 2014. <http://www.valuwalk.com/2014/07/paul-singer-politics/>. Accessed 22 January 2017.
- ⁹⁷ Eric Cortellessa, 'More Americans support UN resolution on Israel than oppose it – poll,' *The Times of Israel*, 4 January 2017. <http://www.timesofisrael.com/more-americans-support-un-resolution-on-israel-than-oppose-it-poll/>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁹⁸ Bruce Stokes, 'Are American Jews turning away from Israel? Recent polling shows a growing divide,' *Foreign Policy*, 10 March 2016. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/10/are-american-jews-turning-away-from-israel/>. Accessed 20 January 2017.
- ⁹⁹ Shibley Telhami, Brookings, 11 July 2016.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jason Zengerle, 'Sheldon Adelson is ready to buy the presidency.'
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰² Nathan Guttman, 'How Sheldon Adelson's bet on Trump made him 2016 election's biggest winner.'
- ¹⁰³ Jason Zengerle, 'Sheldon Adelson is ready to buy the presidency.'