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BAD INVESTMENT

The Philanthropy of George Soros and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

How Soros-funded Groups Increase Tensions in a Troubled Region

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Making NGOs Accountable

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

George Soros, the Soros family, and the Open Society Foundation network are among the world's largest philanthropists, with major impact on a global scale. This monograph provides a detailed examination of these activities and their effect in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Based on open-source data, including tax-reporting documents from the givers and recipients, this report also analyzes the role of a little-known and rather secretive branch of the Open Society Foundation – the Open Society Institute, based in Zug, Switzerland.

The background for this report is the intensive campaign of delegitimization and political warfare targeting Israel, led by influential non-governmental organizations (NGOs), under the banner of human rights and similar moral objectives. Soros has been a frequent critic of Israeli government policy, and does not consider himself a Zionist, but there is no evidence that he or his family holds any special hostility or opposition to the existence of the state of Israel. This report will show that their support, and that of the Open Society Foundation, has nevertheless gone to organizations with such agendas.

Among the objectives of this report is to provide detailed and fully sourced information on these activities, and to inform Soros and others involved in his charitable activities about their impact.

The evidence demonstrates that Open Society funding contributes significantly to anti-Israel campaigns in three important respects:

1. Active in the “Durban strategy;”¹
2. Funding aimed at weakening U.S.

1 The “Durban strategy” was adopted by the NGO Forum of the 2001 UN Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. The Final Declaration, based on language from the Teheran preparatory conference, attacked Israel as an “apartheid state” and called for “the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation and training) between all states and Israel.” See also, G. M. Steinberg, “Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War against Israel,” *Israel Affairs* 12 (2006): 748–768.

support for Israel by shifting public opinion regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Iran;

3. Funding for Israeli political opposition groups on the fringes of Israeli society, which use the rhetoric of human rights to advocate for marginal political goals.

The first category comprises large and extensive Open Society Foundation grants to Palestinian organizations such as Al-Haq, Al-Mezan, and Palestinian Center for Human Rights, as well as Israeli political NGOs, including Yesh Din, Breaking the Silence, and Adalah. These groups are active in promoting the Durban strategy by attempting to portray Israel as a “racist” and “apartheid state” that commits “war crimes.” A primary goal of such demonizing language is to isolate Israel internationally, leading to the implementation of sanctions. Many of these NGO recipients are also leaders in the international boycott, sanctions, and divestment (BDS) and “lawfare” campaigns, including the filing of international lawsuits aimed at harassing Israeli officials.

This report also examines contributions from Soros to international NGOs such as Human Rights Watch (\$100 million)² and Amnesty International, both of which focus disproportionate and biased attention on Israel. The Soros gift to Human Rights Watch came after a series of scandals, including fund-raising in Saudi Arabia to promote its anti-Israel campaigns and support for the Ghaddafi family as “human rights reformers.” Concurrently, founder Robert Bernstein publicly renounced Human Rights Watch, and a number of core donors also withdrew their support.

In the second category are organizations that aim to shift U.S. public opinion regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The report examines the role of the Soros family in supporting U.S.-based organizations such as J Street, Media Matters, the Center for American Progress, the National

2 See “George Soros to Give \$100 million to Human Rights Watch,” Human Rights Watch, September 7, 2010 at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2010/09/07/global-challenge>

Iranian American Council (NIAC), and the Institute for Middle East Understanding. These groups share the goal of influencing American public opinion and leaders on Middle East policy issues, and reducing domestic support for Israel. NIAC seeks to enhance the public standing of the Iranian regime and shield it from efforts to prevent the illicit acquisition of nuclear weapons.

In the third category is funding for Israeli political opposition groups on the fringes of Israeli society. This includes gifts to organizations such as Adalah, B'Tselem, Breaking the Silence, Gisha, and Yesh Din. These organizations promote a narrow, marginal political agenda that is far outside the Israeli consensus, often join in promoting the Durban agenda, and in some cases reject Israel's existence as a Jewish state. Other grant recipients are large foundations, such as the New Israel Fund, which in turn support many of these same Israeli organizations.

In these funding policies, and in contrast to the name and stated values of the Open Society Foundation, the Soros family and the recipient organizations often act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of transparency and accountability. Support for Al-Haq, Adalah and other organizations is not fully transparent. The relationship of the Soros family and OSF leadership in New York to OSI-Zug is also opaque, but the involvement of senior Open Society Foundation officials Aryeh Neier and William Newton-Smith as OSI-Zug trustees suggests that the Swiss entity does not act independently. Similarly, the efforts to hide donations from the Soros family to J Street are far from consistent with the ideals of an "open society."

The extent of Soros' and the Soros family's awareness of the issues raised in this monograph is a matter of speculation. Though smaller grants are authorized by OSF staff, the large-scale OSF and Soros family grants to Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the Institute for Middle East Understanding,

along with Center for American Progress and Media Matters, are almost certainly known by foundation leadership and the Soros family. In this sense, the grants represent their intentions and are expressions of their values.

It is unclear whether or not Soros and his family know of the Open Society Foundation's role in supporting the global delegitimization of Israel. Soros recently said, "As I survey my foundations network, I cannot give a proper accounting of the far-reaching and varied activities going on inside because I am not aware of them all."³

Yet, to what degree Soros, his family, and the Open Society Foundation are aware of the cumulative impact on Israel and of the political warfare conducted by many of their beneficiaries is an open question.

Recommendations: First, George Soros, the Soros family, and the Open Society Foundation network should institute complete transparency, in contrast to the secrecy outlined in this report. Second, they should ensure that beneficiaries act in strict accordance with the universal moral principles, and abstain from promoting totalitarian regimes such as in Iran, as well as from participating in demonization of Israel through the exploitation of the language of human rights.

3 C. Sudetic, *The Philosophy of George Soros*, (New York Public Affairs, 2011), 36.

BACKGROUND ON FOUNDATIONS AND PHILANTHROPY IN AMERICA

Individual philanthropy and charitable giving by religious institutions goes back to the beginnings of European settlement in North America. Over the centuries, individuals and religious denominations created educational, medical, and social welfare organizations, ranging from anti-slavery to temperance groups, to serve the burgeoning American population.

The first major wave of large-scale American philanthropy emerged prior to World War I as wealthy industrialists endowed foundations to institutionalize distribution of their immense wealth. At the forefront were the Carnegie Foundation, founded in 1911 and the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913. Both Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, Sr. had long histories of individual philanthropy prior to the establishment of their eponymous foundations. For example, Carnegie had endowed public libraries across the United States, and Rockefeller had made possible the creation of Spelman College and the University of Chicago. During their lives, Carnegie and Rockefeller remained directly involved in the operations and decision-making of their foundations. In later decades, other industrial tycoons established their iconic foundations, including the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation in 1925, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in 1930, and the Ford Foundation in 1936.⁴

These foundations and others played a critical role in reshaping 20th century American education, science and technology, medicine, the arts, social welfare, and social values, and they were generally vehicles of the Progressive Era. They also supported international networks of experts in different fields including science

⁴ See generally O. Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); W.A. Nielsen, *The Big Foundations*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972); W.A. Nielsen, *The Golden Donors: a New Anatomy of the Great Foundations*, (New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Books, 2009, second edition).

and public policy. These activities form part of the ancestry of modern non-governmental organizations (NGOs).⁵

After World War II, foundations assumed an even more important role in America and emerging global civil society. Earlier foundations had a progressive orientation but were conservative in outlook, conditioned as they were by the values and occasionally the presence of their industrial capitalist founders. By the post-war era, however, government had taken up much of the burden supporting social welfare, education, medical and scientific research. During the 1950s and thereafter, foundations reoriented themselves away from creating basic social and intellectual institutions and towards supporting rapidly expanding problem-oriented research and local organizations, at both the national and international levels. The new thrust was shaping social change through modernization and technocracy, including through the social sciences, premised initially on liberal internationalism that privileged American leadership and democracy.⁶

Foundations such as Pew, Hewlett, Mellon, Keck, Ford, and later Annenberg, Templeton, MacArthur and many others, have taken the lead in supporting education, civil and human rights, social welfare and health, international peace, and a variety of other causes. In general, rather than distribute funds directly to individuals or communities on the basis of need, grants are issued to intermediaries who deliver services or work to develop or improve local capacities. In the context of the Cold War, these philanthropic efforts were largely situated in terms of protecting and expanding democratic values. In more recent decades, foundation efforts have stood at the center of the vast expansion of transnational institutions, norms and values that

⁵ T. Akami, "Between the State and Global Civil Society: Non-official Experts and Their Network in the Asia-Pacific, 1925-45," *Global Networks* 2 (2002): 65-81.

⁶ E.H. Berman, *The Ideology of Philanthropy: the Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1983), 26-27.

complement and compete with governments. Foundational support of NGOs, think tanks and policy organizations has also been central to “international knowledge networks” that disseminate values.⁷ Indeed, it has been argued that, along with government and business, foundations are America’s “third great force” and effectively act as public institutions.⁸

The Problems of Accountability and Transparency

Since their beginnings, and despite their good works, private philanthropies and foundations have been the targets of substantive as well as ideological criticism. During the first half of the 20th century, for example, foundations were often perceived as efforts to whitewash the reputations of their robber baron founders and as means for them to escape taxation.⁹

Critiques of post-war American foundations have come from many quarters, including the political and academic left, which among other things has pointed out the patronizing nature of foundation work in the developing world.¹⁰ More recently, this critique has been extended with the accusation that American foundations are hegemonic facilitators of an American-led neo-liberal world that shapes global civil society along its own lines.¹¹ This accusation has also been leveled specifically at the Open Society network.¹² Conversely, foundations have been

criticized from the right for helping to foster institutions and values that undermine national structures and allegiances. These organizations are also criticized for using their money to manipulate the democratic process, traits which are exacerbated by the lack of accountability and the “democratic deficit.”¹³

Whether or not the critique of foundation neoliberalism is accepted, or regarded positively or negatively, the global knowledge networks created, funded and facilitated by American foundations have been crucial to disseminating new concepts of global civil society underpinned by human rights and international law.¹⁴ Interlocking directorates of universities, research centers, and non-governmental institutions, facilitating the movement of scholars and ideas, have been vital mechanisms for establishing human rights as what some critics call a utopian secular religion.¹⁵ The rotation of staff through foundations, NGOs, media outlets, think tanks and universities has also homogenized normative thought regarding human rights and other issues. The global size and complexity of some foundations, specifically the Open Society network, make it a “meta-NGO” that can effectively “govern” other organizations along transnational rather than local lines.¹⁶ At the same time, the internal operations of foundations (and NGOs), their decision-making processes, funding criteria and corporate culture, all remain opaque.

7 I. Parmar, “American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks,” *Global Networks* 2 (2002): 13-30.

8 M. Dowie, *American Foundations: an Investigative History*, (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2001); J.L. Fleishman, *The Foundation: a Great American Secret, How Private Wealth is Changing the World*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2007), 71-72.

9 O. Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 172-174.

10 R. Arno and N. Pinede, “Revisiting the “Big Three” Foundations,” *Critical Sociology* 33 (2007): 389-425.

11 A. Vogel, “Who’s Making Global Civil Society: Philanthropy and US Empire in World Society,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 57 (2006): 635-655.

12 N. Guilhot, “Reforming the World: George Soros, Global Capitalism, and the Philanthropic Management of the Social Sciences,” *Critical Sociology* 33 (2007): 447-479.

13 H. Slim, “By What Authority? The Legitimacy and Accountability of Non-Governmental Organizations, in *International Meetings on Global Trends and Human Rights Before and After September 11*,” Geneva, International Council on Human Rights Policy, January 2002.

14 I. Parmar, “American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks,” *Global Networks* 2 (2002): 13-30.

15 M. Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); J. Reader, “The Discourse of Human Rights—a Secular Religion?” *Implicit Religion* 6 (2003): 41-51; S. Moyn, *The Last Utopia, Human Rights in History*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

16 D. Stone “Transnational Philanthropy or Policy Transfer? The Transnational Norms of the Open Society Institute,” *Policy and Politics* 38 (2010): 269-287.

NGOs supported by Western foundations are frequently criticized for focusing excessive attention on open societies where access is easily obtained (i.e. “low hanging fruit”¹⁷) and where there are no negative consequences for criticism. In contrast are closed societies where access can be difficult and the consequences of criticism significant. The human rights records of the United States and Israel have been particular targets. In the case of Israel, foundations fund NGOs that systematically make false and or unverified allegations regarding Israel’s record on law and human rights, military operations, social structure and political economy, and do so openly with near complete impunity.¹⁸ As noted by Robert Bernstein, the founder of Human Rights Watch, for example, HRW, “with increasing frequency, casts aside its important distinction between open and closed societies. Nowhere is this more evident than in its work in the Middle East. The region is populated by authoritarian regimes with appalling human rights records. Yet in recent years Human Rights Watch has written far more condemnations of Israel for violations of international law than of any other country in the region.”¹⁹

In another case, after the Ford Foundation played a significant role in supporting the controversial NGO Forum of the 2001 UN Durban Conference, it was subject to detailed investigations, and led the heads of the Foundation to apologize and enact safeguards against a repetition.²⁰ Nonetheless, in Durban’s aftermath, foundation funding has again been extended to NGOs

17 B. Birnbaum, “Minority Report: Human Rights Watch fights a civil war over Israel,” *The New Republic*, April 27, 2010, <http://www.tnr.com/article/minority-report-2>

18 NGO Monitor, “Experts or Ideologues: Systematic Analysis of Human Rights Watch,” September 2009, http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/experts_or_ideologues_systematic_analysis_of_human_rights_watch

19 R.L. Bernstein, “Human Rights in the Middle East,” University of Nebraska, November 10, 2010.

20 E. Black, “Funding Hate,” JTA, October 16, 2003 <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2003/10/16/10805/AntiIsraelActivist>. See also W. Korey, *Taking on the World’s Repressive Regimes: The Ford Foundation’s International Human Rights Policies and Practices*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

leading local and international efforts to enact BDS against Israel.²¹

Unlike neighboring states, in Israel there are few restrictions on the operations of foundations and NGOs. There have been virtually no sanctions leveled against them for persistently negative falsehoods, harassment of its officials abroad, or intensive lobbying for international sanctions and boycotts against the country.²² Indeed, the “halo effect” that shields foundations and NGOs from criticism, and is cultivated by the organizations themselves, is well documented. The dominant image of NGOs presumes they are always moral and effective forces for good, and treats criticism as a form of heresy.²³ The “halo effect” refers to a unique form of “soft power,”²⁴ the ability to influence behavior through values, policies, institutions and culture, and is deployed selectively by foundations and NGOs to deflect criticism and exploit liberal internationalist opinions in Western society.

Studying Foundations

Studying private foundations is a particular problem. The intentions of the donors, their role in operations, organizational structures

21 G.M. Steinberg, “The Politics of NGOs, Human Rights and the Arab-Israel Conflict,” *Israel Studies* 16 (2011): 24-54; A. Herzberg, *NGO ‘Lawfare’: Exploitation of Courts in the Arab Israeli Conflict*, NGO Monitor Monograph Series (Jerusalem, NGO Monitor, 2d ed., 2010). <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/lawfare-monograph.pdf>

22 See NGO Monitor, *Israeli NGOs: Foreign Funding, Transparency, and Knesset Legislation*, http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo_transparency_boycotts_and_knesset_legislation

23 H. Slim, “By What Authority? The Legitimacy and Accountability of Non-Governmental Organizations, in International Meeting on Global Trends and Human Rights Before and After September 11,” (Geneva, International Council on Human Rights Policy, January 2002); G.M. Steinberg, “Civil Society, Intercultural Dialogue and Political Activism: Rethinking EMP policies,” in L. Bekemans, et al., (eds.), *Intercultural Dialogue and Citizenship: Translating Values into Actions*, (Marsilio, Venice, 2007), 297-311; G.M. Steinberg, “The Politics of NGOs, Human Rights and the Arab-Israel Conflict,” *Israel Studies* 16 (2011), 24-54.

24 J.S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2004). Compare J.S. Mattern, “Why ‘Soft Power’ Isn’t So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics,” *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 33 (2005): 583-612.

and internal processes, including leadership and staffing, priorities and decision-making, and finances, are among the critical questions in understanding foundations. What are the backgrounds of leaders and staffers? Who establishes priorities and who administers programs, and with what forms of oversight? How are various international operations funded and supervised, both locally and at the headquarters? What levels of reporting and accountability are required of grantees? How are problems dealt with? All these and many other questions have particular importance when dealing with operations aimed at Israel and the Middle East as a whole.

Understanding the finances of foundations is another problem. Who funds foundations, and in turn, how are those funds administered, both internally and with respect to programs? Private US foundations claiming status as non-profit, tax-free charitable institutions are required to make annual filings with the US Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and account for all expenditures on operations, primary staff and both donations and grants or gifts. The IRS Form 990 is an invaluable source of information, in some cases the only one available, with which to reconstruct foundation operations, as well as the finances of recipient organizations.

Qualifying non-profit tax-exempt organizations, including 501(c)(3) charitable organizations, 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations, and section 527 political organizations, with gross receipts above \$500,000 or total assets above \$1,250,000 are required by IRS rules to file annually a Form 990 that includes Schedule B, the Schedule of Contributors.²⁵ Rules for Schedule B state that organizations must report gifts above \$5,000, or 2% of total assets, from any individual contributor.²⁶ In theory, regardless of whether an individual has claimed a charitable contribution on a tax return, it is possible to

25 See <http://www.irs.gov/charities/article/0,,id=217284,00.html>; <http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-pdf/f990ezb.pdf> Organizations with lesser assets file Form 990-EZ.

26 See <http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-pdf/f990ezb.pdf>

track contributions through the recipient's reporting. In reality, however, organizations are not obligated to release their Schedule B's to the public and the IRS releases Schedule B's only on special request.²⁷ Most Form 990s, without Schedule B, are publicly available through Guidestar and the National Center for Charitable Statistics.²⁸

Personal giving by individuals, including philanthropists, however, is reported on IRS Form 1040 and Schedule A. This data is not publicly available, and in many cases such gifts can only be reconstructed from the annual reporting of recipient organizations, should they choose to do so. Other countries have a variety of requirements for foundations, but in general, with the exception of the United Kingdom, far less data on operations and gifts are available compared to US reporting requirements.²⁹ As will be shown, such questions of transparency have particular relevance regarding the Open Society Foundation in Switzerland.

Many large foundations make extensive information available on the internet regarding their staff, operations and grants. Detailed financial information is less readily available. Some large foundations, and perhaps many smaller ones, have little or no internet presence. Public statements by founders and leadership, as well as news coverage, yield useful information regarding foundation priorities and operations. Academic papers and conference participation by staff members also give indications regarding specific issues such as political attitudes. The professionalization of non-profit management in recent decades has been accompanied by a revolving door between foundations, NGOs and to some extent academia and even government.

27 See <http://www.guidestar.org/rxa/news/articles/2004/demyth-iflying-irs-form-990.aspx>

28 See <http://www.guidestar.org/http://nccs.urban.org>. Note that not all Form 990s downloaded in pdf format are searchable. This is an important consideration for researchers analyzing large entities with complex IRS filings.

29 See http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Charity_requirements_guidance/Accounting_and_reporting/default.aspx

Tracing these patterns is extremely difficult but may be revealing of attitudes and intentions among staff with operational responsibilities. The same methods are used for understanding the operations and attitudes of recipient organizations.

GEORGE SOROS AND HIS PHILANTHROPY

George Soros was born in Hungary in 1930 to a well-to-do, non-observant Jewish family. Thanks to his father Tivador's ingenuity, George Soros and his immediate family survived the Nazi occupation of Hungary using the assumed identities of non-Jews. The Soviet Union occupied Hungary in 1945 and Soros emigrated to England in 1947. Soros studied at the London School of Economics, where he was deeply influenced by Austrian philosopher Karl Popper. He entered the banking field and immigrated to the United States in 1956, where he worked for a number of investment firms.³⁰

In 1967, Soros began managing hedge funds, the financial instrument with which he is most closely associated. He established the advisory firm Soros Fund Management in 1969 and the Quantum Group of Funds in 1973. The Quantum Group of Funds became the Quantum Endowment Fund in 2000 and was closed to non-Soros family investors in 2011. In addition to his investments, Soros is famous for currency speculation, including immense profits made in 1992 when he bet that the United Kingdom would devalue the pound, and in 1997 during the Asian financial crisis. His personal wealth is estimated at \$22 billion.³¹

Soros was married and divorced twice, to Annaliese Witschak Soros and then to Susan Weber Soros. He has five children, three by his first marriage (Robert, Andrea, Jonathan), and

30 M. T. Kaufman, *Soros, The Life and Time of a Messianic Billionaire*, (New York, Knopf, 2002), 1-105.

31 K. Blankfeld, "Forbes 400: Billionaire George Soros Cracks Into The Top Ten," *Forbes*, September 21, 2011, available at <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kerenblankfeld/2011/09/21/forbes-400-billionaire-george-soros-cracks-into-the-top-ten/>

two by his second (Alexander and Gregory). The two older sons are married and work for Soros Fund Management. Alexander is a graduate student in history and recently became active in philanthropy including Jewish causes.³² In August 2012, George Soros announced his engagement to Tamiko Bolton.³³

Soros and the "Open Society"

Soros' philosophy and philanthropic outlook are explicitly founded in philosopher Karl Popper's concept of the "open society." For Popper the "open society" is a condition where individuals with equal access to knowledge generate the wisdom to create a humanitarian society and laws in order to maintain political freedoms and human rights. In contrast, "closed societies," such as dictatorships, restrict knowledge and enforce conformity through possession of what they claim are universal truths, and then by legal and cultural means.³⁴

Soros embraced the concept of the "open society" but has stated his belief that modern techniques of mass political manipulation are too powerful to be easily overcome.³⁵ Part of this belief seems founded in his personal experience but it is also philosophical. In response, Soros uses a concept he calls "reflexivity" as a means to understand and address human phenomena, from mass politics to investing and philanthropy.

In Soros' view, humans are inevitably fallible, by

32 Heather Joslyn, "Soros Philanthropy: the Next Generation," *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, April 5, 2012 available at http://philanthropy.com/blogs/the-giveaway/soros-philanthropy-the-next-generation/1679?sid=pt&utm_source=pt&utm_medium=en; Josh Nathan-Kazis, "Soros Next Generation Steps Up," *The Jewish Daily Forward*, April 23, 2012 available at http://forward.com/articles/155047/soros-next-generation-steps-up/?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=The%20Forward%20Today%20%28Monday-Friday%29&utm_campaign=Daily_Newsletter_Mon_Thurs%202012-04-24

33 "Wedding Bells to Ring for Billionaire George Soros," *Bloomberg TV*, August 13, 2012 available at <http://www.bloomberg.com/video/wedding-bells-to-ring-for-billionaire-george-soros-U0rdmhIZRsazleb3YlmzQ.html>

34 G. Soros, *Soros on Soros*, (New York, John Wiley, 1995), 253-263.

35 See http://www.soros.org/resources/multimedia/sorosceu_20091112/opensociety_transcript

which he means they have limited knowledge and rationality, while reality is inherently unstable and non-mechanistic. Given this, certain claims are not necessarily true or false but may be “reflexive.” In this indeterminate state, human perceptions and theory may be inadequate for making correct assessments, or perception may be simply false, but the process of assessments creates feedback loops that have an impact on reality.³⁶ Overcoming such observer-dependent effects first requires awareness that human thought affects events. Creating awareness and shaping events through informed participation are intrinsic to Soros’ theory of “reflexivity.”

Propelled by his father’s notion that money is a means and not an end, Soros has stated that his philanthropy is oriented towards providing individuals with the ability to become better informed and make better decisions.³⁷ It is therefore not surprising that his early philanthropic efforts included providing support for black South African students and the establishment of Central European University as a Western-style institution in his home city of Budapest.³⁸ Much of his subsequent philanthropy, including the Open Society Institute, should be understood in terms of efforts to shift public policy debates through the stimulation of critical thinking and the encouragement of governmental openness and transparency.

Soros’ philanthropic endeavors began in 1979 with support for students in South Africa and dissidents in the Soviet Union. This was followed by individual philanthropic efforts and the creation of foundations in Hungary,

Poland and the Soviet Union.³⁹ In 1993, Aryeh Neier, the long-time director of Human Rights Watch, was hired to bring the burgeoning Open Society foundations under more rigorous control and to oversee what became an immense and bureaucratically extensive undertaking, the Open Society Institute.⁴⁰ Foundations were systematically founded in Europe and the Former Soviet Union and local leadership installed. Programs in the United States were also launched during the mid-1990s.

Soros’s attitudes toward philanthropy and approach to his foundations have been complex. By his own admission, he was deeply influenced by an incident in his own life when as a student, a Jewish welfare group in London refused to lend him support without a series of conditions, whereas a Quaker group did so, no questions asked.⁴¹ At the beginning of his philanthropic project he was suspicious of employees who were self-serving bureaucrats, and thus shared managerial responsibility with his then wife Susan.⁴² During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Soros was exploited by unscrupulous Russian employees, who used the foundation and its funds as a cover for business dealings.⁴³ He and his foundations were also regularly accused by Soviet and Chinese officials of working for the Central Intelligence Agency.⁴⁴

Today, Soros notes, “As I survey my foundations network, I cannot give a proper accounting of the far-reaching and varied activities going on inside because I am not aware of them all. As I travel around I keep discovering them, and they are a great source of satisfaction to me. The activities of which I am not aware are often the

36 G. Soros, “A Failed Philosopher Tries Again,” (Jan Patočka Memorial Lecture), April 1995, <http://www.tkpw.net/tcr/volume-01/number-01/node1.html>. See also G. Soros, Soros on Soros, op. cit., 216-220; http://www.soros.org/resources/multimedia/sorosceu_20091112/reflexivity_transcript; G. Soros, Soros on Soros, op. cit., 253-295.

37 G. Soros, “My Philanthropy,” The New York Review of Books, June 22, 2011. Available at http://www.georgesoros.com/articles-essays/entry/my_philanthropy

38 M.T. Kaufman, Soros, op.cit., 170-172, 259-261.

39 C. Sudetic, The Philanthropy of George Soros, op. cit., 12-20; George Soros, Soros on Soros, op. cit, 126.

40 M.T. Kaufman, Soros, 251-255.

41 C. Sudetic, The Philanthropy of George Soros, op. cit., 5-6.

42 M.T. Kaufman, Soros, op.cit., 210-212.

43 Ibid., 226.

44 Ibid., 219, 227.

best; it is the problematic ones that are brought to my attention.”⁴⁵

In interviews, Soros’ critical attitude towards philanthropy, including his own, appears hard-nosed: “There is something inherently self-contradictory in altruism, but most foundations see no need to recognize it and even less to resolve it. When you are giving away money, the recipients flatter you and do everything they can to make you feel good, so the contradictions are obscured by a thick layer of hypocrisy. That is what makes me leery of philanthropy. The foundations set the rules and others have to live by them. Applicants can of course have their own way: They can tell the foundation what it wants to hear and then proceed to do what they want to do.”⁴⁶

Other members of the Soros family have been active in philanthropy. Aside from his ex-wife Susan’s Iris Foundation, son Jonathan Soros and his wife Jennifer Allen oversee the Jennifer and Jonathan Allen Soros Foundation. Other family foundations include son Robert Soros Enterprise Foundation and daughter Andrea Soros Columbel’s Trace Foundation. George Soros’ older brother Paul Soros also oversees the Paul and Daisy Soros Foundation. Son Alexander Soros has become active in philanthropy and in 2012 announced the creation of the Alexander Soros Foundation.⁴⁷

Soros on Politics, Judaism, and Israel

Soros’s writings suggest that he is generally suspicious of governments and disdains unthinking nationalism.⁴⁸ He was highly critical of the United States under the Bush administration for what he regards as its manipulations before the Iraq War and for its ill-conceived “war on terror” that, in his view, deeply

45 C. Sudetic, *The Philanthropy of George Soros*, op. cit., 36.

46 Ibid., 37.

47 A. Williams, “Making Good on the Family Name,” *The New York Times*, July 18, 2012 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/19/fashion/alexander-soros-tries-to-live-up-to-his-family-name.html?pagewanted=all>

48 G. Soros, *Soros on Soros*, op. cit., 241.

weakened the United States and contributed to the curtailment of human rights globally.⁴⁹ In quantitative terms, however, he has published far more on economic than political issues.

Soros is a non observant Jew but at no time has he disavowed being Jewish. He has stated, “I am proud of being a Jew – although I must admit it took me practically a lifetime to get there. I have suffered from the low self-esteem that is the bane of the assimilationist Jew. This is a heavy load that I could shed only when I recognized my success. I identify being a Jew with being in a minority.”⁵⁰ Aryeh Neier, then still head of Human Rights Watch, characterized Soros in these terms: “There are two strong motives in his life, and it would be hard to disentangle them... The first is his being a Jew; the second is the profound influence on him of Sir Karl Popper, the Viennese émigré who taught philosophy at the LSE after the war.”⁵¹

Soros has stated that his Jewishness, having experienced antisemitism as a child, having come from an “assimilationist family,” as well as “a certain amount of Jewish utopianism,” influenced his devotion to the concept of the open society. With regard to Zionism he stated, “It just doesn’t appeal to me. I am interested in the universal human condition. But I never opposed it actively. I felt that as a Jew I had no right to oppose the state of Israel unless I actually became a citizen. I am convinced that, had I moved there, I would have been in opposition most of the time, like so many Israelis. As it is, I simply abstained. Perhaps it was a cop-out.”⁵²

Soros has sharply criticized Israeli and American policies towards the Palestinians, specifically the

49 G. Soros, “A Self-Defeating War,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2006. See also G. Soros, *The Age of Fallibility: Consequences of the War on Terror*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2007); G. Soros, *The Bubble Of American Supremacy: The Costs Of Bush’s War In Iraq*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2004).

50 G. Soros, *Soros on Soros*, op. cit., 242.

51 S. Fay, “Profile: George Soros: God of all he surveys,” May 17, 1998, *The Independent*, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/profile-george-soros-god-of-all-he-surveys-1158748.html?printService=print>

52 G. Soros, *Soros on Soros*, op. cit., 241.

refusal to accept the participation of Hamas in a Palestinian government.⁵³ At the same time, he has stated that the “chances of reaching an agreement with Hamas are practically nil... yet I cannot help thinking that with skillful diplomacy there could be an opening to drive a wedge between the homegrown leaders of Hamas who won the election and have an obligation to the people of Palestine to improve their living conditions and the expatriate leadership based in Syria and beholden to Iran.”⁵⁴

In a lengthy 2007 piece in the *New York Review of Books*,⁵⁵ Soros criticizes the U.S. for refusing to recognize the “democratically elected Hamas government” or to support Hamas in a future Palestinian unity government. He also calls for U.S. and Israeli support of the Arab Peace Initiative (originally known as the Saudi peace initiative), while leveling several attacks on AIPAC (the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee). He writes, “it is highly desirable that the Saudi peace initiative should succeed; but AIPAC stands in the way. It continues to oppose dealing with a Palestinian government that includes Hamas.”

He further describes the “pervasive influence” of AIPAC in the formulation of U.S. policy in the Middle East, and states that “far from guaranteeing Israel’s existence, (AIPAC) has endangered it.” He also charges “the pro-Israel lobby” for being “remarkably successful in suppressing criticism” of Israel both inside the American political system and throughout American society.

53 G. Soros, “American and Israel must Open the Door to Hamas,” *Financial Times*, March 19, 2007.

54 G. Soros, *The Age of Fallibility: Consequences of the War on Terror*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2007), 150-151.

55 George Soros, “On Israel, America and AIPAC,” *The New York Review of Books*, April 12, 2007, http://www.georgesoros.com/articles-essays/entry/on_israel_america_and_aipac. See also George Soros, “America and Israel must open the door to Hamas,” *Financial Times*, March 19, 2007, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/8835d6dc-d54a-11db-a5c6-000b5df10621.html#axzz1tisdzTcs>. In June 2007, only a few months after the publication of these articles, rather than sharing power and moving towards a peace agreement with Israel, as hoped by Soros, Hamas took control of Gaza, ousting Fatah in a violent coup. As of May 2013, Hamas remained in control of Gaza and staunchly committed to the eradication of the Jewish state.

J Street (see page 23 for a broader discussion), which received \$750,000 donations in early 2008 from Soros and two of his children and was created as a direct opponent of AIPAC, echoes many of the themes promoted by Soros in the NYRB piece.⁵⁶ For instance, JStreet supports the Arab Peace Initiative and advocates that “all opportunities for peace must continue to be explored.”⁵⁷ J Street also “urge(s) the US, Israel and the international community to respond to reconciliation (between Hamas and Fatah) with caution but not hostility” and “would not oppose a decision by the Israeli government, the US, or other countries to find unofficial, indirect ways to engage Hamas in order to advance US and Israeli interests.”⁵⁸

Most controversially, in a rare speech to a Jewish organization in 2003, Soros stated, “There is a resurgence of anti-Semitism in Europe. The policies of the Bush administration and the Sharon administration contribute to that... It’s not specifically anti-Semitism, but it does manifest itself in anti-Semitism as well. I’m critical of those policies... If we change that direction, then anti-Semitism also will diminish... I can’t see how one could confront it directly.” He added, “I’m also very concerned about my own role because the new anti-Semitism holds that the Jews rule the world... As an unintended consequence of my actions I also contribute to that image.” Soros’ remarks were sharply criticized by Jewish leaders and

56 “J-Street, a Fake Israel Advocacy Group LIED About George Soros Connection,” *The Lid*, September 24, 2010 available at <http://yidwithlid.blogspot.com/2010/09/breaking-fake-pro-israel-lobby-group-j.html>; Eli Lake, “Soros revealed as funder of liberal Jewish-American lobby,” *The Washington Times*, September 24, 2010 available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/sep/24/soros-funder-liberal-jewish-american-lobby/>

57 J Street Blog, “Regional Comprehensive Approach,” May 1, 2012 available at http://jstreet.org/blog/post/regional-comprehensive-approach_1

58 J Street Blog, “Palestinian Reconciliation and Hamas,” May 1, 2012, available at http://jstreet.org/blog/post/palestinian-reconciliation-and-hamas_1

media and characterized as blaming Jews and Israel for antisemitism.⁵⁹

The Structure of George Soros' Philanthropy

There are at least 14 US-based foundations linked directly to George Soros. The Open Society Foundation (formerly the Open Society Institute), based in New York City, is the overarching entity that both funds an immense number of domestic and international programs, and is linked to the array of other Open Society foundations and initiatives around the world. Total 2009 expenditures by the entire global network of the Open Society Foundation were \$683,000,000.⁶⁰

The administrative and financial complexity of the global Open Society network cannot be overstated. While there are four separate foundations and initiatives based in Africa, there are 20 local foundations and 22 initiatives in Europe alone. Three foundations or programs are based in the Middle East and another 12 initiatives are aimed at the region. Initiatives are both US and foreign based and may be shared by different regions and countries. Open Society foundations based outside the United States are subject to local registration and reporting requirements. In most cases it is possible only to ascertain a basic outline of their activities from their various websites and from the acknowledgements of recipients.

The structure of Soros family foundations and Open Society entities are closely interwoven with that of Soros Fund Management and the law firm of Schulte, Roth & Zabel. Key personnel from the latter two entities are frequently listed as trustees or officers and thus have managerial or oversight roles in the various foundations. (See Appendix One)⁶¹

59 U. Heilman, "Soros blames Israel," op. cit.

60 See <http://www.soros.org/about/expenditures/expenditures-20110620.pdf>

61 See <http://www.srz.com/>, William Zabel represented Soros's first wife Annaliese in their divorce proceedings. M.T. Kaufman, Soros, op.cit., 151.

As noted above, the backgrounds of foundation personnel frequently yield insight into their operations and philosophy. Key OSI leadership include:

- Aryeh Neier was President, CEO and a trustee of the Open Society Institute through 2012, and the Chairman/Director of the Open Society Policy Center. Born in Germany in 1937, Neier grew up in New York. From 1958 to 1960 he was director of the League for Industrial Democracy. During the process he changed the name of its youth wing to Students for a Democratic Society, which after his departure was taken over by radicals.⁶² In 1963, he joined the American Civil Liberties Union and became its National Director in 1970. He resigned in 1978 after a term marked by expansion of the organization's membership as well as controversies regarding its support for a variety of unpopular causes. In 1981, he co-founded Human Rights Watch and served as its Executive Director until 1993 when he joined the Open Society Institute.

Neier has written extensively about civil and human rights, including the laws of armed conflict and international humanitarian law.

Neier's attitudes appear to be founded in his experiences as a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany, and in his views that Jews can only be protected by restraints on power. In his book on the controversial march through the town of Skokie, Illinois by American Nazis, which the American Civil Liberties Union under his direction strongly defended, Neier stated:

"Because we Jews are uniquely vulnerable, I believe we can win only brief respite from persecution in a society in which encounters are settled by power. As a Jew, therefore, concerned with my own survival and the survival of the Jews – the two being inextricably linked – I want restraints placed on power. The restraints that

62 H. Hertzberg, "The Charity Guy," The New Yorker, November 24, 2010 available at <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/hendrikhertzberg/2010/11/the-charity-guy.html>

matter most to me are those which ensure that I cannot be squashed by power, unnoticed by the rest of the world.”⁶³

For Neier, as for Soros, public policy is tied with Jewish issues. In Neier’s view, self-protection for Jews, and for free society, therefore rests on an array of restraints exercised through law. It appears that Neier’s frequent focus on the United States and Israel is derived from his self-conscious articulation of the need for power to be restrained.

He has repeatedly criticized the United States, along with Israeli military and government policy for alleged war crimes, and has defended Human Rights Watch against allegations of bias against Israel.⁶⁴

Through an aide, Neier declined to be interviewed for this monograph.

- Christopher Stone is the incoming president of the Open Society Foundations. He was formerly the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Professor of the Practice of Criminal Justice and director of the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at Harvard University. From 1994 to 2004 he was director of the Vera Institute of Justice and had been a board member of the Open Society Justice Initiative since 2004. Stone’s expertise is in criminal justice, including policing, sentencing and incarceration.⁶⁵
- Ricardo Castro is the General Counsel of the Open Society Institute.⁶⁶ He is Secretary of the Foundation to Promote Open Society and the Open Society

Foundation and a trustee of the Open Society Foundation-London.⁶⁷

- Morton Halperin is Senior Advisor to OSF. He served in the U.S. Department of State and National Security Council, and directed the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. He currently serves on the boards of a number of organizations, including J Street (see below).⁶⁸
- Stewart Paperin is executive vice president of OSF and president of the Soros Economic Development Fund, as well as a consultant to Soros Fund Management. His background is in finance and management.⁶⁹
- Anthony Richter is associate director of the Open Society Institute, and director of the OSF’s Central Eurasia Project and Middle East & North Africa Initiative. He chairs the governing board of the Revenue Watch Institute.⁷⁰
- Mike Amitay, is Senior Policy Analyst for the Middle East and North Africa. The son of former AIPAC head Morris Amitay, he was a staff member at the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission) and the head of the Washington Kurdish Institute from 1995-2006.⁷¹ In his former position Amitay and the Washington Kurdish Institute were accused of being “Zionist” and promoting the allegedly false accusation that Iraq had attacked Kurdish villages with poison gas.⁷² Amitay responded forcefully to

63 A. Neier, *Defending My Enemy: American Nazis, the Skokie Case, and the Risks of Freedom*, (New York, Dutton, 1979), 5.

64 A. Neier, “Terror and The Sense of Justice,” *The Nation*, March 25, 1978, 325-326

65 S. Strom, “Criminal Justice Expert Named to Lead Soros Foundations,” *The New York Times*, December 7, 2011, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/07/business/christopher-stone-to-lead-soros-open-society-foundations.html>

66 See <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/women/about/board>

67 <http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/ContactAndTrustees.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1105069&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

68 See <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/washington/about/bios/halperin>

69 See <http://www.soros.org/about/bios/staff/stewart-paperin>

70 See <http://www.soros.org/about/bios/staff/richter>

71 See <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/washington/about/bios/amitay>

72 M. al-Obaidi, “What happened in Kurdish Halabja?” *Global Research*, December 20, 2004 available at <http://www.globalresearch.ca/what-happened-in-kurdish-halabja/330>

these accusations.⁷³ More significantly, Amitay later played a controversial role advising the National Iranian American Council, an OSF grant recipient, regarding that group's questionable lobbying against the appointment of Dennis Ross to oversee U.S. State Department policy on Iran and generally in favor of the Iranian regime (see below).⁷⁴

Key OSF Entities

The Foundation to Promote Open Society is a very large foundation with total assets in 2010 of \$2,817,000,000. In that year it dispersed \$213,000,000 in grants. George Soros' 2010 contribution to the foundation was \$250,000,000. Most of the foundation's grants are made to domestic and international organizations, including a number active in the Middle East.⁷⁵

Open Society Institute (now the Open Society Foundations) had total assets in 2010 of \$978,000,000 and \$1 billion investments in the Quantum Endowment Fund. In 2009 it dispersed \$1,078,000,000, which included a \$1 billion grant to the Foundation to Promote Open Society. In 2010 it dispersed a far smaller amount, some \$28 million.⁷⁶

Open Society Foundation's assets in 2010 totaled \$182,000,000. That year it dispersed \$47,000,000 in grants to the Open Society Institute.⁷⁷

Open Society Policy Center is a small 501(c)(4) lobbying organization that promotes

⁷³ See <http://www.casi.org.uk/analysis/2004/msg00531.html>

⁷⁴ Eli Lake, "EXCLUSIVE: Iran advocacy group said to skirt lobby rules," *The Washington Times*, November 13, 2009, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/nov/13/exclusive-did-iranian-advocacy-group-violate-laws/print/http://www.commentarymagazine.com/2009/11/17/how-niac-lobbied-against-dennis-ross/>

⁷⁵ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_99_0PF.pdf

⁷⁶ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_201012_99_0PF.pdf

⁷⁷ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/260/260248258/260248258_201012_99_0PF.pdf

OSF-supported positions on U.S. domestic issues including justice and social welfare. Its total assets in 2010 were \$375,000. This group, directed by Stephen Rickard, is sometimes referred to simply as the Washington office of OSI.⁷⁸

The Alliance for Open Society International is a small foundation with assets of \$156,000 and programs aimed primarily at Haiti and Bosnia.⁷⁹

Open Society Fund is a very small foundation (total assets of \$156,319) that supports the Alliance for Open Society International.⁸⁰

Soros Family Foundations

In addition to the Open Society entities, there are several Soros family foundations. These include:

Soros Fund Charitable Foundation had net assets of \$194,000,000 in 2010. It provides capital endowment funding to OSF and the Eule Charitable Foundation and a series of individual grants. In 2010, Gary Gladstein, former Chief Operating Officer of Soros Fund Management, was the President, while George and Jonathan Soros, along with several other Soros Fund Management personnel, were directors. Among its many grants for 2010, it made a number to Jewish, Israeli, and Middle Eastern, and human rights organizations (see Appendix Two). Its total 2010 funding for Israeli and Jewish organizations was \$540,510.⁸¹

Soros Humanitarian Foundation had net assets of \$314,000,000 in 2010. Its sole purpose is as a funding vehicle for the Millennium Promise

⁷⁸ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/522/522028955/522028955_201012_99_0O.pdf

⁷⁹ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/810/810623035/810623035_201012_99_0PF.pdf

⁸⁰ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/133/133095822/133095822_201012_99_0PF.pdf

⁸¹ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/133/133388177/133388177_201012_99_0PF.pdf

Alliance, an organization aimed at alleviating poverty in sub-Saharan Africa.⁸²

Soros Charitable Foundation had net assets of \$90,000,000 in 2010. Its sole purpose is as a funding vehicle supporting low-income housing and microloans in South Africa.⁸³

The Jennifer and Jonathan Allan Foundation is an important entity. Son Jonathan Soros is the chairman and daughter-in-law Jennifer Allan Soros is the president. In 2010 the foundation had total assets of \$185,000,000 and made \$432,000 in grants. One grant, for \$30,000, went to the Institute for Middle East Understanding (see below).⁸⁴

Other family foundations include the Iris Foundation, co-chaired by George Soros and ex-wife Susan Weber Soros, which supports Bard College and several other art related organizations.⁸⁵ The Enterprise Foundation, belonging to son Robert Soros and his wife Melissa Schiff Soros, supports a variety of cultural, community, and medical organizations, none of which are related to Israel, the Middle East or human rights.⁸⁶ The Trace Foundation, belonging to daughter Andrea Soros Columbel, supports educational and humanitarian projects in China and Tibet.⁸⁷ The Paul and Daisy Soros Foundation, belonging to George Soros' older

brother and sister-in-law, primarily makes grants to individual students.⁸⁸

Current and former Soros Fund Management personnel maintain several foundations. They have no apparent relationship to Israel or the Middle East.

Patterns of Giving

In general, Soros family giving as well as that of the Open Society Foundations reflects a politically liberal outlook. The overall orientation, to the extent that it can be extrapolated from thousands of individual grants, is toward political advocacy and service provision on immigration, health, civil and human rights issues, with lesser emphases on culture. There is also large-scale OSF support for students wishing to study in the U.S. (see below). An example of the political orientation of OSF is seen in the significant number of grants that have gone to the San Francisco-based Tides Foundation, a philanthropic organization specializing in administrative and management services for "social change" foundations⁸⁹ and famous for taking several percent of gifts it administers as operating costs to support its own grant-making.⁹⁰

The OSF also makes grants to institutions with centrist political orientations, such as the Brookings Institution and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and in a more limited way to specific projects at libertarian institutions such as the Cato Institute. The latter grants tend to focus on issues such as civil liberties where there are parallel concerns reflected by both center-left and libertarian groups. The OSF

82 <http://www.millenniumvillages.org/> See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137003531/137003531_201011_990PF.pdf

83 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137003532/137003532_201011_990PF.pdf

84 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/800/800464952/800464952_201012_990PF.pdf

85 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/136/136977690/136977690_201008_990PF.pdf

86 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029291/137029291_201011_990PF.pdf

87 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137008868/137008868_201012_990PF.pdf

88 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137057096/137057096_201012_990PF.pdf. A 2008 recipient of a Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans, Sa'ed Atshan of Ramallah, now a joint PhD candidate in anthropology and Middle Eastern studies at Harvard University, was a speaker at a 'one state' conference held at Harvard <http://onestateconference.org/speakers.html#saedatshan>

89 See <http://www.tides.org/about/how-we-work/array-of-services/>

90 See http://activistcash.com/organization_overview.cfm/o/225-tides-foundation--tides-center

does not support basic medical or scientific research, although grants and fellowships do go to individual scientists and physicians in various countries to support them in lieu of emigrating, as well as to support local research institutions for the same purpose. Apart from Central European University, institutions of higher education appear to only receive grants for specific programs and centers, but not for general operating support.

The Soros Fund Charitable Foundation is notable for its support of Jewish and Israeli causes, albeit at modest levels, but these grants are far surpassed by grants to Christian and secular organizations, particularly human rights groups. The grants made to Jewish and Israeli causes are nevertheless interesting since George and Jonathan Soros are directors. In this regard as well, the Foundation to Promote Open Society appears significant as a personal Soros vehicle, since in contrast to the professional staff of the Open Society Institute, its primary officers are George and Jonathan Soros, and Aryeh Neier.⁹¹

The Problem of the Swiss OSF Foundation

One of the main sources for OSF funding appears to be an Open Society Foundation institution based in Switzerland. This entity is not wholly transparent and is extremely difficult to understand.

The foundation is registered in Zug, Switzerland. Zug is a small town with only 26,000 residents but because of its low taxes has almost 13,000 registered firms. The canton of Zug is the wealthiest in Switzerland. Financial relations with other OSF and source entities are unclear. The Commercial Register of the Swiss Canton of Zug indicates that an “Open Society Development Foundation” was created in 1993 and was absorbed into “Foundation Open

Society Institute” in 2005.⁹² It is also known as the “Stiftung Open Society Institute” and is sometimes referred to as “OSI-Zug” by recipients in their reports.⁹³

Despite the apparent connection to OSF, the Swiss foundation does not appear on, nor is it linked through, the main New York OSF web site, nor do names of Swiss trustees appear. It is also not listed in any downloadable OSF publication from the New York headquarters. The Swiss OSF foundation does not have its own websites and can only be tracked through official Swiss non-profit and corporate registries at the federal and canton levels, and through grant recipients. No annual report appears to be available. The foundation is not registered or certified by any non-official Swiss entity.⁹⁴ Given the scale of its grants, OSI-Zug likely has its own endowment.

OSI-Zug personnel include:

- Dr. Suzanne Wettenschiler Bucher is the Director of OSI-Zug. She is a Swiss corporate lawyer with the firm Stadlin in Zug.⁹⁵ She was also the local registrant for the Arab Fund for Arts and Culture, on whose board Abbas Zuaiter, Chief Operating Officer and Chief Financial Officer of Soros Fund Management, sits.⁹⁶ She was formerly the “domicile” for the “Swiss Foundation in Support of Human Rights Watch” before transfer of that

92 One of Soros's biographies indicates that during the late 1950s or early 1960s family properties in Berlin and Vienna were restored to his father, Tivadar Soros (1894-1968) and that these had been sold to establish a family foundation in Switzerland. See M.T. Kaufman, Soros, op.cit., 91. It is unclear whether there is a connection between this unnamed entity and the present Swiss Open Society.

93 See <http://www.hrazg.ch/webservices/inet/HRG/HRG.asmx/getHRGHTML?chnr=1707000483&amt=170&toBeModified=0&validOnly=0&lang=4&sort=0>. See also http://www.moneyhouse.ch/en/u/stiftung_open_society_institute_CH-170.7.000.483-4.htm

94 E.g., ZEWO. See http://www.zewo.ch/ueber_uns/about-us

95 See <http://www.stadlin.ch/english/profilewetten.htm>

96 <http://www.edoceo.ch/search.aspx?lang=de&searchwords=wettenschwiler&phonic=0&accuracy=0> Web site currently unavailable. Reference is to archived web page in possession of the author.

91 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf See Appendix 13.

organization to Geneva⁹⁷ and remains the signatory for the Roma Education Fund.⁹⁸

- Aryeh Neier is a trustee of OSI-Zug.
- Raoul Bussmann, a corporate lawyer in Zug, also from the firm Stadlin, is a trustee of OSI-Zug.⁹⁹ He was also formerly associated with the “Swiss Foundation in Support of Human Rights Watch.”¹⁰⁰
- Istvan Rev, a history professor at Central European University, is a trustee. He is also the director of the Open Society Archive at Central European University.¹⁰¹
- William Newton-Smith, a retired philosophy professor, at Oxford University, is a trustee. He is also the head of the Open Society Foundations International Higher Education Support Program Academic Advisory Committee and a trustee of the Open Society Foundation-London.¹⁰² He was formerly a member of the board of the Roma Education Fund.¹⁰³

The presence of Aryeh Neier and William Newton-Smith as trustees of OSI-Zug suggests that foundation activities are overseen, at least nominally, by the OSF in New York City. The extent of their participation in operations and grant-making decisions is unknown, although given the range of Neier’s other responsibilities it is questionable if his role was significant or regular. His participation, as well as that of

97 See http://www.edoceo.ch/de/swiss_foundation_in_support_of_human_rights_watch_CH17070006556.aspx. Web site currently unavailable. Reference is to archived web page in possession of the author.

98 http://www.edoceo.ch/en/roma_education_fund_CH17070006240.aspx

99 See <http://www.stadlin.ch/english/profilebu.htm>

100 http://www.edoceo.ch/de/swiss_foundation_in_support_of_human_rights_watch_CH17070006556.aspx Web site currently unavailable. Reference is to archived web page in possession of the author.

101 See http://www.ceu.hu/profiles/faculty/istvan_rev

102 See http://www.soros.org/initiatives/hesp/focus/afp/aacmembers_20101021.pdf; <http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/ContactAndTrustees.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1105069&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

103 See <http://web.ceu.hu/sep/spo/events.html>

Newton-Smith, however, demonstrates that OSI-Zug is not a wholly independent entity whose activities are somehow outside of OSF supervision or notice. Suzanne Wettenschiler Bucher declined to answer queries regarding the Open Society Development Foundation or the Foundation Open Society Institute.

To the extent that it can be reconstructed, OSI-Zug funding appears to be directed at a variety of international causes in South America, Europe, Africa and Asia.¹⁰⁴ It also supports projects in the United States, including Revenue Watch,¹⁰⁵ the Sunlight Foundation,¹⁰⁶ and a major initiative called the “Alliance for Progressive Communications,” which is an offshoot of the Tides Foundation.¹⁰⁷ A full listing of OSI-Zug grants does not appear to be available. Interestingly, OSI-Zug funding is sometimes made in addition to other grants from OSF entities.

The nature of OSI-Zug operations borders on secretive. An agreement with a recipient, the “Association for Reintegration of Sentenced Prisoners” in Bulgaria, includes an unusual provision:

10. THE COALITION is obliged to acknowledge the OSI-Zug support in all appropriate literature and advertisements related to the Project, and other venues where sponsor contributions are mentioned. It shall be done by citing “OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE”. Any other use of OSI-Zug’s name shall not be made without express written approval from OSI-Zug.¹⁰⁸

It is unclear whether this provision is meant to protect the recipient from the ramifications of

104 See http://www.moneyhouse.ch/en/u/osi_development_foundation_CH-170.7.000.529-2.htm

105 See http://archive-2011.revenuewatch.org/files/RWI_2009_Financial_Statements_Final.pdf

106 See <http://sunlightfoundation.com/about/funding/>

107 See <http://repository.apc.org/node/386> Archived web page in possession of the author.

108 See <http://www.arspbg.org/cgi-bin/e-cms/vis/vis.pl?s=001&p=0053&n=000004&g=>

having received a grant from a Swiss entity or whether it is intended to disguise the existence of OSI-Zug. Many other projects and materials sponsored by OSI-Zug credit the foundation freely.¹⁰⁹ In some cases OSI-Zug funds projects through other OSF entities.¹¹⁰ In addition, the UK based Open Society Foundation-London reports that OSI-Zug “is the major funding source for OSF’s activities.” In 2010 that amounted to £11,353,432.¹¹¹

Besides her administrative roles for OSI-Zug and other entities, neither Suzanne Wettenschiler nor Raoul Bucher has any apparent connection to other philanthropic enterprises. Their activities with OSI-Zug are not mentioned on the Stadlin firm website. Wettenschiler Bucher’s involvement with OSF is not acknowledged by that organization. There is one reference to her in an OSF supported publication about the Roma that is available on the OSF website but her role with OSI-Zug is not mentioned.¹¹²

One possibility is that OSI-Zug simply operates with minimal supervision and makes its own funding decisions. This seems improbable given that OSI-Zug is the sole supporter of OSF-London, to the considerable amount of \$17,000,000.¹¹³ Alternately, OSI-Zug’s quiet operations may provide a measure of confidentiality and/or plausible deniability for OSF. The legal backgrounds of Wettenschiler Bucher and Bussmann suggests that OSI-Zug may simply be a local shell for grants and other institutional funding decisions ultimately made

109 E.g., <http://www.ucss.ge/upload/.../c0e9f1dd237f0a4b577f7547b29e8349.pdf>; http://www.iic.lv/en/projects/quality_inclusive.html

110 E.g., <http://www.scribd.com/doc/63742988/mirlan-uulu-CTR-2011>

111 http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends69/0001105069_ac_20101231_e_c.pdf

112 http://www.soros.org/initiatives/arts/articles_publications/publications/paradise_20090615/paradise_20090615.pdf#%20. Searches for her name as well as Raoul Bussmann at OSF websites produced no results.

113 See the Open Society Foundation report for 2010 to the UK Charity Commission, available at http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends69/0001105069_ac_20101231_e_c.pdf, especially page 27.

in New York and funded through unknown sources. Their former role as administrators for organizations supported by OSF, including the Roma Educational Fund and the local Swiss Human Rights Watch support organization, also indicates a high level of coordination with OSF.

LARGE-SCALE SOROS FAMILY GIVING RELATED TO JEWISH, ISRAEL, MIDDLE EAST, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

There are a variety of Jewish and Israeli causes represented in Soros family giving, including religious institutions (see Appendix Two). As previously noted, these causes comprise only a small percentage of Soros family foundation giving. Personal giving claimed as a charitable contribution by individual family members is reported on personal tax returns, which are not in the public domain. Other large individual gifts, however, are problematic.

Human Rights Watch

The largest single grant made by George Soros, other than to his own Open Society Foundation, was a \$100 million matching gift made in 2010 to Human Rights Watch through the Foundation to Promote Open Society. In a statement released at the time of the gift Soros commented that, “Human Rights Watch is one of the most effective organizations I support... Human rights underpin our greatest aspirations: they’re at the heart of open societies.”¹¹⁴ The organization stated at the time that the Soros gift, and subsequent gifts, would allow it to increase its annual budget from \$48 million to \$80 million and to increase its staff and global coverage, particularly in Asia and Africa. The stated goal was to internationalize the reach and support for the organization. As Kenneth Roth, the organization’s executive director, put it, “We need to be able to shape the foreign policies

114 See “George Soros to Give \$100 million to Human Rights Watch,” Human Rights Watch, September 7, 2010 at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2010/09/07/global-challenge>

of these emerging powers, much as we have traditionally done with Western powers.”¹¹⁵

In comments to the press, Soros contextualized his gift in two ways, his progressing age, and his perception of the American and global political situation: “I’m afraid the United States has lost the moral high ground under the Bush administration, but the principles that Human Rights Watch promotes have not lost their universal applicability... So to be more effective, I think the organization has to be seen as more international, less an American organization.”¹¹⁶

Human Rights Watch is one of the world’s largest and most influential NGOs but it has been severely criticized for its unusually disproportionate and harsh focus on Israel.¹¹⁷ The organization has long articulated a policy supporting the Palestinian claim of a “right of return” as part of a comprehensive peace agreement between Israel and Arab states.¹¹⁸ Human Rights Watch has been quick to judge Israeli actions, relying on unsubstantiated allegations that have frequently been proven false. Examples of this include allegations that Israeli military forces had committed a “massacre” in 2002 during operations in Jenin, which were later disproven in a report from the organization published many months later.¹¹⁹ Similar patterns of sensationalized allegations followed much

later by exculpatory investigations were repeated many times, particularly during the 2006 Lebanon war and the 2009 Gaza operation.¹²⁰

A series of annual analyses by NGO Monitor demonstrates the quantitative and qualitative emphasis on Israel and relative neglect of abuses in other Middle Eastern and North African countries.¹²¹ For example, in 2009, Israel was the subject of a full 28% of the reporting and commentary from Human Rights Watch. A controversial fundraising visit that year to Saudi Arabia by the organization’s Middle East and North Africa division director, Sarah Leah Whitson, saw her tout their work providing “the international community with evidence of Israel using white phosphorus and launching systematic destructive attacks on civilian targets. Pro-Israel pressure groups in the US, the European Union and the United Nations have strongly resisted the report and tried to discredit it.”¹²²

Criticisms of the Saudi fundraising trip and the tone of Whitson’s remarks were met with evasions and *ad hominem* attacks on critics from the organization.¹²³ Whitson, an attorney who had previously volunteered for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, is one of a number of Human Rights Watch Middle East staffers with a long background in anti-Israel

115 C. Lynch, “With \$100 million Soros gift, Human Rights Watch looks to expand global reach,” *The Washington Post*, September 12, 2010, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/11/AR2010091105057.html>

116 Stephanie Strom, “Soros to Donate \$100 Million to Rights Group,” *The New York Times*, September 6, 2010, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/07/business/07gift.html?_r=2

117 See NGO Monitor, “Human Rights Watch (HRW),” January 30, 2013, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/human_rights_watch_hr_w_

118 See <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/campaigns/israel/return/>; NGO Monitor, NGOs Promoting the Palestinian “Right of Return,” June 05, 2011 available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngos_promoting_the_palestinian_right_of_return_

119 See Gerald Steinberg, “Recalling the Jenin ‘massacre’ libel,” *The Jerusalem Post*, April 8, 2012, available at <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-EdContributors/Article.aspx?id=265332>; H. Goodman and J. Cummings, eds., *The Battle of Jenin: A Case Study in Israel’s Communications Strategy*, (Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 2003).

120 NGO Monitor, *Experts or Ideologues? A Systematic Analysis of Human Rights Watch’s Focus on Israel*, (Jerusalem, 2009), 22-46 available at <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/hrw.pdf>

121 See NGO Monitor, *Examining Human Rights Watch in 2008: Double Standards and Post-Colonial Ideology*, January 13, 2009, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/hrw_annual_report_; NGO Monitor, *Obsession and Scandals: HRW in 2009*, January 05, 2010, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/obsession_and_scandals_hr_w_in_; NGO Monitor, *HRW in 2010: More Bias, Even Less Credibility*, January 06, 2011 available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/hrw_in_more_bias_even_less_credibility

122 <http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=1§ion=0&article=122880&d=26&m=5&y=2009>

123 J. Goldberg, “Fundraising Corruption at Human Rights Watch,” *The Atlantic*, July 15, 2009, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2009/07/fundraising-corruption-at-human-rights-watch/21345/>

activism. Other staffers include Joe Stork¹²⁴, a co-founder of the far left and anti-Israel group Middle East Research and Information Project, and Lucy Mair, formerly with Center on Housing Rights and Evictions.¹²⁵ Human Rights Watch officials have conceded that the organization frequently hires staffers with “solidarity backgrounds” but they claim that “when they come to the door of this organization, they park those things behind.”¹²⁶

Other analyses of HRW, as well as Amnesty International, have demonstrated that states with major press coverage, including the United States and Israel, received disproportionate amounts of attention from the organizations, while smaller or authoritarian states often received far less. This cycle is related in large part to the need for “visibility and impact” perceived by the organizations themselves, which creates a feedback loop of press and advocacy attention.¹²⁷ In the broader sense, studies have shown that the relevance of a country to Western policy and interests strongly influences Human Rights Watch and other similar organizations.¹²⁸ This in turn supposedly increases the organizations’ potential impact on Western policy as well as its fundraising potential.

The most pointed criticism of HRW has come from its founder, Robert Bernstein. In a 2009 opinion piece in the *New York Times* Bernstein noted that at “Human Rights Watch, we always recognized that open, democratic societies have faults and commit abuses. But we saw that they

have the ability to correct them — through vigorous public debate, an adversarial press and many other mechanisms that encourage reform.” But he then went on to lament that the organization “casts aside its important distinction between open and closed societies” and that in “recent years Human Rights Watch has written far more condemnations of Israel for violations of international law than of any other country in the region.”¹²⁹

Once Bernstein’s criticism became public, additional reporting indicated divisions within the organization’s board.¹³⁰ The response from the organization itself, however, was harshly critical of Bernstein. The past chairs of the Human Rights Watch board, Jane Olson and Jonathan Fanton, castigated Bernstein in a letter to the *New York Times*, rejecting his opinion that the organization should focus on closed rather than open societies and falsely claiming that Bernstein had demanded “that Israel should be judged by a different human rights standard than the rest of the world.”¹³¹ Aryeh Neier was also particularly critical. His response berated Bernstein, disagreed strongly with the insistence that human rights groups should focus on closed rather than open societies, and misrepresented the laws of armed conflict in a way that effectively equated Israeli actions with those of al-Qaida.¹³²

Human Rights Watch’s response to the rare public discussion of its Middle East policies and, even more unusually, its internal politics, also came from Kathleen Peratis, an attorney who had long been a co-chair of the organization’s advisory committee on the Middle East and North

124 Ben-Dror Yemini, “Human Rights Groups: Crimes Against Humanity,” Gatestone Institute, August 31, 2009 available at <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/762/human-rights-groups-crimes-against-humanity>

125 Experts or Ideologues? A Systematic Analysis of Human Rights Watch’s Focus on Israel, (Jerusalem, NGO Monitor, 2009), 1-21 available at <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/hrw.pdf>; <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2009/09/03/1007523/op-ed-who-are-israels-accusers#>

126 <http://www.tnr.com/print/article/minority-report-2>

127 J. Ron and H. Ramos, “Why are the United States and Israel at the Top of Human Rights Hit Lists?” *Foreign Policy*, 3 November 2009

128 J. Ron, H. Ramos, and K. Rodgers, “What Shapes the West’s Human Rights Focus?” *Contexts* 5 (2006): 23-28.

129 R. Bernstein, “Rights Watchdog, Lost in the Mideast,” *The New York Times*, October 19, 2009 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/20/opinion/20bernstein.html>

130 B. Birnbaum, “Minority Report,” *The New Republic*, April 27, 2010 available at <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/minority-report-2#>

131 J. Olson and J. Fanton “Crossfire: A Rights Group and Israel,” *The New York Times*, October 20, 2009 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/21/opinion/21israel.html>

132 A. Neier, “Human Rights Watch Should Not Be Criticized for Doing Its Job,” *The Huffington Post*, November 2, 2009, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/aryeh-neier/human-rights-watch-should_b_342680.html

Africa. She denied the organization had any bias. Among other things, Peratis stated “There is no bias against Israel at Human Rights Watch except in the minds of those who erroneously believe Israel is harmed by honest criticism. Far from harming it, I believe this work strengthens Israel.”¹³³ Peratis at that time was also vice chair of the J Street Education Fund and former North American vice chair of the New Israel Fund.¹³⁴

The imbroglio over Bernstein’s internal and then public criticism of Human Rights Watch during 2009, and his explicit argument regarding the contrasts between open and closed societies, evidently did not resonate with Soros, who announced his enormous gift to the organization almost exactly one year later.¹³⁵ The *Guardian* noted that Soros’ “donation comes at an opportune moment for HRW. The group has had a turbulent year, sustaining criticism for its reporting on Gaza war crimes... Its own co-founder, Robert Bernstein, has accused the group of bias against Israel in its handling of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.”¹³⁶

According to some, the gift was likely made to rescue HRW from rapidly decreasing donations, including the loss of major donors, due to the criticism by Bernstein and others.¹³⁷ The fact that Soros made the announcement personally, and that it was construed by the recipient as a Soros gift, demonstrates that the Foundation to Promote Open Society, although part of the Open Society network, should be understood as a family foundation.

133 K. Peratis, “CORRESPONDENCE: We’re Actually Good for Israel,” *The New Republic*, April 26, 2010 available at <http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/correspondence-were-actually-good-israel>

134 See <http://www.lawyer.com/kathleen-peratis.html>

135 E. Pilkington, “George Soros gives \$100 million to Human Rights Watch,” *The Guardian*, September 7, 2010 available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/sep/07/george-soros-100-million-human-rights-watch>

136 Ibid.

137 See Jonathan Chait, “More On Human Rights Watch,” *The New Republic*, October 20, 2009 available at <http://www.tnr.com/blog/more-human-rights-watch> and Ben Birnbaum, “Minority Report,” *The New Republic*, April 27, 2010 available at <http://www.tnr.com/article/minority-report-2#>

J Street

Another recipient of Soros family philanthropy is the lobbying organization J Street.¹³⁸ The organization was created in 2008 as a self-proclaimed liberal alternative to AIPAC under the slogan “pro-Israel, pro-peace.” It consists of three components, a 501(c)(4) lobbying arm called J Street, a political action committee called J Street PAC, and a 501(c)(3) charitable organization called J Street Education Fund, Inc. Each of these has a somewhat complicated history in which Jeremy Ben-Ami is a central figure.

Ben-Ami had worked as Deputy Domestic Policy Adviser in the Clinton administration and then went on to hold positions with the unsuccessful campaigns of Mark Green for New York mayor and Howard Dean for president in 2003-2004. He later consulted with a Washington communications firm specializing in progressive non-profits, Fenton Communications.¹³⁹ Having undertaken an unsuccessful attempt at immigrating to Israel, and coming from a Zionist background, Ben-Ami had long been interested in the American Jewish relationship with Israel and by 2006 had become involved in organizing left-wing Jewish organizations.¹⁴⁰

Early accounts of J Street’s creation stated that in “late 2006 a different group of philanthropists and activists, including Ben-Ami, began to talk about combining the progressive organizations into a more powerful and influential collective

138 See <http://jstreet.org/>; See also Lenny Ben-David, “Twenty-Six Reasons J Street’s Demise Shouldn’t Be Mourned,” *PJ Media*, February 22, 2011 available at <http://pjmedia.com/blog/twenty-six-reasons-j-street%E2%80%99s-demise-shouldn%E2%80%99t-be-mourned/>

139 Fenton Communications also has extensive relations with the Tides Foundation. See http://activistcash.com/organization_overview.cfm/o/225-tides-foundation--tides-center

140 M. Katz, “The Man on J Street: The Story of Jeremy Ben-Ami,” *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, March 2010 available at <http://www.fmep.org/analysis/analysis/the-man-on-j-street-the-story-of-jeremy-ben-ami>

body.”¹⁴¹ Only later did it emerge that Ben-Ami had worked closely with, among others, Morton Halperin, his former White House colleague and an OSF consultant (see above), in seeking funding for a new liberal Jewish Zionist organization. This included a fall 2006 meeting with a number of philanthropists including George Soros, who it was later reported, declined to support the effort.¹⁴²

In the fall of 2007, enough start-up funding was available that Ben-Ami ended his relationship with Fenton Communications and began working full-time for the nascent J Street. Later reporting indicated that key funding was received from Alan Sagner, a retired New Jersey real estate developer and trustee of the Democratic National Committee,¹⁴³ the Nathan Cummings Foundation, then directed by Lance Lindblom, a former Executive Vice President of the Open Society Institute, and Davidi Gilo, an Israeli high-tech investor who had long been active in Israeli left-wing politics. Gilo had been, along with Soros and a number of other wealthy individuals from high-tech and investment industries, a founder of the “Democracy Alliance.”¹⁴⁴ The group provided the financial backing for the creation of the Center for American Progress (see below).

Later accounts also stressed how J Street was designed to merge several progressive Jewish Zionist organizations, including Brit Tzedek v'Shalom and the Israel Policy Forum.¹⁴⁵ The lobbying group J Street was formed from an obscure organization called “Americans for Peace and Security in Israel,” of which Jeremy

141 J. Traub, “The New Israel Lobby,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 2009 available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/13/magazine/13JStreet-t.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all

142 M. Katz, “The Man on J Street: The Story of Jeremy Ben-Ami,” *Foundation for Middle East Peace*, March 2010, op. cit.

143 See <http://tcf.org/about/board/alan-sagner>

144 D. Callahan, *Fortunes of Change: The Rise of the Liberal Rich and the Remaking of America*, (New York; John Wiley, 2010), 154-156.

145 M. Katz, “The Man on J Street: The Story of Jeremy Ben-Ami,” *Moment*, March/April 2010 available at <http://archive.is/xiEE>

Ben-Ami was the director and treasurer. The organization was run out of Ben-Ami’s home in Washington, D.C., which he purchased in 2006. It is unclear precisely when the precursor organization was formed. Davidi Gilo was listed as the unpaid president and Deborah Sagner, wife of benefactor Alan Sagner, was a director, along with political consultant and pollster, and former Democratic Party official Jim Gerstein. In the spring of 2008, “Americans for Peace and Security in Israel” was renamed J Street. That year, Morton Halperin joined the organization’s board of directors.

JStreetPAC also began as a part of “Americans for Peace and Security in Israel,” specifically the “AFSIPAC,” directed by Ben-Ami with Carinne Luck as treasurer. Like the “Americans for Peace and Security in Israel” parent organization, it is unclear precisely when the PAC was formed, although the latter half of 2007 seems likely. The organization was essentially inactive at the end of 2007 and according the U.S. Federal Election Commission had \$500 in assets at the end of that year. The only contribution it listed was \$500 from Ben-Ami himself, who continued to use his title as Vice President for Public Relations at Fenton Communications, and who registered the organization at his employer’s address.

When it next reported, in April 2008, it had been renamed JStreetPAC and had \$44,815 in assets. An April 2008 press item had Ben-Ami characterizing it as an alternative to AIPAC, whose position he implicitly described as “to oppose any Israeli policy is to be anti-Israel.”¹⁴⁶ At the same time, he declined to name any donors to the lobbying component, saying only that several individuals had given gifts of \$100,000.¹⁴⁷

By July of that year, the PAC assets had increased to \$191,926, and by year’s end, the figure was \$855,298. Initial contributors included Davidi Gilo, Sidney Topol, Chairman of the Board of

146 N. A. Lewis, “U.S. Jews Create New Lobby to Temper Israel Policy,” *The New York Times*, April 25, 2008 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/25/washington/25lobby.html>

147 Ibid.

Scientific Atlanta, who had been involved with the progressive Zionist groups Ameinu and Americans for Peace Now, prominent New York lawyer Victor Kovner, who had also been involved with American for Peace Now, attorney Micky Ordover and her husband, retired engineer Frank Bamberger, and investment manager Neil Barsky. None besides Davidi had any apparent connection to George Soros or the Open Society network. Contributors to the organization became more controversial in 2009 when it was revealed that a number of them had connections with Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and the Arab American community.¹⁴⁸

The “J Street Education Fund” originated with yet another organization, the “Union of Progressive Zionists,” (UPZ) an American campus group. At the end of August 2008, the UPZ had just \$54,000 in assets and no paid employees. Ben-Ami’s “Americans for Peace and Security in Israel” associate Carinne Luck, also one of UPZ’s board of directors, signed the revised Form 990 in 2010. By the end of 2009, the newly reborn organization, with Jeremy Ben-Ami as the executive director, had net assets of \$378,000, having raised a million dollars in the previous year and a half. Only a few of the previous UPZ directors remained. New directors included Charney Bromberg of Meretz USA, Bruce Temkin of the New Israel Fund, and Carinne Luck. No Soros family member or individual obviously linked to Soros appears to have been involved, although the New Israel Fund is a major recipient of OSF funding.

A variety of controversies have dogged the J Street entities. Board member Morton Halperin was found to have been the author of a document circulated on Capitol Hill in the name of Richard Goldstone, the South African jurist and head of a United Nations act-finding mission to Gaza

in 2009. The document expressed opposition to American legislators who had condemned Goldstone’s extremely negative and one-sided report on Israeli military operations in Gaza.¹⁴⁹ Goldstone also stated that Halperin had played a role in arranging visits to American lawmakers in support of the Gaza report.¹⁵⁰ This assertion was confirmed by Congressional aides, who also indicated that Halperin had facilitated the interviews in a personal capacity and not as a J Street board member.¹⁵¹ Ben-Ami later denied that the organization had attempted to arrange or facilitate Goldstone’s visits.¹⁵² Goldstone’s “reconsideration”¹⁵³ of his previously severe findings about Israel and Gaza was later welcomed by J Street.¹⁵⁴

J Street co-founder Daniel Levy,¹⁵⁵ co-director of the Middle East Task Force at the New America Foundation (another OSF grant recipient), hosted Goldstone at that organization during his visit to Washington.¹⁵⁶ Prior to Goldstone’s “reconsideration,” Levy also called his report a “wake-up call” that required Israel to conduct

149 M. Goldfarb, “J Street Adviser Morton Halperin Goes to Work for Goldstone,” *The Weekly Standard*, Oct 30, 2009 available at http://www.weeklystandard.com/weblogs/TWSFP/2009/10/j_street_adviser_morton_halper.asp

150 E. Lake and B. Birnbaum, “Israel lobby aided Hill visits for U.N. report author,” *The Washington Times*, September 29, 2010, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/sep/29/israel-lobby-aided-hill-visits-un-report-author/print/>

151 R. Kampeas, “Top Dems defend Goldstone meetings, say J Street uninvolved,” *JTA*, October 4, 2010 available at <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2010/10/04/2741131/top-dems-defend-goldstone-meetings-say-j-street-uninvolved>

152 G. Shefler, “J Street under fire after attempting to aid Goldstone,” *The Jerusalem Post*, October 3, 2010, available at <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=189962>

153 R. Goldstone, “Reconsidering the Goldstone Report on Israel and war crimes,” *The Washington Post*, April 1, 2011, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/reconsidering-the-goldstone-report-on-israel-and-war-crimes/2011/04/01/AFg111JC_story.html

154 B. Birnbaum, “Leftist Israel lobby J Street welcomes Goldstone war-crimes retraction,” *The Washington Times*, available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/apr/5/goldstone-retracts-war-crime-charges-against-israel/>

155 See <http://newamerica.net/user/89>

156 E. Lake and B. Birnbaum, “Israel lobby” op. cit.

148 L. Ben-David, “Why Does J Street Attract the Friends of Saudi Arabia?” *PJ Media*, October 5, 2009 available at <http://pjmedia.com/blog/why-does-j-street-attract-the-friends-of-saudi-arabia/>; See also Lenny Ben-David, “Twenty-Six Reasons J Street’s Demise Shouldn’t Be Mourned,” *PJ Media*, February 22, 2011 available at <http://pjmedia.com/blog/twenty-six-reasons-j-street%E2%80%99s-demise-shouldn%E2%80%99t-be-mourned/>

investigations.¹⁵⁷ Most controversially, Levy was recorded saying at the Fifth Al Jazeera Forum, “I believe the way Jewish history was in 1948 excused – for me, it was good enough for me – an act that was wrong. I don’t expect Palestinians to think that. I have no reason – there’s no reason a Palestinian should think there was justice in the creation of Israel.”¹⁵⁸ The organization later posted a defense of the remarks, stating that they had been deliberately misinterpreted.¹⁵⁹

Other J Street figures have also been controversial. Board member and vice chair of the J Street Education Fund, Kathleen Peratis – also associated with HRW and the New Israel Fund – made two apparently personal visits to Gaza in 2011.¹⁶⁰ Her actions were sufficiently controversial, however, that the organization was forced to issue a public disavowal.¹⁶¹

J Street’s political advocacy activities have been as controversial as its leadership’s. Notable instances have included calling on the U.S. administration not to veto a resolution in the United Nations Security Council condemning Israeli settlement.¹⁶² This stance prompted

157 D. Levy, “Israel must now heal itself,” *The Guardian*, September 18, 2009, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/sep/18/israel-goldstone-report>

158 O. Ceren, “J Street Co-Founder Daniel Levy: Israel’s Creation ‘An Act That Was Wrong,’” *Mere Rhetoric*, October 5, 2010 available at <http://www.mererhetoric.com/2010/10/05/j-street-co-founder-daniel-levy-israel%E2%80%99s-creation-an-act-that-was-wrong/>

159 “J Street supports Israeli statehood,” *J Street Blog*, November 30, 2010, available at http://jstreet.org/blog/post/j-street-supports-israeli-statehood_1

160 K. Peratis, “Gaza’s ‘Tunnel Economy’ Is Booming,” *The Jewish Daily Forward*, November 16, 2011, available at <http://forward.com/articles/146339/gazas-tunnel-economy-is-booming/>; Kathleen Peratis, “One Day in Gaza,” *The Nation*, May 19, 2011, available at <http://www.thenation.com/article/160800/one-day-gaza>

161 “Statement on Kathleen Peratis’ visit to Gaza,” *J Street Blog*, November 28th, 2011 available at <http://jstreet.org/blog/post/statement-on-kathleen-peratis039-visit-to-gaza>

162 “New J Street Policy Statement on Settlement Expansion & UN Security Council Resolution,” *J Street Blog*, January 20th, 2011, available at http://jstreet.org/blog/post/new-j-street-policy-statement-on-settlement-expansion-amp-un-security-council-resolution_1; See also “Jewish groups ask Obama not to veto settlements resolution,” *JTA*, January 20, 2011 available at <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2011/01/20/2742622/former-officials-policy-wonks-urge-obama-to-back-un-resolution>

Congressman Gary Ackerman to sharply criticize the organization¹⁶³ and return its contributions. In turn, J Street issued a personal attack¹⁶⁴ for which it later apologized.¹⁶⁵ J Street also publicly defended a letter signed by 54 US Congressmen that asked the US Administration to demand Israel lift the closure of Gaza.¹⁶⁶ Initially, J Street opposed expanded sanctions against Iran regarding its unacknowledged nuclear program.¹⁶⁷ Though this position changed, J Street strongly objects to the prospect of military action and has continued to call for diplomatic solutions.¹⁶⁸

A link between Soros and J Street had long been rumored but the organization denied it, as did Ben-Ami personally. These denials were reported by the press in the spring of 2008.¹⁶⁹ Speaking of the unsuccessful 2006 solicitation, Ben-Ami stated, “We got tagged as having his support without the benefit of actually getting funded!”¹⁷⁰ In the fall of 2010, however, a blogger obtained

163 R. Kampeas, “Ackerman cuts off J Street,” *JTA*, January 25, 2011 available at <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2011/01/25/2742706/ackerman-cuts-off-j-street>

164 “J Street Responds to Rep. Gary Ackerman,” *J Street Blog*, January 25th, 2011, available at <http://jstreet.org/blog/post/j-street-responds-to-rep-gary-ackerman>

165 “Being on the right side of history,” *J Street Blog*, January 31st, 2011, available at <http://jstreet.org/blog/post/Being-on-the-right-side-of-history>; also see Adam Kredo, “UPDATED: ‘Gary Ackerman attacks you,’” *Washington Jewish Week*, January 28, 2011, available at <http://washingtonjewishweek.com/main.asp?SectionID=57&SubSectionID=76&ArticleID=14273>

166 H. Susskind and L. Friedman, “Enough is enough,” *The Jerusalem Post*, February 21, 2010, available at <http://www.jpost.com/LandedPages/PrintArticle.aspx?id=169305>

167 J. Ben-Ami and T. Parsi, “How Diplomacy with Iran Can Succeed,” *The Huffington Post*, June 11, 2009 available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jeremy-benami/how-diplomacy-with-iran-c_b_214407.html

168 “J Street Supports Iran Threat Reduction and Syria Human Rights Act of 2012,” *J Street Blog*, July 31st, 2012, available at http://jstreet.org/blog/post/j-street-supports-iran-threat-reduction-and-syria-human-rights-act-of-2012_1

169 J. Kosterlitz, “Pushing Israel from Both Sides,” *National Journal*, April 12th, 2008, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20110807064823/http://www.jstreet.org/wp-content/uploads/images/_2008-04-12_on_New_American_Voices_on_Israel.pdf

170 M. Goldfarb, “J Street Exposed,” *The Weekly Standard*, September 24, 2010, available at <http://m.weeklystandard.com/blogs/j-street-exposed>

an unredacted copy of J Street's 2008 Form 990 which revealed that Soros, daughter Andrea and son Jonathan, had provided a significant three year gift of \$750,000 beginning in early 2008.¹⁷¹ After the initial reporting regarding the Soros family's gift, J Street continued to deny that it received such funding.¹⁷²

Following much public controversy, the organization eventually admitted receiving the gift and Ben-Ami made the following statement, "I accept responsibility personally for being less than clear about Mr. Soros' support once he did become a donor. I said Mr. Soros did not help launch J Street or provide its initial funding, and that is true. I also said we would be happy to take his support. But I did not go the extra step to add that he did in fact start providing support in the fall of 2008, six months after our launch."¹⁷³ A spokesman for Soros was also quoted as having said the family had never concealed its support for the organization.¹⁷⁴ The organization's 2011 annual report acknowledges support from George Soros and his son Alex but does not mention Jonathan or Andrea Soros.¹⁷⁵

Another large unexplained gift of \$811,697 to J Street originated with an individual named Consolacion Esdicul, a resident of Happy Valley, Hong Kong. Subsequent reporting indicated that she was solicited by William Benter, a Pittsburgh-based philanthropist, chief executive officer of Acusis, a medical services firm, and

171 "J-Street, a Fake Israel Advocacy Group LIED About George Soros Connection," The Lid, September 24, 2010, op. cit. Eli Lake, "Soros revealed as funder of liberal Jewish-American lobby," The Washington Times, September 24, 2010, op. cit.

172 C. Good, "J Street's Half-Truths and Non-Truths About Its Funding," The Atlantic, September 24, 2010 available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/09/j-streets-half-truths-and-non-truths-about-its-funding/63541/>

173 N. Mozgovaya, "Billionaire George Soros revealed as mystery J Street donor," Haaretz, September 26, 2010 available at <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/billionaire-george-soros-revealed-as-mystery-j-street-donor-1.315700>; "Explanation of George Soros & J Street Funding," J Street Blog, September 26th, 2010 available at <http://jstreet.org/blog/post/Explanation-of-George-Soros-J-Street-Funding>

174 N. Mozgovaya, "Billionaire..." op. cit.

175 <https://s3.amazonaws.com/jstreet-media-website/JSt2011AnnualReport.pdf>

a noted bettor on Hong Kong horse races.¹⁷⁶ Neither Benter nor Esdicul have any apparent connection to Israel, the Middle East, or Jewish causes.

When questioned about Esdicul and Benter, Ben-Ami stated, "As we were launching J Street, Bill committed to contribute and to help raise substantial funds for the effort should we get it off the ground... One contribution he helped raise was from Ms. Esdicul, a business associate from Hong Kong, where he lives for part of the year and has business holdings."¹⁷⁷ It was also revealed in 2012 that Benter was a major contributor to Media Matters, which had employed M.J. Rosenberg until his controversial firing after using antisemitic language in several statements. Benter is also a contributor to other causes including MoveOn.org and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.¹⁷⁸ The J Street 2011 report acknowledges support from Benter but does not mention Esdicul.¹⁷⁹ J Street has also received donations from several Palestinians, Lebanese-Americans, and US State Department officials.¹⁸⁰

Though George Soros expressed deep dissatisfaction with AIPAC on several occasions, there is no evidence to suggest that he personally inspired or directed the creation of J Street. However, he and his family did personally provide donations that were critical to the organization's launch, indicating he was informed regarding the situation. The involvement of Morton Halperin and Lance Lindblom suggest that Soros may

176 C. Good, "J Street's Half-Truths and Non-Truths About Its Funding," The Atlantic, September 24, 2010, available at <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/09/j-streets-half-truths-and-non-truths-about-its-funding/63541/>

177 "Explanation of George Soros & J Street Funding," op. cit.

178 V. Coglianese, "Hong Kong gambler bankrolls Media Matters, may have helped endow foreign policy voice," The Daily Caller, March 9, 2012, available at <http://dailycaller.com/2012/03/09/hong-kong-gambler-bankrolls-media-matters-may-have-helped-endow-foreign-policy-voice/>

179 J Street Annual Report 2011, available at <https://s3.amazonaws.com/jstreet-media-website/JSt2011AnnualReport.pdf>

180 H. Leila Kreiger, "Muslims, Arabs among J Street donors," The Jerusalem Post, August 14, 2009, available at <http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=151811>

have become involved with the organization through one or both of them. Alternatively, the role of Davidi Gilo and other members of the “Democracy Alliance” may have been the vector through which Soros became involved. The Soros family did not publicize the donations and for some eighteen months JStreet claimed falsely that there had been none. How Benter and Esdicol became involved with J Street was never fully explained.

Genevieve Lohman Lynch, a major donor to both J Street and J StreetPAC, is also a member of the Board of Directors of the National Iranian American Council.¹⁸¹ Lynch is the president of, and sole contributor to, the Kenbe Foundation as well as founder of The Pluralism Fund.¹⁸² Her extensive involvement in J Street, JStreetPAC, and NIAC remains unexplained but points to the interrelationship of these organizations’ supporters.¹⁸³

J Street appears to have partially succeeded in placing itself at the center of progressive Zionist activity in North America. The manner in which the organization’s leadership misrepresented Soros family funding and Halperin’s involvement in facilitating Richard Goldstone’s visit to Washington remain problematic.

In general, it appears that the creation of J Street, along with the Center for American Progress and Media Matters in late 2003 and 2004, were part of a larger pattern of progressive organizations being developed and expanded as a means to support the Democratic Party as well as to shift the party’s policies on Israel (see below).

Institute for Middle East Understanding

The Institute for Middle East Understanding

181 See http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=About_lynch

182 See <http://www.zoominfo.com/#!/search/profile/person?personId=235262346&targetid=profile> For the Kenbe Foundation’s 2010 Form 990, which includes the Schedule B of contributors see http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/134/134200004/134200004_201012_990PF.pdf.

183 See page 44 for further information on Genevieve Lynch

is a U.S.-based media organization that “offers journalists and editors quick access to information about Palestine and the Palestinians, as well as expert sources — both in the U.S. and in the Middle East.”¹⁸⁴ Founded in 2005, the organization aims to offer a wide range of information regarding Palestinian politics, life and culture, and about the Arab-Israeli conflict. The organization promotes the BDS movement against Israel,¹⁸⁵ and features a stream of one-sided reports that consistently cast Israel in a strongly negative light.¹⁸⁶ These include accusations of violence, plus endorsements and amplifications of tendentious news reports, such as the accusation made by the CBS program 60 Minutes that Israel is solely responsible for the flight of Christians from the West Bank.¹⁸⁷ The organization’s chairman, former Microsoft official and current venture capitalist Samir Jadallah, has described Israel as an apartheid state.¹⁸⁸

- Jaleh Bisharat, IMEU president, is wife of Hastings College of Law faculty member George Bisharat, a leading figure in legal theory and action against Israel who has long accused Israel of committing war crimes.¹⁸⁹ Secretary/treasurer Lena Khalaf Tuffaha has also accused Israel of being an “apartheid state.”¹⁹⁰ It is of note that IMEU director of external relations Yasmin

184 See <http://imeu.net/>

185 See <http://imeu.net/news/article0019584.shtml>

186 See <http://imeu.net/news/news-and-analysis.shtml>

187 See <http://imeu.net/news/article0022447.shtml>

188 S. Jadallah, “Opinion: U.S. should stand against apartheid in Israel,” Special to the Mercury News, November 17th, 2009 available at <http://web.archive.org/web/20100527123612/http://www.bethlehem.edu/Berlanty/media-coverages/2009-11-17%20Mercury%20News-Sam%20Jadallah-Opinion.pdf>

189 G. E. Bisharat, “Questioning Israel’s Morality,” The Harvard Crimson, March 05, 1983 available at <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1983/3/5/questioning-israels-morality-pbsberious-moral-questions/>; George Bisharat, “Israel Is Committing War Crimes,” The Wall Street Journal, January 10, 2009 available at <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123154826952369919.html>

190 L. Khalaf Tuffaha, “Jimmy Carter and the “A” Word,” Counter Punch, November 16, 2006 available at <http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/11/16/jimmy-carter-and-the-quot-a-quot-word/>

Hamidi had previously been employed by Fenton Communications.¹⁹¹

- Abbas Zuaiter, Chief Operating Officer and Chief Financial Officer of Soros Fund Management, is a board member of IMEU. His precise role with the organization cannot be determined from public sources.

- Nigel Parry, one of the founders of the Electronic Intifada website,¹⁹² is IMEU's website designer.¹⁹³ In addition to his anti-Israel and pro-anarchist activities, he runs a web design and communications consulting firm for non-profits and advocacy organizations. In this capacity Parry has designed and maintained websites for organizations including the United Nations, Birzeit University, the Palestinian Bureau of Statistics, Electronic Iraq, and the American Association for Palestinian Equal rights.¹⁹⁴ One of his articles written for Electronic Intifada has been reposted on IMEU's website.¹⁹⁵

OSF PROGRAMS AND FUNDING IN ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Due to lack of transparency, OSF grant-making procedures in the Arab-Israeli conflict are difficult to understand. Grants to all regions including the Middle East and North Africa are made by a number of programs¹⁹⁶ and both personnel and grant-making criteria cannot be easily assessed. Grants are currently organized around several broad rubrics including Education and Youth, Governance and Accountability, Health,

191 See <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/yasmin-hamidi/0/3a7/555>

192 See <http://nigelparry.com/news/support-independent-reporting.shtml>; <http://electronicintifada.net/people/nigelparry/>; NGO Monitor, "Electronic Intifada," available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/electronic_intifada

193 See <http://nigelparry.net/about/clients>

194 See <http://nigelparry.net/about/clients>

195 N. Parry, "The perfect antidote to the war on terror," The Electronic Intifada, February 1, 2006 reprinted on IMEU website, available at <http://imeu.net/news/article00368.shtml>

196 See <http://www.soros.org/about/policies/grantmaking>

Media and Information, and Rights and Justice. A variety of grant programs for individuals and organization are offered under each rubric.

The Middle East & North Africa Initiative and the Arab Regional Office

Until late 2011 or early 2012 the OSF's Middle East & North Africa Initiative, based in New York and Washington, D.C., made grants through the Arab Regional Office in Amman. For reasons that are unclear, this initiative no longer does so and the Arab Regional Office in Amman appears to have been designated the primary clearinghouse for grants.¹⁹⁷

The Amman office is described as supporting "a diverse group of civil society organizations, research centers, universities, and media organizations across the Arab world in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Tunisia, and Yemen" in six program areas, "Rights & Governance, Media & Information, Women's Rights, Knowledge & Education, Arts & Culture, Arab Transitions."¹⁹⁸

Arab Regional Office personnel include:

- Ammar Abu Zayyad is Senior Program Officer for Rights and Governance. He is a graduate of the University of Virginia Law School. His father is Ziad Abu Zayyad, an attorney and writer, formerly Minister of Jerusalem Affairs for the Palestinian Authority and member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, who also co-founded and edits the Palestine-Israel Journal. Ammar is on the editorial board of the journal.¹⁹⁹ He also received a small grant for his legal education in 2007 from the Open Society Institute.²⁰⁰

197 The web address <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/mena> now redirects to either <http://www.soros.org/about/offices-foundations/arab-regional-office> or to the OSF home page.

198 See <http://www.soros.org/about/offices-foundations/arab-regional-office/background>

199 See <http://www.pij.org/about.php>

200 See 2007 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_200712_990PF.pdf Part XV Line 3

- Hanan Abdel Rahman-Rabbani is Senior Program Officer for Women's Rights. She was formerly head of the Amman Human Rights Office with the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq, managed the "Palestinian Model Parliament: Women and Legislation," project,²⁰¹ and is a former employee of the Ramallah-based Palestinian organization Al-Haq,²⁰² and Amnesty International.²⁰³

- Dalia Zatar is program coordinator. A graduate of McGill University, she worked for the Jordanian Red Crescent, endorsed the call to prosecute the United States for committing "genocide" in Iraq²⁰⁴ and among her causes lists support for the Palestinian "right of return."²⁰⁵

The listed work of the Arab Regional Office includes projects commissioned by earlier OSF entities such as the Middle East & North Africa Initiative and Iraq Revenue Watch but mostly features commentaries by OSF personnel on Middle Eastern and North African affairs.²⁰⁶ A few in-house projects are also featured but there are very few recent events.²⁰⁷ In general it appears that the Arab Regional Office keeps a very low profile, possibly in order to work quietly with local grant recipients. Representatives of the Arab Regional Office did not respond to requests for information in connection with this monograph.

201 See <http://www.gwi-boell.de/web/democracy-arab-revolts-women-rights-balance-3664.html>

202 See <http://www.soros.org/people/hanan-rabbani>

203 See <http://www.gwi-boell.de/web/democracy-arab-revolts-women-rights-balance-3664.html>

204 See <http://www.facebook.com/USgenocide.org/posts/301682849918788>

205 See <http://www.causes.com/profiles/6159658/causes>

206 See [http://www.soros.org/termsearch/7996/?sort=created&order=desc&f\[0\]=field_org_unit%253Atitle%3AArab%20Regional%20Office&f\[1\]=type%3Ablog_entry&f\[2\]=type%3Awork_product&f\[3\]=type%3Aevent](http://www.soros.org/termsearch/7996/?sort=created&order=desc&f[0]=field_org_unit%253Atitle%3AArab%20Regional%20Office&f[1]=type%3Ablog_entry&f[2]=type%3Awork_product&f[3]=type%3Aevent)

207 See <http://www.soros.org/reports/mapping-digital-media-lebanon>

Open Society Justice Initiative

Another OSF project with direct relevance to Israel is the Open Society Justice Initiative. The program "uses law to protect and empower people around the world" and focuses on "accountability for international crimes, racial discrimination and statelessness, criminal justice reform, abuses related to national security and counterterrorism, freedom of information and expression, and natural resource corruption" and engages in "litigation, advocacy, research, and technical assistance."²⁰⁸

The range of Justice Initiative projects is extremely wide and ranges from school segregation in the Czech Republic, illegal detention and police abuse in Kyrgyzstan, to intimidation of journalists in Gambia.²⁰⁹ The Justice Initiative acts on behalf of applicants and as a third party intercessor but most of its submissions do not clarify in which capacity the organization is acting. Submissions are also made under the name of the Justice Initiative and do not indicate which staff members participated in their preparation or submission.

The Justice Initiative has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council and the Council of Europe, and is entitled to lodge complaints with the European Social Charter Committee of the Council of Europe. The Justice Initiative has been involved in only a limited number of cases regarding Israel, mostly at the explicit behest of the Palestinian advocacy group known as Adalah (see below).

Representatives of the Justice Initiative did not respond to requests for information in connection with this monograph.

Funding in Israel

In 2010, only five organizations with operations in Israel received funding from the New

208 See <http://www.soros.org/about/programs/open-society-justice-initiative/background>

209 See <http://www.soros.org/about/programs/open-society-justice-initiative>

York-based Open Society Foundations. These were Gisha (see below), the New Israel Fund, (see below), the I'Lam Media Center for Arab Palestinians in Israel (see below), and two Israeli Arab groups aimed at women's issues and domestic violence, SAWA, and Women Against Violence. Four of these groups (Gisha, I'Lam, SAWA and Women Against Violence) exclusively advocate for Palestinians and Israeli Arabs. The total amount of funding for these five organizations was \$695,500.

The pattern of OSF funding in the Middle East and Asia appears dramatically skewed in other ways. No organizations appear to be supported in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt or Turkey by the New York-based OSF, while only one is funded in Jordan (the base for the OSF's Arab Regional Office, which is the source of support for a variety of local organizations).²¹⁰ Moreover, OSF supports no organizations in India, China, Mongolia and many other states. In contrast, OSF supports 23 organizations in Thailand, 40 in Burma, and 20 in Pakistan. A probable explanation of this pattern is the relative ease or difficulty in operating in particular countries with respect to logistics and local regulations, and the need to channel support through local or regional sources. It is therefore possible that OSF funding to Middle East recipients is provided through intermediaries.

Student Grants

The pattern of individual grants made to students for study in the West is also notable. Some 970 grants to individuals were made or approved in 2010. These originated in a variety of OSF programs and initiatives.

The following table does not include all countries, and counts multiple and future grants to the same individuals.²¹¹

Countries	Number of individual grants given or approved
Palestinian territories	113
Indonesia	65
India	65
Georgia	60
Mongolia	53
Thailand	46
Tajikistan	41
Cambodia	40
Kyrgyzstan	39
Burma	38
Ukraine	33
Moldova	25
Kazakhstan	21
Bosnia and Herzegovina	20
Albania	20
Serbia	18
Russia	15
Israel	14
Afghanistan	12
Armenia	11
Macedonia	10
Laos	10
Canada	9
China	8
Croatia	7
Azerbaijan	6
Uzbekistan	5
Malaysia	3
Egypt	2
Pakistan	1
Nigeria	1
Jordan	1
Guatemala	1
Argentina	1
Peru	1
Total	815

The remainder of the individual grants went to individuals residing in the U.S. or other countries in single digit numbers.

210 See <http://www.soros.org/about/offices-foundations/arab-regional-office>

211 Data compiled from http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_201012_990PF.pdf

No grants were made to individuals in Turkey, Greece, or Syria. Grants to individuals in the West Bank and Gaza comprise approximately 12% of the total number of grants made. That figure is twice as much as the next largest groups of foreign recipients, India and Indonesia. When recipients residing in Israel are added the number increases to 13%. No Jewish Israeli received an OSF individual grant in 2010.²¹²

The figures for the West Bank, Gaza and Israel include the Palestinian Rule of Law Program and the Palestinian Faculty Development Program, administered by AMIDEAST (see below). A total of \$1,966,778 was devoted to recipients from the West Bank, Gaza and Israel.²¹³

PROBLEMATIC OSF RECIPIENTS

There are a number of problematic organizations that have received funding from OSF foundations in addition to the \$100 million gift to Human Rights Watch, as discussed above. Not all of the grants, however, are listed on US-based OSF entity Form 990s and are therefore likely to have been made by an overseas OSF entity. Some explicitly state they receive support from OSI-Zug. Most of these problematic organizations also receive significant or even the bulk of their funding, directly or indirectly, from European governments and/or the European Union.²¹⁴ These organizations include:

Human Rights Watch (see above) in 2009 received \$1.3 million in general support from the Foundation to Promote Open Society, \$424,000 for additional projects, and \$154,000 “to support the response to the emergency in Gaza.” In 2010 it provided \$2.7 million in support and approved a future grant of \$100,000,000, the well-publicized

212 Data compiled from http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_201012_990PE.pdf

213 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_201012_990PE.pdf Part XV Line 3.

214 NGO Monitor, “Foreign Government Funding for Israeli Political NGOs,” available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/foreign_government_funding_for_israeli_political_ngos_

gift announced personally by George Soros. In 2010 the organization also received \$257,000 from OSI, down from \$677,000 in 2009.

Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Rights in Israel

Adalah is an Israeli organization, founded in Haifa that describes itself as “an independent human rights organization and legal center. Established in November 1996, it works to promote and defend the rights of Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel, numbering 1.2 million people or close to 20% of the population, and Palestinians living in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.”²¹⁵

The organization’s activities have included drafting a “democratic constitution” for Israel designed to remove the Jewish foundation for the state and replace it with a “democratic, bilingual and multicultural” framework.²¹⁶ The proposed constitution also incorporated a “right of return of the Palestinian refugees.” The organization has a leading role in promoting the image of Israel as an illegitimate “racist” and “colonial apartheid” state and regularly participates in international forums in order to condemn Israel for alleged violations of human and civil rights.²¹⁷

Connections between Adalah and the Open Society Justice Initiative²¹⁸ are particularly close. Adalah solicited opinions from the Open Society Justice Initiative for petitions to the Israeli High Court of Justice regarding the “Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law,”²¹⁹ as well as in support of the Goldstone report that accused Israel of war crimes during the 2009 Gaza operations.²²⁰ Adalah has also provided candidates for

215 See Adalah website, <http://www.adalah.org/eng/about.php>

216 See http://www.adalah.org/Public/files/democratic_constitution-english.pdf

217 E.g., <http://www.adalah.org/eng/intladvocacy2011.php>

218 See <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice>

219 See http://www.adalah.org/eng/pressreleases/pr.php?file=09_03_09

220 See <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/litigation/gaza/comparative-analysis-20100810.pdf>

Open Society Justice Initiative Scholarships for advanced legal education,²²¹ and Adalah personnel have been frequent speakers at Justice Initiative conferences and events.²²²

It is unknown precisely how Adalah solicited the Open Society Justice Initiative and who were the various contact persons for both organizations. Adalah does report, however, that it hosted OSF Arab Regional Office staffer (and lawyer) Ammar Abu Zayyad in 2009.²²³ Former Adalah staff member Jamil Dakwar, now with the American Civil Liberties Union, moderated an OSI event in 2008 and spoke at another event in 2010.²²⁴ Dakwar also co-edited a human rights report²²⁵ with former OSI staffer and anti-vaccine activist Mia Nitchun.²²⁶ He was also a fellow at Human Rights Watch's Mid-East and North Africa Division.²²⁷

Adalah reported it first received funding from the Open Society Development Foundation in 2001.²²⁸ In 2005 and 2006 Adalah received from Open Society Development Foundation grants of \$200,000 and \$201,660, respectively.²²⁹ Funding to Adalah from The Open Society Foundation grant recipient The New Israel Fund²³⁰ in 2005 and 2006 was \$69,946 and \$199,931 respectively.²³¹ Donations to Adalah

221 See <http://www.adalah.org/eng/scholarship.php>

222 E.g., <http://www.adalah.org/eng/publications/annualrep2006-sum.pdf>

223 See <http://www.adalah.org/features/reports/Adalah%20Half%20Year%20Report%20Jan%20to%20June%2020092.pdf>

224 See <http://www.soros.org/events/obamas-dilemma-guant-namo-and-its-aftermath> <http://www.soros.org/events/ethnic-and-racial-profiling-europe>

225 See http://www.aclu.org/files/pdfs/humanrights/udhr60_report_20090410.pdf

226 See http://americanpersonalrights.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=28

227 See <http://www.aclu.org/human-rights/biography-jamil-dakwar>

228 See <http://www.adalah.org/eng/publications/aar2001.doc>

229 See <http://www.adalah.org/eng/features/audit%2006.pdf>; http://www.adalah.org/upfiles/2011/Adalah_Activities_Jan_to_June_2011.pdf

230 See <http://www.adalah.org/eng/support.php>

231 *ibid.*

in the U.S. and the U.K. are made through the New Israel Fund.²³² which in 2010 and 2011 granted Adalah \$475,950 and \$204,275, respectively.²³³ Adalah lists The Open Society Development Foundation and New Israel Fund (USA and Israel) as donors.²³⁴ Adalah does not make detailed financial statements on grants or expenditures publicly available.

Al-Haq

Al-Haq, a Palestinian organization based in Ramallah, describes its mission as “to protect and promote human rights and the rule of law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.”²³⁵ It is a leader in bringing lawsuits against Israel both in domestic and international contexts and it regularly submits hostile briefs against Israel in international settings. It is also active in efforts to boycott and sanction international firms that work in Israel. As noted above, Arab Regional Office senior program officer Hanan Abdel Rahman-Rabbani is a former Al-Haq employee.²³⁶ Shawan Jabarin, Al Haq's Executive Director has been described by the Israeli Supreme Court as “Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde,” a human rights campaigner by day and a terrorist by night, and “among the senior activists” of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. Department of State.²³⁷ He has been denied travel visas by both Israel and Jordan on account of this connection.²³⁸ This association raises questions of the legality of

232 See <http://www.adalah.org/eng/support.php>

233 NGO Monitor, “NIF 2011 Funding: One Step Forward, One Step Back,” August 31, 2012 available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/nif_funding_one_step_forward_one_step_back

234 See <http://adalah.org/eng/category/97/Donors/1/0/0/>

235 See <http://www.alhaq.org/>

236 See <http://www.soros.org/people/hanan-rabbani>

237 NGO Monitor, “Politics over the Rule of Law,” September 15, 2011, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/al_haq_politics_over_the_rule_of_law

238 NGO Monitor, “HRW/FIH/OMCT Statement on NGO Official Linked to Terror Group,” May 14, 2007, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/hrw_fidh_omct_statement_on_ngo_official_linked_to_terror_group

OSF donations to Al Haq under U.S. Federal law. In 2011, Jabarin was also appointed to Human Rights Watch's Middle East Advisory Board.²³⁹

The organization states that it receives support from the "Open Society Institute-US."²⁴⁰ This award does not appear on any OSF Form 990. The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. Detailed financial statements on the organization's website, however, note grants from the Open Society Development Foundation.²⁴¹ In 2009, the organization received a \$200,000 grant from the Open Society Development Foundation, almost double the amount it received the year before. The OSF Arab Regional Office also states that Al-Haq is a grant recipient but does not specify whether funds came from a US or Swiss OSF entity.²⁴²

Al-Mezan

The Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights is based in Gaza with the goal to "promote respect and protection for all human rights; particularly ESCR,²⁴³ in the Gaza Strip."²⁴⁴

Al-Mezan has repeatedly accused Israel of conducting "massacres" and "war crimes"²⁴⁵ and has worked in partnership with Al-Haq and Adalah to demand legal investigations of Israeli actions they deem to be "war crimes."²⁴⁶ The organization's chairman, Dr. Kamal Al Sharafi, is a physician. According to his profile

239 H. Evans, "Alleged Terror Activist Lands Human Rights Post," The Daily Beast, February 15, 2011, available at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/02/15/shawan-jabarins-controversial-appointment-to-human-rights-watch-board.html>

240 See <http://www.alhaq.org/about-al-haq/donors>

241 See <http://www.alhaq.org/images/stories/PDFz/Financial-Statements-Auditors-Report-31-December-2009.pdf>

242 See <http://www.soros.org/about/offices-foundations/arab-regional-office/grantees>

243 "Economic, Social and Cultural Rights"

244 See <http://www.mezan.org/en/messege.php?view=messageen>

245 See http://www.mezan.org/en/details.php?id=1522&ddname=gaza%20destruction&id_dept=9&id2=9&p=center

246 See <http://www.adalah.org/eng/pressreleases/NU%20GAZA%20WAR%20CRIME%20FINAL%5B1%5D.pdf>

on "WebGaza," he is a former member of the PFLP terror organization. As noted above, this connection may raise questions of the legality of OSF donations under U.S. Federal law.²⁴⁷ He is an elected member of the Palestine Legislative Council, and briefly was the Director of the Public Monitoring Committee and Human Rights for that body.²⁴⁸ Mahmud Abu Rahma, the organization's Communications and International Relations Coordinator, published an opinion piece lauding the Palestinian "resistance" but calling for reconciliation between various groups and both Hamas and the Palestinian Authority government.²⁴⁹ After receiving death threats, he was stabbed repeatedly by masked men, an attack that was condemned by Human Rights Watch.²⁵⁰

The organization states that it received funding from the "Open Society Institute (OSI)."²⁵¹ This award does not appear on any OSF Form 990. The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity.

B'Tselem

B'Tselem is the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. Founded in 1989, the organization "endeavors to document and educate the Israeli public and policymakers about human rights violations in the Occupied Territories, combat the phenomenon of denial prevalent among the

247 See <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195553.htm>

248 See http://www.webgaza.net/gaza_strip/north_gaza/people_profiles/Sharafi_Kamal.html

249 See <http://www.maannnews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=449852>

250 P. Bailey, "Tribute to a Palestinian 'Gandhi' — Mahmoud Abu Rahma of Al Mezan," Mondoweiss, January 24, 2012, available at <http://mondoweiss.net/2012/01/tribute-to-a-palestinian-gandhi-mahmoud-abu-rahma-of-al-mezan.html>; HRW, "Gaza / West Bank: Investigate Attacks on Rights Defenders," January 19, 2012, available at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/01/19/gaza-west-bank-investigate-attacks-rights-defenders>

251 See <http://www.mezan.org/en/messege.php?view=messageen>

Israeli public, and help create a human rights culture in Israel.”²⁵²

The organization has been outspoken in its criticism of Israeli security operations. Its figures regarding those activities are repeated uncritically by other organizations. B’Tselem has also been sharply criticized for its methodologies in characterizing Palestinian casualties during military operations,²⁵³ for taking grants from organizations that support the BDS movement against Israel,²⁵⁴ and for misrepresenting as real staged events in which Palestinians claim to have been attacked by Israelis.²⁵⁵

B’Tselem indicates that it receives support from the “Open Society Foundation” but no report of this is noted on any OSF Form 990.²⁵⁶ The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. It also receives support from the New Israel Fund. On their English website, B’Tselem does not make detailed financial information available, except for a list of contributors. On their Hebrew website, however, there is a link to GuideStar that provides financial information through 2011.

Breaking the Silence

Breaking the Silence is an Israeli organization founded in 2004.²⁵⁷ It describes itself as “an organization of veteran combatants who have served in the Israeli military since the start of the Second Intifada and have taken it upon themselves to expose the Israeli public to

the reality of everyday life in the Occupied Territories.”²⁵⁸

The organization has accused the Israeli military of having committed “war crimes,”²⁵⁹ accusations that have been repeated in global media, often uncritically,²⁶⁰ and lobbies extensively in the United States and Europe against Israeli policy and actions.

The organization was awarded \$19,500 in 2008 by OSI.²⁶¹ This award does not appear on any OSF Form 990. The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity.

Gisha

Gisha is an Israeli organization “whose goal is to protect the freedom of movement of Palestinians, especially Gaza residents. Gisha promotes rights guaranteed by international and Israeli law.”²⁶²

The organization regularly brings suits in Israeli courts in protest of Israeli security measures such as the blockade of Gaza and restrictions of movement.²⁶³ Its executive director Sari Bashi has accused Israel of attempting to “empty the West Bank of Palestinians because of Israeli territorial claims there.”²⁶⁴

Gisha received \$320,000 in “Foundation Open Society Institute” funding from 2007 through

252 See http://www.btselem.org/about_btselem

253 See http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/Birenbaum_Btselem_casualty_stats.pdf

254 See NGO Monitor, “B’Tselem Accepts BDS Money: Behind the “Bubbes and Zaydes” Façade,” November 04, 2010 available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/b_tselem_accepts_bds_money_behind_the_bubbes_and_zaydes_fa_ade

255 Y. Goldflam and T. Sternthal, “B’Tselem Photographer Stages Scene,” May 19, 2011, available at http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=7&x_issue=39&x_article=2002

256 See http://www.btselem.org/about_btselem/donors

257 See <http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/>

258 See <http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/about/organization>

259 See http://www.ngo-monitor.org/pdf/bts_book2011.pdf

260 P. Beaumont, “Gaza war crime claims gather pace as more troops speak out,” *The Observer*, March 22, 2009 available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/mar/22/israel-palestinian-territories-war-crimes>; NGO Monitor, “Breaking What Silence: A Critical Reading of Allegations from Breaking the Silence,” February 01, 2011, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/breaking_what_silence_a_critical_reading_of_allegations_from_breaking_the_silence_

261 See <http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/2008.pdf>

262 See http://www.gisha.org/content.asp?lang_id=en&p_id=5

263 See http://www.gisha.org/cat-select.asp?lang_id=en&p_id=36

264 L. Gradstein, “New Rules Leave West Bank Residents Nervous,” *AOL News*, April 11, 2010 available at <http://www.aolnews.com/2010/04/11/new-israel-order-leaves-west-bank-residents-nervous/>

2011. Another \$158,000 in support was received from the New Israel Fund.²⁶⁵ Curiously, on its website, it provides a link to the “Foundation Open Society Institute” that directs to the main OSF website in New York. It also received \$180,000 in 2010 from the Open Society Institute for programs “to pursue respect and compliance with international human rights and humanitarian law in Gaza through a focus on freedom of movement and access to educational opportunities, commerce, and basic goods.” Gisha also receives donations from individuals through the New Israel Fund.²⁶⁶

The only Gisha projects featured by OSF are a 2009 multimedia film about Gaza called “Closed Zone,” by Israeli film-maker Yoni Goodman,²⁶⁷ and a 2009 report on Gaza entitled “Rafah Crossing: Who Holds the Keys?” produced by Gisha and Physicians for Human Rights – Israel.²⁶⁸

I’Lam: Media Center for Arab Palestinians in Israel

The I’Lam Media Center for Arab Palestinians in Israel was founded in 2000 in Nazareth. Its mission is “to strengthen the media cadre, raise awareness and educate Palestinian society in Israel in media practices. It also seeks to democratize media policies and practices within the local Arab and Hebrew language medias, towards the realization of media rights in Palestinian society.”²⁶⁹ The organization’s reports and publications allege pervasive press bias and discrimination against Arab citizens of Israel by media.²⁷⁰

265 See http://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/HiddenMessages/reports/Donations_Gisha2007-2011-eng.pdf

266 See http://www.gisha.org/donate.asp?lang_id=en&p_id=52

267 See <http://www.soros.org/multimedia/closed-zone>

268 See <http://www.soros.org/publications/rafah-crossing-who-holds-keys>

269 See <http://www.ilam-center.org/eng/main.php?todo=aboutus>

270 See <http://www.ilam-center.org/eng/main.php?todo=publishes>; http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/_i_lam_media_center_for_arab_palestinians_in_israel

The organization received \$208,000 from the Open Society Institute in 2010 “to provide professional training for Arab media practitioners, carry out research and media monitoring activities of Hebrew and Arabic language media, monitor and respond to press freedom violations, and conduct outreach with Israeli and international news outlets to ensure representation of Palestinian Citizens of Israel in the media.”²⁷¹

Ir Amim

Ir Amim is an Israeli organization founded in 2000. Its stated mission is “to render Jerusalem a more viable and equitable city for the Israelis and Palestinians who share it” through “ongoing monitoring, policy and legal advocacy, and exposure of key developments in order to halt harmful government actions — that impede equitability, undermine Jerusalem’s stability, or threaten to derail negotiations on final status issues (e.g. settlements, land expropriations).” It also provides tours for the Israeli public and works with Palestinian NGOs “to design, propose and quietly catalyze several Palestinian socio-economic institutions in East Jerusalem.”²⁷²

The organization harshly criticizes Israel’s Separation Barrier,²⁷³ states that archaeological excavations and national parks in Jerusalem are “political instruments” that threaten Palestinian residents and the interests of peace,²⁷⁴ and blames Israeli exclusively for the failure of the peace process.²⁷⁵

The organization states that it receives support from the “Open Society Institute” but no record of grants exists on any OSF Form 990.²⁷⁶ The

271 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_201012_990PF.pdf Part XV Line 3b.

272 See <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=151>

273 See <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=338>

274 See <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=269>

275 NGO Monitor, “Ir Amim: European-funded Political Lobbying on Jerusalem,” April 22, 2010 available at <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?operation=print&id=2883>

276 See <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=154>

gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. Ir Amim also receives support from OSF grantee the New Israel Fund, and contributions in the United States are channeled through the latter entity. European governments and the European Commission provide the bulk of the organization's funding.²⁷⁷

Mada al-Carmel - Arab Center for Applied Social Research

Mada al-Carmel is an Israeli organization, founded in Haifa in 2000. It “generates and provides information, critical analysis, and diverse perspectives on the social and political life and history of Palestinians, with particular attention to Palestinians within Israel’s 1948 boundaries. Mada al-Carmel also advances critical research on Israeli society and politics in order to further understanding of its undercurrents, particularly in relation to policies toward Palestinians and Palestine.”²⁷⁸

The organization’s publications regularly characterize the concept of Israel as a Jewish state as a “threat” and source of “continuing injustice,”²⁷⁹ call for international boycotts against Israel as a step to isolate and anathematize it,²⁸⁰ discuss the use of law as a weapon against Israel both internally and internationally,²⁸¹ and call for a one state solution in which Israel would be nullified and Palestinians would exercise the “right of return.”²⁸²

277 NGO Monitor, “Ir Amim: European-funded Political Lobbying on Jerusalem,” April 22, 2010 available at <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?operation=print&id=2883>

278 See <http://www.mada-research.org/?LanguageId=1&System=Item&MenuId=6&PMenuId=1&MenuTemplateId=1&ItemId=109&ItemTemplateId=1>

279 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20120331091648/http://jadal.mada-research.org/?LanguageId=1>

280 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20120331091648/http://jadal.mada-research.org/?LanguageId=1>

281 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20120331091648/http://jadal.mada-research.org/?LanguageId=1>

282 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20120331091648/http://jadal.mada-research.org/?LanguageId=1>

The organization lists “OSI” as a source of funding²⁸³ but this award is not recorded on any OSF Form 990. The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity.

Mossawa Center

The Mossawa Center was founded in 1997 in Israel. It describes its mission as efforts “to improve the social, economic and political status of the Arab citizens of Israel, while preserving their national and cultural rights as Palestinians. Additionally, the Mossawa Center focuses on the status of Palestinian women, working towards gender equality in all spheres of society.”²⁸⁴

In a variety of publications and press releases including annual reports, the organization regularly accuses Israel of “public and structural racism” against Arabs and²⁸⁵ accuses Israel of discrimination against political parties that refuse to accept the fact that Israel is a Jewish state.²⁸⁶ Mossawa has supported international BDS efforts, regularly makes presentations against it in international settings,²⁸⁷ and has proposed a constitution for Israel that would erase its Jewish identity.²⁸⁸

283 See <http://mada-research.org/en/donate/donors/>

284 See <http://www.mossawacenter.org/default.php?lng=3&pg=1&dp=1&fl=27>

285 <http://web.archive.org/web/20120608122747/http://www.mossawacenter.org/files/files/File/Publications/2012%20Racism%20in%20Israel%20Report%20-%20Main%20Findings.pdf>

286 The Mossawa Center, “Briefing Paper: Restrictions on the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression of the Arab Minority and Arabic Media in Israel,” December 2011 available at <http://www.mossawacenter.org/files/files/File/Press%20Releases/2011/Restrictions%20on%20the%20Right%20to%20Freedom%20of%20Opinion%20and%20Expression%20of%20the%20Arab%20Minority%20and%20Arabic%20Media%20in%20Israel.pdf>

287 United Nations Committee Against All Forms of Racial Discrimination, “Suggested Issues for Consideration Regarding Israel’s Combined 14th, 15th, and 16th Periodic Report to the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD),” January 2012 available at http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/ngos/CARI_Israel.CERD80.pdf

288 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20110727093237/http://www.mossawa.org/files/files/File/An%20Equal%20Constitution%20For%20All.pdf>

The organization lists the “Open Society Institute” as a source of funding but this award is not recorded on any OSF Form 990. The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. Additional funding is provided through the New Israel Fund and donations from individuals in the U.S., United Kingdom and Canada are channeled through that organization.²⁸⁹

New Israel Fund

The New Israel Fund is an American organization headquartered in New York with offices in the United States, Israel, Europe, and Australia. Its goal is “advancing democracy and equality for all Israelis. We believe that Israel can live up to its founders’ vision of a state that ensures complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants, without regard to religion, race, gender or national identity.”²⁹⁰

A number of New Israel Fund grantees within Israel have been controversial, including Adalah and Gisha (see above), while other recipients such as some writers on the +972mag website, Machsom Watch, and the Coalition of Women for Peace have called for boycotts, divestment and sanctions against Israel. The New Israel Fund withdrew its support from the latter organization after reports exposed its involvement in “Israel Apartheid Week” and other BDS activities.²⁹¹ The Coalition of Women for Peace subsequently attacked The New Israel Fund for its decision.²⁹²

The activities of these organizations and others contravene the New Israel Fund’s own guidelines which deny support for organizations engaged

289 See <http://www.mossawacenter.org/en/cat.asp?cat=23>

290 See <http://www.nif.org/about/wearenif>

291 NGO Monitor, “Who Profits from the BDS Campaign? Review of Coalition of Women for Peace,” May 11, 2011 available at http://ngo-monitor.org/article/_who_profits_from_the_bds_campaign_review_of_coalition_of_women_for_peace; also see NGO Monitor, “NIF Announces End of Support for CWP, Confirming NGO Monitor Research,” May 16, 2011 available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/nif_announces_end_ofsupport_for_cwp_confirming_ngo_monitor_research

292 NGO Monitor, “Timeline: Documentation of NIF-Coalition of Women for Peace Relations,” May 25, 2011, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/timeline_documentation_of_nif_cwp_relations

in partisan political activity or promotion of anti-democratic values, or which “violate the human rights of any group or individual, advocate human rights selectively for one group over another and/or reject the principle of the universality of human rights” or deny “right of the Jewish people to sovereign self-determination within Israel.”²⁹³ The New Israel Fund continues to represent Israel in a negative light in press campaigns in the United States²⁹⁴ and has reacted bitterly to criticism of its support for demonstrably anti-Israel organizations.²⁹⁵

In over two decades of work the New Israel Fund has provided over two hundred million dollars of support to Israeli and Palestinian organizations.²⁹⁶ The Open Society Institute provided \$17,500 of support to the organization in 2008, \$67,500 in 2009, directed at the Israel-US Civil Liberties Law Fellows Program, and \$82,500 in 2010. The Foundation to Promote Open Society also provided \$60,000 in 2009 and 2010.

Palestinian Center for Human Rights

The Palestinian Center for Human Rights is based in Gaza City and is “dedicated to protecting human rights, promoting the rule of law and upholding democratic principles in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.”²⁹⁷

The organization regularly accuses Israel of being an “apartheid state” that is guilty of war crimes and it has routinely exaggerated statistics regarding Palestinian non-combatants

293 See NIF Funding Guidelines available at http://www.nif.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56

294 See NIF New York Times Ad, April 18, 2012 http://action.nif.org/p/salsa/web/common/public/content?content_item_KEY=11512

295 Y. Karp, “NGO Monitor and Adalah: The thinly veiled agenda,” Times of Israel, March 6, 2012, available at <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-undisguised-agenda/>

296 See http://www.nif.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=788

297 See http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3027&Itemid=182

killed in conflicts with Israeli military.²⁹⁸ The organization also has filed lawsuits for Israelis to be arrested in European countries on war crimes charges.²⁹⁹ PCHR refers to terror attacks on Israeli civilians as “resistance” and characterizes Palestinian rocket attacks that fall short of their Israeli civilian targets and instead injure Palestinian civilians as a “misuse of weapons”.³⁰⁰

The organization lists the “Open Society Fund” as a source of funding with a link leading to the main OSF website.³⁰¹ This gift is not listed on the New York based Open Society Institute’s Form 990 for that year. It may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity.

Rabbis for Human Rights

Rabbis for Human Rights is an organization founded in Israel in 1988. It claims to be the “only rabbinic organization in Israel today that speaks about human rights in the voice of the Jewish tradition” with the goal of “advocating for the rights of marginalized members of society, in defending the rights of minorities in Israel and of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, and in the prevention of flagrant violations of the basic human rights of foreign workers. The organization puts pressure on policy-makers in Israel to protect the human rights of weak groups, including the right to medical care, shelter, education and minimal living standards.”³⁰²

In 2009 and 2010 the American branch of the organization, Rabbis for Human Rights/North America, received \$100,000 grants from the

298 NGO Monitor, “Palestinian Center for Human Rights,” July 02, 2012 available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/palestinian_center_for_human_rights_pchr_

299 A. Herzberg, NGO ‘Lawfare’: Exploitation of Courts in the Arab Israeli Conflict, NGO Monitor Monograph Series (Jerusalem, NGO Monitor, 2d ed., 2010), 15, 19, 4 available at <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/lawfare-monograph.pdf>

300 Ibid.

301 See PCHR, “Funding,” available at http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3030&Itemid=178; Yesh Din, “Criminal Accountability of Israeli Citizens,” available at <http://www.yesh-din.org/cat.asp?catid=3>

302 See <http://rhr.org.il/eng/index.php/about/>

Foundation to Promote Open Society. Those gifts are not acknowledged on the organization’s website or in its reports.³⁰³ Both the Israel and U.S. branches of the organization also receive funding from OSF grantee the New Israel Fund.

Yesh Din, Volunteer for Human Rights

Yesh Din is an Israeli organization “working to defend the human rights of the Palestinian civilian population under Israeli occupation.”³⁰⁴

The organization harshly criticizes Israeli military and civilian activities in the West Bank³⁰⁵ and regularly files litigation regarding these activities,³⁰⁶ and the status of lands in the West Bank.³⁰⁷ The organization’s legal advisor Michael Sfar is an attorney actively involved in bringing lawsuits against Israelis in international venues. He appeared as a paid expert witness on behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a lawsuit filed in US Federal Court. The suit was brought against the PLO by the victim of a Palestinian terror attack. The PLO hoped Sfar’s “expert” testimony would help it escape liability for the crime.³⁰⁸ Sfar has also represented Shawan Jabarin and members of the PFLP in Israeli courts.³⁰⁹

The organization acknowledges receiving funding from the “Open Society Institute” but no grants are listed on OSF Form 990s.³¹⁰ It may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. The bulk of the organization’s funding derives from European governments and foundations.

303 See <http://www.truah.org/who-we-are/financial-information.html>

304 See <http://www.yesh-din.org/geninfo.asp?gencatid=1>

305 See <http://www.yesh-din.org/cat.asp?catid=2>

306 See <http://www.yesh-din.org/infoitem.asp?infoccatid=163>; See <http://www.yesh-din.org/infoitem.asp?infoccatid=191>

307 See <http://www.yesh-din.org/cat.asp?catid=4>

308 A. Herzberg, NGO ‘Lawfare’: Exploitation of Courts in the Arab Israeli Conflict, NGO Monitor Monograph Series (Jerusalem, NGO Monitor, 2d ed., 2010), 69 available at <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/lawfare-monograph.pdf>

309 Ibid.

310 See <http://www.yesh-din.org/geninfo.asp?gencatid=4>

OTHER CONTROVERSIAL RECIPIENTS

AMIDEAST

AMIDEAST was an outgrowth of an anti-Zionist organization called the “American Friends of the Middle East” founded in 1951 by American academics with connections to the Middle East, along with officers from the Central Intelligence Agency and oil industry officials from the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO), both of which provided financial backing.³¹¹ In later years the organization was renamed and oriented towards becoming a “leading American non-profit organization engaged in international education, training and development activities in the Middle East and North Africa.”³¹²

AMIDEAST administers the Palestinian Rule of Law Program, one of the Open Society Foundation’s initiatives.³¹³ The program offers short-term faculty fellowships and support for Master of Law (LL.M.) students in the United States.³¹⁴ OSF provides support directly to students as well as to AMIDEAST for administrative costs, in the amount of \$114,000 for 2010. Several dozen individuals have received these grants over the past few years. The only individual recipient featured on the OSF program website is Palestinian lawyer Halla Shouaibi, whose most notable contribution has been a short paper focusing on Palestinian women allegedly forced to give birth at Israeli checkpoints.³¹⁵

311 R.M. Miller, Harry Emerson Fosdick: Preacher, Pastor, Prophet, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985), 192; M.J. Cohen, “William A. Eddy, the Oil Lobby and the Palestine Problem,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 30 (1994): 166-180.

312 See <http://www.amideast.org/about/how-amideast-making-difference>

313 See http://www.soros.org/initiatives/scholarship/focus_areas/prol

314 See <http://www.amideast.org/west-bank-gaza/academic-and-cultural-exchange/osf-palestinian-rule-law-program-llm-short-term-faculty-fellowships>

315 See <http://download.thelancet.com/flatcontentassets/pdfs/palestine/palestine2011-4.pdf>

AMIDEAST also administers the Palestine Faculty Development Program in an unusual partnership with the Open Society Foundation and the U.S. Agency for International Development, which contributed \$323,000 to the foundation in 2010.³¹⁶ The program is intended to build capacity in West Bank and Gaza institutions of higher education and address questions of teaching reform. Since 2005, the program has provided short-term support, programming and doctoral grants to over 1,800 faculty members and graduate students.³¹⁷

Amnesty International

Amnesty International is one of the world’s largest human rights organizations, describing itself as “a global movement of more than 3 million supporters, members and activists in more than 150 countries and territories who campaign to end grave abuses of human rights. Our vision is for every person to enjoy all the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards. We are independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion and are funded mainly by our membership and public donations.”³¹⁸

The organization has devoted significant and disproportionate emphasis on Israel, in contrast to other Middle Eastern states.³¹⁹ It regularly accuses Israel of being an “apartheid state,” and of having committed war crimes and using collective punishment against Palestinians. In the case of the 2006 Lebanon War, the organization made hasty allegations on the basis of fragmentary reports that subsequent investigations proved

316 See <http://www.amideast.org/pfdp/program-components/about-pfdp>; See also http://www.carim.org/public/polsocetexts/PO3PAL1102_929.pdf; <http://www.usaid.gov/wbg/misc/EDO/PFDp%20fact%20sheet.pdf>

317 See <http://www.amideast.org/pfdp/program-components/about-pfdp>

318 See <http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are>

319 NGO Monitor, “Moral Collapse: Amnesty International in 2009,” May 26, 2010, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/human_rights_upheaval_amnesty_international_in_

to be false or exaggerated.³²⁰ A similar pattern of hasty accusations was demonstrated in connection with the 2009 Gaza operation.³²¹ Amnesty International has also promoted and supported lawsuits against Israel in European courts and the International Criminal Court, and has publicly supported an arms embargo against Israel.³²²

Although based in the United Kingdom, Amnesty International has numerous branches worldwide and it is difficult to understand their finances. The International Secretariat reported receiving £10,000 from the Open Society Foundation Georgia in 2010 for a special project.³²³ The U.S. branch acknowledged receiving support from the Open Society Institute in 2010 but did not specify an amount.³²⁴ This gift is not listed on the New York-based Open Society Institute's Form 990 for that year. It may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. Alternatively the reference may be to a \$500,000 grant made in 2009 by OSI to Amnesty International in support of the "Counter Terror with Justice" program.³²⁵ The Foundation to Support Open Society also provided Amnesty International with \$125,000 in 2009 and 2010.

320 Abraham Bell and Gerald M. Steinberg, "Lebanon War distortions," Ynet, July 31, 2011, available at <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4102602,00.html>

321 NGO Monitor, "Moral Collapse: Amnesty International in 2009," May 26, 2010, available at http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/human_rights_upheaval_amnesty_international_in_

322 Amnesty International, "Israel/Gaza conflict: UN must impose arms embargo, send international monitors immediately," November 19, 2012, available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/israelgaza-un-must-send-monitors-2012-11-19>

323 Amnesty International, "Report and financial statements for the year ended 31 March 2011," available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/FIN40/006/2011/en/f2099a80-e495-427d-b9bc-b488e5e98976/fin400062011en.pdf>

324 AIUSA, "Annual Report 2010," available at http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/ai_annualreport_with_financials_2010.pdf

325 Amnesty International, "Security with Human Rights," <http://www.amnesty.org/en/campaigns/security-with-human-rights>

Avaaz

Avaaz, a "global advocacy group funded by philanthropist and financier George Soros, MoveOn.org and the labor group SEIU,"³²⁶ was co-founded in 2007 by "Res Publica, a global civic advocacy group, and Moveon.org."³²⁷ Res Publica describes Avaaz.org as its "primary current project."³²⁸

Res Publica received grants totaling \$290,000 from the Soros Open Society Institute in 2008, of which \$250,000 was earmarked for Avaaz.³²⁹ In 2009, the Open Society Foundation gave \$600,000 to Avaaz via Res Publica,³³⁰ and Moveon.org gave Avaaz \$94,289.³³¹

Avaaz is active in the Israeli-Palestinian arena. In 2007, Avaaz launched a petition calling to "End the Siege of Gaza: Ceasefire Now," demanding an end to the "blockade and growing humanitarian crisis in Gaza" and "ensure the free flow of supplies by land, sea or air."³³² Its 2011 campaign "Palestine: the time is now" was aimed at pressuring the UK, France, and Germany to support a Palestinian bid for recognition at the United Nations.³³³

Avaaz also partnered with the anti-Israel BDS group Jewish Voice for Peace on a \$100,000

326 J. Parker, "Activists Urge World Bank to Fire Wolfowitz," ABCNews, May 9, 2007 available at <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=3155928&page=>

327 J. Lateu, "The Voices of a Movement," Utne Reader, September-October 2011, available at <http://www.utne.com/Politics/Avaaz-Web-Based-Civic-Advocacy-Group.aspx>

328 See <http://therespublica.org/CurrentWork.htm>

329 See 990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_200812_990PF.pdf. Moveon.org has also received funding from George Soros, including a \$1.46 million grant in 2004. See Dan Balz and Thomas B. Edsall, "Democrats Forming Parallel Campaign," Washington Post, March 10, 2004, available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A44513-2004Mar9_2.html

330 See <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2009/263/753/2009-263753801-068647db-F.pdf>

331 See <http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2010/061/553/2010-061553389-0746b811-ZO.pdf>

332 See http://www.avaaz.org/en/gaza_end_the_siege/

333 See https://secure.avaaz.org/en/time_for_palestine/?fp

ad campaign during the 2013 AIPAC Policy Conference.³³⁴ These groups purchased hundreds of anti-AIPAC billboards posted in downtown Washington, D.C. subway stations.³³⁵

According to its 2011 990, Avaaz's total revenue for that year was \$7,519,028.³³⁶ Avaaz insists it is "wholly member-funded."³³⁷ However, Avaaz does not publish a detailed list of donors on its website, and therefore this claim cannot be verified independently.

Center for Constitutional Rights

The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) is a New York-based organization founded in 1966. It defines its mission as "advancing and protecting the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."³³⁸ The major issues it addresses are what it describes as illegal detentions, the Guantanamo facility, government surveillance, criminal justice and mass incarceration, corporate human rights abuse, government abuse of power, racial, gender and economic justice, and international law and accountability.³³⁹

The organization has spearheaded efforts in the U.S. to bring lawsuits against senior Israeli military officials, accusing them of

"war crimes."³⁴⁰ The cases were dismissed. It has also been instrumental in promoting the wrongful death suit brought by the parents of activist Rachel Corrie against the Caterpillar Corporation, alleging it shares responsibility for the accidental death of Corrie in Gaza in 2003. That case was also dismissed.³⁴¹ More recently the organization attacked the legality of the Israeli blockade of Gaza and the military action taken against the Turkish "flotilla" attempting to break that blockade.³⁴² It also announced support for a Palestinian student group at Florida Atlantic University that harassed Jewish students with racially-motivated fake eviction notices,³⁴³ and took legal action in support of domestic boycotts against Israel.³⁴⁴ The organization has also supported a number of individuals accused and convicted of U.S. domestic terror offenses.

In 2012, the CCR, in partnership with the National Lawyers Guild and others,³⁴⁵ launched the "Palestine Solidarity Legal Support

340 A. Herzberg, "NGO 'Lawfare': Exploitation of Courts in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," NGO Monitor Monograph Series, (2d ed. 2010), 54-63; See "Former Head of the Intelligence Branch of the Israel Defense Forces and Chief of Staff Charged in U.S. Court with War Crimes," Center for Constitution Rights available at <http://ccrjustice.org/newsroom/press-releases/former-head-intelligence-branch-israel-defense-forces-and-chief-staff-charge>; "War Crimes Case for Fatal Gaza Attack Argued in U.S. Court," Center for Constitution Rights available at <http://ccrjustice.org/newsroom/press-releases/war-crimes-case-fatal-gaza-attack-argued-u.s.-court>

341 "Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar," Center for Constitutional Rights available at <http://ccrjustice.org/ourcases/current-cases/corrie-et-al.-v.-caterpillar>

342 "The Illegality of Israel's Blockade of Gaza and Attacks on the Free Gaza Flotilla," Center for Constitutional Rights available at http://ccrjustice.org/files/Flotilla%20Factsheet%20May%202011_0.pdf

343 "Rights Groups Issue Statement in Support of Students' Right to Speak on Palestinian Human Rights," Center for Constitutional Rights available at <http://ccrjustice.org/newsroom/press-releases/rights-groups-issue-statement-support-of-students-right-speak-on-Palestinian-Human-Rights>

344 "Food Coop Wants Israel Boycott Suit Dismissed," JTA, November 03, 2011 available at <http://forward.com/articles/145588/food-coop-wants-israel-boycott-suit-dismissed/>

345 These groups are a coalition called the Student Speech Working Group, comprised of the following: Asian Law Caucus, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Lawyers Guild, the Council on American-Islamic Relations – San Francisco Bay Area, American Muslims for Palestine, Jewish Voice for Peace. List found at <http://palestinelegalsupport.org/about/>

334 A. Asher Shapiro, "Oakland's JVP counters AIPAC's push to exempt aid to Israel from sequestration cuts," San Francisco Bay Guardian, March 6, 2013, available at <http://www.sfbg.com/politics/2013/03/06/oaklands-jvp-counters-aipacs-push-exempt-aid-israel-sequestration-cuts>

335 "Anti-AIPAC posters in downtown Washington greet conference delegates," Haaretz, March 4, 2013, available at <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/anti-aipac-posters-in-downtown-washington-greet-conference-delegates-1.507242>

336 See <https://avaazdesign.s3.amazonaws.com/AVAAZ%20FORM%20990%20-%20PUBLIC%20VIEW20121210165046.pdf>

337 See <http://www.avaaz.org/en/about.php>

338 See <http://ccrjustice.org/missionhistory>

339 See <http://ccrjustice.org/issues>

initiative.”³⁴⁶ The initiative’s claimed purpose is “to protect and advance the constitutional rights of Palestinian rights activists across the U.S.”³⁴⁷

The initiative provides a resource page on its website “relevant to the work of Palestinian rights activists and their supporters in the U.S.” Among the resources offered is a list of materials supporting boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS).³⁴⁸ The initiative’s announcement was made on the website of Electronic Intifada,³⁴⁹ a fringe online publication active in promoting BDS and “one state” campaigns.³⁵⁰

In 2010 the organization received \$315,000 support from the Foundation to Promote Open Society and \$9,000 from the Open Society Institute. The Open Society Foundation is listed in the 2011 CCR Annual Report as a donor in the “\$100,000 and above” range,³⁵¹ and as a donor in the “\$250,000-\$999,000” range in the 2012 CCR Annual Report.³⁵²

Crimes of War Project

The Crimes of War Project is an American organization “dedicated to raising public awareness of the laws of war and their application to situations of armed conflict. Our goal is to promote understanding of international humanitarian law among journalists, policymakers, and the general public, in the belief that a wider knowledge of the legal framework governing armed conflict will lead to

greater pressure to prevent breaches of the law, and to punish those who commit them.”³⁵³

The organization prominently features accusations that Israelis, and to a lesser extent Palestinians, committed war crimes during Operation Cast Lead in Gaza in 2009 and has called for the exercise of universal jurisdiction and other international legal means to try participants.³⁵⁴ Other commentaries on the website accuse Israel of having used “disproportionate force” in 2009.³⁵⁵ The organization states that it received support from the “Open Society Institute”³⁵⁶ but no grants are listed on any OSF Form 990. The gift may represent a grant from an overseas OSI entity. As of mid-2012 the organization appears to be inactive..

National Iranian American Council

The National Iranian American Council was founded in 2002. It defines its mission as the promotion of “Iranian-American participation in American civic life.”³⁵⁷ In 2006, NIAC received a \$50,000 grant from the Open Society Institute. In 2009 this had increased to \$125,000. The organization also received \$25,000 in 2009 from the Foundation to Promote Open Society.³⁵⁸

NIAC’s issues also include “building bridges and fighting discrimination” against Iranian-Americans and fighting “anti-Iranian-American” legislations, such as restrictions on Iranian students from receiving visas to study

346 See <http://palestinelegalsupport.org/about/>

347 Ibid.

348 See <http://palestinelegalsupport.org/resources/>

349 “Essential legal resource for activists: The Palestine Solidarity Legal Support Initiative,” The Electronic Intifada, January 28, 2013, available at <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora/essential-legal-resource-activists-palestine-solidarity-legal-support-initiative>

350 NGO Monitor, “Electronic Intifada,” July 30, 2012, available at http://ngo-monitor.org/article/electronic_intifada

351 Center for Constitutional Rights, 2011 Annual Report available at <http://ccrjustice.org/files/CCR-annual-report-2011.pdf>

352 Center for Constitutional Rights, 2012 Annual Report, available at <http://ccrjustice.org/files/CCR-annual-report-2012.pdf> (see page 48)

353 Crimes of War Education Project at <http://www.crimesofwar.org/about/crimes-of-war/>

354 K. Iliopoulos, “Will Anyone Be Held Accountable for War Crimes in Gaza?” available at <http://www.crimesofwar.org/commentary/will-anyone-be-held-accountable-for-war-crimes-in-gaza/>

355 A. Dworkin, “Are Israel and Hamas Committing War Crimes in Gaza?” available at <http://www.crimesofwar.org/commentary/are-israel-and-hamas-committing-war-crimes-in-gaza/>

356 See <http://www.crimesofwar.org/about/contributors/>

357 See http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=About_fa

358 See the 2010 Form 990 at http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

in the U.S.³⁵⁹ The organization was founded by Iranian-Swedish academic Trita Parsi and Iranian-American business consultant Siamak Namazi.³⁶⁰

Parsi was born in Iran but grew up in Sweden, where he founded a lobbying group called “Iranians for International Cooperation” whose “main objective is to safeguard Iran’s and Iranian’s interests”³⁶¹ Moving to the U.S. he found a position with the American Iranian Council.³⁶² He took an advanced degree at John Hopkins University and was also an aide to Republican Congressman Robert Ney (who apparently earlier hosted him as a foreign exchange student³⁶³). Apparently under the influence of Parsi, Ney became a supporter of rapprochement with Iran.³⁶⁴

During his employment with Ney in 2003, Parsi had also endorsed the authenticity of the “Guldemann Memorandum,” a proposal authored by Swiss diplomat Tim Guldemann that purported to be a “roadmap” for negotiations toward a “grand bargain” that had been approved by the Iranian leadership, and which was transmitted to American officials under those pretenses. Guldemann’s document was shown to be unauthorized freelance diplomacy.³⁶⁵

359 See http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=Policy_discrimination_immigration

360 L. Smith, “The Immigrant,” *Tablet*, February 17, 2010 available at <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/25842/the-immigrant?print=1>

361 See <http://www.iranian-americans.com/docs/IICCV.pdf>

362 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20011120204601/www.geocities.com/tritaparsi/resume.html>

363 See <http://www.iranian-americans.com/docs/LetterForBob.pdf>

364 “Ex-Congressional Aide: Karl Rove Personally Received (And Ignored) Iranian Peace Offer in 2003,” *Democracy Now*, February 26, 2007, available at http://www.democracynow.org/2007/2/26/ex_congressional_aide_karl_rove_personally

365 M. Rubin, “The Guldemann Memorandum: The Iranian ‘roadmap’ wasn’t a roadmap and wasn’t Iranian,” *Weekly Standard*, October 22, 2007 available at <http://www.meforum.org/1764/the-guldemann-memorandum>; Steven J. Rosen, “Did Iran Offer a ‘Grand Bargain’ in 2003?” *The American Thinker*, November 16, 2008 available at http://www.americanthinker.com/2008/11/did_iran_offer_a_grand_bargain.html

Parsi continued to promote the authenticity of this document in his controversial book, “*Treacherous Alliance: the Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran and the United States*,” as well as recent second book, “*A Single Roll of the Dice: Obama’s Diplomacy with Iran*.”³⁶⁶ Both books have been criticized for misrepresentations, for being lightly sourced, and for generally being uncritical and indulgent toward Iran.³⁶⁷ The books specifically downplay the role of Iranian ideology in order to accuse the U.S., and especially Israel, of manipulating the Middle Eastern strategic environment for their own benefit and to marginalize Iran.

Namazi completed a graduate degree at Rutgers University in 1993 then returned to Iran to complete compulsory military service. He had long argued for closer relations between Iranians abroad and those within Iran.³⁶⁸ In addition to fellowships at the National Endowment for Democracy, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Center for Strategic & International Studies, until 2007, Namazi was managing director of Tehran-based Atieh Bahar Consulting firm, which advises foreign investors interested in Iran.

Reporting on the origins of NIAC indicates that Namazi and Parsi envisioned NIAC as a model for a “grassroots lobby,” an assertion that Parsi later denied.³⁶⁹ Though Namazi and Parsi have

366 T. Parsi, *Treacherous Alliance: the Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran and the United States*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007), 244-250, 345-346; *A Single Roll of the Dice: Obama’s Diplomacy with Iran*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2012), 1-3.

367 N. Thrall, “*Treacherous Alliance* by Trita Parsi,” *Commentary*, March 2008, available at <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/treacherous-alliance-by-trita-parisi/>; Danielle Pletka, “*A Single Roll of the Dice: Obama’s Diplomacy with Iran*,” by Trita Parsi,” *The Washington Post*, February 11, 2012 available at http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/books/a-single-roll-of-the-dice-obamas-diplomacy-with-iran-by-trita-parisi/2012/01/30/gIQA2yJy4Q_print.html

368 S. Namazi, “Hyphenated Iranians: Misguided policies toward expatriates,” *The Iranian*, April 15, 1998, available at <http://www.iranian.com/Opinion/April98/Expat/index.html>; Siamak Namazi, “If Mahdi doesn’t come: A reformer’s guide to engagement,” *The Iranian*, November 9, 1998, available at <http://www.iranian.com/SiamakNamazi/Nov98/Reform/index.html>

369 E. Lake, “EXCLUSIVE,” op. cit.

occasionally been critical of the Iranian regime, both they and NIAC have been accused of acting in the regime's interests and as informal Iranian lobbyists, in violation of regulations governing 501(c)(3) organizations.³⁷⁰ Documents obtained during the discovery process of an unsuccessful NIAC lawsuit³⁷¹ filed against a critic, Hassan Daiouleslam,³⁷² indicate close consultations between Namazi, Parsi and members of the Iranian government and NIAC's lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C.³⁷³ As noted above, OSF staffer Mike Amitay has also been implicated in NIAC's lobbying.³⁷⁴

The questions of direct regime connections and illegal lobbying aside, NIAC is strongly opposed to a "war of choice" against Iran,³⁷⁵ as well as to broad-based sanctions on Iran over its nuclear program,³⁷⁶ supports continued negotiations over the nuclear program, as well as other contacts that would facilitate "a policy of patient, strategic engagement that includes human rights as a core issue and addresses American and regional security concerns."³⁷⁷ The organization also regularly criticizes AIPAC and accuses it of attempting to pressure the U.S. Congress into

adopting ever-harsher boycotts and negotiating stances against Iran.³⁷⁸ Parsi downplayed Iran's support for Hamas,³⁷⁹ criticized the U.S. for designating the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps as a terrorist entity,³⁸⁰ and alleged that Israeli opposition to Iranian nuclear negotiations stems from fear that an agreement might actually be reached which would help shift the strategic balance against it.³⁸¹

NIAC is clearly designed to shift U.S. public and policy perceptions of Iran in more favorable directions, including the call for resumption of direct contacts,³⁸² and with corresponding negative shifts towards Israel. Part of its strategy appears to directly emulate American Jewish organizational outreach to colleges and universities through the creation of Iranian-American student groups, the use of campus media and programming, but with the added dimension of soliciting claims of anti-Muslim discrimination.³⁸³ Another is occasional outreach to portions of the American Jewish community.³⁸⁴ This has included support for a NIAC-endorsed letter by two American Congressmen that demands the United States not take military action against Iran and

370 E. Lake, "EXCLUSIVE", op. cit.

371 *Trita Parsi & NIAC v. Seid Hassan Daiouleslam*, Civil Action No. 08-705 (D.D.C. Sept. 13, 2012), available at https://ecf.dcd.uscourts.gov/cgi-bin/show_public_doc?2008cv0705-189. The court ordered NIAC to pay Daiouleslam \$183,480.09, *Trita Parsi & NIAC v. Seid Hassan Daiouleslam*, Civil Action No. 08-705 (D.D.C. April 9, 2013) available at <http://iraniansforum.com/Document/CaseClosed.pdf>

372 L. Scott, "Iranian group loses defamation experts," *Courthouse News Service*, April 4, 2012, available at <http://www.courthousenews.com/2012/04/04/45323.htm>

373 J. Rogin, "Does Washington have an Iran lobby?" *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2009 available at http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/11/13/does_washington_have_an_iran_lobby; See http://www.foreignpolicy.com/images/091113_CoffeeMemo.doc

374 N. Pollak, "How NIAC lobbied against Dennis Ross," *Commentary*, November 17, 2009 available at <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/2009/11/17/how-niac-lobbied-against-dennis-ross/>; Eli Lake, "EXCLUSIVE", op. cit.

375 See <http://www.niacouncil.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=7991>

376 See http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=Action_contact_congress

377 See http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=Policy_index

378 J. Abdi, "How hawks on the hill plan to kill talks with Iran," *Huffington Post*, April 13, 2012, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jamal-abdi/iran-talks_b_1423434.html

379 T. Parsi, "Israel, Gaza and Iran: Trapping Obama in Imagined Fault Lines," *NIAC Memo*, January 15, 2009, available at <http://www.niacouncil.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=5547>

380 T. Parsi, "Terror Label for Guard Corp Entrenches US-Iran Enmity," *NIAC Memo*, August 14, 2007, available at http://niac.convio.net/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=5710&security=1&news_iv_ctrl=-1

381 T. Parsi, "Why Netanyahu's Afraid of Diplomacy," *The Daily Beast*, available at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/04/17/why-netanyahu-s-afraid-of-diplomacy.html>

382 See http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=Action_diplomacy

383 See <http://www.niacampus.org/>

384 T. Parsi, "A Modus Vivendi Between Jerusalem and Tehran," *The Jewish Daily Forward*, March 17, 2006 available at <http://forward.com/articles/10904/a-modus-vivendi-between-jerusalem-and-tehran/>

instead reopen diplomatic relations.³⁸⁵ Parsi's publications include one co-authored with J Street's Jeremy Ben-Ami that opposed sanctions on Iran.³⁸⁶

There are additional connections between NIAC, J Street, and Soros-related entities via Genevieve Lynch. In addition to her membership on NIAC's Board of Directors and her leadership of the Kenbe Foundation,³⁸⁷ in 2011 Lynch gave over \$25,000 to J Street, earning her a place on its "President's Council,"³⁸⁸ as well as \$2,400 to J StreetPAC.

Lynch and her foundation have no obvious connections to Jewish, Israeli, Iranian or Middle Eastern issues.³⁸⁹ Kenbe Foundation's record of giving, to the extent that it can be followed, shows a small contribution to NIAC beginning in 2004 and much larger contributions in 2006 and 2009.³⁹⁰ There are no Form 990s available for The Pluralism Fund, suggesting it may exist in name only as a means for Lynch's personal giving and that of her husband Robert.

Other tangential links between Parsi and OSF exist. A document found in the discovery process of the NIAC suit against Daiouleslam, specifically an email from Clayton Swisher, director of programs at the Middle East Institute, to Parsi claimed that in September 2006 Steve Clemons, founder of the American Strategy Program at

the New America Foundation, an organization receiving support from the Foundation to Promote Open Society, had "talked up" Parsi in a conversation directly with George Soros.³⁹¹ Clemons, who is co-publisher of the "Palestine Note" website,³⁹² had defended Daniel Levy during the controversy over Levy's remarks regarding Israel's founding.³⁹³

The Middle East Institute receives support from the Soros Fund Charitable Foundation. Clemons and the New America Foundation, along with the Kenbe Foundation and The Pluralism Fund, had also partnered with NIAC in 2007 to promote the narrative surrounding the aforementioned "Guldemann Memorandum."³⁹⁴ NIAC also used Fenton Communications extensively during 2007.³⁹⁵

New America Foundation

The New America Foundation, founded in 1999, is a Washington, D.C.-based organization that describes itself as a "nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy institute that invests in new thinkers and new ideas to address the next generation of challenges facing the United States."³⁹⁶ It addresses a broad range of domestic and international issues.

The New America Foundation lists the Foundation to Promote Open Society as a funder at the \$250,000-999,000 level, and the Open Society Institute as a funder at the \$25,000-50,000 level.³⁹⁷ The Open Society Institute's

385 See <http://jstreet.org/blog/post/house-requires-report-on-consequences-of-military-strike-on-iran>; http://www.niacouncil.org/site/PageServer?pagename=Action_diplomacy; <http://www.niacinsight.com/2012/03/01/keith-ellison-we-do-not-need-a-third-war-engage-iran-diplomatically/>

386 J. Ben-Ami and T. Parsi, "How Diplomacy with Iran Can Succeed," *The Huffington Post*, June 11, 2009 *op. cit.*

387 See notes 171 and 172

388 See <https://s3.amazonaws.com/jstreet-media-website/JSt2011AnnualReport.pdf>

389 "Weddings: Genevieve Lohman, Robert Lynch Jr.," *The New York Times*, August 6, 2006 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/06/style/weddings-genevieve-lohman-robert-lynch-jr.html>

390 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/134/134200004/134200004_200412_990PF.pdf; http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/134/134200004/134200004_200912_990PF.pdf

391 Progressive American-Iranian Committee, "Trita Parsi's Communications with M. Javad Zarif, Ahmadinejad's Ambassador to the United Nations," available at <http://www.iranian-americans.com/2009/12/1649.html>

392 See <http://www.palestinernote.com/about-us/>

393 S. Clemons, "Conspiracism American Style: The Daniel Levy Debate," October 18, 2010, available at http://www.thewashingtonnote.com/archives/2010/10/conspiracism_am/

394 See http://www.niacouncil.org/images/PDF_files/niac_feb_conference.pdf

395 See <http://www.niacouncil.org/site/Search?query=fenton&x=0&y=0>

396 See <http://newamerica.net/about>

397 See <http://newamerica.net/about/funding>

Form 990 for 2009 notes \$475,000 in support³⁹⁸ and \$865,000 in 2008.³⁹⁹ The Foundation to Promote Open Society provided \$525,000 in support in 2010⁴⁰⁰ and \$500,00 in 2009.⁴⁰¹

The organization's Iran Initiative is directed by former CIA and State Department official Flynt Leverett, who, along with his wife, Hillary Mann Leverett, has been a long-time critic of Israel as a Middle Eastern hegemony and strategic liability to the U.S. that effectively dictates American policy,⁴⁰² AIPAC as a negative and hegemonic force in American society,⁴⁰³ and they defend Iran as a benign "rising" power that should be engaged diplomatically by means of a "grand bargain."⁴⁰⁴ They have also argued that declining American influence in the Middle East demands that the U.S. engage with Islamist movements including Hamas,⁴⁰⁵ and that the Iranian elections were fundamentally fair, the regime's

398 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_200912_990PF.pdf

399 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_200812_990PF.pdf

400 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

401 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

402 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "Is Obama Preparing to Commit the United States to an Eventual War Against the Islamic Republic Of Iran?" *The Race for Iran*, March 4, 2012 available at <http://www.raceforiran.com/is-obama-preparing-to-commit-the-united-states-to-an-eventual-war-against-the-islamic-republic-of-iran>

403 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "AIPAC, Israel, and America's Iran Debate," *The Race for Iran*, March 7, 2012 available at <http://www.raceforiran.com/aipac-israel-and-america%E2%80%99s-iran-debate>

404 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "The Race for Iran," *The Race for Iran*, October 1, 2009, available at <http://www.raceforiran.com/the-race-for-iran-a-manifesto>; Flynt Leverett, "The Race for Iran," *The New York Times*, June 20, 2006, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/20/opinion/20leverett.html>; Flynt Leverett and Hillary Mann Leverett, "The Grand Bargain," *The Washington Monthly*, August/September/October 2008, available at <http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2008/0808.leverett.html>; Flynt Leverett, New America Foundation and Hillary Mann Leverett, "The United States, Iran and the Middle East's New 'Cold War,'" April 1, 2010, available at http://asp.newamerica.net/publications/articles/2010/the_united_states_iran_and_the_middle_easts_new_cold_war_30060

405 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "The Dispensable Nation," *Foreign Policy*, May 20, 2011, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/05/20/the_dispensable_nation

opposition is small and ineffective,⁴⁰⁶ and the Iranian nuclear program is essentially benign.⁴⁰⁷

While a staff member at the National Security Council, Hillary Mann Leverett claims to have received the faxed "Guldimann Memorandum" purporting to be an offer of a "grand bargain."⁴⁰⁸ Along with Trita Parsi of NIAC, she and her husband emerged as the most fervent defenders of the document and the concept that Iran offered the U.S. a comprehensive plan for negotiations that was discarded by neo-conservatives within the Bush administration.⁴⁰⁹ Like NIAC staffers Parsi and Namazi, the Leveretts appear to have connections with the Iranian regime.⁴¹⁰ It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the thrust of their work aims at defending Iran against threats of regime change.

The New American Foundation is also notable as the base for Peter Beinart,⁴¹¹ former editor at *The New Republic* and columnist for *The Daily Beast*. Building on a 2010 article in the *New York Review of Books*,⁴¹² Beinart's recent book, "The Crisis of Zionism" purports to detail the

406 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "The Soft Side of Regime Change: Trita Parsi's A Single Roll of the Dice," *Boston Review*, January 31, 2012, available at http://www.bostonreview.net/BR37.1/flynt_hillary_leverett_trita_parsi_iran.php

407 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "Leverett Highlights the Importance of Facts and America's Refusal to Accept the Islamic Republic Of Iran," *The Race for Iran*, February 22, 2012 available at <http://www.raceforiran.com/leverett-highlights-the-importance-of-facts-and-americas-refusal-to-accept-the-islamic-republic-of-iran>

408 J. H. Richardson, "The Secret History of the Impending War with Iran That the White House Doesn't Want You to Know," *Esquire*, October 18, 2007, available at <http://www.esquire.com/features/iranbriefing1107>

409 F. Leverett and H. Mann Leverett, "Redacted Version of Original Op-Ed," *The New York Times*, December 22, 2006 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/22/opinion/22leverett.html>

410 L. Smith, "Iran's Man in Washington," *Tablet*, February 9, 2010 available at <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/25357/iran%E2%80%99s-man-in-washington?print=1>

411 See <http://newamerica.net/user/213>

412 P. Beinart, "The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment," *The New York Review of Books*, June 10, 2010 available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/?pagination=false>

alienation of young American Jews from Israel thanks to that country's illiberal behavior.⁴¹³ The book has been sharply criticized on factual and conceptual grounds.⁴¹⁴ Beinart has also called for boycotts of Jewish settlements in the West Bank.⁴¹⁵ Trita Parsi of NIAC is a contributor at Beinart's "Open Zion" blog.⁴¹⁶ Another staffer at NAF is Daniel Levy, co-director of the Middle East Task Force and co-founder of J Street (see above).

Institute for Policy Studies

The Institute for Policy Studies is a Washington, D.C. think tank. Founded in 1963, the organization defines its mission as "a policy and research resource for visionary social justice movements."⁴¹⁷ The organization's programs are oriented towards peace, justice, and the environment.

The Foundation to Promote Open Society provided \$260,000 of support for IPS in 2009⁴¹⁸ and \$200,000 in 2010.⁴¹⁹ The Open Society Institute also provided a token \$600 in support in 2008.⁴²⁰ The IPS does not make its financial information public.

413 See http://newamerica.net/publications/books/the_crisis_of_zionism

414 D. Gordis, "A Dose of Nuance: Peter Beinart's mis-identity crisis," *Jerusalem Post*, November 4, 2012 available at <http://www.jpost.com/LandedPages/PrintArticle.aspx?id=265690>; Allison Hoffman, "Lightning Rod," *Tablet*, March 22, 2012 available at <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/94763/lightning-rod?all=1>; Jordan Chandler Hirsch, "Diaspora Divided," *Jewish Review of Books*, Number 9, Spring 2012 available at <http://www.jewishreviewofbooks.com/publications/detail/diaspora-divided>

415 P. Beinart, "To Save Israel, Boycott the Settlements," *The New York Times*, March 18, 2012 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/19/opinion/to-save-israel-boycott-the-settlements.html?pagewanted=all>

416 See <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/03/12/contributors.html>

417 See <http://www.ips-dc.org/about>

418 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

419 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

420 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200812_990PF.pdf

The organization has adopted a consistently left-wing orientation ranging from support for the Soviet Union, Cuba,⁴²¹ and Pol Pot's Cambodia, to a long record of defense for Palestinian terrorism.⁴²² The organization's Middle East specialist, Phyllis Bennis, also has a long record of hostility to Israel, displayed recently in columns condemning Israel's concern regarding the Iranian nuclear weapons program, which she regards as non-existent,⁴²³ condemning recognition of Israel as a Jewish state,⁴²⁴ advocating support for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS),⁴²⁵ and support for a Palestinian "right of return."⁴²⁶ She also characterizes Israel as an inherently racist state.⁴²⁷

According to the IPS website, Bennis was a member of the steering committee of the "U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation,"⁴²⁸ a leading organization promoting the BDS movement against Israel. In fact, Bennis is the president of a 501(c)(3) organization called "Education for Just Peace in the Middle East" which does business under the better known name of the "U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli

421 See https://salsa.democracyinaction.org/o/357/t/11387/shop/shop.jsp?storefront_KEY=948

422 H. Klehr, *Far Left of Center: The American Radical Left Today*, (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1988), 177-186.

423 P. Bennis, "We've seen the threats against Iran before," *Aljazeera*, February 18, 2012, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/02/201221510012473174.html> reproduced at http://www.ips-dc.org/articles/weve_seen_the_threats_against_iran_before

424 P. Bennis, "Obama Goes to AIPAC: A Scorecard," *Salon*, March 7, 2012, available at http://www.salon.com/2012/03/07/obama_goes_to_aipac_a_scorecard/singleton/

425 P. Bennis, "Waging Peace from Afar: Divestment and Israeli Occupation," *YES! Magazine*, August 20, 2010, reproduced at http://www.ips-dc.org/articles/waging_peace_from_afar_divestment_and_israeli_occupation

426 P. Bennis, "Obama's Real Israel Problem - and it isn't Bibi," *The Los Angeles Times*, January 6, 2012, available at <http://opinion.latimes.com/opinionla/2012/01/blowback.html>

427 M. Elbaum, "For Jews Only: Racism Inside Israel: An Interview with Phyllis Bennis," *Hartford Web Publishing*, December 15, 2000, available at <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/51a/093.html>

428 See <http://blog.endtheoccupation.org/2009/06/us-campaign-steering-committee-member.html>

Occupation.”⁴²⁹ These organizations do not make their finances public.

The Institute for Policy Studies’ “Foreign Policy in Focus” project also features writers such as Stephen Zunes, a professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of San Francisco.⁴³⁰ Zunes has accused the Democratic Party of supporting foreign aid legislation that would increase support to Israel and require the U.S. Government to veto one-sided attacks in the United Nations.⁴³¹ Zunes has also accused the U.S. of abetting Israeli “aggression” and of discrediting “reputable human rights” groups’ accusations against Israeli “attacks against civilian population centers” and use of “torture” that followed the wave of 2002 terrorist attacks.⁴³² He also criticized the United States for boycotting the 2001 United Nations Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa.⁴³³ (See Description of Durban Strategy above.)

Kenneth Roth of Human Rights Watch has also contributed to “Foreign Policy in Focus.” Basing his assertions on the now discredited Goldstone Report, Roth wrote that “ Hamas firing rockets from civilian areas in Gaza into civilian areas in Israel thus does not justify Israel’s unlawful conduct.”⁴³⁴

He also misquoted then-Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni claiming she urged Israeli forces to avoid distinguishing between combatants and civilians in the 2008-09 Gaza war. Roth had decontextualized Livni’s actual statement in the

429 See <http://www.guidestar.org/organizations/42-1636592/education-just-peace-middle-east.aspx>

430 See <http://stephenzunes.org/>

431 S. Zunes, “Bipartisan Assault on Middle East Peace,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, May 29, 2012, available at http://www.fpif.org/articles/bipartisan_assault_on_middle_east_peace

432 S. Zunes, “Remembering Israel’s West Bank Offensive,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, April 18, 2012, available at http://www.fpif.org/articles/remembering_israels_west_bank_offensive

433 S. Zunes, “The Folly of the U.S. Boycott,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, September 1, 2001, available at http://www.ips-dc.org/articles/the_folly_of_the_us_boycott

434 K. Roth, “Geneva Conventions Still Hold Up,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, December 30, 2009, available at http://www.fpif.org/articles/geneva_conventions_still_hold_up

Knesset, “They don’t make a distinction, and neither should we.”⁴³⁵ The Knesset transcript shows, contrary to Roth’s characterization, that Livni was criticizing MK Ahmed Tibi’s Knesset statement for heightening tensions between Israeli Jews and Arabs. Livni said, “On my way here I heard that Hamas declared the man killed by a rocket in Ashkelon ‘one of the Zionists’ despite being an Israeli Arab. They [Hamas] don’t make a distinction [between Israeli Jews and Arabs], and neither should we.”⁴³⁶

Roth attempted to justify HRW’s overemphasis on Israel on the grounds that it is “the most powerful actor in the conflict.” Roth has also acknowledged the application of double standards, which he excuses as a “tendency to judge Israel as a Western democracy,” and “while the international human rights standards are the same, the expectations of compliance with those standards are higher for Western democracies than some tin-pot dictators.”⁴³⁷ Roth’s direct involvement in HRW campaigns that condemn Israeli responses to terror includes media interviews, publication of letters and op-ed articles, and participation in press conferences.⁴³⁸

Kairos Project/Telos Group

The Telos Group (formerly the Kairos Project) is a U.S.-based non-profit which seeks to strengthen “the capacity of American faith communities - and especially American evangelicals - to help positively transform the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.”⁴³⁹ It undertakes educational activities in the U.S. and the organization’s “signature Holy Land trips enable influential Americans to personally encounter multiple Israeli and

435 Ibid.

436 A. Meranda, “Tibi: Politicians counting Palestinian bodies,” *ynet.com*, December 29, 2008 available at <http://www.ynet.co.il/english/Ext/Comp/ArticleLayout/CdaArticlePrintPreview/1,2506,L-3646487,00.html>

437 H. Krieger, “We Don’t Do Comparisons,” *Jerusalem Post*, September 11, 2004.

438 See <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/hrw.pdf>

439 See <http://www.telosgroup.org/about/mission>

Palestinian narratives as they build authentic relationships with significant local leaders in business, media, health care, education, human rights, faith, culture, and politics. Telos guides expertly balance and interpret these meetings so that, by the end of each trip, participants grasp the basic issues of the conflict and a variety of perspectives and emotions.”⁴⁴⁰

The organization was founded by Palestinian-American lawyer Gregory Khalil and former U.S. State Department official Todd Deatherage.⁴⁴¹ From 2004 to 2008 Khalil was a legal advisor to the Negotiations Support Unit (NSU), an advisory group to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Authority based in Ramallah and funded by the European Union.⁴⁴² He has stated that Gaza is still occupied by Israel following the 2005 Disengagement,⁴⁴³ and has also complained about the unilateralism of Israel’s withdrawal.⁴⁴⁴ Khalil has participated in joint events with J Street and in other events aimed at outreach to the American Jewish community.⁴⁴⁵

Co-founder and executive director Todd Deatherage is vice president of the Holy Lands Christian Society, an aid organization of Palestinian Christians.⁴⁴⁶ Israeli attorney Daniel Seidemann, a former legal advisor to Ir Amim,

another OSF recipient, is also a participant in programs taking place in Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁷

The Telos Group received a grant in 2010 for \$238,000⁴⁴⁸ from the Foundation to Promote Open Society to “train Israeli and Palestinian civil society leaders and human rights activists on effective engagement with US policymakers and the public and to facilitate relationship building between partners and leading US policymakers.” It previously received \$363,000 in 2009⁴⁴⁹ and \$112,500 in 2008.⁴⁵⁰ These amounts comprised approximately half of the organization’s funding. The organization does not make its financial data public.

Center for American Progress

The Center for American Progress is a Washington, D.C.-based policy and advocacy organization. Founded in 2003 by John Podesta, former White House chief of staff to President Bill Clinton, the organization defines itself as “an independent nonpartisan educational institute dedicated to improving the lives of Americans through progressive ideas and action.”⁴⁵¹ The organization was created by the “Democracy Alliance” as a left wing alternative to compete with longer established institutions on the right and center.⁴⁵² In addition to its policy development activities, the organization has a number of media and campus-oriented projects as means of dissemination and outreach, including the website ThinkProgress.⁴⁵³

440 See <http://www.telosgroup.org/programs/pilgrimages>

441 See <http://www.telosgroup.org/about/staff>

442 See <http://web.archive.org/web/20100528024033/http://www.adc.org/media/press-releases/2008/december-2008/bio/>

443 “Panelists Disagree Over Gaza’s Occupation Status,” University of Virginia School of Law, November 17, 2005 available at http://www.law.virginia.edu/html/news/2005_fall/gaza.htm

444 See <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2007-10-25palestinetr.pdf>

445 See http://action.jstreet.org/c/8228/t/5534/content.jsp?content_KEY=3147; Stephen R. Stern, “Palestinian voices and Jewish Americans,” Washington Jewish Week, March 14, 2012, available at <http://washingtonjewishweek.com/m/Articles.aspx?ArticleID=16816>; Gregory Khalil and Paul Scham, “Exploring the ‘Catastrophe,’” Sh’ma: A Journal of Jewish Ideas, May 2011, available at <http://www.shma.com/2011/05/exploring-the-%E2%80%98catastrophe%E2%80%99/>;

446 See <http://holylandchristians.org/who-we-are/board-members/>

447 See <http://peacenow.org/entries/archive4602>

448 See http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

449 See http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

450 See http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200812_990PF.pdf

451 See <http://www.americanprogress.org/aboutus>

452 D. Callahan, *Fortunes of Change: The Rise of the Liberal Rich and the Remaking of America*, (New York; John Wiley, 2010), 156.

453 See <http://thinkprogress.org/about/>

The Center for American Progress received \$825,000 in support in 2010⁴⁵⁴ from the Foundation to Promote Open Society, an increase from \$550,000 the year before.⁴⁵⁵ The Open Society Institute provided \$1,250,000 of support in 2008⁴⁵⁶ and 2009.⁴⁵⁷ The organization does not make its financial information public.

In late 2011, the organization and Media Matters were accused of condoning statements from its columnists that accused Israel of war-mongering and its supporters of being “Israel-firsters,”⁴⁵⁸ the latter term bordering on classic antisemitism.⁴⁵⁹ These charges were denied,⁴⁶⁰ but then an apology was issued. Subsequently, the organization scrubbed the offending staffer’s Twitter feed but also scrambled to personally discredit its critics,⁴⁶¹ including one of whom was expelled from a national security forum connected with the Democratic Party.⁴⁶²

454 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

455 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

456 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137137029285/137029285_200812_990PF.pdf

457 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137137029285/137029285_200912_990PF.pdf

458 B. Smith, “Israel rift roils Democratic ranks,” *Politico*, December 7, 2011, available at <http://dyn.politico.com/printstory.cfm?uuid=160A33C8-58FE-45A6-949B-1A6C9ED1A31A>

459 B. Weinthal, “Bloggers drag US think tank into scandal,” *The Jerusalem Post*, December 28, 2011, available at <http://www.jpost.com/LandedPages/PrintArticle.aspx?id=251305>

460 M. Duss, “Josh Block’s Oppo Research Doc Misleads On CAP Bloggers’ Positions,” *Thinkprogress Security*, December 10, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2011/12/10/386898/josh-block-misleads-cap-bloggers/>

461 B. Armbruster, “TAKE ACTION: Tell The Washington Post To Retract Jen Rubin’s Charge That ThinkProgress Is ‘Anti-Semitic,’” *Thinkprogress Security*, December 9, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2011/12/09/385967/washington-post-rubin-thinkprogress-anti-semitic/>

462 See <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2011/12/08/384757/josh-block-lobbyist-dictators/>; Ben Smith, “Progressive group expels Block over CAP criticism,” *Ben Smith on Politics and Media*, December 23, 2011, available at <http://www.politico.com/blogs/ben-smith/2011/12/progressive-group-expels-block-over-cap-criticism-108581.html>

Media Matters

Media Matters is a Washington, D.C.-based organization. Created in 2004, the organization describes itself as a “progressive research and information center dedicated to comprehensively monitoring, analyzing, and correcting conservative misinformation in the U.S. media.”⁴⁶³

In 2010, Media Matters received \$675,000 from the Foundation to Promote Open Society.⁴⁶⁴ The organization does not make its financial information public.

Until 2012, the organization’s Middle East specialist was former AIPAC and Israel Policy Forum staffer M.J. Rosenberg. The same series of press items that exposed the problematic conduct of Center for American Progress staffers noted Rosenberg’s propensity to accuse American Jews of “dual loyalties” and being “Israel firsters,” as well as AIPAC of having “stolen American foreign policy,” and the “Israel Lobby” of “silencing critics.”⁴⁶⁵ After considerable criticism, including from leading figures such as Alan Dershowitz,⁴⁶⁶ Rosenberg unrepentantly resigned his position with the organization.⁴⁶⁷ The defenses mounted in favor of Rosenberg accused critics of debasing the

463 See http://mediamatters.org/p/about_us/

464 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

465 See <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mj-rosenberg/>

466 V. Coglianese, “MJ Rosenberg out at Media Matters,” *The Daily Caller*, April 6, 2012 available at <http://dailycaller.com/2012/04/06/mj-rosenberg-out-at-media-matters/>

467 M.J. Rosenberg, “The Israel Firster Brouhaha & Why I Left Media Matters,” *The Huffington Post*, April 7, 2012, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mj-rosenberg/the-israel-firster-brouha_1_b_1409931.html

term antisemitism⁴⁶⁸ as well as engaging in “McCarthyism.”⁴⁶⁹

US/Middle East Project

The US/Middle East Project was created in 1994 as part of the Council on Foreign Relations under the direction of Henry Siegman.⁴⁷⁰ The organization’s mission is “to provide non partisan analysis of the Middle East peace process and to present policymakers in the United States, in the region and in the larger international community with balanced policy analysis and policy options to prevent conflict and promote stability, democracy, modernization and economic development throughout the region.”⁴⁷¹

The US/Middle East Project’s Form 990 shows that it was established in 2006 with \$1.2 million in grants, an amount that has steadily decreased to approximately half that in 2009. The organization’s expenses have remained steady at approximately \$630,000, half of which is compensation for Siegman. The rest goes towards compensation for other employees, primarily executive assistant Gail Israelson, travel, office expenses, and speaker’s fees.⁴⁷²

In 2009 the Foundation to Promote Open Society provided \$40,000 in general support to the US/Middle East Project.⁴⁷³

Siegman, an Orthodox rabbi turned Middle East policy specialist, had been Executive Director

468 S. Wildman, “When ‘Anti-Semitism’ Is Abused,” *The Jewish Daily Forward*, January 5, 2012, available at <http://forward.com/articles/149147/when-antisemitism-is-abused/> See also Glenn Greenwald, “The ‘anti-Semitism’ smear campaign against CAP and Media Matters rolls on,” *Salon*, January 19th, 2012, available at http://www.salon.com/2012/01/19/the_smear_campaign_against_cap_and_media_matters_rolls_on/

469 J. Kirchick, “A case of leftist ‘McCarthyism?’” *Haaretz*, January 13, 2012, available at <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/a-case-of-leftist-mccarthyism-1.407064>

470 See http://www.cfr.org/projects/middle-east/usmiddle-east-project/pr280#more_information

471 See <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/>

472 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990_pdf_archive/412/412213721/412213721_201006_990.pdf

473 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

of the American Jewish Congress from 1978 to 1994 and was a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations until his retirement in 2006. At that point, the US/Middle East Project became an independent entity with Siegman as the president.⁴⁷⁴ The organization’s International Board is co-chaired by former U.S. National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and Ambassador Thomas Pickering. Egyptian diplomat Osama El Baz and former Italian Prime Minister Guilano Amano were also co-chairs until 2010.

Siegman, like Soros, was a child in Nazi occupied Europe but had managed to escape France to the United States.⁴⁷⁵ At the Council on Foreign Relations, he became a strident critic of Israeli policy towards the Palestinians and routinely accused it of “racism,” and used exaggerated and false claims of Palestinian casualties. He also misrepresented both historical facts and the words of various individuals.⁴⁷⁶ A cornerstone of the US/Middle East Project, both at the Council on Foreign Relations and independently, are calls for the United States to exert pressure on Israel in order to create Middle East peace and stability.⁴⁷⁷

The independent US/Middle East Project purports to conduct and support a variety of activities including the Arab Reform Initiative,⁴⁷⁸ missions and meetings of its International

474 See <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/>

475 C. Hedges, “Separating Spiritual and Political, He Pays a Price,” *The New York Times*, June 13, 2002 available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/13/nyregion/public-lives-separating-spiritual-and-political-he-pays-a-price.html>

476 See http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=2&x_outlet=139&x_article=1197

477 B. Scowcroft, “Obama Must Broker A New Mideast Peace,” *Financial Times*, April 13, 2011 available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cf073700-65be-11e0-baee-00144feab49a.html#axzz2KDPx2ZEr> and reproduced at <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/2009/04/03/rethinking-the-gaza-blockade/>

478 See <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/activities/arab-reform-initiative/>

Board⁴⁷⁹, US-European meetings,⁴⁸⁰ and a variety of publication series under the editorship of Robert Malley of the International Crisis Group.⁴⁸¹

CONCLUSIONS

As shown in detail, George Soros and his Open Society Foundation network comprise one of the world's largest philanthropic operations, and as such have a major global impact. There are numerous components that reflect Soros' personal giving: his own individual contributions and those of the Foundation to Promote Open Society and Soros Fund Charitable Foundation.

Giving by the Open Society Institute is institutionally based and has been shaped by the professional staff under the direction of Aryeh Neier, and now Christopher Stone. The Open Society Fund and the Open Society Foundation (prior to the 2011 reorganization), supported the Open Society Institute, while the Alliance for Open Society International and the Open Society Policy Center were ancillary operations.

As this monograph demonstrates, available information suggests a deliberate emphasis on influencing the highly complex Israeli-Palestinian arena.

There is no comparable focus by Soros family and OSF gifts or his foundation network on promoting democracy or economic development in Palestinian society, nor on surrounding Arab societies.

This monograph has also shown that Soros philanthropic giving has strongly benefitted many NGOs involved in anti-Israel campaigns in three different categories.

The first is support for organizations active in the "Durban strategy," which exploits the

479 See <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/activities/international-board-missions/>

480 See <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/activities/us-european-consultations-on-the-middle-east/>

481 See <http://www.usmep.us/usmep/category/usme-policy-briefs/>

language of international law and human rights to advance campaigns to isolate Israel politically, academically, and economically. Funding to groups like Al Haq, Al Mezan and Palestinian Center for Human Rights, and Israeli political NGOs such as Breaking the Silence, Yesh Din and Adalah are indicative.

The second category is support for organizations that aim to shift U.S. public opinion regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – particularly by weakening domestic support for Israel. For example, the extremely large gifts to the New America Foundation, Center for American Progress, Media Matters, and smaller ones to the Institute for Middle East Understanding, and the National Iranian-American Council, should be understood in this way. This support is implemented in an adversarial and tendentious fashion. Soros' mega-gift to Human Rights Watch and the belatedly acknowledged gift to J Street are also consistent with this impact.

The third category is funds for organizations that stand in opposition to the Israeli electoral consensus, and often become involved in the Durban strategy. This is demonstrated by gifts to organizations such as Adalah, B'Tselem, Breaking the Silence, and Gisha. These organizations promote a narrow, marginal political agenda that is far outside the Israeli consensus, and in some cases reject Israel's existence as a Jewish state. As noted, several of these groups receive support from OSI-Zug or unspecified OSF entities based outside of the U.S.

Though smaller grants are authorized by OSF staff, the large-scale OSF and Soros family grants to Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the Institute for Middle East Understanding, along with the Center for American Progress and Media Matters, are almost certainly known by foundation leadership and the Soros family. In this sense, the grants represent their intentions and are expressions of their values.

In contrast to the declaratory emphasis on transparency and "open societies," support for political advocacy NGOs such as Al-Haq,

Adalah, and other organizations by unknown OSF entities is not fully transparent. The relationship of the Soros family and OSF leadership in New York to OSI-Zug is opaque, but the involvement of Aryeh Neier as well as William Newton-Smith suggests the Swiss entity does not act independently.

Adequately addressing these concerns would require the Soros philanthropies to

1. End the practice of non-transparency, particularly by OSI-Zug, and provide periodic and full disclosure of all charitable activities.
2. Ensure that beneficiaries act in strict accordance with universal moral principles by abstaining from the promotion of totalitarian regimes, such as in Iran, as well as from participating in demonization of Israel through the exploitation of the language of human rights.

The degree to which George Soros and the Soros family are aware of the issues examined in this monograph is a matter of conjecture. Though Soros is a frequent critic of Israeli policies, there is no indication that he, or his family, is ideologically hostile to Israel's existence.

Given the sheer size of the Soros philanthropic network and its major impact internationally, the overt antagonism toward Israel held by many beneficiaries is of public importance. The uncertainty of whether Soros, his family, and the Open Society Foundation are aware of this situation requires an answer.

APPENDICES

Appendix One

Key Soros Fund Management and Schulte, Roth & Zabel personnel involved in Soros foundations include:

- William Zabel is a founding partner of Schulte, Roth & Zabel.⁴⁸² He is a Director of the Soros Fund Charitable Foundation, a trustee of the Soros Humanitarian Foundation and the Soros Charitable Foundation, and a Director of the Foundation to Promote Open Society.
- Daniel Eule is George Soros' personal attorney.⁴⁸³ He is the Vice President and Secretary/Director of the Soros Fund Charitable Foundation, and a trustee of the Soros Humanitarian Foundation and the Soros Charitable Foundation. He is also the Secretary/Treasurer of the Jennifer and Jonathan Allan Soros Foundation, and Treasurer of both the Foundation to Promote Open Society and the Open Society Foundation.
- Armando Belly is General Counsel of Soros Fund Management.⁴⁸⁴ He is a Director of the Soros Fund Charitable Foundation, and a trustee of the Soros Humanitarian Foundation and the Soros Charitable Foundation.
- Susan Frunzi is a partner in the New York office of Schulte, Roth & Zabel.⁴⁸⁵ She is a Director of the Foundation to Promote Open Society.
- Gary Gladstein was Chief Operating Officer at Soros Fund Management from 1985 to 1999. Upon his retirement he was Senior Consultant until 2004.⁴⁸⁶ He is the President of the Soros Fund Charitable Foundation.

Relevant Soros Fund Management personnel include:

- Abbas 'Eddy' Zuaiter is the Chief Operating Officer and Chief Financial Officer of Soros Fund Management. He sits on the boards of Directors of the Institute for Middle East Understanding and the Middle East Institute.⁴⁸⁷ He is also on the board of the Arab Fund for Arts and Culture.⁴⁸⁸
- Ahmad Zuaiter is a portfolio manager at Soros Fund Management. He sits on the boards of Human Rights Watch and Just Vision.⁴⁸⁹ He is Abbas Zuaiter's brother. Neither Abbas nor Ahmad Zuaiter appear to maintain a foundation.

482 See http://www.srz.com/William_D_Zabel/

483 See [http://edgar.brand.edgar-online.com/DisplayFilingInfo.aspx?Type=HTML&text=%2526lt%253bNEAR%252f4%2526gt%253b\(%22DANIEL%22%2c%22EULE%22\)&FilingID=4017056&ppu=%2fPeopleFilingResults.aspx%3fPersonID%3d3151487%26PersonName%3dDANIEL%2bEULE](http://edgar.brand.edgar-online.com/DisplayFilingInfo.aspx?Type=HTML&text=%2526lt%253bNEAR%252f4%2526gt%253b(%22DANIEL%22%2c%22EULE%22)&FilingID=4017056&ppu=%2fPeopleFilingResults.aspx%3fPersonID%3d3151487%26PersonName%3dDANIEL%2bEULE)

484 See www.cftc.gov/files/opa/press05/opaatbellybio.pdf

485 See http://www.srz.com/Susan_C_Frunzi/

486 See <http://people.forbes.com/profile/gary-s-gladstein/94796>

487 See <http://imeu.net/news/about-imeu.shtml>. Zuaiter was the author of an opinion piece in a local newspaper criticizing Israel for the blockade of Gaza. See Abbas F. Zuaiter, Credit Himes for stance on Gaza, Institute for Middle East Understanding: News and Analysis, February 19, 2010, available at <http://imeu.net/news/article0018474.shtml> and below.

488 See <http://www.arabculturefund.org/?q=en/content/board-trustees>

489 See <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?operation=print&id=2713>; <http://www.justvision.org/staff>

Appendix Two

Soros Fund Charitable Foundation grants to organizations involved in Jewish, Israeli and Middle Eastern affairs 2010⁴⁹⁰

American Friends of Yeshiva Dmir	general support	\$6000
American Jewish World Service	general support	\$300
American Near East Refugee Aid Inc	general support	\$30000
Birthright Israel Foundation	general support	\$75000
Bnai Brith Youth Organization	general support	\$13500
Bnei Aharon Inc., Brooklyn	general support	\$900
Carter Center, Atlanta	general support	\$750
Chabad Lubavitch of Briarcliff Manor-Ossining	general support	\$1950
Chai Life Line	general support	\$300
Colel Chabad, Brooklyn	general support	\$2700
Eule Charitable Foundation	capital endowment	\$300000
Falmouth Jewish Congregation	general support	\$60000
FJC-Natan	general support	\$152400
Hebron Fund	general support	\$540
Human Rights Campaign Foundation	general support	\$22500
Human Rights Watch	general support	\$45000
Institute for Middle East Understanding	general support	\$132600
Israel America Academic Exchange	general support	\$13500
Jewish Community Project of Lower Manhattan	general support	\$2250
Keren Boruch Yitzchok Foundation	general support	\$4500
Middle East Institute	general support	\$37500
Nefesh	general support	\$540
Open Society Institute	capital endowment	\$10000026
PEF Israel Endowment Funds	general support	\$1350
Rabbi Israel Meyer Hacoen Rabbinical Seminary, Flushing	general support	\$4500
Simon Wiesenthal Center, Los Angeles	general support	\$450
United Jewish Appeal Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of NY	general support	\$150
United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, NY	general support	\$3750
Yeshiva Ohel Moshe	general support	\$22500
Yeshiva Torah Vadaath, Brooklyn	general support	\$540
Yeshiva University	general support	\$166200

⁴⁹⁰ See the 2010 Form 990 at http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/133/133388177/133388177_201012_990PF.pdf

Appendix Three

Soros recipient NGOs and amounts received from Soros Foundations.

NGO	Amount Received (\$)
Adalah Israel	Receives funding from Open Society Development Foundation and OSF grant recipient New Israel Fund; Amounts Unknown.
Al-Haq Ramallah, Palestinian Authority	\$200,000 grant from the Open Society Development Foundation in 2009
The Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights Jabalia, Gaza	Amounts Unknown
Amnesty International London, UK	The Foundation to Support Open Society provided Amnesty International with \$125,000 in 2009 and 2010.
Breaking the Silence Israel	\$19,500 in 2008 by "OSI."
B'Tselem Israel	Amount Unknown
The Center for American Progress United States	Received \$825,000 in support in 2010 ⁴⁸⁵ from the Foundation to Promote Open Society, an increase from \$550,000 the year before. ⁴⁸⁶ The Open Society Institute provided \$1,250,000 in 2008 ⁴⁸⁷ and 2009. ⁴⁸⁸
The Center for Constitutional Rights New York, NY United States	In 2010 received \$315,000 from the Foundation to Promote Open Society; \$9,000 from the Open Society Institute.
The Crimes of War Project Washington D.C. United States	Amount Unknown
Gisha, Israel	Received \$180,000 in 2010 from the Open Society Institute.
Human Rights Watch, New York, NY, United States	\$100 million matching gift made in 2010 through the Foundation to Promote Open Society
J Street, United States	In 2008 J Street received \$750,000 from Soros's daughter, Andrea and son Jonathan. ⁴⁸⁹ Exact amount unknown; The organization's 2011 annual report acknowledges support from George Soros and his son Alex.
The I'Lam Media Center for Arab Palestinians in Israel, Israel	Received \$208,000 from the Open Society Institute in 2010.
Institute for Policy Studies Washington, D.C., United States	Foundation to Promote Open Society granted \$260,000 to IPS in 2009, and \$200,000 in 2010. IPS does not make its financial information public.
Ir Amim, Israel	Ir Amim receives support from OSF grantee the New Israel Fund. Amount unknown.
Mada al-Carmel, Israel	Amount Unknown
Media Matters, United States	In 2010 Media Matters received \$675,000 from the Foundation to Promote Open Society.
The Mossawa Center, Israel	Amount Unknown

The New America Foundation United States	The Foundation to Promote Open Society provided \$525,000 in 2010 ⁴⁹⁰ and \$500, 000 in 2009. ⁴⁹¹
The New Israel Fund New York, NY, United States	\$17,500 in 2008; \$67,500 in 2009, and \$82,500 in 2010. The Foundation to Promote Open Society also provided \$60,000 in 2009 and 2010.
The Palestinian Center for Human Rights Gaza	Amount Unknown
Rabbis for Human Rights, Israel	In 2009 and 2010 Rabbis for Human Rights/ North America, received \$100,000 grants. Both the Israel and U.S. branches also receive funding from OSF recipient, the New Israel Fund.
The Telos Group (formerly the Kairos Project) United States	Received a grant in 2010 for \$238,000 ⁴⁹² from the Foundation to Promote Open Society; previously received \$363,000 in 2009 ⁴⁹³ and \$112,500 in 2008.
The US/Middle East Project United States	In 2009 the Foundation to Promote Open Society provided \$40,000 to the US/Middle East Project. ⁴⁹⁴
Yesh Din Israel	Amount Unknown

485 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

486 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

487 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_200812_990PF.pdf

488 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/137/137029285/137029285_200912_990PF.pdf

489 “J-Street, a Fake Israel Advocacy Group LIED About George Soros Connection,” The Lid, September 24, 2010 available at <http://yidwithlid.blogspot.com/2010/09/breaking-fake-pro-israel-lobby-group-j.html>; Eli Lake, “Soros revealed as funder of liberal Jewish-American lobby,” The Washington Times, September 24, 2010 available at <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/sep/24/soros-funder-liberal-jewish-american-lobby/>

490 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

491 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

492 See http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_201012_990PF.pdf

493 See http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf

494 See http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/263/263753801/263753801_200912_990PF.pdf