



The Shame of the
UJA-Federation of New York

**HOW ITS
JEWISH
COMMUNAL FUND
SUPPORTS
ANTI-MUSLIM
HATE GROUPS**

NOVEMBER 28, 2018

DECEMBER 3, 2018 This report initially referred to the JCF as the "funding arm" of the UJA. To be more precise, the "UJA-Federation has a ["controlling interest"](#) in JCF" and "is the sole member of JCF"... "Accordingly, JCF is consolidated with UJA-Federation." (See KPMG LLP, "[United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, Inc. and Related Entities: Consolidated Financial Statements and Schedules](#)," June 30, 2017 and 2016.) The report has been updated to reflect this point.

The Jewish Communal Fund (JCF) has for years funded a host of anti-Muslim hate groups—contributing more than \$2 million to six such groups just in 2013-2017.

While JCF is understandably proud of its funding of numerous community, health, and other such organizations, it seems decidedly reluctant to call public attention to its support for these Islamophobic groups.

We call upon the JCF to make a firm, public commitment to stop contributing to these anti-Muslim groups and to others that share their ideology.

Introduction

Today, Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism, which have long histories in the U.S., are more blatant and dangerous than ever. After more than a decade of post-9/11 Bush and Obama administration policies of surveillance and deportation of Muslims, the current Administration under President Trump is greatly accelerating anti-Muslim policies. In this context, Muslims and those perceived as Muslims are facing increased Islamophobic attacks, including threats to mosques and Muslim community centers, harassment of women in hijab, and other public attacks, beatings, shootings, and arson.

We need to oppose Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate in all its forms. We know that many Jewish organizations have joined Muslim communities to challenge Islamophobia. Being true partners requires that our words are consistent with our actions, which is why we are particularly concerned that the funding arm of a major Jewish organization has for years funded a host of anti-Muslim hate groups.

This report shines a light on the role of the Jewish Communal Fund (JCF). The United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York (UJA-Federation) has a ["controlling interest"](#) in JCF, making JCF a related, consolidated entity of UJA-Federation.¹ JCF federal [Form 990 filings](#) reveal that JCF has, going back at least to 2001, funded a host of anti-Muslim hate groups, with six of them receiving more than

\$2 million from JCF between 2013 and 2017, the last five years for which 990 forms are publicly available.²

While JCF has numerous ways to let people know about its funding of community, health, and other such organizations, it does not include in its various public relations materials any indication that it supports anti-Muslim groups. It also does not always include in its list of grantees in each annual report all of the anti-Muslim groups listed as grantees in its 990 forms.³ As a result, relatively few JCF grantees and members of the UJA-Federation community even know that JCF funds anti-Muslim hate.

By supporting these anti-Muslim groups, JCF is contributing to the current climate of racism, intolerance, and bigotry. Previous research has shown that JCF has [supported groups](#) that the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Center for American Progress, and other groups have identified as purveyors of anti-Muslim hate.⁴ This support helps spread the very Islamophobic ideologies that enable anti-Muslim actions and policies.

The groups that JCF supports play a critical role in what's been [called](#) "a rapidly emerging alliance between the pro-Israel mainstream and the Islamophobic fringe"⁵ (though these days that so-called "fringe" has access to, and finds its views within, the current Administration).

Our review of the Jewish Communal Fund's 2013-2017 [990 forms](#) found that, during this period alone, JCF contributed \$2,082,212 to six anti-Muslim organizations, in addition to supporting other Islamophobic groups.⁶ All of these JCF-funded groups are leaders in—or significant contributors to—what's been called "the Islamophobia network in America."⁷ These groups are Pamela Geller's American Freedom Defense Initiative, the Clarion Project, the David Horowitz Freedom Center, Steven Emerson's Investigative Project on Terrorism, Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum and the Middle East Media Research Institute. In addition, JCF has accepted funding from two significant funders of these or other groups of anti-Muslim ideologues: the Abstraction Fund and the Gotham Charitable Foundation Trust.

[Founded](#) by UJA-Federation leaders, JCF describes itself as "the [largest and most active](#) Jewish donor-advised fund (DAF) in the country."⁸ It has been [ranked](#) by the National Philanthropic Trust as the seventh largest DAF in the country and [designated](#) by the Chronicle of Philanthropy as a "Top 100" U.S. charity.⁹ According to JCF's handbook, "all grant recommendations are nonbinding,"¹⁰ with JCF retaining the power "to decline grant recommendations."¹¹ JCF also has a [Community Gift program](#) "from revenues and fees to support programs and institutions that promote the welfare and security of the Jewish community at home and abroad."¹² (Because JCF does not report the source of each grant, there is no way to know whether a given grant comes from the donor-advised funds or from the Community Gifts program.)

We call on JCF to:

1. Immediately cut off all funding to anti-Muslim hate groups, through donor-advised funds and other funding streams;
2. Commit to rejecting future contributions from funders that are donors to anti-Muslim hate groups; and
3. Affirm publicly its commitment to the above actions

The Jewish Community Fund (JCF) and the Islamophobia Network

We know that Islamophobia [began](#) long before 9/11.¹³ However, the scope of state-sanctioned and U.S. government anti-Muslim policies as well as the role and influence of the Islamophobia network have accelerated since 9/11, and, once again, with the current Administration. This well-coordinated group of Islamophobes has been aptly described by Nathan Lean, author of [The Islamophobia Industry in America](#), as “an interconnected, and highly organized cottage industry of fear merchants.”¹⁴

The recent spike in the number of anti-Muslim [hate groups](#), [crimes](#), and policies is neither coincidental nor accidental.¹⁵ We can fully appreciate the ascendance of blatant Islamophobia under the current Administration only by recognizing the ways that, for decades, the groups and individuals in the Islamophobia network have been dedicated to pushing Islamophobia into the mainstream.

The Center for American Progress’ 2011 report, [Fear, Inc.: The Roots of the Islamophobia Network in America](#), describes the leaders of the Islamophobia network as “misinformation experts.”¹⁶ An [article](#) about following the money maintains that they are important not only because they provide misinformation to Fox News and other media outlets, but because of the relationships they have with government officials and their influence on U.S. domestic and foreign policies.¹⁷ This relationship has devastating consequences for Muslim communities and those perceived to be Muslim. Muslim bans, domestic spying, registry programs, “sharia law” bans, and foreign sanctions and interventions are all justified by supposed “facts” provided by think tanks and “[experts](#)” of the Islamophobia network.¹⁸ Meanwhile, elected and appointed government officials lend credibility to these anti-Muslim bigots, allowing them to rake in [funding](#) from the government and private funders.¹⁹

This network cannot survive and thrive without funding. JCF enables the spread of anti-Muslim hatred by funding anti-Muslim groups. This report does not discuss all of the anti-Muslim groups that JCF has funded, but focuses on six groups that have been identified in *Fear, Inc.* as being part of the Islamophobia network and having received substantial JCF funding.

The following is a summary of the activities JCF has supported through its funding of six national anti-Muslim groups:

Pamela Geller and the American Freedom Defense Initiative

Between 2013 and 2017, JCF gave \$210,000 to the AFDI. Pamela Geller is the public face and co-founder of three groups that the Southern Poverty Law Center [designates](#) (along with her blog, Atlas Shrugs) as anti-Muslim hate groups: AFDI, Stop Islamization Of America (SIOA), and Stop Islamization Of Nations (SION).²⁰ She has been described as "the queen of Muslim-bashers."²¹ The examples below provide a sense of Geller's beliefs and actions, as well as some public responses to her work:

- Geller [writes](#) that Islam "is an extreme ideology, the most radical and extreme ideology on the face of the earth"; "Hitler was inspired by Islam"; and "The ["Islamic supremacist"] enemy has infiltrated every department, every division of the federal government and the Obama administration, including the White House."²²
- Geller [spearheaded](#) the 2010 opposition to Park51, the proposed Islamic Center that was to be located several blocks from Ground Zero in lower Manhattan.²³ This campaign fueled Islamophobia in both New York City and across the country by [propagating](#) "the notion that mosques are no longer houses of worship but 'Trojan horses' harboring and disseminating radical Islamic theology."²⁴
- Geller has been the lead instigator of, and most prominent spokesperson for, a nationwide anti-Muslim ad campaign that involves placing vitriolic [anti-Muslim ads](#) on public buses, in subways, and in municipal transit stations.²⁵
- The U.S. Patent & Trademark Office [rejected](#) SOIA's 2010 application for a trademark on the grounds that "the applied-for mark refers to Muslims in a disparaging manner because by definition it implies that conversion or conformity to Islam is something that needs to be stopped or caused to cease."²⁶ In 2013, the United Kingdom banned Geller and Spencer from entering its borders to speak at a march led by the far-right English Defense League Kingdom on the [grounds](#) that their presence was "not conducive to the public good," because they may "foster hatred" and lead to "inter-community violence."²⁷
- Former senior presidential advisor Steve Bannon had Geller on [Breitbart News Daily](#), his radio show, at least seven times and lauded Geller as "one of the great American patriots. She has been a voice in the wilderness, and now her time has come."²⁸

Clarion Project

Between 2013 and 2017, JCF gave \$310,642 to the Clarion Project (formerly Clarion Fund), which the Southern Poverty Law Center includes on its [list](#) of "active anti Muslim hate groups."²⁹ Clarion is an offshoot of the Israeli- and U.S.-based Aish HaTorah, which supports militant Israeli settlers, although Clarion does not mention its connection with Aish, including having [directors](#) with ties to both groups.³⁰ Journalists

Ali Gharib and Eli Clifton maintain that each Clarion project [reflects](#) the view that there is a “clash of civilizations” between Islam and “the West,” “suggests that Muslims value death over life, and portrays irrational hatred toward Israel and anti-Semitism as key to comprehending the anger and frustration voiced by Muslim countries against the United States.”³¹ The most widely known of Clarion’s anti-Muslim propaganda films are the following:

- *Obsession: Radical Islam’s War Against the West* (2007): During the 2008 presidential election, Clarion [distributed](#) 28 million DVD copies of this viciously anti-Muslim video in swing states as newspaper inserts, while Sheldon Adelson supported the distribution of copies to young people on Birthright-sponsored tours of Israel.³² *Obsession* contains cherry-picked inflammatory images and mistranslations. Like other Clarion films, *Obsession*, despite its initial disclaimer, demonizes [all](#) Muslims. In its opening moments, the filmmakers use [explicit](#) statements and rapid-fire images that make a clear link between Nazis and both Palestinians and Muslims.³³ *Obsession*, which has become a staple of David Horowitz’s “Islamofascism Awareness” weeks on college campuses, includes Islamophobes Steven Emerson and Daniel Pipes as [talking heads](#).³⁴
- *The Third Jihad: Radical Islam’s Vision for America* (2008): This Clarion video uses “[discredited conspiracy theory](#)” (based on a single document) to warn against an Islamic enemy that, purportedly, “the government is too afraid to name.”³⁵ Clarion views this “third jihad” as part of an alleged “1400 year war” against the West, with Muslims currently constituting a “fifth column” working to “infiltrate and dominate America.”³⁶ In its critique of the film, the Muslim American Civil Liberties Coalition notes that *The Third Jihad’s* use of incendiary images [includes](#) “people who appear to be Muslim engaging in acts of terrorism, car bombs exploding, executed children, and repeated images of an Islamic flag flying over the White House.”³⁷ It was [shown](#) in 2011 to nearly 1,500 New York City police officers during training and includes interviews with such establishment figures as then-U.S. Attorney Chris Christie, former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and former New York City Police Commissioner Ray Kelly.³⁸

David Horowitz Freedom Center

Between 2013 and 2017, JCF gave \$58,660 to the David Horowitz Freedom Center, whose projects include the online *FrontPage Magazine*, a major purveyor of anti-Muslim conspiracy theories. Horowitz has [called](#) Black Lives Matter the “most vicious racist movement this country has seen since the Ku Klux Klan at its heyday.”³⁹ The Southern Poverty Law Center has [described](#) Horowitz as “the godfather of the modern anti-Muslim movement,”⁴⁰ because of actions and beliefs like the following:

- The Southern Poverty Law Center [reports](#) that Horowitz “works closely with Pamela Geller, collecting money for her anti-Muslim hate group, Stop Islamization of America.”⁴¹ It also [notes](#) that the Freedom Center has helped

fund Robert Spencer and his hate group, Jihad Watch, which “argues that terroristic violence by Muslim extremists are [sic] inherent to Islam itself.”⁴²

- Horowitz [believes](#) that “‘all Muslim associations are fronts for the Muslim Brotherhood’ . . . [and] has gone even further than his conspiracy-minded colleagues by alleging that Islamic extremism has infiltrated our education system, beginning in kindergarten.”⁴³
- Horowitz [maintains](#) that there “are only a couple of degrees of separation between anybody on the left and the terrorists—and that includes people in the Democratic Party.”⁴⁴
- Horowitz is a long-time mentor to White House Advisor [Stephen Miller](#) (author of the recent Muslim immigration ban) and an old friend of former Attorney General [Jeff Sessions](#), who has praised Horowitz as “a most brilliant individual,” accepted the “[Annie Taylor Award](#)” in 2014 from the David Horowitz Freedom Center and spoke at several of the group’s annual weekend retreat events.⁴⁵

Steven Emerson and the Investigative Project on Terrorism

Between 2013 and 2017, JCF gave \$388,450 to the Investigative Project on Terrorism, which Steven Emerson founded in 1995. Emerson is a “leading light of the Islamophobia network,” who “frames Islam as an inherently violent and antagonistic religion.”⁴⁶ Despite his sometimes clearly unbelievable statements, Emerson has found influential platforms to spread some of the following views:

- Starting in the 1990s, Emerson provided allegedly “expert” [testimony](#) in hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee and various congressional committees and government agencies.⁴⁷
- Immediately after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing (committed by Timothy McVeigh, a white domestic anti-government extremist), Emerson [claimed](#) on TV that the attack had “a Middle Eastern trait” because it “was done with the intent to inflict as many casualties as possible.”⁴⁸
- In 1997, after Emerson [presented](#) the Associated Press (AP) with a purported Federal Bureau of Investigation [dossier](#) showing ties between Muslim American organizations and what they called “radical Islamist groups,” AP reporters concluded that Emerson had forged the dossier himself.⁴⁹
- In 2007, Emerson met with former White House chief strategist Steve Bannon to discuss Bannon’s proposed film, “[Destroying the Great Satan](#): The Rise of Islamic Facism [sic] in America.”⁵⁰ The proposal for the film lists Emerson as an executive producer.
- In 2015, even Fox News felt the need to [apologize](#) after Emerson falsely claimed in an interview that Birmingham, England, and other European cities were filled with “no-go zones” where non-Muslims and government officials are afraid to go.⁵¹

Daniel Pipes and the Middle East Forum

Between 2013 and 2017, JCF gave \$138,728 to the Middle East Forum, founded by Daniel Pipes in 1990. The [Fear, Inc.](#) report on the Islamophobia network includes Pipes as one of five anti-Muslim “misinformation experts” who “generate the false facts and materials used by political leaders, grassroots groups, and the media.”⁵² The following are just a few of the anti-Muslim and racist sentiments that Pipes and his Middle East Forum have promulgated:

- Pipes views almost every possible Muslim activity as subversive and threatening. [Islamist Watch](#), an online project of the Middle East Forum, claims that “lawful Islamists” engage “quietly, lawfully, peacefully” in numerous activities related to political lobbying, the media, and the legal and education systems so that Muslims can “impose Islamic law [in the United States], win special privileges for themselves, shut down criticism of Islam, create Muslim-only zones, and deprive women and non-Muslims of their full civil rights.”⁵³
- In 2004, Pipes [argued](#) that the U.S. internment of ethnic Japanese during World War II was a response to “legitimate national security concerns” and could serve as a model for dealing with Muslims.⁵⁴
- During the 2008 presidential campaign, Pipes published [claims](#) “proving” that Barack Obama was a Muslim.⁵⁵ Two years later, he [alleged](#) that President Obama “enforced Islamic law”—part of his larger thesis about the “threat” to the “West” of “lawful Islam.”⁵⁶
- In 2017, Pipes praised President Trump’s Muslim travel ban Executive Order and [advocated](#) in the *Middle East Quarterly* for even more “extreme vetting” of Muslim immigrants through interrogation that included the use of, for example, lie detectors and social media surveillance.⁵⁷

Middle East Media Research Institute

Between 2013 and 2017, JCF gave \$975,732 to the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI). [Fear, Inc.](#) describes [MEMRI](#) as one of the “right-wing media enablers of anti-Islam propaganda.”⁵⁸ Run by a former Israeli intelligence officer, MEMRI provides free anti-Muslim, pro-Israel propaganda—not research—to journalists, academics, and congressional representatives and their staff. MEMRI’s [board of directors](#) includes Steven Emerson (discussed above), who has his own history of making unsubstantiated anti-Muslim claims.⁵⁹

- MEMRI is the go-to source for those in the [Islamophobia network](#) who draw on it to “make the case that Islam is inherently violent and promotes extremism.”⁶⁰ Pamela Geller, Steven Emerson, Daniel Pipes, and others have used MEMRI to promote their anti-Muslim ideology. Frank Gaffney, who provided the inaccurate polling information used to justify Trump’s “Muslim bans,” terms it “indispensable.” Robert Spencer, who has worked closely with Pamela Geller, describes MEMRI “as a goldmine of translated material from the Arabic speaking

world which really gives one some amazing insights into what our opponents in the war on terror are thinking.”

- MEMRI is also an important source for the alt-right Breitbart News Network, formerly headed by one-time White House chief strategist Steve Bannon, which regularly pushes racist, sexist, nativist, and anti-Semitic narratives. An October 2018 [search](#) for MEMRI on the Breitbart website found more than 550 Breitbart stories that use it as a source for translations, video clips, cartoons and other graphics, and reports.⁶¹
- MEMRI provided many of the translations and images in the Clarion’s *Obsession* video. The [inclusion](#) of MEMRI on the Clarion’s list of resources on the Obsession website underscores its value to Clarion’s propaganda.⁶²
- Numerous Arabic-speakers—Middle East scholars, professional translators, CIA case officers, and others—have [charged](#) MEMRI with cherry-picking information and using selective and inaccurate translations over the years.⁶³ “My problem with MEMRI is that it poses as a research institute when it’s basically a propaganda operation,” [wrote](#) Brian Whittaker, the Middle East editor for *The Guardian*.⁶⁴
- After MEMRI issued a 2004 report claiming that Osama bin Laden wanted to attack American states that had voted for Bush, Professor Marc Lynch of George Washington University, founder and director of the Project on Middle East Political Science, [wrote](#) that “MEMRI is cherry-picking a couple of statements on fringe websites to support its own, highly partisan, interpretation. Actually, to be totally clear, they are relying on ONE statement on ONE radical website, which could have been posted by ANYONE.”⁶⁵
- Although MEMRI translated a child in a Palestinian children’s program as saying “We will annihilate the Jews,” CNN correspondent Atika Shubert [reported](#) that the accurate translation, according to several Arabic speakers who worked for CNN, was “The Jews are killing us.”⁶⁶

Other Anti-Muslim Groups Receiving JCF Funding

JCF has funded other anti-Muslim groups besides the six groups that are the focus of this report. The [Gatestone Institute](#), for example, which received \$201,136 from JCF ([2015-2017](#)), is an international think tank that espouses the idea that Muslims are conspiring to take over Europe. Gatestone promotes such virulently anti-Muslim [figures](#) as Steve Emerson, David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes, Robert Spencer, and Dutch extremist Geerts Wilders, along with numerous pro-Israel neoconservatives—an alliance of rabid Islamophobes and mainstream pro-Israel advocates.⁶⁷

[Americans for Peace and Tolerance](#) (APT), which received \$30,000 from JCF ([2013, 2015, 2017](#)), is the most recent incarnation of Citizens for Peace and Tolerance (CPT), formed in 2004 to help spearhead the 2002-2007 [campaign](#) against the construction of a mosque in Boston; Charles Jacobs, who helped form CPT and APT, was publicly criticized in 2010 by more than 70 [rabbis](#), who called upon him “to discontinue his

destructive campaign against Boston's Muslim community, which is based on innuendo, half-truths and unproven conspiracy theories."⁶⁸

Two Islamophobic Funders of JCF

Abstraction Fund

A review of Abstraction Fund [990 Forms](#) revealed that it contributed \$60,000 in 2009 and \$70,000 in 2012 to the UJA-Federation of New York.⁶⁹ The Abstraction Fund is run by Nina Rosenwald, who has been [termed](#) "the sugar mama of anti-Muslim hate."⁷⁰ According to the Center for American Progress, "Between 2009 and 2012 alone, the [Abstraction Fund](#) donated \$2,154,750 to the Islamophobia network, including \$1,928,500 to Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum."⁷¹ Rosenwald has, for years, been deeply enmeshed in the Islamophobia network: as a member, for example, of the [Board of Regents](#) of Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy.⁷² She is also founder and president of the anti-Muslim [Gatestone Institute](#) (described above).⁷³

Rosenwald, whose father created the UJA in 1939, was formerly a vice president of the William Rosenwald Family Fund. The Center for American Progress' 2011 [Fear Inc.](#) report identified the William Rosenwald Family Fund/Anchorage Charitable Foundation as one of the top seven funders of Islamophobia in the United States.⁷⁴ The William Rosenwald Family Fund [liquidated](#) its funds in 2012, distributing them among three foundations, including the Abstraction Fund and the Middle Road Foundation.⁷⁵ As the Center for American Progress [found](#), "Between 2001 and 2012, the Middle Road Foundation, William Rosenwald Family Fund, and Abstraction Fund contributed \$4,952,979 to the Islamophobia network. Between 2009 and 2012 alone, the Abstraction Fund donated \$2,154,750 to the Islamophobia network, including \$1,928,500 to Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum."⁷⁶

Gotham Charitable Foundation Trust

The Gotham Charitable Foundation Trust began to fund JCF in 2011. A review of its [990 forms](#) found that, between 2011 and 2016, it contributed \$883,953 to JCF. It has also been a major and long-time contributor to some of the anti-Muslim groups that JCF supports: \$272,500 to Steven Emerson's Investigative Project on Terrorism between 2008 and 2013; and \$825,000 to MEMRI between 2007 and 2016.⁷⁷

JCF Contributions to the Islamophobia Network

JCF buries the very existence of its grants to anti-Muslim groups. It does not, for example, mention them in the narrative of its annual reports or in the section on its website on [JCF's Impact as an Organization](#), which lists selected grantees going back to 1999—food pantries, hospices, a camp for children with special needs, services for Holocaust survivors, and other laudable programs.⁷⁸

We can discover JCF's long history of funding groups led by anti-Muslim ideologues only by poring over the listing of all grantees in JCF's annual reports or in the 990 forms that JCF submits annually to the IRS. (We'd also have to know—as the average JCF supporter or grantee likely does not—that, for example, the American Freedom Defense Initiative, a JCF grantee, is headed by notorious Islamophobe Pamela Geller.)

JCF does not identify in its annual reports or other publicly available documents the funding stream for each grant. But it has as much decision-making responsibility for donor-advised funds (DAF) as for the JCF Board of Trustees' annual [Community Gifts](#) "to support programs and institutions that promote the welfare and security of the Jewish community at home and abroad."⁷⁹ As JCF acknowledges, while individual donors can recommend organizations they wish to support, JCF "reserves the right to conduct due diligence and to decline grant recommendations."⁸⁰ The buck for funding anti-Muslim hate stops with JCF.

The table below lists grants by year (2013-2017) from JCF to each of six anti-Muslim organizations:

	American Freedom Defense Initiative	Clarion Project	David Horowitz Freedom Center	Investigative Project on Terrorism	Middle East Forum	Middle East Media Research Institute
2013	\$30,000	---	\$10,250	\$88,500	\$17,880	\$124,390
2014	\$70,000	\$36,200	\$15,200	\$51,250	\$31,150	\$396,170
2015	\$40,000	\$238,082	\$12,400	\$84,800	\$24,250	\$24,146
2016	\$20,000	\$30,360	\$5,580	\$84,900	\$29,750	\$406,686
2017	\$50,000	\$6,000	\$15,150	\$79,000	\$35,698	\$24,340
Total (by org.)	\$210,000	\$310,642	\$58,660	\$388,450	\$138,728	\$975,732

While this report focuses on the last five years for which federal 990 Forms are publicly available, JCF has a longer history of supporting anti-Muslim groups. In the first decade of the 21st century, for instance, [JCF gave](#) more than \$100,000 to the David Horowitz Freedom Center, more than a quarter-million dollars to the Investigative Project on Terrorism, more than a half-million dollars to the Middle East Forum, and over \$2.8 million to MEMRI.⁸¹

In addition to funding the Islamophobia network, JCF accepted \$130,000 between 2009 and 2012 from the Abstraction Fund and \$768,953 between 2012 and 2016 from Gotham Charitable Foundation Trust.

Shared Agenda of Support for Israeli Government

The ties between pro-Israel advocacy and the Islamophobia network are [well-documented](#).⁸² These anti-Muslim organizations deploy anti-Muslim and anti-Arab tropes to bolster U.S. support for the Israeli government. This convergence of interests helps explain, in part, the alliance between some pro-Israel American Jewish groups and the Islamophobia network:

- At a June 2016 event about (the so-called dangers of) BDS, UJA-Federation of New York was, for example, quite willing to invite a speaker, Brooke Goldstein of the anti-Palestinian Lawfare Project, who is a [fan](#) of [Geert Wilders](#), the Dutch Anti-Muslim ideologue and politician who received \$20,000 in 2014 from the David Horowitz Freedom Center.⁸³
- Campus Watch, a project of Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum, has [compiled](#) dossiers on professors deemed too critical of Israel.⁸⁴
- Clarion, Geller, and Horowitz are among those who routinely conflate Muslims and Palestinians, while demonizing both. Geller, for example, has run ads [characterizing](#) Muslims and Palestinians as "savages," while Horowitz has [maintained](#) that "middle eastern Muslims are 'Islamic Nazis'"⁸⁵
- Steven Emerson, founder of the Investigative Project on Terrorism, has repeatedly been [invited](#) to lead sessions at the annual conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Council's (AIPAC), where he has been able to spew his strongly anti-Muslim beliefs.⁸⁶

Revelations that AIPAC [contributed](#) \$60,000 to another Islamophobia network leader, Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy, also make clear how some pro-Israel actors see peddling Islamophobia as in the interests of the State of Israel.⁸⁷

Conclusion and Recommendations

We hope that this report, which sheds light on how JCF actions promote anti-Muslim racism and bigotry, encourages more people in New York's Jewish communities and beyond to hold JCF accountable and to ensure that our institutions oppose anti-Muslim racism in word and action.

We ask all organizations and individuals committed to combating Islamophobia to join us in calling on JCF to take the following actions:

1. Immediately cut off all funding to anti-Muslim hate groups, through donor-advised funds and other funding streams;
2. Commit to rejecting future contributions from funders that are donors to anti-Muslim hate groups;
3. Affirm publicly its future commitment to the above actions.

ENDNOTES

¹ KPMG LLP, "[United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, Inc. and Related Entities: Consolidated Financial Statements and Schedules](#)," June 30, 2017 and 2016.

² Jewish Communal Fund, Governance and Financials: [2013-2017 JCF 990 Forms](#). These are the most currently available 990 Forms. JCF's fiscal year (FY) runs from July 1 to June 30. In its [annual reports](#), [audited financial statements](#), and [press releases](#), JCF consistently identifies each fiscal year in terms of the "fiscal end-date," not the start-date (even though the start-date is listed on each year's 990 Form). JCF, therefore, identifies the period from July 1, 2016 to June 30, 2017 as "fiscal year 2017." This report reflects JCF's usage.

³ Grants to the Clarion Project, David Horowitz Freedom Center, and Middle East Media and Research Institute, for example, that are listed in JCF's 2017 990 form are not included in its 2017 Annual Report.

⁴ Eli Clifton, "[The Jewish Communal Fund Invests in Islamophobia](#)," LobLog, December 15, 2015; Eli Clifton, "[Why Is a Mainstream Jewish Charity Funding Pamela Geller?](#)" *The Forward*, November 21, 2015.

⁵ Blumenthal, "[The Sugar Mama of Anti-Muslim Hate](#)," *The Nation*, June 14, 2012.

⁶ Jewish Communal Fund, Governance and Financials: [2013-2017 JCF 990 Forms](#).

⁷ Wajahat Ali, Eli Clifton, Matt Duss, Lee Fang, Scott Keyes, & Faiz Shakir, *Fear Inc.: The Roots of the Islamophobia Network in America*, Center for American Progress, August 2011.

⁸ Tamar Snyder, "[Jewish Communal Fund NY Sends Out Record-Breaking Number of Grants in FY 2017](#)," *JCF*, August 8, 2017

⁹ Ibid.; Eileen R. Heisman, "[Top 10 DAF Charities by Grants](#)," The Philanthropist (National Philanthropic Trust blog), July 27, 2016.

¹⁰ Jewish Communal Fund, "[Policies & Procedures](#)," 2018.

¹¹ Jewish Communal Fund, "[Grants](#)," 2018.

¹² Jewish Communal Fund, "[The JCF Advantage—Your Personal Connection to Charitable Giving](#)."

¹³ Edward E. Curtis IV, "[For American Muslims, Everything Did Not Change After 9/11](#)," *Religion & Politics*, July 5, 2012.

¹⁴ Nathan Lean, *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims*, 2012.

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- ¹⁵ Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), "[2017: The Year in Hate and Extremism](#)," February 11, 2018; Council on American-Islamic Relations, "[2018 Civil Rights Report: Targeted](#)," CAIR, May 2017.
- ¹⁶ Ali et al, [Fear Inc.](#)
- ¹⁷ Elly Bulkin & Donna Nevel, "[Follow the Money: From Islamophobia to Israel Right or Wrong](#)," *Alternet*, October 3, 2012.
- ¹⁸ Muslim Public Affairs Council, [Not Qualified: Exposing the Deception Behind America's Top 25 Pseudo Experts on Islam](#), April 23, 2013.
- ¹⁹ Bulkin & Nevel, "[Follow the Money](#)."
- ²⁰ SPLC, "[Active Anti-Muslim Groups](#)," *Intelligence Report*, March 2, 2015.
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Authors of the Report

Jews Against Anti-Muslim Racism (JAAMR) provides resources for organizing and community education to strengthen the ways that Jewish communities and others can meaningfully deepen their work to challenge Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism. We support curriculum development and research that are responsive to local needs; help connect organizations with speakers, workshop facilitators, and resources; and explore different ways of acting in solidarity. jewsagainstislamracism@gmail.com, jaamr.com/

Jews SAY NO! is a New York City group that began during "Operation Cast Lead," the Israeli military assault on Gaza in December/January 2008/09. Jews Say No! engages in community education, street theatre, and organizing, and makes our voices heard within Jewish communities and as partners in the broader movement for justice in Palestine and Israel. jewssayno@gmail.com, jewssayno.org/

Jewish Voice for Peace—New York City (JVP-NYC) is a local chapter of the national, grassroots organization inspired by Jewish tradition to work for a just and lasting peace according to principles of human rights, equality, and international law for all the people of Palestine and Israel. JVP has over 200,000 online supporters, over 60 chapters, a youth wing, a Rabbinic Council, an Artist Council, an Academic Advisory Council, and an Advisory Board made up of leading U.S. intellectuals and artists. newyork@jewishvoiceforpeace.org, jvpng.org,

The authors would like to acknowledge Mark Tseng-Putterman, who first brought this issue to our attention and worked with us on the initial round of research, as well as "[Defund Islamophobia: How the Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago Supports Anti-Muslim Hate Groups](#)," March 2017, by Jewish Voice for Peace—Chicago and the Network Against Islamophobia (NAI).