



# *Mission to Washington* *2018*

## Talking Points Manual

Wednesday, April 25th

*NORPAC is America's largest multi-candidate bi-partisan political action committee working to strengthen the U.S –Israel relationship. One of its most important activities is its annual "Mission to Washington," during which participants meet with over 90% of Congress to discuss proposed legislation and other Congressional actions.*

# Preface

This talking points manual reviews the areas of the U.S.-Israel relationship that you will discuss at your meetings with Members of Congress (MoCs). What follows is a **quick summary** of the talking points, followed by an introduction and breakdown of the talking points in a broader context. The **next section** provides greater **details** and **background information**. For more detailed background, see Appendix A, beginning on page 16. For the most up-to-date list of cosponsors, please check the websites in Appendix B, page 30.

You will also **separately** receive a four-page document containing **one page summaries** of each of the four Talking Point topics (the “Threats Facing Israel” overview and the three legislative sections). Feel free to rely on those documents to organize your thoughts and help focus on the key elements.

It is important to be well-versed before the meetings on each of these topics. Although some people may be more familiar with the issues than others, we urge everyone to read carefully all the points below and to make note of what we are requesting from MoCs. Remember, we want to give them a clear picture of why we are here, what we want, and why we want it. The NORPAC Mission is about U.S.-Israel issues - *please try not to stray on to other topics*.

Although the talking points outlined below reflect the key areas of each respective topic, do not feel boxed in by the information we provide – **share your own stories** or personal experiences, but please keep them relevant to the issues at hand. We want to show Congress not only *that* we care, but how *much* we care; a personal touch can go a long way in conveying the importance of these issues!

## NORPAC Mission 2018 Talking Points

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# A Note on Congressional Meetings

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You have joined a thousand of your fellow citizens in coming to Washington on the NORPAC Mission. While we have a variety of political backgrounds, we – the citizen advocates – are united by our agreement on the importance of a strong US-Israel relationship and buoyed by the bipartisan support for that relationship.

A key goal of the Mission is to cement the broad consensus on our issues. This is critical in light of the hyper-partisan political environment, the recent events in Syria, including the US/French/UK missile strikes and the controversy surrounding the Iran Deal (the “Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action” or JCPOA).

The purpose of the Mission is to strengthen the US-Israel relationship by focusing on the critical issues at stake. *It is therefore more important than ever to be courteous* and not get drawn in to partisan politics.

Having said that, it is entirely possible that the Member of Congress or staff person you are meeting with may raise the US missile strikes in Syria, the Iran Deal or NORPAC’s position on the current administration.

*If s/he raises the US missile strikes in Syria*, the appropriate response is to note that (a) all Americans are horrified by the war crimes taking place in Syria and hold Assad and his Iranian, Hezbollah and Russian enablers responsible for those crimes and (b) those events make it even more important for the United States to help Syria’s neighbor, and our country’s closest ally in the region – Israel – defend itself from the threats coming from Syria. NORPAC has not, though, taken a position on specific Administration military actions.

*If s/he raises the Iran Deal*, the appropriate response is to note that (a) there is near-unanimity in Congress and the Administration on the need for continued vigilance about Iran’s sponsorship of terror, its ballistic missile development, its regional aggression and its support of state-sanctioned mass murder, and (b) we are here to talk about (among other items) the best way to combat those actions. Combating those actions is necessary whether or not the President pulls out of the JCPOA – a very important issue, but not one on which NORPAC has taken a position.

*If s/he raises the question of where NORPAC stands with regard to the current administration*, the appropriate response is to note that (a) NORPAC is staunchly bipartisan, and (b) NORPAC has events for candidates of both parties and works to strengthen bipartisan support for the US Israel relationship.

# Outline of Talking Points

## **The Threats Facing Israel; Background to Legislative Initiatives**

- Israel faces a growing array of threats stemming from both direct challenges and the growing chaos gripping the region.
- Current events highlight the increasing scope and severity of these threats:
  - Israel is now forced to confront a threat on its northern border from a growing Iranian presence in Syria.
  - Only a few miles to the west, Iran's proxy, Hezbollah, is entrenched in Lebanon, threatening Israel with 150,000 missiles.
  - On the southern Gaza border, behind a shield of civilians, Hamas attempts daily to send terrorists into Israel.

## **1. Supporting continued security assistance to Israel**

- The 2016 MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) is a 10-year agreement between the US and Israel that ensures Israel's qualitative military edge
  - **Ask A: (House & Senate) Thank the Member for his/her past support of aid to Israel**
  - **Ask B: (House & Senate) Will you support the United States-Israel Security Assistance Authorization Act of 2018 (H.R. 5141 and S. 2497) which authorizes \$3.3 billion in military assistance and \$500 million in anti-missile funding for Fiscal Year 2019 and contains other provisions to ensure that Israel has the means necessary to defend itself, by itself, against a range of growing and emerging threats?**

## **2. Opposing Iranian terror sponsorship**

- Since agreeing to the JCPOA (the nuclear deal), Iran has continued to act belligerently toward the United States and our allies, including Israel, and increased its support for murderous regimes and terrorists in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Gaza and elsewhere. One of Iran's principal means of doing so is through the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).
- Iran has very publicly continued to develop its ballistic missile program in contravention of UN Security Council resolutions and yet the international community has barely responded.
  - **Ask (House): Will you support the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Economic Exclusion Act (H.R. 5132) which tightens sanctions on Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)—Iran's primary tool for terrorism and regional aggression?**
  - **Thank (Senate): Thank the Senator for his/her support of the letter in March urging the President to use his existing authority to enact stricter sanctions on Iran for its terrorist activities (see pg 10).**

## **3. Combating the anti-Semitic BDS movement**

- The Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions (BDS) movement is a form of anti-Semitism.
- It demonizes the only democracy in the Middle East while turning a blind eye to the egregious actions of Israel's enemies and nondemocratic states around the world.
  - **Ask: (House & Senate) Will you support the Combating BDS Act of 2017 (House: H.R. 2856; Senate: S. 170) to reaffirm the right of states to divest from companies that boycott Israel?**
  - **Ask: (House & Senate) Will you support The Israel Anti-Boycott Act (House: H.R.1697, Senate: S.720) to expand U.S. anti-boycott laws to counter attempts by the UN and the European Union to boycott companies because they do business over the 1949 Armistice Lines (such as in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights)?**

# The Threats Facing Israel; Background to Legislative Initiatives

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*Use the points in this section to introduce the legislative initiatives.*

- Israel faces a growing array of threats stemming from direct challenges, the growing chaos gripping the region and attempts by its enemies to isolate it economically.
- Current events highlight the increasing scope and severity of these threats:
  - Israel is now forced to confront a threat on its northern border from a growing Iranian presence in Syria.
    - Iran has repeatedly vowed to destroy Israel.
    - Iran’s strategy of building a “land bridge” from Iran to the Mediterranean through Iraq, Syria and Lebanon – controlling those countries directly or through its terrorist proxies and building military facilities there – is succeeding and is intended to facilitate its ability to carry out that vow.
      - In particular, Iran is building military bases in Syria, embedding units of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)<sup>1</sup> into Syrian forces, constructing factories in Syria to produce precision weapons, and aiding Syria’s production of the chemical weapons it uses to gas its own people.
    - In the last few weeks, Israel has had, for the first time, to directly engage with the Iranian military: to repel an armed Iranian drone that the IRGC sent from Syria into Israeli airspace and (according to published reports) to attempt to neutralize a large IRGC base in Syria.
    - Israel has no choice but to forcefully confront Iran in Syria now to prevent an even greater Iranian danger in the future but, even at this stage, that confrontation is dangerous and likely costly.<sup>2</sup>
  - Only a few miles to the west, Iran’s proxy, Hezbollah, is entrenched in Lebanon, threatening Israel with 150,000 missiles, almost all concealed in civilian neighborhoods.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The IRGC is a branch of the Iranian military. It is Iran’s principal tool for direct military intervention in foreign countries.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Thomas Friedman’s recent column: The Real Next War in Syria: Iran vs. Israel <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/15/opinion/war-syria-iran-israel.html>.

<sup>3</sup> You may wish to thank the MOC for the passage of H.R. 3329 (in the House) and S. 1595 (in the Senate) – the Hizballah International Financing Prevention Amendments Act of 2017. This bill, once reported out of Conference Committee and (re-)passed by each house of Congress, will degrade Hezbollah’s access to funding.

- Hezbollah has also thousands of troops in Syria battling, along with the IRGC, on behalf of the murderous Assad regime. This active participation in the Syrian conflict has increased its battle-readiness and, combined with increased support from Iran, its ability to attack Israel.
- On the southern Gaza border, Hamas, whose mission is Israel's destruction, attempts daily to further that mission by sending terrorists into Israel behind a shield of civilians – the so-called “Great March of Return.”
- From Hamas' standpoint sending waves of unarmed civilians marching toward the border fence and embedding terrorists in that group is a cynical win/win:
  - Either (a) the marchers, terrorists among them, break through the Gaza border fence into Israel, or (b) they draw Israeli fire, risking the lives of those forced to exist under Hamas' terrorist misrule and thus bringing condemnation on Israel from a world focused on body counts and not facts.<sup>4</sup>
  - The House recognized and condemned this behavior in H.R. 2232, the Hamas Human Shields Prevention Act.

These threats, combined with new challenges like cyber-attacks, tunneling, and the continued threat of a near-nuclear Iran, require Israel to increase the strength and adaptability of its armed forces.

Israel's enemies are increasingly turning to economic weapons, using boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) to delegitimize the Jewish State. At a time when anti-Israel boycotts are spreading around the country and the globe, the United States, Israel and our allies need new ways to defend against the evolving threat of economic warfare.

The legislative initiatives described below are designed to counter the threats to Israel, other American allies, and American interests, described above and discussed in more detail below. Please familiarize yourselves with this material and, if possible, the supplemental material for each of the initiatives in Appendix A.

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<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the MOC may suggest that Israel's response to the Gaza demonstrations was disproportionate/excessive. In that case, please see the discussion in Appendix A: The Threat Facing Israel; Background to the Legislative Initiatives – Gaza.

# Legislative Initiatives in Detail

## 1. Supporting Continued Security Assistance to Israel

### **Background:**

Israel is America's closest ally in the Middle East. To help Israel maintain a strong military so that it can meet the threats described above, the United States provides it with security assistance as part of the overall foreign aid bill and the defense appropriations bill. That support has been, and is, bipartisan and longstanding.

The vital aid our country provides, most of which Israel spends in the United States, is the most tangible expression of American support for the Jewish state. The great majority of this aid is provided pursuant to a ten year MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) reached between the United States and Israel. This aid needs to be approved and appropriated each year by Congress.

In 2016, the Obama Administration and the Israeli government negotiated a new ten year MOU. The first year of that MOU is FY '19 – the fiscal year that will begin October 1, 2018. Under the new agreement, the United States pledges \$38 billion over 10 years, \$5 billion of which goes toward joint missile development. This is the first year funding will be considered for the allocated amount of this MOU. There is bipartisan agreement that this aid is needed to allow Israel to keep pace with the threats it faces on a daily basis, and to preserve its position as a stable, democratic island in an increasingly chaotic sea.

The aid America provides bolsters our country's closest ally and the only democracy in the Middle East, furthers American interests without putting American troops at risk, and assists Israel in developing technology and intelligence that has been critical to protecting American interests and saving the lives of American troops in the Middle East and around the world.

### **Remember to thank Members of Congress for their past support!**

#### **U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel for Fiscal Year 2019<sup>5</sup> (FY'19)**

##### **House and Senate:**

Will you support a robust Fiscal Year 2019 aid package to Israel as laid out in the **United States-Israel Security Assistance Authorization Act of 2018** (H.R. 5141 and S. 2497) which (a) allocates \$3.3 billion in security assistance to Israel and \$500 million in cooperative missile defense funding for **Fiscal Year 2019**, the levels agreed upon between the United States and Israel in the historic Memorandum of Understanding signed between the two countries in September 2016 and (b) extends the Loan Guarantee authority for Israel as well as the War Reserves Stockpile Authority for Israel for a 5-year period?

<sup>5</sup> The Federal government's 2019 Fiscal Year begins on October 1, 2018 and ends on September 30, 2019. Congress typically decides in a given fiscal year (for example, in FY 2018) how much money it will spend on a particular program in the following fiscal year (for example, in FY 2019).

## **Security Assistance to Israel - The Legislation**

The **United States-Israel Security Assistance Authorization Act of 2018** is a bipartisan bill that authorizes aid to Israel for next year, including both military aid and joint missile development aid.

In addition to authorizing security assistance for Israel as called for in the 2016 U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding on security assistance it:

- Authorizes a joint assessment of the quantity and type of precision-guided munitions necessary for Israel to defend itself against Hezbollah, Hamas and other terrorist groups. Mandates rapid acquisition and deployment procedures for such munitions.
- Extends authorization for the U.S. War Reserve Stockpile in Israel by five years and authorizes an additional \$1 billion in stocks.
- Authorizes the president to add precision guided munitions to the stockpile for potential Israeli use in a conflict with Hezbollah.
- Extends authorization for loan guarantees to Israel by four years.
- Establishes a U.S.-Israel cybersecurity research and development grant program.
- Requires the NASA administrator to continue working with the Israel Space Agency to identify and cooperatively pursue peaceful space exploration and science initiatives.
- Authorizes the administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development to enter into a memorandum of understanding with Israel to advance common goals.
- Authorizes the president to establish a counter-drone program with Israel.
- Mandates improved reporting on enhancing Israel's qualitative military edge (QME), including assessments of Israel's ability to effectively defend against non-state actors.
- Presses the administration to expedite export licensing for Israel by adding it to the list of nations eligible for the Strategic Trade Authorization Exception.

*For more on the importance of foreign aid in general and American aid to Israel in particular, please see **Appendix A: I. Supporting Continued Security Assistance to Israel***

## 2. Opposing Iranian Terror

The Islamic Republic of Iran poses the greatest direct threat to Israel and other American allies in the Middle East, and gravely threatens other American interests in the Middle East and around the world.

Virulently anti-Israel, the Islamic Republic's leaders have frequently referred to Israel as the "Little Satan" accompanying the "Great Satan," the United States.

The Iranian regime has backed its rhetoric with a long track record of stoking violence against Israel and against Jewish targets worldwide, often through proxies such as Hezbollah.

As we meet in Washington, Iran is building bases in Syria to directly confront Israel on the Syrian-Israel border, pouring thousands of troops into Syria to prop up the murderous regime in Syria, and increasing its funding of Hezbollah – the terrorist organization created by Iran that effectively controls Lebanon, has itself sent thousands of its men to fight in Syria, and may very well dominate the Lebanese government after the Lebanese elections scheduled for next month.

Iran thus remains a threat to America's friends and interests in the Middle East, and to stability in a dangerous region.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is tasked with preserving the Islamic Republic of Iran and the ideals of the 1979 revolution. The IRGC combines traditional military roles with a relentless focus on "domestic enemies." The group was allocated a reported \$7.4 billion in Iran's proposed 2017-18 fiscal budget, a 24% increase.

The IRGC is **Iran's main link to its terrorist proxies** and is responsible for numerous terrorist attacks throughout the world, both directly (for example, in Syria) and through its provision of weapons and other support for terrorists (including killers of U.S. soldiers). The organization also **controls wide swathes of the Iranian economy**, using income from its business interests to fund its terrorist activities.

**What we are requesting of Congress:**

**Sanctions on Iran for its Regional Aggression and support of Terrorism**

**House:**

Will you support the **Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Economic Exclusion Act** (H.R. 5132) which tightens sanctions on Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)—Iran’s primary tool for terrorism and regional aggression?

*If already a co-sponsor (see list in link in footnote<sup>6</sup>), thank for the co-sponsorship.*

**Senate:**

Please thank the Senator for his/her signing the letter urging the President to use the powers granted to him under prior legislation to sanction Iran for its terrorist activities.<sup>7</sup>

**Legislation in greater detail**

**H.R. 5132 “Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Economic Exclusion Act”**

***Key Provisions:***

- Extends current sanctions to entities “owned or controlled” by the IRGC.
- Increases penalties on persons and companies providing material support to the IRGC, including a complete ban on transactions in the United States or with U.S. persons.
- Mandates a report on entities of which there is a reasonable basis to determine the IRGC owns at least 33 percent, and authorizes the administration to go below 50 percent with respect to ownership of an IRGC-related entity.
- Requires the president to determine if key Iranian companies are owned or controlled by the IRGC, including: companies listed on the Tehran Stock Exchange, companies with a value in excess of \$100 million, and the other key economic actors in Iran.
- Requires the president to determine if major Iranian financial institutions are owned or controlled by the IRGC, or knowingly facilitate significant transactions on its behalf.
- Requires a report analyzing the foreign and domestic supply chains that significantly facilitate, support, or otherwise aid the IRGC.
- Cuts in half the value threshold for sensitive IRGC transactions that are prioritized for sanctions investigation. Also prioritizes for investigation IRGC transactions involving Iranian banks and transactions to support for terrorism and to the government of Syria.
- Requires a report on support Iranian state-owned entities provide to terrorist entities—including the IRGC-linked airline Mahan Air.
- Declares U.S. policy is to work to prevent Iran’s membership in the World Trade Organization and other similar international bodies.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1698/cosponsors>

<sup>7</sup> <http://norpac.net/mission2018/CorkerMenendezIranletter.pdf>

## **Relationship of IRGC Sanctions to the JCPOA**

It is important to note the relationship between the Iranian behavior described above and the “Iran deal” – the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) signed in July 2015 in which Iran agreed to temporarily curtail its nuclear program in return for lifting of economic sanctions imposed because of that program.<sup>8</sup>

Many hoped the JCPOA would encourage Iran to moderate its behavior and reduce its support for the murderous regime in Syria and terrorists in Lebanon, Yemen, Gaza and elsewhere. This has clearly not happened: to the contrary, Iran has ramped up both its hateful rhetoric, its support for, and direct involvement in, murderous activities and its defiance of the international community.

Two blatant examples of such behavior are its **continued development of ballistic missiles** and its **massive transfer of arms to third countries**, including terrorist organizations, all in violation of UN Security Council Resolution 2231 and other UNSCR resolutions.

The IRGC sanctions legislation we are advocating for is consistent with America’s obligations under the JCPOA. That agreement left in place targeted sanctions aimed at Iran’s non-nuclear behavior and intentionally bifurcated these issues. It is clear that additional targeted sanctions, such as those provided for in the IRGC sanctions legislation, are consistent with the JCPOA.

Whether the United States should withdraw from the JCPOA in light of its many flaws and Iran’s continued misbehavior (as the President may do in mid-May) is a critical decision but (a) separate from the legislation we are advocating for and (b) **not a subject on which NORPAC has taken a position.**

*For more on the Iranian threat and on the IRGC in particular, please see **Appendix A: 2. Opposing Iranian Terror***

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<sup>8</sup> For background on the JCPOA, see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint\\_Comprehensive\\_Plan\\_of\\_Action](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint_Comprehensive_Plan_of_Action).

### **3. Combating the Anti-Semitic BDS Movement**

The Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions (BDS) movement is a modern form of anti-Semitism. It singles out and demonizes the only democracy in the Middle East while turning a blind eye to the egregious actions of Israel's enemies and nondemocratic states around the world. BDS proponents view the Jewish state as so evil that, almost alone among the nations of the world, it deserves to be boycotted, have businesses divest from their investments in it, and be sanctioned.

The UN has a long and sorry history of bias against Israel, both in the General Assembly and in many of its constituent organizations. Perhaps the most notorious example of such bias is the UN Human Rights Council. The most recent example of such bias is the Council's promotion of a new form of BDS, calling for blacklisting any business, Israeli or non-Israeli, that conducts business over the 1949 armistice lines (the "Green Line"), including Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

#### **What we are requesting of Congress**

##### **Combating BDS Act of 2017**

###### **House and Senate:**

Will you support the **Combating BDS Act of 2017** (House Bill H.R. 2856, Senate Bill S. 170) to ensure that state and local governments and their investment arms (such as pension funds) can disassociate themselves from entities that participate in anti-Israel boycott or sanctions?

*If already a co-sponsor (see list in link in footnote for House/Senate co-sponsors<sup>9</sup>), thank for the co-sponsorship. Please see footnote for co-sponsors of nearly-identical 2016 House bill.*

##### **The Israel Anti-Boycott Act**

###### **House and Senate:**

Will you support The Israel Anti-Boycott Act (**House Bill H.R.1697<sup>10</sup>**, **Senate Bill S.720<sup>11</sup>**) to expand U.S. anti-boycott laws to counter attempts by the UN Human Rights Council to isolate Israel economically?

*If already a co-sponsor, thank for the co-sponsorship.*

<sup>9</sup> House bill: <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/2856> https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/2856 Senate Bill: <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/170>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1697>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/720>

## **State-led Efforts to Counter BDS**

The numerous states listed in the footnote<sup>12</sup> have enacted legislation requiring state investment arms (such as pension funds) to divest from companies that support boycott, divestment or sanctions (BDS). *Please note if the MOC you are meeting with is from one of those states.* Other legislatures are likely to take it up in the near future.

Some have alleged that such legislation is unconstitutional because it seeks to impact interstate or foreign commerce in a way that is reserved for the Federal government.

### **Legislation: Combating BDS Act of 2017**

The Combating BDS Act of 2017 removes that constitutional cloud by making it clear that state and local governments have a right to disassociate their pensions and contracts from entities that boycott, divest from, or sanction Israel. In so doing, it also protects these governments from lawsuits.

The legislation also reaffirms Congress' strong opposition to BDS in all of its manifestations, and its commitment to the principle that the only way forward is a negotiated solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

As does the Israel Anti-Boycott Act, the legislation echoes the [Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act of 2015](#) to make it clear that (a) the boycotts covered by this legislation include those that are purportedly limited to the disputed territories – the ones Israel has controlled since the Six Day War in 1967 – while (b) making it clear that this clarification is not intended to effectuate or declare a change in American policy toward those territories.

The Senate bill is a bipartisan bill authored by Sens. Marco Rubio (R-FL) and Joe Manchin (D-WV). The House bill is a bipartisan bill authored by Reps. Patrick McHenry (R-NC) and Juan Vargas (D-CA). Both bills are very similar to legislation that was introduced in 2016 but which Congress did not have a chance to pass before it adjourned.

*For more background on BDS, please see **Appendix A: 3. Combating the Anti-Semitic BDS Movement.***

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<sup>12</sup> Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia. For an updated list and legislation details, see <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/anti-bds-legislation>.

## **Countering International Boycotts of Israel**

“When the Human Rights Council treats Israel worse than North Korea, Iran, and Syria, it is the Council itself that is foolish and unworthy of its name.” - *U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Nikki Haley on 3/23/2018*

The United Nations Human Rights Council is the living embodiment of BDS: a body whose membership includes notorious human rights violators that do not recognize Israel, such as Cuba and Saudi Arabia, and that has for years targeted Israel with assaults on its legitimacy. Israel is the only country in the world on the permanent agenda of the Council (“Agenda Item 7”), ensuring that it will be criticized at every gathering while real human rights violators are ignored.

Just in February 2018, the UNHRC adopted five anti-Israel resolutions, including one that call for ending all arms sales to Israel and another that called on Israel to withdraw from the Golan Heights.

More concerningly, in March 2016, UNHRC targeted Israel with a commercial boycott, calling for the creation of a database—effectively a “blacklist”—of companies that operate in or have business relationships beyond Israel’s 1949 Armistice Lines (the “Green Line”). This would include the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, as well as the holiest site in Judaism where Jews are able to pray, the Western Wall.<sup>13</sup> This list was released by the UNHRC in January of 2018.

A year prior, the UNHRC passed a resolution stating its intention to create this “blacklist” and called on businesses to avoid contributing “directly or indirectly” to the “Israeli settlements” in “territories occupied since 1967,” including the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. Countries are thus encouraged to not only subject such businesses to civil or criminal legal action, but also to enforce “secondary boycotts” on such businesses. Under a secondary boycott, a company would be prohibited from doing business with any business that has economic ties over the Green Line and to report any such “illegal” contacts. Thus, for example, if (say) the UK followed the UNHRC’s instructions, a bank that had an ATM in the Old City of Jerusalem (an “occupied territory”) would find itself cut off by Barclays or any other British bank and Barclays would be required to report if it did have any such contacts. This is the same mechanism that the Arab League used for years in its efforts to isolate Israel.

The UNHRC’s blacklist operates from the premise that business beyond the Green Line is “illegal settlement activity” and is barred by international law. In fact, there is no such prohibition and almost every country engages in and/or facilitates business activities in settlements in situations throughout the globe in which it controls territory outside its recognized sovereign borders.

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<sup>13</sup> For a detailed discussion of why the UNHRC’s actions are counterproductive, immoral, inconsistent with the Oslo accords, and inconsistent with international law, see [http://www.ngo-monitor.org/submissions/submission\\_blacklist\\_unhrc/](http://www.ngo-monitor.org/submissions/submission_blacklist_unhrc/)

So **why is Israel singled out** for the business activities conducted in the areas under its control since June 1967? The answer is clear: given the history of the UNHRC's anti-Israel actions and the Council's membership – including a number of members who do not recognize the existence of the Jewish state even with the pre-1967 lines – the resolutions are simply another step in the UNHCR's efforts to demonize and isolate the only democracy in the Middle East.

Even aside from whom its authors are, the UNHRC resolutions are immoral and counterproductive for all the reasons noted above (in “Background on BDS”) – in short, because they (a) attempt to dictate terms to Israel, demanding that it unilaterally withdraw from all the disputed territories, including its 3,000 year old capital of Jerusalem, (b) ignore the risks that Israel has repeatedly taken for peace while (c) demanding nothing of the Palestinians, ignoring both the obstacles that the Palestinians continue to create to achieving a lasting agreement and the reality that peace, including resolution of the status of the disputed territories, can only come through negotiations between the parties. Furthermore, it is in contravention of the 1949 armistice agreements where the cease fire lines (a/k/a the green line) were without prejudice to the final borders. In fact, there are no Security Council resolutions or agreements between Israel and its neighbors that require a return to the pre-1967 armistice lines. That includes UNSC 242 and 338, Camp David, peace agreement with Jordan, and the various Oslo agreements.

### **Legislation: The Israel Anti-Boycott Act**

The Israel Anti-Boycott Act would formally state Congress's opposition to the UNHRC efforts just described and put a huge roadblock in its path:

- The bill expands existing U.S. law to prohibit compliance with anti-Israel boycotts led by international governmental organizations (such as the UNHRC)
- The bipartisan bill's authors support an **updated version of their bill** which includes language clarifying the rights of individual U.S. citizens to engage in personal boycott activity and affirms that nothing in the Act should be construed to diminish or infringe on any right protected under the First Amendment.
- It would make it clear (by referencing parallel provisions of the Trade Promotion Authority legislation passed in 2015) that a boycott is covered by the Act even if it is limited to areas under Israeli control since 1967 (the disputed territories).
- It also states explicitly that this clarification is not intended to effectuate or declare a change in American policy toward the disputed territories.

The prohibition on participating in such a boycott would include a prohibition on responding to the information requests that are critical for the boycotts to work. This legislation parallels American law that effectively combated the Arab League boycott of Israel. The legislation would also ensure that the Export Import Bank considers BDS issues when evaluating potential credit applications.

The Israel Anti-Boycott Act is a bipartisan bill authored by Sens. Rob Portman (R-OH) and Ben Cardin (D-MD), and U.S. Representatives Peter Roskam (R-IL) and Juan Vargas (D-CA).

## **Appendix A: Additional Details on Talking Points**

Here you can find supplemental information that provides additional background to some of the issues detailed in our Talking Points Manual.

### ***Appendix A: The Threat Facing Israel; Background to the Legislative Initiatives – Gaza***

It is possible that the MOC may suggest that Israel's response to the Gaza demonstrations was disproportionate/excessive.

*Response:* Since late March, thousands of Gazans have marched to the fence at the border between Gaza and Israel with the stated intent of crossing over into Israel. These marches follow decades of attempts by the Hamas rulers of Gaza to attack Israel by other means such as rockets – thwarted by Iron Dome – and tunnels – thwarted by Israel's anti-tunnel technology and underground wall at the border. Although most of the demonstrators are not armed or terrorists, Hamas has deliberately embedded its terrorists among the demonstrators to allow them to approach and, they hope, cross the border into Israel. Those terrorists have attempted to damage the border fence and attack Israeli soldiers with firebombs and explosive devices.

Israel, for its part, has done everything possible to minimize Gazan casualties consistent with defending its border. It has made clear to Gazans the “rules of engagement”: how close they may march to the fence before risking an Israeli response. It has, whenever possible, used non-lethal means (such as tear gas) to disperse the crowds. But if and when those measures fail to deter those determined to destroy and cross the border fence, Israel has no choice to but to use “live fire.” Not indiscriminate shooting, but targeted fire at those posing the threat intended, where possible, to disable rather than kill. Consistent with this, the great majority of those killed were known members of Hamas. It is also noteworthy that in the demonstrations of the two Fridays before these Talking Points went to press, there have been almost no deaths among the protesters.

While all this has been going on, Israel continues to send – as it has for years – hundreds of trucks each day to supply the residents of Gaza with vital material, and to supply it with electricity despite the fact that (a) Gaza's rulers continue in word and deed to try to attack and destroy Israel, and (b) those rulers have diverted a significant portion of the aid they receive to relieve the population's suffering to military uses, such as building tunnels and rearming.

## *Appendix A: 1. Supporting Continued Security Assistance to Israel*

### **The Foreign Aid Budget**

The United States faces extraordinary challenges to its security, economy, and its preeminent role in world affairs. American military leaders repeatedly warn that we cannot meet these challenges through military force alone. U.S. leadership in the world today also depends on a robust foreign aid budget.

The foreign aid budget funds the majority of America's civilian foreign policy programs, including our diplomatic relations with other countries and security assistance to U.S. allies. The military assistance to Israel at \$3.3 billion is **less than one tenth of one percent** of the U.S. budget.

### **How the U.S. benefits from the annual security assistance it provides to Israel**

1. **Provides Stability Without Putting US troops at Risk.** Israel provides stability in a region that is vital to U.S. interests and that has seen unprecedented upheaval in the last several years. Moreover, unlike the US investment in defending our allies in Europe and Asia, which requires the expenditure of roughly \$100 billion per year and the presence of thousands of US troops, Israel furthers American interests without putting US troops at risk.
2. **Deters Major Conflict.** U.S. aid has helped to deter major conflict by making clear to potential foes that they cannot defeat Israel on the battlefield.
3. **Promotes Peace.** U.S. assistance has allowed Israel to remain strong militarily, allowing it to take risks for peace with the Palestinians and sign peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan.
4. **Benefits both the U.S. Military and Civilian Population.** Israeli military innovations save the lives of American troops in combat zones in the Middle East and of US civilians. Because the United States has a deep strategic relationship with Israel, the U.S. military is able to learn from the Israel Defense Forces' extensive combat experience. The United States also benefits from the **sharing of intelligence**. In short, Israel functions as our unsinkable aircraft carrier, providing value – in the form of forward positioning, intelligence sharing, technological advances, etc. – that would cost an untold amount to reproduce.
5. **Creates American Jobs.** Israeli aid dollars are spent across the United States, from the Mississippi Gulf Coast to the Northeast Corridor to the Pacific Northwest. Israel spends 75 percent of U.S. aid in America, purchasing U.S. military equipment, creating U.S. jobs.
6. **Shared Interests.** By supporting Israel, we are supporting the only country in the Mideast that shares all of the same strategic interests as the US, including:
  - preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
  - combating terrorism and extremist ideology
  - promoting regional stability, democratic change and economic development.
7. **Shared Values.** Americans feel a kinship with Israel, and its growth as a friendly, genuine democracy serves as a beacon of what a democratic society can accomplish.

***For a State-by-State analysis of how America benefits from our relationship with Israel, please check: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/statestoc.html>***

### **Foreign Aid to Israel: A Bipartisan, Long-Term Commitment**

In 2016, the United States and Israel signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that pledged \$38 billion in U.S. security assistance to Israel over a 10-year period, beginning in 2019. President Trump's request for \$3.1 billion for FY '18 fulfilled the tenth and final year of the prior 10 year MOU.<sup>14</sup> At this time of tremendous uncertainty in the Middle East, fulfillment of this commitment to Israel's security is especially critical. The MOU embodies America's commitment to maintain Israel's **qualitative military edge** over its adversaries on the battlefield.

Dramatic events in the Middle East underscore both the fragility of Israel's security situation and Israel's importance as the region's sole stable, pro-Western democracy.

### **The Importance of Foreign Aid in Keeping Israel Strong in the Face of Growing Threats**

- Israel already spends more of its economic output on defense than any other industrialized country. Israel spends 6% of its GDP on defense, compared to 3% for the U.S., 5% for Russia, and 2% for China.
- U.S. support helps counterbalance the 10:1 disparity in military spending by the Arab states surrounding Israel. Overall military spending has accelerated throughout the Middle East.
- Iran and Syria have armed Hezbollah in Lebanon with 150,000 rockets and missiles. This huge number of increasingly accurate projectiles give Hezbollah the capability to precisely target every major population center and military installation in Israel and overwhelm Israel's current anti-missile defenses. There are also concerns that Hezbollah will take control of some of Syria's heavy weaponry and chemical weapons, despite Israel's best efforts to prevent that transfer, and strong evidence that Iran is attempting to build missile factories in Syria and Lebanon.<sup>15</sup>
- Israel is facing increasing uncertainty and even attacks from across the Syrian border. Hezbollah's increased activity in the Syrian Golan Heights is part of an Iranian effort to militarily encircle Israel.<sup>16</sup>

Hamas in Gaza continues to re-arm and launch rocket attacks aimed at Israeli civilians. In 2014, Hamas launched over 3,500 such rockets. With Iranian help, Hamas is rebuilding its arsenal and terror tunnels. Several have been discovered using US funded Israeli anti-tunnel detecting technology. Israel has already had to allocate significantly more military resources to the border region, given the growing instability in the Sinai region and, more recently, on the Gaza-Israel border.

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<sup>14</sup> Under the new MOU, funding for jointly-developed missile programs has been rolled into the annual aid package to Israel in the amount of \$5 billion over ten years.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/29/world/middleeast/iran-missiles-lebanon-israel-.html>

<sup>16</sup> <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/28/israel-is-the-new-front-in-the-syrian-war/>

## Security Assistance to Israel

### **Funding Technology to Save Lives in America, Israel, and Abroad**

One of the many benefits of the U.S.-Israel relationship has been the extent to which American and Israeli security has been significantly bolstered by technology cooperation. Joint U.S.-Israel missile defense programs such as Iron Dome and the Arrow system have demonstrated their utility in protecting Israelis from terrorist's rocket fire.

The U.S.-Israel joint missile defense program includes research on the David's Sling, Arrow 2 and Arrow 3 projects, which target medium- and long-range missiles. It also includes funding for the Iron Dome program, which is designed to intercept short-range rockets.

These programs are more important than ever as the United States, Israel and many other US allies face a proliferation of long- and short-range missiles in the hands of terrorist organizations and rogue states. Iran already has the largest inventory of ballistic missiles in the Middle East, and is expanding the scale, reach, and sophistication of its ballistic missile forces, many of which are inherently capable of carrying a nuclear payload.<sup>17</sup>

**"These cooperative programs save lives, prevent conflict escalation, and are a joint financial and technological venture between the United States and Israel."**

- Representative Peter Roskam (March, 2014)

### **Israel's Arrow Anti-Missile System In Action**

In February 2018, Israel's Arrow-3 interceptor was successfully tested at a site in central Israel. The flight test was supported by the U.S. Missile Defense Agency, the system co-developers. Interception tests above large land masses in unpopulated areas in Alaska are scheduled for later this year

In a dawning age of rogue states, ballistic missile defenses are steadily becoming a widely accepted necessity. Israeli concerns were heightened after Iran's recent testing of ballistic missiles after the signing of the JCPOA, as well as threats from Iranian leaders against Israel and America.

### Technology that Saves Lives

The ultimate hope is that Iron Dome – together with the other missile defense systems being developed with help from the United States – will make Israel's enemies understand that their

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<sup>17</sup> [www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R42849.pdf](http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R42849.pdf)

investment in missiles and rockets is no longer effective. If that happens, those systems could one day be credited with helping to bring peace to one corner of the Middle East. In the meantime however, it is already having an impact on the way Israel wages war.

Imagine if the hundreds of rockets Iron Dome intercepted on their way to southern Israel in the summer of 2014 had landed in populated areas. Had this happened, the Israeli government would have faced overwhelming pressure from the public to launch a much greater ground offensive into Gaza to stop the rocket fire, as it did in Operation Cast Lead in late 2008. Iron Dome thus helped prevent destruction and loss of life in both Israel and Gaza.

## **Israeli Missile Programs**

### **Iron Dome Batteries and Operations**

Iron Dome is the only proven system with the ability to detect, track and intercept short-range rockets, such as the Katyushas and Kassams possessed by Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah in growing numbers. It was successfully activated for the first time in April 2011. Although conceived and developed by Israel, the US provided generous funding to help produce this innovative system. In return, since 2014, Israel has shared this technology and co-produced its Iron Dome anti-missile defense system with US based Raytheon Co., its US subcontractors and its US suppliers. Israel and Raytheon are working to adapt this system to defend US soldiers. According to Raytheon, the Iron Dome is “the only operational interceptor solution for countering rockets, artillery and mortars available for U.S. and coalition partners.”

The funding from Washington allows Israel to purchase additional Iron Dome batteries to protect all of its major population centers. This will help Israel develop the system's effectiveness, saving more innocent lives and preventing major conflict.

### **David's Sling**

David's Sling was co-developed by Israel's Rafael and American-based Raytheon as a flexible, multipurpose weapon system capable of engaging aircraft, cruise missiles, ballistic and guided missiles. David's Sling was designed to target incoming missiles during their terminal (end) phase, unlike Iron Dome which intercepts missiles at their highest trajectory. Its primary role will be to intercept **medium and long-range** ballistic and guided rockets, such as the Iranian Fajr-5 and BM-25 as well as the Syrian M-600 and Yakhont supersonic cruise missile. The system became operational in March 2017.

### **Arrow Theatre System (Arrow 2 & Arrow 3)**

Manufactured jointly by Boeing and Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI), the Arrow is designed to give Israel a full theatre ballistic missile defense capability. These systems are designed to

complement the other two and provide multi-tiered protection against many types of incoming missiles.

### **U.S.-Israel Co-Development of Anti Missile Systems**

American Administrations and senior US military leaders have repeatedly acknowledged that assuring Israel has the necessary military resources to counteract missile and rocket assaults at a time of increasing instability in the Middle East promotes US national security interests in the region. Israel's missile defense systems have also provided a valuable contribution to America's own missile defense program and security.

Interested in learning more about Israel's missile defensive systems and how they operate to save lives? Check the link below:

[http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/talking/88\\_missiledefense.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/talking/88_missiledefense.html)

## *Appendix A: 2. Opposing Iranian Terror*

### **Iran**

**Technical background – the relationship of ISA, the JCPOA and the bill we are advocating:** The JCPOA requires the US to suspend certain sanctions against Iran that were imposed because of Iran’s nuclear-related activities (as long as Iran complies with the JCPOA).

The suspended sanctions relate principally to restrictions on commercial (business) activity with the Iranian government and Iranian businesses, especially restrictions that stopped non-US companies from doing business with Iran (most restrictions on US companies were not suspended).

Many other sanctions that were imposed because of other nefarious Iranian activities (such as its support of terrorism and terrorist groups and its ballistic missile development) and that were typically targeted at Iranian groups or individuals that carry out or support such activities were not suspended. The bill we are advocating (H.R. 5132) builds on the unsuspended sanctions just described by expanding the scope of those sanctions to the IRGC.

*This bill does not violate either the letter or the spirit of the JCPOA:* that agreement only mandates the lifting of nuclear-related sanctions and prohibits the re-imposition of broad-based sanctions such as those that target entire sectors of the Iranian economy.

Congress deserves much credit for the renewal on December 2016 of the Iran Sanctions Act (ISA) – the legislation that largely brought Iran to the negotiating table in the first place. The renewal ensures that the US can quickly re-impose the lifted sanctions should the President determine that Iran is not in compliance with the JCPOA.

### **Iranian Activities Post-JCPOA**

#### **Iran’s Bare Compliance to Date With the JCPOA.**<sup>18</sup>

Iran’s actions to date that are intended to comply with the JCPOA do not inspire confidence as to its future adherence to the letter and spirit of the agreement. Specifically, Iran has refused to fully cooperate with the investigation of the Possible Military Dimensions (PMD) of its nuclear program by the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency, the body charged with overseeing Iran’s compliance). During the PMD investigation, Iran’s lack of cooperation meant that the IAEA could only draw favorable conclusions on two of the 12 alleged elements. In five cases, the IAEA noted that PMD (that is, development of nuclear-related technology with military applications) occurred despite Iran’s claims to the contrary.<sup>19</sup> Other examples of violations are listed in the attached footnote.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Full sources available at <http://emetonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Iranian-Aggression-Since-the-JCPOA-3.pdf>. For an updated report, see [http://isis-online.org/uploads/isis-reports/documents/JCPOA\\_Compliance\\_Update\\_Cent\\_Failures\\_21Sept2017\\_Final.pdf](http://isis-online.org/uploads/isis-reports/documents/JCPOA_Compliance_Update_Cent_Failures_21Sept2017_Final.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> For example, as noted in the website cited in the previous footnote,

- Iran has demanded that the international community “close the file” on PMDs. Iran also has prevented the IAEA from interviewing key personnel in charge of PMD activities.
- There is little new information in the December 2015 IAEA Report: “For most of the 12 issues... Iran, has merely reiterated the evidence contained in its 2011 report.”

Actions such as these, taken together with its long history of cheating on nuclear accords, make it imperative that Iran know that the threat of reimposition of nuclear-related, broad-based, sanctions should it violate the JCPOA is a credible one. Extension of ISA was critical to that credibility and we thank Congress for that extension.

### **Iranian Actions in Defiance of the Security Council**

**UN Security Council Resolution 2231** (the one implementing the JCPOA, adopted July 2015) “calls upon” Iran to refrain from developing ballistic missiles, including launches using such ballistic missile technology. The resolution also flatly prohibits, until October 2020, transfers of non-nuclear weapons by Iran or to Iran. Both provisions are consistent with several previous Security Council resolutions.

*Ballistic missiles.* Iran has vowed to defy UNSCR 2231’s provisions on ballistic missiles and, in fact, to expand and enhance its missile capabilities.

On Oct. 10 2015, Iran tested a medium range ballistic missile called the Emad; on Nov. 21, 2015 Iran tested another one, the Ghardr-110; in March 2016, Iran conducted several additional such tests. In May 2016, Iran announced testing of a “Simorgh” missile with a range of 1,200 miles.

Iran has been very explicit about the target of its missile program. Amir Ali Hajizadeh, the head of the Revolutionary Guard's aerospace division, told Iran’s state-run media that its missile tests are aimed at showing that the range of Iran’s missiles could reach Israel and the phrase “Israel must be wiped out” was said to have been written in Hebrew on the missiles.

The principal purpose of ballistic missiles is to deliver nuclear warheads to a distant target within minutes in a way that is extremely difficult to intercept. Given that the JCPOA’s restrictions on key elements of Iran’s nuclear program are temporary, Iran’s continued development of its ballistic missiles should frighten anyone who cares about the safety and stability of America’s allies in the Middle East and Europe.

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- Congressman (now Secretary of State designate) Pompeo (R-KS) has stated: “Regarding explosive testing activities at the Parchin site, information in the IAEA's possession 'does not support Iran's statements on the purpose of the building.' Let me take that out of vague diplomatic language: Iran lied to the IAEA. Further, over the past three years, Iran’s 'extensive activities... seriously undermined the agency’s ability to conduct effective verification.' Let me again take that out of diplomatic language: Iran stonewalled and destroyed evidence at key sites.”

<sup>20</sup> Iran has repeatedly tested the international community’s willingness to tolerate its stepping over the line through low level violations of the JCPOA and barely-plausible interpretation of some of its provisions. For example, Iran has twice exceeded the allowed limit on nuclear heavy water production. It has repeatedly attempted to procure sensitive nuclear-related materials – but because the known attempts haven’t succeeded, it can claim that it has not technically violated the JCPOA’s ban on such procurement.

<http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/archive/1202714/iran-nuclear-propulsion-iaea-firewalls/>

There are also allegations of JCPOA violations by the exiled Iranian opposition group, MEK, who first exposed the existence of the Iranian nuclear program and major nuclear facilities in 2002. MEK claims that Iran is currently conducting research to develop nuclear weapons components at an off limits military installation, illustrating why it is so important to be able to inspect these sites. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34677211>

*Conventional arms.* For a short time after the passage of UNSCR 2231, Iran tried to conceal its transfer of arms to Hezbollah, the Syrian regime and others. It now no longer bothers trying to hide its violations of that Security Council resolution: as described in more detail below, it is very open about the massive transfer of weapons that are used to murder thousands in Syria and Yemen and threaten millions of others in those countries and many others, including Israel.

*Cooperation with North Korea.* There are confirmed reports that Iran has been cooperating with North Korea on ballistic missile and conventional weapons technology and some evidence that the two have been cooperating on nuclear technology.<sup>21</sup> More recently, there have been reports of North Korean and Iranian cooperation on chemical weapons.<sup>22</sup> This continues a relationship started in the 1980s when North Korea began selling SCUD missiles to Iran. All such cooperation is in violation of the UNSCR 2231 provisions just noted and previous UNSCR resolutions. It is also, of course, contributing to the danger posed by North Korea, perhaps the only other country that rivals in Iran in the harm it is causing and threatens to cause to international peace and security.

### **Iranian's Aggressive & Murderous Behavior in the Middle East**

The two+ years since the signing of the JCPOA have seen an acceleration of Iran's misbehavior in a number of areas. For example:

- Iran has prolonged and made far worse the tragedy that is the Syrian civil war by sending thousands of Iranian troops, up to 8,000 fighters from Hezbollah, 6,000 Shia Iraqi militiamen, and about 3,500 Afghans. They are all in Syria to assure the survival of the Assad regime, which continues to bomb its own people indiscriminately in a civil war in which it has murdered hundreds of thousands of its own citizens and displaced millions more.
- As has been widely reported, Syria gasses its own citizens with chemical weapons. Less widely reported is that Iran's fingerprints are all over the Syrian chemical weapons program: Iran helped develop a sophisticated chemical arsenal producing Sarin and mustard gas as early as 2005. Today, it is feared that there will be further use of these weapons in Syria and that they could be easily smuggled into Lebanon to arm Hezbollah against Israel.<sup>23</sup>
- The Syrian refugee crisis that has overwhelmed Syria's neighbors Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey and caused such turmoil in Europe and the US is directly attributable to Iran's actions in Syria.
- Iran has launched cyber-attacks against the US State Department and other US targets.
- Iran has exported weapons to Syria, Yemen and elsewhere in violation of the UNSCR 2231 prohibition on such exports.
- Hundreds of Iranian flights to Damascus, Syria, each year are widely believed to be delivering weapons and troops.
- A senior Iranian official has recently stated publicly that Iran is now openly manufacturing missiles in Syria for transfer to Hezbollah.

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<sup>21</sup> [http://isis-online.org/uploads/conferences/documents/Albright\\_House\\_Oversight\\_Subcommittee\\_5Apr2017\\_Final.pdf](http://isis-online.org/uploads/conferences/documents/Albright_House_Oversight_Subcommittee_5Apr2017_Final.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/27/world/asia/north-korea-syria-chemical-weapons-sanctions.html>

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.sspconline.org/opinion/SyriaandChemicalWeapon\\_AjeyLele\\_091007](http://www.sspconline.org/opinion/SyriaandChemicalWeapon_AjeyLele_091007)

- Iran, which created Hezbollah, continues to fund it with hundreds of millions of dollars each year and to supply it with advanced weaponry.
- Iran is attempting to complete its encirclement of Israel by creating an Iranian presence on the Golan Heights and by supporting the Gaza Strip-based Hamas.
- The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) fired several rockets near a US aircraft carrier and a US destroyer. The rockets came within 1,500 yards of the aircraft carrier, and according to The Times, the US Navy described Iran’s move as “highly provocative.”
- Iran seized two small US Navy ships and held ten American sailors in custody for a day.
- In November, the Iranian regime celebrated its annual “Death to America” day, commemorating its 1979 seizure of the US Embassy and American hostages.
- In the latest of a series of threatening moves by Iranian Navy ships, in April 2017 an IRGC vessel came within about 1,000 yards of an American destroyer, the USS Mahan, despite the Mahan’s turning away from the IRGC vessel and firing warning flares.

This partial list is a clear reminder that Iran remains the world’s leading state sponsor of terrorism—a persistent threat not only to the region but to the US as well.

### **The IRGC and International Terror**

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is tasked with preserving the Islamic Republic of Iran and the ideals of the 1979 revolution. The IRGC combines traditional military roles with a relentless focus on “domestic enemies.” The group was allocated a reported \$7.4 billion in Iran’s proposed 2017-18 fiscal budget, a 24% increase.

The IRGC is Iran’s primary instrument for exporting the ideology of the Islamic Revolution worldwide. It is rigidly loyal to Iran’s clerical elite. The IRGC is **Iran’s main link to its terrorist proxies**. Within the organization are the **Basij militia** and the **Quds Force (IRGC-QF)**.

The Basij, literally “mobilization,” is a paramilitary organization charged with channeling popular support for the Iranian regime.

The IRGC’s Quds Force specializes in foreign missions, providing training, funding and weapons to extremist groups, including Iraqi insurgents, Hezbollah, and Hamas.

The Quds Force “stations operatives in foreign embassies, charities, and religious and cultural institutions to foster relationships, often building on existing socio-economic ties with the well-established Shia Diaspora, and recent years have witnessed an increased presence in Latin America.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Findings noted in H.R.854 - Qods Force Terrorist Designation Act, a 2013 bill in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The IRGC and IRGC-QF have been accused of terrorist acts in Afghanistan, Argentina, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Germany, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, the U.S., and Yemen.<sup>25</sup>

Although the IRGC-QF is currently a U.S.-designated terrorist entity, the IRGC as a whole is responsible for implementing Iran's international program of destabilizing activities, support for acts of international terrorism, and its ballistic missile program. Given the inseparability of the IRGC and the IRGC-QF, the current-law distinction is not appropriate.

The IRGC is also **Iran's most powerful economic actor**, according to the U.S. Treasury Department, which labeled the National Iranian Oil Company "an agent or affiliate of the Revolutionary Guards." Within the IRGC, the Quds Force exerts control over strategic industries, commercial services, and black-market enterprises. According to a 2007 Los Angeles Times report, the IRGC has ties to over 100 companies, controlling over \$12 billion. These funds are used to exert influence in Iran and Iranian proxies.

**Iran has a cohesive and effective strategy in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon** to spread its influence. It has applied this strategy in other countries in the Middle East against other US allies as well. They have created military units such as Hezbollah in Lebanon and the popular mobilization forces in Iraq which then become political organizations and take over state institutions.

#### **Other Terrorist Groups Backed by Iran**

**Hezbollah** is an Iranian-sponsored, internationally sanctioned terrorist group with an anti-Israel and anti-U.S. agenda. Hezbollah is primarily based in Lebanon, but has carried out terrorist and criminal operations around the world.

**Hamas** is a U.S.-designated terrorist organization which has killed hundreds of Israeli citizens, as well as Americans, in suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks. Hamas has governed the Gaza Strip since it violently expelled the Palestinian Authority in 2007. The group receives financial and military support from Iran.

The **Houthis** are an Iranian-backed, Shiite Muslim armed religious and political movement in Yemen. The Houthis waged a series of bloody insurgencies against the Yemeni government for over a decade, leading to that regime's overthrow in 2015.

**Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)** is a Palestinian Islamist terrorist group sponsored by Iran and Syria. Founded in 1979 as an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, PIJ is the second-largest terrorist group in Gaza today (after Hamas).

**Asaib Ahl al-Haq (AAH)** is an Iranian-backed Shiite militia and political party operating primarily in Iraq, as well as in Syria and Lebanon. Until the U.S. military withdrawal from Iraq in December 2011, AAH had launched more than 6,000 attacks on American and Iraqi forces.

The **Badr Organization** is a Shiite political party and paramilitary force that acts as Iran's oldest proxy in Iraq. Given the group's deep ties to Iran and its political and military preeminence, analysts have compared the Badr Organization in Iraq to Hezbollah in Lebanon.

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<sup>25</sup> <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/islamic-revolutionary-guard-corps-irgc>

## *Appendix A: 3. Countering the Anti-Semitic BDS Movement*

### **Background on BDS**

#### **BDS is Not Legitimate Criticism of Israel**

The BDS movement seeks to isolate Israel economically, politically and culturally. BDS is not legitimate criticism of Israel and opposing BDS is not an attempt or to label all criticism of the Jewish state anti-Semitic. Rather, in the words of NYT columnist Thomas Friedman, a frequent critic of Israeli policies, by “singling out Israel for opprobrium and international sanction – out of all proportion to any other party in the Middle East – [the BDS movement] is anti-Semitic, and not saying so is dishonest.”<sup>26</sup>

Friedman correctly focuses on the double-standard as evidence of BDS’ anti-Semitism. This point is incorporated within Natan Sharansky’s “3D” test: if criticisms of Israel contain the following elements, they have crossed over the line from reasonable critique to anti-Semitism:

- (1) **D**eligitimization
- (2) **D**ouble-standards
- (3) **D**emonization

The BDS movement meets all three of Sharansky’s “D’s.” Its proponents:

(1) seek to **D**elegitimize the Jewish state by denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination in its ancestral homeland and

(2) apply a **D**ouble-standard, by calling for boycotts, divestment and sanctions on Israel and only Israel, even as the alleged conduct to which they point as the basis for these draconian measures (to the extent it exists in Israel at all) is a central feature of many other countries.

(3) **D**emonize the Jewish state by distorting its faults beyond all recognition and borrowing classic anti-Semitic caricatures, images and phrases, and seeking to prevent the kind of on-the-ground interaction that would humanize Israelis (see discussion in more detail below in “Opposing ‘ground-up’ peace.”) and help build a culture of peace.

**The BDS movement is immoral** because it

- *imposes the entire blame for the current stalemate between Israel and the Palestinian Authority on the Israelis.* In so doing, it
  - *ignores the enormous risks Israel has taken to resolve the Israel-Palestinian dispute.*

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<sup>26</sup> Friedman, Thomas, “Campus Hypocrisy,” New York Times, October 16, 2002. (This is just one of many articles in which he has made the point.)

These include the release of hundreds of Palestinian prisoners (including many with the blood of Israeli civilians on their hands), uprooting of thousands of Jewish citizens from homes in Gaza and the West Bank (and before that, in the Sinai as part of its peace treaty with Egypt) and generous peace offers made by successive Israeli governments. Israel persists in its efforts despite the, at best, mixed results from these concessions, such as its unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, which promptly became a launching pad for rockets against Israeli civilians.

- *ignores the obstruction of the Palestinian side that has stood in the way of a settlement*, such as a refusal by the Palestinian Authority to agree that such a settlement would mark the end of each side's claims against the other.
- *ignores the murderous hatred that permeates the Palestinian media and educational system* and that is probably the most fundamental obstacle to peace. Official PA media glorify terrorists who murder Jews, name parks and stadiums in their honor, and encourage Palestinian children to follow in their footsteps. The PA pays convicted terrorists and their families \$300MM each year with the payments tied to the severity of their terror: "the more you kill, the more you get." Textbooks used in PA schools demonize Jews and refer to sovereign Israeli territory as Palestine.
- *violates the core principle of human rights: namely, "the worst first."* Israel is among the freest and most democratic nations in the world and the only true democracy in the Middle East. Its Arab citizens enjoy more rights than Arabs anywhere else in the world. They serve in the Knesset, in the judiciary, in the foreign service, in the academy and in business. They are free to – and often do – severely criticize Israel. Israel has a superb record on women's rights, gay rights and environmental rights. Moreover, Israel's record of avoiding civilian casualties, while fighting enemies who hide their soldiers among civilians, is unparalleled in the world today. This record stands in stark contrast to the widespread human rights abuses carried out by the PA against Palestinians – abuses that have been met with deafening silence by BDS supporters. Yet Israel is the only country in the world today being threatened with BDS. **When a sanction is directed solely against a state with one of the best human rights records, and that nation happens to be the state of the Jewish people, the suspicion of bigotry must be considered.**
- *hurts the wrong people*: Palestinian workers who will lose their jobs if economic sanctions are directed against firms that employ them; Israeli artists and academics, many of whom are the strongest voices for peace; those suffering from illnesses all around the world who would be helped by Israeli medicine and the collaboration between Israeli scientists and other scientists; the high tech industry around the world because Israel contributes disproportionately to the development of such life enhancing technology.
- *hypocritical*. BDS supporters often condemn Israel for the impact of the steps it has taken to protect its Jewish and Arab citizens from terrorism; those steps unfortunately, but out of necessity, infringe on the rights of the residents of the PA-governed territories from which

the terrorism's perpetrators spring. This is blatant hypocrisy: BDS supporters, who were largely silent when terror coming from the PA territories was a nearly-daily occurrence, cannot legitimately condemn Israel when it does what any state is required to do to protect its citizens. That they do condemn it, and brand Israel as an "apartheid state" for those actions, strongly suggests that their attacks are expressions of anti-Semitism, not of a concern for human rights.

- *ignores the complexity of the issue.* Some supporters of BDS claim that they do support the right of Israel to exist but insist that Israel's continued "occupation" of the disputed territories it controls since June 1967 is so manifestly evil that it warrants singling out Israel for isolation. Even aside from all the points made above as to why such singling out is wrong, this assertion ignores the fact that (a) since the Oslo Accords, the great majority of Palestinians live under the control of the PA, (b) Israel took control of the disputed territories in a defensive war imposed on it by the states that ruled those areas before June 1967, (c) the disputed territories were never part of a Palestinian state: the Palestinians, along with all Arab states, rejected the formation of such a state in 1948 and instead those Arab states seized those territories for themselves and (d) Jews have deep historical roots, going back thousands of years, in Jerusalem and all of the disputed territories.
- *ignores the real – and occasionally explicitly-acknowledged – goal of BDS: to delegitimize, and ultimately bring an end to, a sovereign Jewish state.* As Omar Barghouti, a major leader of the BDS movement, has repeatedly said, he opposes Israel's right to exist as the nation state of the Jewish people even within the 1967 borders.<sup>27</sup>

**The BDS movement undermines the peace process** by emboldening the Palestinians to reject compromise solutions to the conflict. The Palestinian leadership are led to believe that the longer they hold out against making peace, the more powerful will be the BDS movement against Israel.

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<sup>27</sup> <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4171/bds-immoral>

## **Appendix B: Resources and Further Reading**

Here are some great sources for U.S.-Israel relations information and news, many of which were used in the writing of this manual:

- <http://www.aipac.org/> - AIPAC Website  
Information on Iran legislation, U.S.-Israel security cooperation, and foreign aid
  
- <http://thomas.loc.gov> - Library of Congress Legislation Website  
Up-to-date information on all Bills and Resolutions in the House of Representatives and Senate, Senate, including summaries, cosponsors, and status
  
- <http://www.counterextremism.com/> - Counter Extremism Project  
Resources on international terrorist groups and terror activities against Americans
  
- <http://www.jpost.com/> - The Jerusalem Post  
Leading English site for Israeli news in the U.S.
  
- <http://www.palwatch.org/> - Palestinian Media Watch  
Articles and information on the Peace Process
  
- <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/statestoc.html> - U.S. Cooperation with Israel by State  
State by State data on benefits to the State from Israel
  
- <http://archive.constantcontact.com/fs069/1101496577013/archive/1109777605255.html> - U.S.-Israel Security Digest  
Articles pertaining to U.S.-Israel security cooperation statistics and operations in the Middle East