



Pride With Prejudice

Exposing A Wider Bridge's Right-Wing Funding

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Why Are We Here?

The LGBTQ community in the United States and our views on the Israeli State has become a topic of increasing concern, interest, and importance over the course of the current decade. As LGBTQ people have begun to make some strides towards securing basic human rights in the United States, major Jewish organizations have sought to jump on board the political activation of the community with the goal of advancing pro-Israel politics. As part of the Israeli State's Brand Israel marketing campaign, even organizations that have historically been acutely homophobic have hosted LGBTQ Israeli speakers, and LGBTQ Jewish events with the intent foresting support for the state of Israel among the LGBTQ community.

American Israel Public Affairs Committee, whose annual conference has been addressed by virulent homophobes such as Mike Pence and Donald Trump will open an LGBTQ outreach division in 2019. In the same vein, groups such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) have begun openly reaching out to LGBTQ organizations, including forming a partnership with the National LGBTQ Task Force while remaining silent about the fact that the ADL still has yet to address its 1990s spying scandal that included surveillance of gay heroes ACT UP and Queer Nation, as well as a wide swath of other rights-and-justice based groups¹. Jewish Federations large and small have begun issuing grants to LGBTQ organizations, despite multiple high-profile instances of many of those same Federations also giving funding to groups that routinely harass LGBTQ activists, or are outright homophobic, as will be further outlined in this report. At the center of these efforts is a pro-Israel organization called A Wider Bridge, which brands itself as a progressive, LGBTQ organization and purports to seek "Equality *In* Israel and Equality *For* Israel²". A deeper investigation reveals that, despite their extensive attempts to become part of the progressive wing of the LGBTQ community in the United States, A Wider Bridge is anything but progressive.

This report maps out A Wider Bridge's connections to right-wing, anti-Muslim, and homophobic organizations, as well as their own actions and statements that have caused harm to LGBTQ people, particularly LGBTQ Muslims and people of color. Through meticulous examination of A Wider Bridge's record of statements, actions, and funding sources, it becomes clear that A Wider Bridge has had extensive connections to right-wing funding sources, organizations, and individuals for years. The report also explores accusations of pinkwashing in regards to A Wider Bridge's unconditional support of the Israeli State and nonprofits connected to the government's efforts to advance an image of itself as LGBTQ-friendly.



Defining Our Terms

Throughout this report, the author will be using several terms to denote political affiliations, both in general and to refer to specific organizations and their actions. To avoid confusion, those terms will be defined below as they are intended to be understood in this report:

“Right-wing”

Conservative, fascist, or reactionary politics or positions; affiliated, aligned with, or explicitly promoting politics, political positions, or actions that would further colonialism, promote racism or other forms of bigotry, intentionally surveil members of a specific population; targeting members of oppressed groups, particularly people of color, for attack or harassment.

“Right-wing organization”

An organization whose activities and/or primary purposes, fall under the definition of “right-wing” used above.

“Progressive”

Advocating for new or significant social reforms designed to bring justice, equity, rights, and access to groups that did not previously enjoy those things, but stopping short of advocating revolution or advocating overthrowing systems, institutions, or governments to achieve that change.

“Pinkwashing”

An examining of A Wider Bridge’s political positions cannot take place without an exploration of pinkwashing as a topic. The organization is faced with accusations of pinkwashing so frequently that the longest page on their website is wholly devoted to attempts to rebuff the criticisms. While the author of this report thinks it appropriate to characterize the activities of AWB as pinkwashing, she also thinks the topic always warrants discussion as well as explanation. This section will discuss pinkwashing specifically in the context of pro-Israel discourse, as well as discuss pinkwashing as it applies to a broader context.

When referencing the actions of the Israeli State or those acting in support of the State, pinkwashing is generally defined as the use of the Israeli State’s supposed positive record on LGBTQ rights to distract from the state’s treatment of Palestinian peoples, and the material harm that the Israeli State visits upon LGBTQ people³.

Pinkwashing is widely regarded as a tactic that grew out of the Brand Israel marketing campaign designed by the Israeli government. Among the tactical goals of pinkwashing is an attempt to make the Israeli State and its founding ideologies appeal to queers worldwide, and recently have incorporated attempts to appeal specifically to trans and non-binary individuals, as well.



Many pinkwashing materials, organizations, campaigns, and statements consist of one or more of 6 main tropes:

1) Western Exceptionalism and Westernizing Contextual Claims

- i) Using statements or arguments asserting Israel's status as a "Western" state or democracy, and/or focusing Israel's LGBTQ rights record specifically in the Middle East. This trope plays on simplistic Orientalist tropes of Arabs and Muslims as uncivilized or lesser. On a deeper level, this trope is about claiming LGBTQ identity as inherently "Western" and "good" while framing homophobia as "other," "foreign," and "Eastern".
- ii) Specifically juxtaposing Israel's record of LGBTQ rights against that of other countries in the Middle East. This ignores the fact that most other countries in the region had formerly legalized homosexuality, only to see it banned, and increasingly criminalized, during British Colonialism⁴. In essence, Israel advocates are intentionally creating an uneven playing field for this comparison. This trope advances the idea that all Arabs and Muslims are inherently homophobic/transphobic and hate LGBTQ people.

2) White Saviorism

- i) Advancing the idea that LGBTQ Palestinians and other LGBTQ Arabs look to the Israeli State for refuge and acceptance. This trope evokes the idea that LGBTQ Palestinians can only ever be victims in their own spaces and culture, and are thus in constant need of saving.

3) Military Worship

- i) Exalting the IDF as particularly inclusive of LGBTQ people, or as "the most moral army in the world."⁵ The ability to serve in a military or be sent to do the killing of a state does not bring freedom in any meaningful sense of the word. This mobilizes the stereotype of Arabs and Muslims as inherently violent, savage, and constantly assailing the rights of others.

4) Appeals to Jewish Supremacy

- i) Suggesting that somehow Judaism, Jewish religion, or Jewish culture(s) is more accepting or inclusive of LGBTQ people and identities than Islam or Muslim culture, casting Islam as a morally inferior religion and Judaism as inherently superior.
- ii) These suggestions or insinuations are obviously false, Judaism and Jewish culture have had just as many problems with homophobia and transphobia as Christianity and Islam.

5) Racism and Islamophobia

- i) Blatantly racist and/or Islamophobic statements made to cast Arabs and Muslims, and specifically Palestinians, as inherently homophobic and transphobic, or just simply violent. While none of these statements are factually accurate, they are asserted as fact in an attempt to discredit LGBTQ activists who challenge the claims advanced by pinkwashing organizations.

6) De-Politicizing Queer and Trans People

- i) The potential positions that LGBTQ people occupy in pinkwashing narratives are limited to passive societal roles. Generally cast as de-politicized tourists or partygoers, victims or suffering people in need of protection, or "fun" and "meaningful" cultural ambassadors for LGBTQ people in the Israeli State, LGBTQ people are stripped of agency in the vast majority of pinkwashing scenarios. Likewise, LGBTQ Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims are cast solely as victims and sufferers, if they are acknowledged as existing at all.

Pinkwashing is most broadly defined as a marketing strategy designed to use LGBTQ rights, inclusivity, or even gay-friendliness to appeal to wider audiences by appearing progressive and modern.⁶ This definition can be narrowed depending on the situation or the specific charge; whereas the broadest definition can indicate an indifference or lukewarm attitude towards LGBTQ rights juxtaposed with a total willingness to use LGBTQ people or culture to promote something. An example of this would be corporations which use rainbows during Pride Month, the most common use of pinkwashing as a charge is to denote something specifically hypocritical and negative. The prevailing definition of pinkwashing now seems to be: Using the presence of, or allusions to, LGBTQ rights, inclusivity, friendliness, or status as an LGBTQ person to promote an agenda, organization, or goal while also pursuing policies or taking actions that directly harm LGBTQ people; OR, the use of LGBTQ-friendly content or LGBTQ identity by an individual or entity to distract from or cover up that entity's active harm of LGBTQ people.



The most important distinction between the two definitions is the relationship of the accused pinkwasher to the LGBTQ community. If the pinkwasher is an entity with a neutral relationship to LGBTQ people – that is, a relationship that is largely independent of access to structures of power, control, and oppression in society, i.e. that of a corporation using advertising, or a nonprofit that does not provide direct-to-community services – then they have committed a less severe form of pinkwashing, by concealing their intent to make money off of the community. Although there is certainly harm in cynically exploiting LGBTQ-friendly images to further capitalism, there is no deeper harm committed by the pinkwashing entity in these cases, the harm goes no deeper than this. However, if the pinkwashing entity has a relationship that *they* have stated is a positive relationship to LGBTQ people – a relationship in which LGBTQ people are encouraged to trust, told to specifically seek out services or spaces from, or



are forced to rely on that entity for safety or resources, such as the relationships LGBTQ-focused nonprofits, police departments, and states/governments have – and fail to produce positive outcomes for LGBTQ people, then they have committed the latter type of pinkwashing, by using their relationship with the community to conceal the active harm they are committing against LGBTQ people or in the interests of an entity which is committing that harm.

These dual definitions allow for a better, and clearer, application of charges of pinkwashing, and more firm bases for accusation. Previously, charges of pinkwashing would be assessed solely based upon an entity's perceived use of LGBTQ people as cover for their harm of another population by distracting others with an image of tolerance and progressiveness. Now, pinkwashing charges can, and should be assessed additionally and independently by an entity's claim to help LGBTQ people, or portrayal of itself as LGBTQ-friendly, in order to cover up the harms done by that entity to LGBTQ people and *specifically* distract LGBTQ people from those harms. LGBTQ people wishing to talk about pinkwashing must count themselves among those harmed by the tactic, as well as among those whom the tactic attempts to fool.

Nonprofits, particularly LGBTQ-related nonprofits, become a particularly interesting target for pinkwashing charges. An LGBTQ nonprofit's duty is, ostensibly, to help LGBTQ people and provide them with services which better allow them to navigate a world that is often hostile to their existence. Not only does this mean that the organization's ability to do material harm to LGBTQ people is exacerbated, but also that the threshold for an accusation of pinkwashing is similarly heightened, in that organizations which interact constantly with the community may incidentally do harm, and must be given a chance to self-correct or repair the harm done. If an LGBTQ nonprofit repeatedly does harm to LGBTQ people, and attempts to cover up that harm, let it go unaddressed, or repeatedly commits the harm with no seeming intention of self-correction, then they should be subject to repeated accusations of pinkwashing. Indeed, if an LGBTQ organization rises to that level of harm, their politics should inherently come under question, as should their commitment to the community in their stated mission and purpose as a nonprofit organization. This raises an additional question for such an LGBTQ nonprofit: does its stated purpose and true political leanings constitute pinkwashing? If it is suspected that this is so, how does one confirm the true political purpose of a nonprofit?



Determining A Non-Profit's Politics

Finding out the true politics of any nonprofit is a challenging endeavor. Because many nonprofits are explicitly political entities, or work on causes that are either explicitly political or politically-adjacent, it is in the interest of the organization to present their politics as being consistent with the politics of the communities most impacted by their project(s). For organizations working on LGBTQ causes, it would make sense for them to present their politics as being liberal or progressive, interested in social justice, and working for a more equitable world, because those are political beliefs generally associated with the LGBTQ community. However, this presents an obvious challenge: any organization can simply say whatever they like about themselves and their politics, priorities, and interests, with few avenues available to challenge those statements. In order to address this, it becomes necessary to examine the ways through which the organization obtains the things that it needs to continue its mission, namely, funding, and its funders, who essentially grant financial backing to its mission and politics through a series of meetings and applications.



As a result, one of the best ways to determine a given nonprofit's true political leanings is to evaluate the political leaning of its funders, based on what types of organizations they give money to, and what those organizations do. The reason for this lies at the heart of the nature of grant-giving non-profits in the United States; the aforementioned funding process, rife with applications, meetings, and other evaluation tools. Non-profit organizations in the United States are allowed to give money or grant assistance in various forms to other organizations, as long as the organization which is being granted that assistance will use it for the purpose of fulfilling a project that is consistent not only with their mission, but with the mission of the grant-giver, as well. If one organization funds another, it is generally with the understanding that they share basic principles.⁷

For example, if a Jewish Federation in a generic city in the United States, funds a plethora of Jewish life groups (the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society [HIAS], Avodah, a number of synagogues, the local Jewish Community Center, local Jewish day schools), but also funds a handful of groups which could be categorized as anti-Muslim, that means the Jewish Federation understands its mission to be consistent with promoting the welfare of the local Jewish community, and *also* consistent with promoting Islamophobia. The small amount of donations to right-wing groups tell an observer much more about the principles and politics of the funding organization than the dozens, or even hundreds, of donations

to largely unproblematic groups. Examining the politics of an individual funder might not say much about the funded organization--- it would be unfair to categorize HIAS as right-wing simply because a number of their funding organizations also give to right-wing causes, because the vast majority do not--- but examining *all* of an organization's funders can tell you a great deal. By looking at where an organization gets its money, one can determine with a good degree of certainty, what the politics of the funded organization actually are--- this degree of certainty increases with the number of funders the organization has. If most or all of an organization's funders have a history of giving to groups with right-wing politics, it is fair to characterize the group as right-wing. No amount of giving to good, positive organizations can cancel out even a single dollar given to a hate-based group.

This is vitally important for AWB, because they cannot fit into both the progressive category that they places themselves in, and the right-wing category that many suspect the organization belongs to; these categories are inherently mutually exclusive. If the organizations that fund AWB have a record of consistently giving to right-wing political organizations, or groups that align themselves with right-wing political interests, then it becomes clear that they are not a progressive organization in any way (or at



least the organizations that provide them with funding consider their politics right-wing enough to warrant financial support), and they should suffer the appropriate rebukes. However, if the organizations that fund AWB have *no* history of giving to right-wing causes, and have solidly progressive or liberal giving records, then AWB should, indeed, be considered a progressive-minded organization.

In the case of A Wider Bridge, they have eight public institutional funders at the time of this report's publishing, and two additional anonymous institutional funders. With a sample size of eight organizations, one can get a pretty good idea of AWB's true politics, based on the past giving of their funders. These funders range from massive, major-city Jewish Federations with assets over \$1 billion, to private family foundations, to relatively small giving circles of young philanthropists.⁸⁹¹⁰ All eight of their funding organizations have an extensive history of Jewish and pro-Israel giving, and some have a limited history of giving to LGBTQ organizations. Notably, and troublingly, AWB does not receive any identifiable funding from an LGBTQ organization, or a foundation created specifically to give to LGBTQ causes. There are many such organizations, and they disburse millions of dollars each year to nonprofits that work with the LGBTQ community. For A Wider Bridge, an organization whose work purportedly focuses on LGBTQ people and communities, it is strange and concerning that they have not been able to secure funding from an LGBTQ organization.

A Wider Bridge's Funders and Profiling Their Right-Wing Giving

The following section of the report profiles A Wider Bridge's eight institutional funders, as well as their donations to general right-wing, right-wing pro-Israel campus, settlement-based or explicitly settlement-affiliated, or Republican groups. The donations are broken down into four general giving categories in graphics, and then each individual donation is listed in a group below. The groups donated to are profiled individually in a glossary at the end of this report. Each donation category is described below:



Donations to organizations based in, explicitly affiliated with, or created to support, settlements, or the annexation of land in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, or Gaza, are grouped into this category.



Donations to organizations that are dedicated to pushing, promoting, and funding pro-Israel politics, events, and anti-Palestinian rhetoric on university and college campuses, are grouped into this category.



Donations to organizations that are generally right-wing, particularly those that are anti-Muslim, anti-gay, or endorsing hate in some other way, are grouped into this category.



Donations to organizations that are part of the Republican Party, are think-tanks affiliated with the party, or donations to individual Republican politicians or their campaigns, are grouped into this category.

The data contained in this section was gathered and aggregated from all publicly available tax information for A Wider Bridge's eight institutional funders. For some of the funders, their right-wing giving started in 2001, the earliest publicly available tax year that the author of this report could locate. For others, the donations started more recently. Occasionally, tax forms were missing from the internet, or the proper forms were not digitized, meaning that some of A Wider Bridge's funders could actually have had more extensive right-wing giving than has been detailed in this report. Regardless, every numerically sourced item of data presented in this report was gathered from publicly available documents, which can be found on GuideStar, ProPublica's nonprofit explorer, or another publicly available nonprofit tax form aggregator.

The Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation

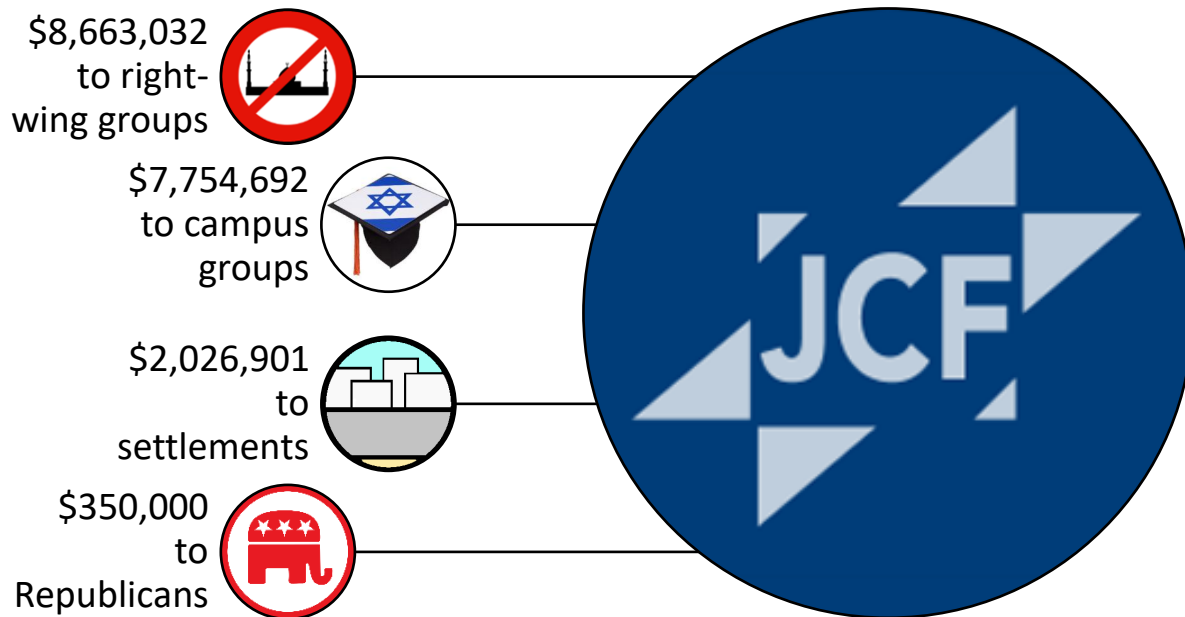
The Tulsa, Oklahoma-based Schusterman Family Foundation is a major funder of Jewish life nationally and internationally, with significant charitable presences in the United States and the Israeli State.¹¹ The bulk of their giving goes towards supporting Jewish community youth programming, including founding the Israel on Campus Coalition and giving huge amounts to Taglit Birthright trips. Their mission statement includes commitments to “pursue justice, repair the world and treat all people with dignity and civility”.¹² The Schusterman Family Foundation started funding A Wider Bridge in 2013, to the tune of \$35,000 overall. A Wider Bridge is still listed as a Schusterman grantee, despite not appearing on their tax documents since 2013. The Schusterman Family Foundation has an extensive history of giving to right-wing organizations, with available records show donations to the Jewish Institute for National Security of America, the Jewish National Fund, and the Middle East Media and Research Institute as far back as the 2001 tax year. Right-wing groups the Schusterman Family Foundation have funded include:



A Wider Bridge, \$35,000; American Israel Education Foundation, \$7,523,059; Beit Morasha of Jerusalem, \$40,000; Central Fund of Israel, \$50,000; FJC, \$205,000; Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, \$809,000; Israel Emergency Alliance/StandWithUs, \$3,600; Israel on Campus Coalition, \$7,879,355; JINSA, Undisclosed amount of funding; JNF, \$41,800; Middle East Media and Research Institute, \$56,000; PEF, \$478,418; Project Interchange, \$25,118; TAMID: A Project of the Israel on Campus Coalition, \$75,000; The David Project, \$100,000; The Israel Center, \$5,240,000; The Israel Project, \$25,000; The Natan Fund, \$386,564; Philos Project, \$250,000.¹³¹⁴

The Jewish Community Foundation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Sonoma, and Marin Counties

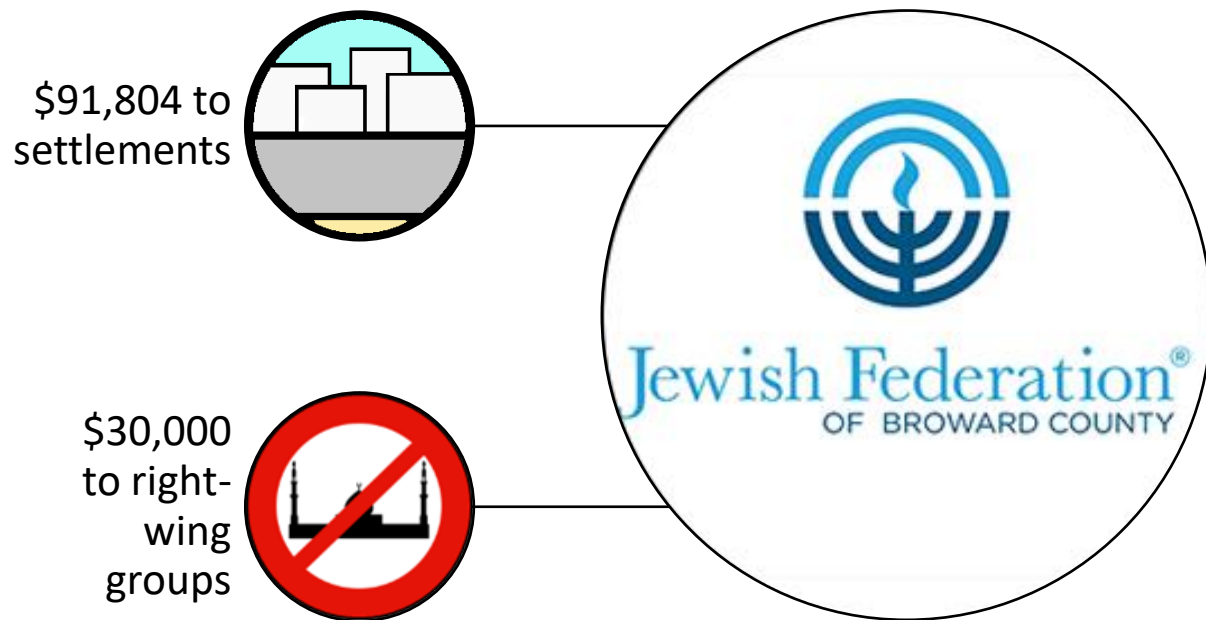
The Jewish Community Foundation of San Francisco, or JCF for short, is the Bay Area's Jewish Federation, and one of the largest Jewish Federations in North America with over \$1 billion in assets.¹⁵ They fund every area of Jewish life in the Bay Area, and came under fire in 2018 when The Jewish Daily Forward was uncovered that their supporting foundation, the Helen Diller Foundation, whose giving the JCF monitors and controls, was a funder of the far right-wing blacklist Canary Mission. The JCF's stated values center "the timeless Jewish values of *kehilla* (community), *tzedakah* (giving with just intention), and *tikkun olam* (repairing the world)."¹⁶ The JCF has funded A Wider Bridge since 2014, providing the organization with \$131,450 from 2014-2017. While the JCF itself started giving openly to right-wing organizations in 2010, available tax records indicate that the Helen Diller Foundation has given to right-wing groups since at least 2003. Right-wing groups the JCF and its supporting foundations have funded include:



A Wider Bridge, \$131,450; ACT for America, \$75,000; AMCHA Initiative, \$327,500; American Freedom Defense Initiative, \$160,000; American Freedom Law Center, \$375,000; American Friends of NGO Monitor, \$432,400; American Israel Education Foundation, \$3,559,282; Autism Speaks, \$86,030; CAMERA, \$97,920; Center for Security Policy, \$435,000; Central Fund of Israel, \$757,750; Christians United for Israel, \$150,000; Clarion Project, \$160,000; David Horowitz Freedom Center, \$1,586,300; Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, \$809,000; Friends of the Chabad of Hebron, \$37,000; Hasbara Fellowships, \$361,800; HonestReporting, \$138,860; Independent Women's Forum, \$10,000; International Freedom Alliance Foundation, \$50,000; Investigative Project on Terrorism, \$667,500; Israel Emergency Alliance/StandWithUs, \$1,280,560; Israel on Campus Coalition, \$130,000; JINSA, \$155,250; JNF, \$1,096,215; Judicial Watch, \$100,000; Lawfare Project, \$55,000; Middle East Forum, \$509,600; Middle East Media and Research Institute, \$1,052,200; PEF, \$135,936; Philos Project, \$200,000; Project Veritas, \$100,000; Simon Wiesenthal Center, \$53,667; Tea Party Patriots Foundation, \$350,000; Heritage Foundation, \$50,000; The Israel Project, \$1,995,550; Turning Point USA, \$100,000; UN Watch, \$284,050; Western Center for Journalism, \$10,000; Zionist Organization of America, \$728,805¹⁷

The Jewish Federation of Broward County

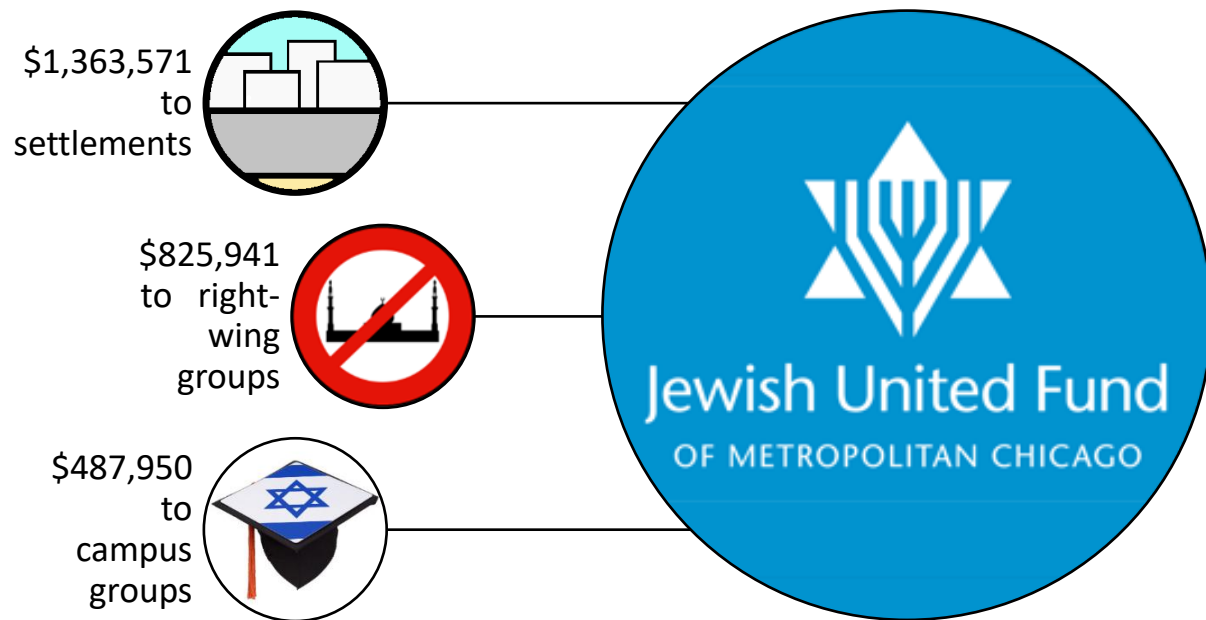
The Jewish Federation of Broward County is the primary Jewish community organization in Broward County, Florida, an area bordering Miami-Dade County and known for its significant Jewish population. The Federation of Broward County was created out of the merger of two other Jewish community organizations in 1996. Their stated organizational purpose is to “enrich Jewish lives everywhere.”¹⁸ The Jewish Federation of Broward County has funded A Wider Bridge since 2017, contributing \$30,000 from 2017-2018. Their history of giving to right-wing groups is more limited than the other funders on this list, but they have contributed consistently to the Jewish National Fund, and also donated to the Canary-Mission-and-settlement-linked Central Fund of Israel. Right-wing groups the Jewish Federation of Broward County has supported include:



A Wider Bridge, \$30,000; Central Fund of Israel, \$14,000; JNF, \$77,804¹⁹

The Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago

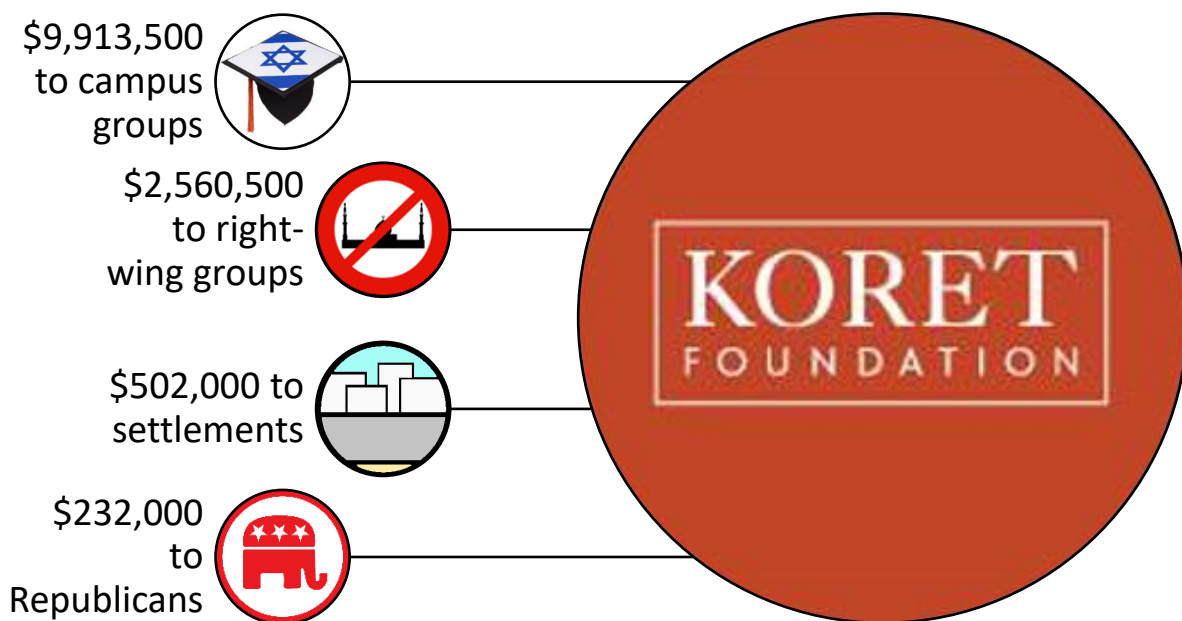
The Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago, also known as the JUF, is the charitable and grant-giving arm of the Jewish Federation of Chicago, and a major Jewish community organization in North America. The JUF was the subject of Jewish Voice for Peace – Chicago’s report “Defund Islamophobia”²⁰ for their history of donation to several groups classified by the Southern Poverty Law Center as anti-Muslim hate groups. The JUF’s giving prioritizes “[giving] help and hope to the most vulnerable.... [standing] in solidarity with Israel and the Jewish people worldwide.... advancing Jewish learning and identity.... [building] Jewish community.... [and cultivating] Jewish continuity”.²¹ The JUF has funded A Wider Bridge since 2016, providing them with \$50,000 in the only available tax year. They have also given extensively to right-wing organizations since 2011. Right-wing groups they have funded include:



A Wider Bridge, \$50,000; AMCHA Initiative, \$15,000; American Israel Education Foundation, \$325,250; CAMERA, \$34,780; Central Fund of Israel, \$292,473; Donors Trust, \$100,000; FJC, \$69,950; Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, \$75,500; Friends of Ir David, \$204,667; Hasbara Fellowships, \$10,360; Hebron Fund, \$65,226; Investigative Project on Terrorism, \$26,000; Israel Emergency Alliance/StandWithUs, \$96,400; JINSA, \$15,900; JNF, \$472,966; Keep Jerusalem, \$27,000; Middle East Forum, \$128,850; Middle East Media and Research Institute, \$20,900; One Israel Fund, \$103,120; Our Soldiers Speak, \$75,750; PEF, \$128,169; Proclaiming Justice to the Nations, \$65,000; Simon Wiesenthal Center, \$168,841; The Israel Project, \$40,940; Zionist Organization of America, \$64,420 ²²

The Koret Foundation

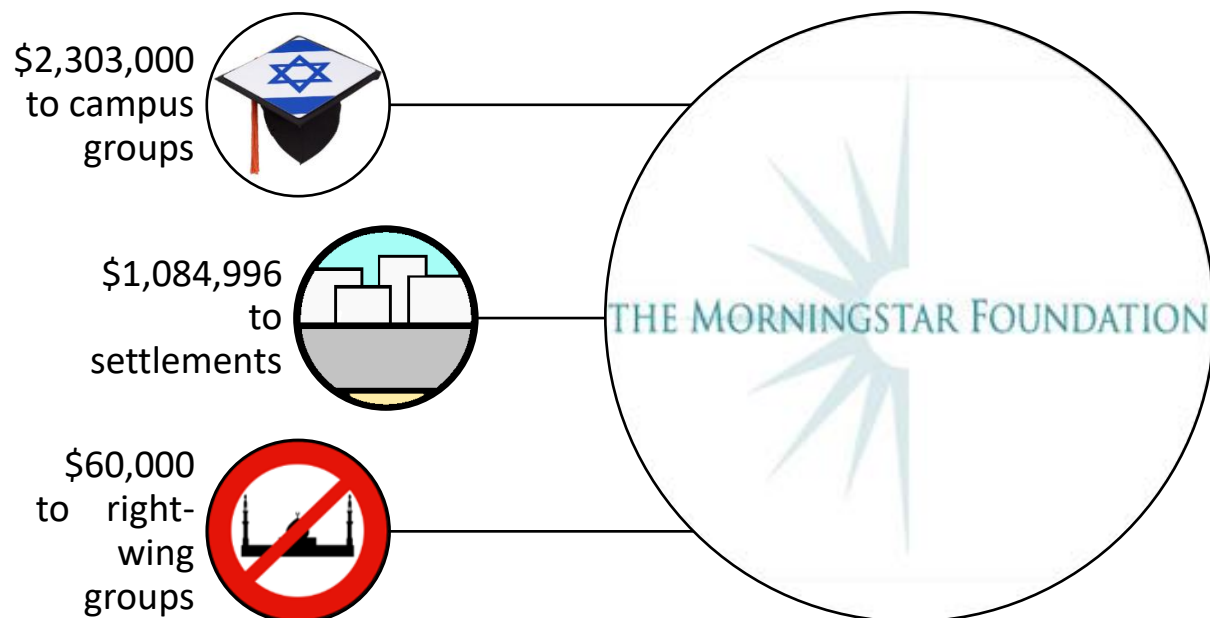
The Bay Area-based Koret Foundation is a private foundation whose giving focuses on Bay Area and Jewish causes. The Koret Foundation has a history of giving to Libertarian-leaning organizations and causes. Koret's stated private giving is "grounded in historical Jewish principles and traditions, and dedicated to humanitarian values," and is "deeply committed to innovation, to testing new ideas, and to serving as a catalyst by bringing people and organizations together to help solve social problems of common concern."²³ The Koret Foundation has funded A Wider Bridge since 2015, contributing \$150,000 to the organization from the available tax years of 2015-2017. They have an extensive history of donating to right-wing groups, and organizations with a Libertarian ideological leaning, with donations dating as far back as 2002. Right-wing groups the Koret Foundation has supported include:



A Wider Bridge, \$150,000; ACT for America, \$20,000; American Friends of NGO Monitor, \$25,000; American Israel Education Foundation, \$6,546,000; Ayn Rand Institute, \$29,000; CAMERA, \$40,000; Cato Institute, \$3,000; Center for Security Policy, \$375,000; Central Fund of Israel, \$165,000; David Horowitz Freedom Center, \$145,000; Ethics and Public Policy Center, \$110,000; Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, \$245,000; George Bush Presidential Library, \$160,000; George W. Bush Foundation, \$40,000; Heritage Foundation, \$10,000; HonestReporting, \$5,000; Investigative Project on Terrorism, \$100,000; Israel Emergency Alliance/StandWithUs, \$300,000; Israel on Campus Coalition, \$1,925,000; JINSA, \$4,000; JNF, \$316,000; Middle East Forum, \$380,000; Middle East Media and Research Institute, \$780,000; PEF, \$21,000; Scholars for Peace in the Middle East, \$71,000; The David Project, \$70,000; Heritage Foundation, \$10,000; The Israel Project, \$1,082,500; UN Watch, \$85,000; Zionist Organization of America, \$1,500 ²⁴²⁵

The Morningstar Foundation

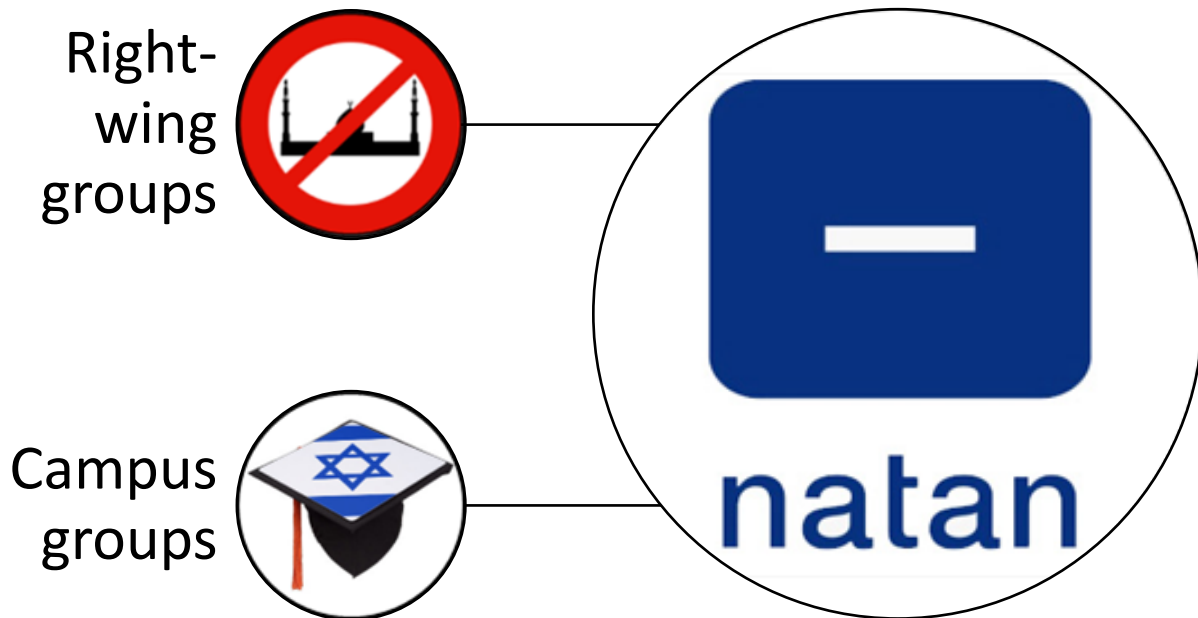
Based out of Bethesda, Maryland, the Morningstar Foundation is a private family foundation whose giving primarily focuses on education and Jewish community causes. Mysteriously, as of the publishing of this report, the Morningstar Foundation has no website, no mission stated on its tax forms or Guidestar profile, and virtually no online presence (although there are several other foundations of the same or similar names). An organization description found on job-posting site Idealist states that Morningstar is dedicated to strengthening the Jewish community in the Greater Washington, D.C. area, throughout the United States, and in Israel. Additional areas of focus include enhancing “educational opportunities for disadvantaged young people, protecting the environment, promoting the development of civil society in Israel, and safeguarding individual rights.”²⁶ The Morningstar Foundation has funded A Wider Bridge since 2015, contributing \$50,000 to the group from the available tax years of 2015-2016. Their history of donating to right-wing groups dates to 2002, but their range of giving is more limited than other organizations on this list, but they have contributed frequently to right-wing campus-based organizations, and the donor advised fund PEF, which has been linked to right-wing Israeli and settlement-based organizations. Right-wing groups The Morningstar Foundation has supported include:



A Wider Bridge, \$50,000; Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, \$5,000; Israel on Campus Coalition, \$263,000; PEF, \$1,084,996; The David Project, \$105,000; The Israel Project, \$1,935,000; UN Watch, \$5,000²⁷

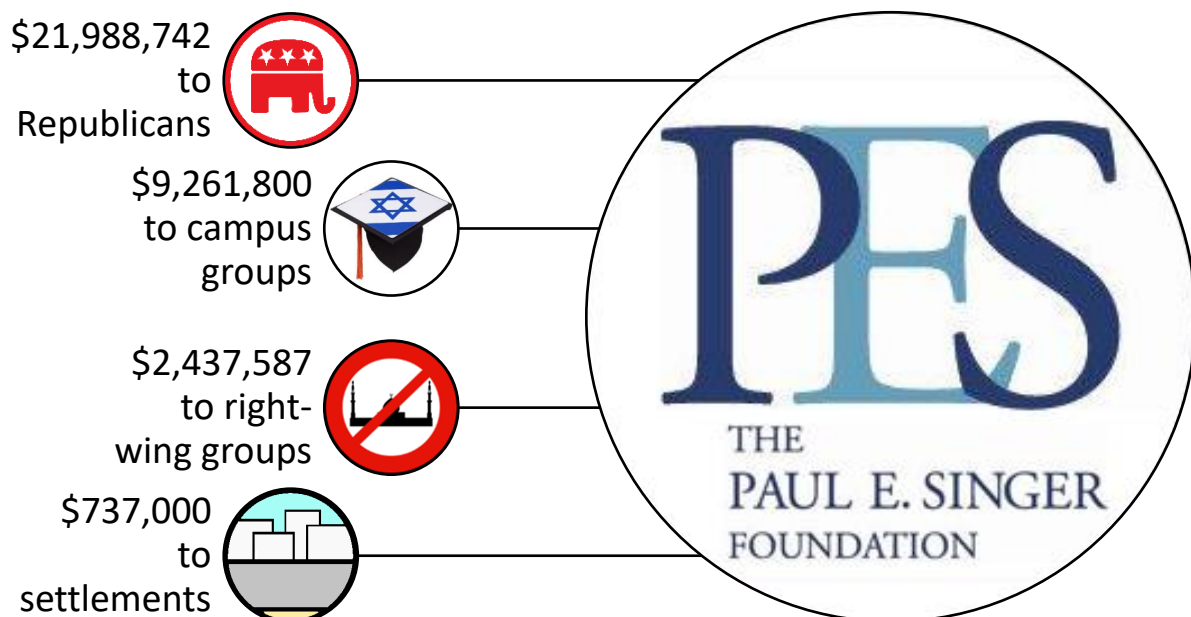
The Natan Fund

The New York City-based Natan Fund is a giving circle of young professionals built to take a new approach to Jewish philanthropy. Natan's grantmaking focuses on organizations with smaller budgets than most Jewish community organizations, and their website notes that they only give money to groups with budgets under \$1.5 million. Starting in 2002, their giving focuses on Jewish Connection-making, Jerusalem, Confronting Antisemitism, and other cultural efforts. They are a non-profit organization that is fiscally sponsored by FJC, meaning that they do not have their own, independent non-profit status, and are therefore not required to file publicly available tax returns, detailing their donation amounts. According to A Wider Bridge's website, Natan was their first institutional funder, and has funded them since their inception in 2012. In 2017, Natan named A Wider Bridge to their Core Grantees, meaning that their mission and politics were extremely closely aligned with that of Natan, and making them eligible for additional funding. In 2018, however, Natan created a new category of grant, Confronting Antisemitism, and shifted A Wider Bridge to that funding category, alongside a slate of right-wing, anti-Palestinian, and pro-Israel organizations including Creative Community for Peace, FuentaLatina, the Lawfare Project, and the Academic Engagement Network.



The Paul E. Singer Foundation

The Paul E. Singer Foundation is a private family foundation connected to Jewish-American billionaire and hedge fund manager Paul Elliott Singer. Singer's hedge fund, Elliott Management Corporation has been described as a vulture capitalist fund, and specializes in acquiring the debt of developing countries. Singer's giving has mainly focused on gay marriage, the Republican Party, and pro-Israel causes. As a major donor to the Republican Party, Paul Singer has a very extensive history of giving to right-wing groups, as does the Paul E. Singer Foundation. His Foundation's right-wing giving began in 2010, but his personal political giving has been longstanding.²⁸ He has funded A Wider Bridge for several years at a significant yet undisclosed amount, which could not be found by the author of the report, despite the Paul E. Singer Foundation being featured prominently by A Wider Bridge on their website as an institutional funder. The most likely explanation is that Singer began donating to A Wider Bridge within the two most recent fiscal years, and the foundation's tax forms are not yet publicly available. Right-wing groups that Paul Singer and the Paul E. Singer Foundation have funded include:



A Wider Bridge, Significant Funding (Undisclosed amount); American Israel Education Foundation, \$5,500,000; Bruce Rauner, \$250,000; Center for Security Policy, \$50,000; Central Fund of Israel, \$50,000; Chiaroscuro PAC, \$25,000; Congressional Leadership Fund, \$3,400,000; Donors Trust, \$1,155,605; Ethics and Public Policy Center, \$258,000; Eye of the Tiger PAC, \$5,000; Future45, \$250,000; George W. Bush 2004 Presidential Campaign, \$1,500,000; Heritage Foundation, \$100,000; Israel Emergency Alliance/StandWithUs, \$590,000; Israel Independence Fund, \$50,000; Israel on Campus Coalition, \$1,626,800; JINSA, \$293,982; Marco Rubio 2016 Presidential Campaign, \$7,516,242; Middle East Media and Research Institute, \$275,000; Mitch McConnell, \$9,200; Mitt Romney 2012 Presidential Campaign, \$2,032,800; American Friends of NGO Monitor, \$100,000; Paul Ryan, \$10,600; PEF, \$637,000; Rick Santorum, \$9,900; Senate Leadership Fund, \$6,000,000; Simon Wiesenthal Center, \$150,000; The David Project, \$1,075,000; The Israel Project, \$500,000; Trump for America, \$5,000; Trump Inaugural Committee, \$1,000,000²⁹³⁰

Conclusion and Recommendations

After examining their institutional sources of funding, it becomes clear that A Wider Bridge is a right-wing organization. Not only that, they proudly tout their connections to even their most ideologically extreme funders prominently on their website. No organization that purports to serve LGBTQ people should accept money from an individual or an organization that donates to the Republican Party, the Heritage Foundation, or groups known for targeting LGBTQ people of color for harassment and abuse. No organization that purports to be progressive should accept money from organizations or individuals that fund the Tea Party, Turning Point USA, student-harassing blacklists like Canary Mission, or any anti-Muslim organization. No organization that purports to seek “Equality for Israel” should accept money from organizations or individuals that fund settlements and construction projects in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and Gaza, all of which are illegal under international law and one of the more widely acknowledged reasons that the Israeli State is constantly under pressure and isolated on the international scene.

Of course, A Wider Bridge is not pro-LGBTQ, nor are they progressive. They are not even so much interested in “Equality for Israel”, as they are “Impunity for Israel.” A Wider Bridge is a right-wing organization, is deeply complicit in multiple kinds of widespread pinkwashing. Their funding connections prove it, and the author of this report hopes that this document will make knowledge of A Wider Bridge’s varying chicanery and skullduggery widespread enough to put their practices to an end.

This report ends with three principle recommendations for readers:

1. Boycott, divest from, and socially and culturally sanction A Wider Bridge, and the larger institutions that fund them. Organizations funded by right-wing interests (or those that fund them) and complicit in pinkwashing on multiple levels have no right to represent LGBTQ people, or sustain themselves on the goodwill of the community. The author of this report hopes that the information she has uncovered and disseminated in the preceding pages will be helpful to countless anti-pinkwashing activists.
2. Work to establish alternative organizations and funding channels for LGBTQ Jewish life in the United States and abroad that are not connected to right-wing interests, anti-Muslim funders, the Israeli State, or Zionism. LGBTQ Jews deserve better than right-wing money, and there is a desperate need for funding for LGBTQ Jewish life in which all members of the community feel welcome, and their liberation can be sought without it coming at the expense of Palestinians, or any other group.
3. Support the efforts of LGBTQ Muslims, all LGBTQ Palestinians, and organizations that represent and serve them without using them to pinkwash or normalize the Israeli State. whose struggle against pinkwashing dates to its inception. Their knowledge, history, and power will help us all achieve liberation.



Right-Wing Organization Glossary

This section contains a glossary of organizations that have received donations from A Wider Bridge's institutional funders that also have a history of right-wing, anti-Muslim, harassment-based, or otherwise anti-progressive behavior or public stances. Each entry contains the name of the organization, a brief synopsis of their purpose and activities, and the amount that they received from the eight organizations being examined in this section. All statements about funding amounts are sourced from publicly-available federal tax return form 990s for each organization located on GuideStar or ProPublica's Nonprofit Explorer. Organizations whose funding amount is unknown appear publicly on their funder's website as grantees, but were awarded money in a tax year too recent to be publicly available. In the case of the Natan Fund, all of their donation amounts are not subject to the public record, because Natan is a fiscally sponsored organization under another 501c3 non-profit corporation, and therefore is not required to file an independent tax return.

ACT! for America³¹³²

ACT! For America is a group known widely as the largest anti-Muslim group in the United States, ACT! for America has conducted illegal private surveillance against Muslims, and their events have promoted "creeping Sharia" conspiracies, and attracted the attendance of neo-Nazis. They received \$20,000 from the Koret Foundation, and \$75,000 from the Jewish Federation of San Francisco.

AMCHA Initiative³³³⁴

According to their website, The AMCHA Initiative "investigates, documents, educates about, and combats antisemitic incidents on college campuses", by actively maintaining a database of these incidents that some have decried as a blacklist or a watchlist. The organization actively and successfully campaigned the University of California system to adopt a definition of antisemitism that included anti-Zionism. AMCHA Initiative is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They received \$327,500 from the Jewish Federation of San Francisco, and \$15,000 from the JUF.

American Freedom Defense Initiative³⁵³⁶

The American Freedom Defense Initiative, also known as "Stop Islamization of America" is an anti-Muslim, pro-Israel American organization known primarily for its controversial, Islamophobic advertising campaigns. The group has been described as extremist and far-right. AFDI was founded by noted anti-Muslim hatemongers Pamela Gellar and Robert Spencer. They received \$160,000 from the Jewish Federation of San Francisco.

American Freedom Law Center³⁷

The American Freedom Law Center, is closely linked to Southern Poverty Law Center-designated anti-Muslim extremists David Yerushalmi and Pamela Gellar. Yerushalmi has stated that Muslims are at war with Judeo-Christian civilization, has proposed outlawing Islam, and is the original model author of the widespread anti-Sharia legislation. Meanwhile, Gellar rose to prominence through her opposition to the Park 51 Islamic Center project in Manhattan, and is a frequent contributor to the oft-antisemitic Breitbart News. The organization received \$375,000 from the JCF.

American Friends of NGO Monitor³⁸³⁹

American Friends of NGO monitor is a United States-based group that exists to funnel money to the organization NGO Monitor. NGO Monitor is a non-governmental organization based in Jerusalem, which analyzes and reports on the output of the international NGO community from a pro-Israel perspective. It has been characterized as being pro-Israel and as right-wing. NGO Monitor says in its mission statement that it was founded "to promote accountability, and advance a vigorous discussion on the reports and activities of humanitarian NGOs in the framework of the Arab–Israeli conflict. They received \$432,400 from the JCF, \$100,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, and \$20,000 from the Koret Foundation.

American Israel Education Foundation⁴⁰

AIEF is the charitable arm of American Israel Public Affairs Committee, which is the leading Israel advocacy organization in the United States and has been widely panned for its conservative politics and connections to right-wing groups in the service of the Israeli State. AIEF exists as a workaround of an existing US law which prevents lobbying organizations from sponsoring all-expense paid trips to foreign countries for members of the US government and US government officials, which is AIEF's main function. They are regarded as one of the most influential lobby groups in the country. AIEF received \$7,523,059 from the Schusterman Family Foundation, \$6,546,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$3,559,282 from the JCF, \$3,500,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, and \$325,250 from the JUF.

Autism Speaks⁴¹⁴²

Widely regarded as a hate group by members of the Autistic community, Autism Speaks advocates for a "cure" for autism, gives platforms to parents who state that autism "ruined their children," and has made statements that many Autistics equate to calls for genocide against autistic people. They received \$86,030 from the JCF.

Ayn Rand Institute⁴³⁴⁴

Founded to promote Objectivism, the philosophy developed by free-market capitalism fetishist Ayn Rand, this organization is heavily connected to Libertarian ideology. They received \$29,000 from the Koret Foundation.

Beit Morasha of Jerusalem⁴⁵

Beit Morasha is an organization founded to give ethics and education training to IDF soldiers, in collaboration with IDF principles, specifically in regards to ethical questions that they may face in combat in Gaza or the West Bank. Their program is used to bolster the claim that the IDF "is the most moral army in the world". They received \$40,000 from the Schusterman Family Foundation.

Bruce Rauner⁴⁶

The neo-conservative former Governor of Illinois, Bruce Rauner is heavily affiliated with the Tea Party, Turning Point USA, and other far-right-wing political elements in the Republican Party. He is unabashedly pro-Israel, and pushed an anti-BDS bill through the Illinois General Assembly. His campaign fund received \$250,000 from Paul Singer.

CAMERA⁴⁷⁴⁸

The Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, or CAMERA, is a pro-Israel media watch group that has been criticized as Orwellian and right-wing in nature. Its goal is to force media outlets to shape their coverage to be more supportive of Israel. CAMERA received \$97,920 from the JCF, \$40,000 from the Koret Foundation, and \$37,580 from the JUF.

Canary Mission⁴⁹⁵⁰

Canary Mission is a notorious website that hosts dossiers of pro-Palestinian activists on college campuses, and attempts to smear them as racist and antisemitic. Canary Mission has been criticized by both pro-Palestine and pro-Israel activists for its tactics, which are regarded by many as fascist and extreme. In 2018, an Al-Jazeera documentary revealed that Israeli financier and billionaire was behind the blacklist. Canary Mission received \$100,000 from the JCF.

Cato Institute⁵¹⁵²

The Cato Institute is a Libertarian think-tank with deep ties to Republican and Tea Party megadonor Charles Koch. The Institute is also linked to the Ayn Rand Institute. They received \$3,000 from the Koret Foundation.

Center for Security Policy⁵³⁵⁴

The Center for Security Policy is closely linked to anti-Muslim bigot Daniel Pipes and his acolytes. Designated as an anti-Muslim hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Center for Security Policy was founded by Frank Gaffney Jr, after his tenure in the Reagan Administration. The Center for Security Policy is described by the Center for American Progress as a “main driver of the ‘creeping Sharia’ conspiracy”. They received \$375,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$435,000 from the JCF, and \$50,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation.

Central Fund of Israel⁵⁵

The Central Fund of Israel is a funding clearinghouse that often funnels resources and money to far-right-wing groups in the Israeli State, including a mass of illegal settler organizations and illegal settlements themselves. The groups it funds have been likened to fascists, advocated for the killing of Palestinian babies, have participated in creating blacklists and other harassment campaigns, and provided legal resources to right-wing militants and proto-fascist groups. The Central Fund received \$757,750 from the JCF, \$292,473 from the JUF, \$165,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$50,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$40,000 from the Schusterman Family Foundation, and \$14,000 from the Jewish Federation of Broward County

Chiaroscuro PAC⁵⁶

Chiaroscuro PAC is a right-wing, anti-abortion political action organization based in New York that seeks to limit expanded access to abortions in New York State. They received \$25,000 from Paul Singer.

Christians United For Israel⁵⁷⁵⁸

Christians United For Israel, or CUFI, is the largest Christian Zionist organization in the United States. The organization seeks to create and deepen Christian support for the Israeli State and its activities. Although CUFI says that its politics do not derive from Christian Zionist theology – an antisemitic ideology that advances the belief that the Israeli State will cause more Jews to return to the holy land, thus hastening the return of Jesus Christ as messiah, who will then kill or condemn all non-Christians to hell – many of the organization’s members and partner organizations subscribe to those beliefs. CUFI received \$130,000 from the JCF.

Clarion Project⁵⁹⁶⁰

Based in NYC, The Clarion Project is a major player in the spread of US-based Islamophobia. The organization describes itself as seeking to “expose the dangers of Islamic extremism,” and is best known for the virulently anti-Muslim films it has repeatedly distributed. Most notably, the Clarion Project distributed their film *Obsession: Radical Islam’s War Against the West* to over 28 million swing state voters in 2008, in an attempt to stoke anti-Muslim fears about then-candidate Barack Obama. They received \$160,000 from the JCF.

Congressional Leadership Fund⁶¹⁶²

The Congressional Leadership Fund is a political fund dedicated to electing Republican candidates to seats in the United States House of Representatives. It is considered part of the funding apparatuses of the Republican Party. They received \$3,400,000 from Paul Singer.

Creative Community for Peace⁶³

Creative Community for Peace is a pro-Israel organization that attempts to grow and create opposition to the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement among celebrities. The organization’s only purpose is to grow support for the Israeli State among artists and celebrities. Creative Community for Peace has been criticized for its close relationship with the far-right organization StandWithUs, having been called a “sanitizing front” for the group. They received an undisclosed amount of funding from the Natan Fund.

David Horowitz Freedom Center⁶⁴⁶⁵

In 1988, David Horowitz, founded the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, with the purpose of pushing and protecting conservative viewpoints in academia. In 2006, the Center changed into the eponymous David Horowitz Freedom Center, shifting their stated goals to fighting “ the efforts of the radical left and its Islamist allies to destroy American values”. Both the Freedom Center and its “Jihad Watch” blog have been described as Islamophobic. Horowitz himself is designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as an anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim extremist. In many ways, Horowitz served as an antecedent to, and blueprint for, the work of Canary Mission, and much of the work of the contemporary far right. Because of his organization’s particular focus on college campuses, Horowitz has established a number of McCarthyite campaigns to “expose” Left-leaning academics on college campuses, which more recently have morphed into flyering and advertising campaigns that harass Muslim student organizations, or in some cases individual students or professors, and accuse them of “Jew hatred”. Horowitz has espoused virtually every possible type of hatred toward oppressed groups in

the United States, in the name of his pro-Israel, pro-right-wing views. One could write entire books about David Horowitz's right-wing tactics, college smear campaigns, and proto-fascist blacklists. The organization received \$1,586,300 from the JCF, and \$145,000 from the Koret Foundation

Donors Trust⁶⁶⁷

Donors Trust and the Donors Capital Fund are two affiliated donor advised funds that distribute millions of dollars to right-wing causes and organizations in the United States each year. Their grantees include Project Veritas, the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, the National Rifle Association, and 102 organizations that combat climate change research. The organization paid the legal fees of a group that contested and won a lawsuit in the US Supreme Court that was opposed to affirmative action in college admissions processes. They received \$1,155,605 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, and \$100,000 from the JUF.

Ethics and Public Policy Center⁶⁸⁶⁹

The Ethics and Public Policy Center is a right-wing think-tank dedicated to applying Judeo-Christian (read: Christian) theology and moral tradition to issues of public policy. They received \$258,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, and \$110,000 from the Koret Foundation.

Eye of the Tiger PAC⁷⁰

Eye of the Tiger is a PAC (political action committee) affiliated with Iowa Congressman Steve Scalise. Scalise has been repeatedly accused of being a White Supremacist, has made multiple public statements over many years consistent with White Supremacy (including keeping a Confederate flag on his Congressional desk, despite Iowa never having been part of the Confederacy), and has attended and spoken at multiple White Supremacist gatherings throughout the years. They received \$5,000 from Paul Singer.

Foundation for the Defense of Democracies⁷¹⁷²

The Foundation for the Defense of Democracies is a right-wing think tank with pro-military and pro-Israel leanings that was founded in the wake of the September 11th attacks. They are often described as "an unregistered agent of Israeli intelligence". The FDD has taken stances against "militant Islam" and military interventionist policies in Syria and Iran, along with encouraging anti-Palestinian and largely anti-Muslim views. Major donors to the FDD include billionaires Sheldon Adelson, among other noted conservatives. They received \$809,000 from the JCF, \$624,250 from the Schusterman Family Foundation, \$245,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$75,500 from the JUF, and \$5,000 from the Morningstar Foundation.

Friends of Ir David⁷³⁷⁴

A charitable organization that supports the Ir David Foundation, which is an organization that seeks to ethnically cleanse Jerusalem of Palestinians. The Ir David Foundation has come under repeated criticism from a variety of sources, including a lawsuit brought by the Israeli State for illegal damage of archaeological artifacts in Jerusalem, and has been charged by other organizations of attempting to forcibly Judaicize Jerusalem. They received \$204,667 from the JUF, and \$20,000 from the JCF.

Friends of the Chabad of Hebron⁷⁵

A charitable organization which funnels money to the Chabad of Hebron, a Chabad located in the illegal West Bank settlement of Hebron, which serves only the IDF soldiers stationed there, and the notoriously violent settlers living there. They received \$37,000 from the JCF.

FuenteLatina⁷⁶⁷⁷

Fuente Latina is an organization that seeks to provide what is characterizes as “accurate analysis, information, and access to experts” to major Spanish-language media outlets to report on Middle East Issues. It has a heavy pro-Israel leaning in its coverage. They received an undisclosed amount of funding from the Natan Fund.

Future45⁷⁸⁷⁹

A Sheldon Adelson-backed, pro-Trump Super PAC that attacked the Democratic Party as “being taken over by socialists” during the 2016 and 2018 elections, and pushed for the election of Donald Trump as President in 2016. They received \$250,000 from Paul Singer.

George Bush Presidential Library⁸⁰

The Presidential Library dedicated to the Presidency of George H.W. Bush. They received \$160,000 from the Koret Foundation.

George W. Bush 2004 Presidential Re-Election Campaign

George W. Bush’s 2004 campaign to be re-elected as President of the United States. A major issue in the campaign was LGBTQ issues, gay marriage in particular, which President Bush strongly opposed. The campaign received \$1,500,000 from Paul Singer.

George W. Bush Foundation⁸¹

The private foundation and think-tank dedicated to the issues George W. Bush took up when he was President of the United States from 2001-2009. The Foundation is ideologically conservative. They received \$40,000 from the Koret Foundation.

Hasbara Fellowships⁸²⁸³

Hasbara Fellowships is a program connected directly with the Israeli Government, which trains students to advocate for Israel on campuses. Hasbara Fellowships is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They received \$361,800 from the JCF, and \$10,360 from the JUF.

Hebron Fund⁸⁴

The Hebron Fund is a New York-based nonprofit that sends money to the notoriously violent illegal settlers in Hebron in the West Bank. The fund has been repeatedly criticized for paying the monthly salary of convicted settler terrorist Menachem Livni, in violation of United States law. They received \$65,226 from the JUF, and \$25,000 from the JCF.

Heritage Foundation⁸⁵⁸⁶

The Heritage Foundation is a right-wing think-tank and pillar of the conservative movement in the United States. The organization played a major role in advancing right-wing policies during the Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush presidencies, and remains one of the leading opponents to LGBTQ rights and same-sex marriage in the United States today. They received \$100,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$50,000 from the JCF, and \$15,000 from the Koret Foundation.

HonestReporting⁸⁷⁸⁸

HonestReporting is an organization that monitors news coverage for what it perceives as bias against the Israeli State, and has been described as a pro-Israel media watchdog organization and a pro-Israel media pressure group. HonestReporting has harassed and threatened media outlets with lawsuits and bad publicity for even marginally positive coverage of Palestinian issues in the past. They received \$138,860 from the JCF, and \$5,000 from the Koret Foundation.

Independent Women's Forum⁸⁹⁹⁰

The Independent Women's Forum is a right-wing organization representing a conservative take to women's issues in the United States. They have been roundly criticized by mainstream feminists as anti-feminist for their positions on equal pay, Title IX, and domestic violence legislation. They received \$10,000 from the JCF.

International Freedom Alliance Foundation⁹¹⁹²

The International Freedom Alliance is an openly anti-Muslim group founded by neo-fascist Dutch politician Geert Wilders, who has been described in international media as the "Dutch Donald Trump." His stated mission from the org was "fighting for freedom against Islam. They received \$50,000 from the JCF.

Investigative Project on Terrorism⁹³⁹⁴

The Investigative Project on Terrorism, headed by noted fearmonger Steven Emerson. The Investigative Project on Terrorism portrays Muslims as inherently dangerous, and advances theories saying that Islam advocates genocide. They received \$667,500 from the JCF, \$100,000 from the Koret Foundation, and \$26,000 from the JUF.

Israeli American Council⁹⁵⁹⁶

The Israeli-American Council is a cultural organization that provides services to Israeli-Americans, and connects them to communities so they can advocate for the Israeli State in the public sphere. The organization's action-oriented partner, IAC for Action, has made its main focus fighting against the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement. The organization is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They have a close association and partnership with the Jewish Federation of Broward County, according to the Federation's website.

Israel Emergency Alliance, AKA: StandWithUs⁹⁷⁹⁸

StandWithUs, also known as the Israel Emergency Alliance, is a militant, far-right-wing pro-Israel, pro-settler organization in the United States, with close ties to the Israeli State's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

StandWithUs is known for its aggressive campaigning and harassment of pro-Palestinian organizers and supporters of BDS. StandWithUs is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They received \$1,280,560 from the JCF, \$590,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$300,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$96,400 from the JUF, and \$3,600 from the Schusterman Family Foundation.

Israel Independence Fund⁹⁹

The Israel Independence Fund is an Israeli funding organization designed explicitly to funnel money to right-wing groups in order to counter growing left-wing activism in the Israeli State. They have given money to groups that conduct surveillance of left-wing and pro-Palestinian activists, and violent settler organizations, among others. They received \$50,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation.

Israel on Campus Coalition¹⁰⁰¹⁰¹

Founded by the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation with assistance from Hillel International, the Israel on Campus Coalition is the leading pro-Israel campus organization operating in the United States. Their services are something of a one-stop-shop for pro-Israel activists on college campuses, and those seeking to oppose the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement. ICC offers a variety of services, from funding to professional political consultants to pro-Israel student groups. The organization operates a sophisticated network of pro-Israel resources to be deployed at a moment's notice anywhere in the country. Their tactics have been criticized as extreme and right-wing, and the ICC has close ties to Canary Mission funder Adam Milstein and Canary Mission itself, naming the blacklist in its annual report as a "valuable resource." They received \$7,879,355 plus founding support from the Schusterman Family Foundation, \$1,925,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$1,626,800 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$263,000 from the Morningstar Foundation, and \$130,000 from the JCF.

JINSA¹⁰²¹⁰³

The Jewish Institute for National Security of America, or JINSA, is a pro-Israel think-tank in the United States founded in response to the Yom Kippur War in 1976. Their mission is "educating Congressional, military and civilian national security decision-makers on American defense and strategic interests, primarily in the Middle East, the cornerstone of which is a robust U.S.-Israeli security cooperation." JINSA's major activities to this end consist of sponsoring learning trips and exchanges for government officials ranging including police, military, and members of the government to the Israeli State to learn about Israeli national security technology. These trips have been characterized as "Deadly Exchanges" and "exchanges of worst practices" by progressive groups in the United States, noting that the tactics exchanged between US police and the IDF on these trips are often used to repress and brutalize people of color, particularly Black people, in the United States, and Palestinian civilians in the West Bank and Gaza. They received \$293,982 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$155,250 from the JCF, \$15,900 from the JUF, \$4,000 from the Koret Foundation, and an undisclosed amount of funding from the Schusterman Family Foundation.

Jewish National Fund¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵

The Jewish National Fund or JNF was founded in 1901 by Theodor Herzl with the intent of purchasing land in Palestine for the purpose of Jewish settlement. It currently owns 13% of the land controlled by the Israeli State, and has on multiple occasions criticized for operating illegally in the West Bank and refusing to allow non-Jews to make use of land it controls. Critics also charge that the JNF's practice of

planting pine trees in the Israeli State has been racist, alleging that the JNF planted trees to demarcate Israeli lands and prevent Palestinian movement, restrict Bedouin herding, deliberately and literally cover up the sites of abandoned Arab villages after 1948 by planting forests over the villages themselves, and culturally cleansing Arabs from the land by replacing native olive trees with pine and cypress trees, which are foreign to the land. The organization's land usage policies and settlement support has been characterized as right-wing. They received \$1,096,215 from the JCF, \$472,966 from the JUF, \$316,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$77,804 from the Jewish Federation of Broward County, and \$41,800 from the Schusterman Family Foundation.

Judicial Watch¹⁰⁶¹⁰⁷

Judicial Watch is a self-styled watchdog group and right-wing activist organization that files lawsuits and Freedom of Information Act requests against liberal and progressive organizations and individuals, while claiming to fight corruption. It has denied climate change as "fraud science" and advanced a number of other far-right conspiracy theories; the vast majority of the organization's lawsuits have been dismissed. They received \$100,000 from the JCF.

Keep Jerusalem¹⁰⁸

Keep Jerusalem is an organization that seeks to ethnically cleanse Palestinians from the city of Jerusalem through a variety of tactics. It is characterized as a right-wing, pro-settler group. They received \$27,000 from the JUF.

Lawfare Project¹⁰⁹¹¹⁰

The Lawfare Project is a legal group that advocates for pro-Israel people in the United States through the use of lawsuits that it says combats antisemitism and anti-Zionism, which the group views as equivalent. The Lawfare Project has been criticized for harassing Palestinians and Muslims, as well as anti-Zionists and other pro-Palestinian activists. The group's stances and statements have been characterized as anti-Muslim and right-wing. They received \$55,000 from the JCF, and an undisclosed amount of funding from the Natan Fund.

Marco Rubio 2016 Campaign

Florida Senator Marco Rubio's unsuccessful 2016 campaign for the Republican Party's Presidential nomination. Although Rubio heavily criticized Donald Trump and his policies during the campaign, he has since largely supported the President, and voted with his legislative agenda 94% of the time. The campaign received \$7,516,242 in total contributions from Paul Singer.

Middle East Forum¹¹¹¹¹²

The Middle East Forum stands as one of the most prominent anti-Muslim organizations in the United States. Run and founded by anti-Muslim and anti-trans bigot Daniel Pipes, the Middle East Forum is a major recipient and distributor of anti-Muslim funding. Noted by the Southern Poverty Law Center as one of the longest-standing anti-Muslim bigots in the US, Pipes believes "Islam is an imperialist faith," and has used his platform to stoke anti-Muslim bigotry through official and governmental channels since 1990. Most recently, Pipes praised President Donald Trump's "Muslim Ban" executive order, and called for even more strict surveillance of Muslims around the world. They received \$509,600 from the JCF, \$380,000 from the Koret Foundation, and \$128,850 from the JUF.

Middle East Media and Research Institute¹¹³¹¹⁴

The Middle East Media and Research Institute, or MEMRI, is a media monitoring and analysis that states that its goal is to “bridge the language gap between the Middle East and the West.” Critics of the organization have accused it of being nothing more than a right-wing arm of the Israeli government’s propaganda machine, and charged the organization with anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias through selective translation, editing, and deemphasizing mainstream Arab opinions in favor of extremist views in its coverage. They received \$1,052,200 from the JCF, \$780,000 from the Koret Foundation, \$275,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$56,000 from the Schusterman Family Foundation, and \$20,900 from the JUF.

Mitch McConnell¹¹⁵

The current Senate Majority Leader and Republican Senator from Kentucky. His tenure in the Senate has shown the Senator to veer sharply to the right politically, in what some consider solely a desire to win elections and stay in power. McConnell has been called “the embodiment of conservative partisanship and political obstructionism.” His campaigns have received \$9,200 from Paul Singer.

Mitt Romney 2012

Mitt Romney’s unsuccessful campaign for the Presidency as the candidate for the Republican Party in 2012. He was defeated by Barack Obama, who won re-election for a second term as President. His campaign received \$2,032,800 from Paul Singer.

One Israel Fund¹¹⁶

The One Israel Fund is a pro-settler, right-wing funding organization that gives money to people in illegal settlements. It describes the over 430,000 illegal settlers in the West Bank, Jordan Valley, and “Gaza Evacuees” as “the vanguard of Israel’s security and sovereignty as a Jewish State.” The organization received \$103,120 from the JUF.

Our Soldiers Speak¹¹⁷

Our Soldiers Speak is an organization that sends IDF soldiers abroad to advocate for the Israeli State and promote Israeli policies and positively market the State. The organization has been criticized for strategically choosing soldiers that could be seen as “diverse,” while ignoring the actions of the Israeli State against members of that soldier’s demographic group. Our Soldiers Speak has also been criticized for the power dynamic it imposes upon the IDF soldiers sent on tours: soldiers in service of a government might not be able to refuse a request from that government to go on a promotional tour. They received \$75,750 from the JUF.

Paul Ryan¹¹⁸

Tea Party darling and longtime Congressman from Wisconsin, former Speaker of the House from 2015-2019, and former Vice Presidential nominee in 2012, Paul Ryan is a right-wing politician known for his conservative economic views. His various campaigns have received \$10,600 from Paul Singer.

PEF¹¹⁹

PEF is a donor-advised fund created for the purpose of allowing individuals in the United States to give money to Israeli organizations and charities. Due to IRS reporting requirements, the organization's grantees are quite secretive, as the government does not require funders to disclose the names of non-domestic organizations that receive domestic money from 501c3 nonprofits. However, tax records of other funders investigated on this report have revealed that PEF is often used as a passthrough fund for donors to give to right-wing organizations such as Shurat HaDin and the Central Fund of Israel. Because of this, all organizational donations to PEF have been tracked by the author of the report, as it is impossible to know whether the donation went to a politically neutral charity, or a right-wing group.

Philos Project¹²⁰

The Philos Project is a Christian organization that promotes Christian engagement in the Middle East, in response to "the struggle between the Middle East and the West." Their politics have been described as Christian Zionist. They received \$250,000 from the Schusterman Family Foundation, and \$200,000 from the JCF.

Proclaiming Justice to the Nations¹²¹

Proclaiming Justice to the Nations is a Christian Zionist organization that describes itself as advocating for Israel and fighting antisemitism. The organization has been characterized as "paranoid" and "anti-Muslim," and the founder, Laurie Cardoza-Moore routinely refers to herself as a Special Envoy to the UN on Middle Eastern Affairs and a Special Envoy to the United Nations for Human Rights and Antisemitism (titles which she claims to hold to represent "44 million Christians"). These titles do not seem to exist, nor do they seem to be actual titles that she holds. They received \$65,000 from the JUF.

Project Interchange¹²²¹²³

Project Interchange is a project of the American Jewish Committee that takes leaders in the United States and international politics with trips to the Israeli State for the purpose of learning more about the Israeli State, policy, and government. The trips are similar to the ones conducted by the American Israel Education Foundation. They received \$25,118 from the Schusterman Family Foundation.

Project Veritas¹²⁴¹²⁵

Project Veritas is a far-right-wing organization formed by conservative activist James O'Keefe. The organization's work consists of publishing "secret recordings" of employees and representatives of other organizations that O'Keefe claims reveal nefarious doings. Many of the recordings have been revealed to be severely edited to portray O'Keefe's views positively, and misrepresent the actual things that happened. The organization is considered conspiracy-theory-peddling-adjacent. They received \$100,000 from the JCF.

Regavim¹²⁶¹²⁷

Regavim is a right-wing, pro-settler Israeli organization that monitors for, and subsequent sues, Palestinian or Bedouin individuals undertaking construction projects in the West Bank or other territory controlled by the Israeli State. They received \$25,000 from the JCF through the Central Fund of Israel.

Reservists on Duty¹²⁸¹²⁹

Reservists on Duty is an Israeli organization founded by IDF reservists who felt that they had a duty to combat the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement, along with other endeavors that they judge as antisemitic. The organization was founded in protest of the progressive Israeli group Breaking the Silence, and their actions have been characterized as right-wing because of this. They received \$100,000 from the JCF through the Central Fund of Israel.

Rick Santorum¹³⁰

Rick Santorum is a right-wing Tea Party politician and former US Senator from Pennsylvania. He is known for his deeply Christian conservative social views, including being anti-abortion and strongly anti-LGBTQ. His campaigns received \$9,900 from Paul Singer.

Scholars for Peace in the Middle East¹³¹

Scholars for Peace in the Middle East is a faculty group that organizes against the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement on college campuses in the United States. Their founding purpose is their belief “that ethnic, national, and religious hatreds, including anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism, have no place in our institutions, disciplines, and communities. We employ academic means to address these issues. They received \$71,000 from the Koret Foundation.

Senate Leadership Fund¹³²

The Senate Leadership Fund is a political fund dedicated to electing Republican candidates to seats in the United States Senate. It is considered part of the funding apparatuses of the Republican Party. They received \$6,000,000 from Paul Singer.

Shurat HaDin¹³³¹³⁴

Shurat HaDin is an Israeli organization that files lawsuits in courts worldwide representing terror victims, and Jewish and Israeli causes. The group has been criticized by some as a pro-Israel lawfare organization that litigates right-wing causes through courts. Among others, it has attempted to sue former United States President Jimmy Carter, and pop singer Lorde for defaming the Israeli State. They received \$100,000 from the JCF through PEF, and another \$150,000 from the JCF through the Central Fund of Israel.

Simon Wiesenthal Center¹³⁵

The Simon Wiesenthal Center is a Jewish human rights organization that fights antisemitism, terrorism, and the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement worldwide. While much of their work has garnered praise from across the political spectrum, their campus-based tactics related to combatting Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions have drawn criticism. The Center is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They received \$168,841 from the JUF, \$150,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, and \$53,667 from the JCF.

Tea Party Patriots Foundation¹³⁶¹³⁷

Tea Party Patriots Foundation, is a PAC that serves as one of the political funding arms of the far-right Tea Party of America. The Tea Party Patriots Foundation received \$400,000 over a two year period from

the Helen Diller Family Foundation, including the election year of 2016. The Tea Party is widely known for stoking anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and anti-LGBTQ sentiments, and is closely aligned with politicians such as Ted Cruz, Sarah Palin, and Donald Trump.

The Academic Engagement Network¹³⁸

The Academic Engagement Network is an organization of American university and college faculty and staff formed for the purposes of opposing the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement, standing for academic freedom and supporting Israel education on campuses. Despite their claim to stand for freedom and freedom of speech, the group has been repeatedly criticized for suppressing BDS organizers, and Palestinian student groups. They received an undisclosed amount of funding from the Natan Fund.

The David Project¹³⁹¹⁴⁰

The David Project is a constituent organization of Hillel International which “empowers student leaders to build beneficial partnerships with diverse organizations, so that the pro-Israel community is valued on their campus.” The organization’s tactics have been criticized as tokenizing, cynical, hard-nosed, and right-wing. The David Project is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They received \$1,075,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$105,000 from the Morningstar Foundation, \$100,000 from the Schusterman Family Foundation, and \$70,000 from the Koret Foundation.

The Israel Project¹⁴¹¹⁴²

The Israel Project is a pro-Israel media and consulting organization that works closely with other pro-Israel groups on strategy and marketing. They were the subject of an Al-Jazeera documentary that revealed the organization’s deep ties to surveillance of pro-Palestinian individuals on social media, as well as Canary Mission and Adam Milstein. The documentary also revealed that The Israel Project participates in astroturfing, the tactic of outsourcing protests and rallies so that they appear grassroots, in response to pro-Palestinian and Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions events on college campuses. The Israel Project is a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition. They received \$1,995,550 from the JCF, \$1,935,000 from the Morningstar Foundation, \$1,082,500 from the Koret Foundation, \$500,000 from the Paul E. Singer Foundation, \$40,940 from the JUF, and \$25,000 from the Schusterman Family Foundation.

Trump for America

Donald Trump’s Super PAC for the 2016 General Presidential election. The campaign received \$5,000 from Paul Singer.

Trump Inaugural Committee

The Committee to plan and fund the Inauguration of Donald Trump as the President of the United States following his controversial electoral college victory in the 2016 general election. The Committee received \$1,000,000 from Paul Singer.

Turning Point USA¹⁴³¹⁴⁴

Turning Point USA is a right-wing organization that mainly operates on campuses and in the Alt-Right political movement in the United States. The group has been called fascist, and faced accusations of

racism (even from its own staff), unethical meddling in student government elections, general harassment, doxxing of left-wing opponents, and potentially illegal involvement in the 2016 US Presidential election. Its founder, Charlie Kirk, has significant ties to alt-right, antisemitic, and fascist groups. Since 2016, Turning Point has operated a blacklist called the Professor Watchlist, which it claims documents and exposes professors that “discriminate against conservative students and advance leftist propaganda in classrooms.” They received \$50,000 from the JCF.

UN Watch¹⁴⁵¹⁴⁶

UN Watch is a UN-affiliated non-governmental organization that seeks to hold the UN accountable, based on its own charter. They have been described by Jewish news outlets as an openly pro-Israel organization, largely because of their criticism of the UN Human Rights Council’s treatment of Israel and support of Palestinian human rights. They received \$284,050 from the JCF, \$85,000 from the Koret Foundation, and \$5,000 from the Morningstar Foundation.

Western Center for Journalism¹⁴⁷¹⁴⁸

The Western Center for Journalism is a conservative media group that produces a right-wing newsletter in the United States. They received \$10,000 from the JCF.

Zionist Organization of America¹⁴⁹¹⁵⁰

The Zionist Organization of America is the oldest Zionist organization in the United States; its current activities include fighting against perceived anti-Israel bias in the media, and on college campuses. It is considered the most right-wing of the major Jewish organizations in the United States. The Zionist Organization of America devotes significant resources to fighting the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement, and other instances of what they deem antisemitism. The organization has been heavily criticized for its connections to members of the antisemitic Alt-Right movement, solely because of those individuals’ support of Zionism and the Israeli State. Most notably, the Zionist Organization of America invited Breitbart editor and noted antisemite Steve Bannon to speak at their annual gala... twice. They received \$728,805 from the JCF, \$64,420 from the JUF, and \$1,500 from the Koret Foundation.

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⁸ <https://jewishfed.org/sites/default/files/JCF%202016%20Form%20990%20.pdf>

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