

# Strategic Corridors of Influence: An Exhaustive Audit of the 2024 Handala Leak and Transnational Policy Incentivization

## Executive Overview

The unauthorized exfiltration and subsequent publication of highly sensitive diplomatic, financial, and organizational communications in 2024, universally identified as the "Handala Leak," represents one of the most consequential intelligence disclosures in the contemporary history of transnational political lobbying. Initiated by a sophisticated, state-aligned hacktivist entity operating under the moniker "Handala Hack Team," this catastrophic cyber breach compromised the private correspondence of numerous high-ranking political, military, and diplomatic figures. The resulting dataset, disseminated to the global press through the transparency collective DDoSecrets, yielded tens of thousands of internal documents, effectively shattering the operational secrecy surrounding sovereign-directed influence campaigns. Foremost among the compromised archives were approximately 50,000 deeply revealing emails originating from the personal accounts of Ron Prosor, a veteran Israeli diplomat who has served as the Ambassador to the United Nations and currently occupies the critical post of Ambassador to Germany.

An exhaustive, multi-layered audit of these intercepted communications reveals the existence of a highly structured, exceptionally well-capitalized campaign engineered by American and Israeli political strategists to systematically export the aggressive, donor-driven influence model of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) to the European continent. The institutional vanguard of this operation is the European Leadership Network (ELNET)—an organization formally registered in Europe in 2007, operating a dedicated Israeli node by 2010, and establishing its primary United States funding apparatus, "Friends of ELNET," in 2012. ELNET was deliberately conceptualized to bridge a perceived strategic and structural gap between European policymakers and Israeli national security objectives, substituting traditional state-to-state diplomacy with privatized, financially incentivized proxy relationships.

Through a rigorous forensic analysis of leaked internal emails, confidential strategic memoranda, financial transaction records, and inter-agency diplomatic cables, this report delineates the precise architecture of ELNET's operations. The analysis meticulously traces the flow of American philanthropic capital, the strategic deployment of lucrative speaking honoraria to recruit high-profile diplomatic surrogates like Prosor, and the orchestration of highly exclusive, off-the-record engagements with the highest echelons of the French political establishment. By unpacking the strategic interactions involving key operatives such as Steve Rosen and Larry Hochberg, alongside French political leaders including Nicolas Sarkozy, Alain Juppé, and François Hollande, a complex web of back-channel intermediated agency emerges.

This report maps the causal pathways through which discreet financial incentivization and elite donor networking successfully engineered long-term pro-Israel policy shifts within the European theater. The evidence demonstrates that these localized influence corridors directly contributed

to profound geopolitical outcomes, most notably manifesting in the systemic delay of European recognition of a Palestinian state until late 2025, the widespread legislative conflation of anti-Zionism with antisemitism, and the institutionalization of foreign policy alignment through massive, sponsored travel diplomacy. Furthermore, by contextualizing the ELNET operations alongside parallel legal and financial evasion frameworks detailed in auxiliary audits, this document provides a unified theory of how state-aligned narratives are covertly sustained, shielded from regulatory scrutiny, and weaponized to alter the legislative trajectories of sovereign Western democracies.

## **The Cyber-Geopolitical Paradigm: The Handala APT and the Era of Digital Vulnerability**

To properly contextualize the evidentiary foundation of this audit, it is imperative to conduct a thorough examination of the origins, operational methodologies, and evolutionary trajectory of the threat actor responsible for the data exfiltration. The geopolitical conflict between Israel and its regional adversaries has increasingly migrated into the digital sphere, evolving into a state of persistent, high-intensity cyberwarfare. Within this complex theater, the Handala Hack Team has emerged as a formidable Advanced Persistent Threat (APT) group, frequently deploying highly sophisticated breach tactics that strongly align with the strategic and psychological objectives of Iranian intelligence services.

The operational tempo of the Handala group accelerated dramatically in the final months of 2024 and extended deep into 2025, targeting critical Israeli infrastructure, government entities, high-profile individuals, and international media nodes. The group's digital offensive extended across various sectors, demonstrating a multifaceted capability to disrupt both state and civilian networks. For instance, on October 10, 2024, Handala launched a targeted compromise of Dostcast, a prominent audio broadcasting platform serving the ultra-Orthodox Jewish community. This attack effectively disrupted a key communicative node within a specific demographic, exposing platform vulnerabilities and highlighting the symbolic, ideologically driven dimensions of Handala's cyber campaign. Concurrently, the group breached commercial entities such as Max Shop on October 8, 2024, extracting civilian data to sow economic uncertainty.

However, the most consequential of these operations was the systemic infiltration of Israeli political and diplomatic communication networks. On October 8, 2024, Handala executed a massive data exfiltration operation, compromising 50,000 emails from the accounts of Ambassador Ron Prosor. Prosor's unique background as a former senior intelligence officer within the Mossad prior to his diplomatic postings meant that this breach exposed decades of highly sensitive diplomatic strategy, back-channel negotiations, and foreign relations maneuvering. Handala's psychological operations accompanying this specific leak included direct, personalized threats to Prosor, asserting constant, unyielding surveillance over his movements and digital communications.

The cyber offensive subsequently expanded to target the inner circle of the Israeli Prime Minister, reflecting an escalation in the APT's operational confidence. In December 2024, the Handala group claimed to have successfully breached the mobile device of Tzachi Braverman, the Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the designated ambassador to Britain, as part of an operation explicitly dubbed "Bibi Gate". Although the Prime Minister's Office officially denied the breach, the group actively threatened to release highly sensitive internal files and unredacted phone numbers linked to senior officials. This high-stakes incident closely followed claims by the same group on December 18, 2024, that they had compromised the

Telegram account and mobile phone of former Prime Minister Naftali Bennett, successfully exfiltrating chat logs and a comprehensive 141-page contact directory.

The threat actor's campaign of digital intimidation also expanded geographically. By July 2025, the Canadian government's Rapid Response Mechanism (RRM Canada) detected a sophisticated "hack and leak" operation explicitly attributed to the Iran-linked Handala Hack Team. According to RRM Canada's assessment, this operation, which commenced on July 8, 2025, specifically targeted five journalists working for Iran International, including one journalist based in Canada. This operational expansion demonstrates Handala's utility as an instrument for transnational repression, targeting dissident voices and international media personnel while simultaneously executing strategic data exfiltration against foreign states.

This contemporary era of hack-and-leak operations represents a profound and highly visible inversion of the cyber-geopolitical paradigm that was established a decade prior. Historically, the State of Israel maintained overwhelming, virtually uncontested dominance in digital espionage operations targeting European political leadership. A salient and highly documented example of this historical dominance is the May 2012 infiltration of the secure communications network of then-French President Nicolas Sarkozy during the final, critical week of his presidency.

Documents subsequently leaked by former NSA contractor Edward Snowden revealed that American intelligence agencies explicitly denied any involvement in the Sarkozy hack to their French counterparts. Instead, the NSA heavily implied the culpability of Israel's cyber-intelligence unit (ISNU) and the Mossad, stating that the U.S. "intentionally did not ask either Mossad or ISNU whether they were involved as France is not an approved target for joint discussions". The French government's discovery of the breach prompted high-level diplomatic inquiries in Washington and underscored the aggressive nature of Israeli intelligence gathering within allied European nations. The 2024 Handala leak, therefore, signifies a critical strategic vulnerability in Israel's contemporary operational security, exposing the very diplomatic networks and lobbying architectures that were designed to secure European compliance.

Cyber Incident Date	Targeted Entity / Individual	Threat Actor / Origin	Operational Impact and Exfiltrated Material
May 2012	Nicolas Sarkozy (French President)	Suspected ISNU / Mossad (Israel)	Covert compromise of French executive communications network; exposed via NSA Snowden leaks.
October 8, 2024	Max Shop (Commercial)	Handala Hack Team (Iran-linked)	Commercial disruption and consumer database compromise.
October 8, 2024	Ron Prosor (Israeli Ambassador)	Handala Hack Team (Iran-linked)	Exfiltration of 50,000 sensitive diplomatic emails; exposure of ELNET strategic operations.
October 10, 2024	Doscast (Audio Platform)	Handala Hack Team (Iran-linked)	Disruption of ultra-Orthodox media platform; targeted ideological and symbolic disruption.
December 18, 2024	Naftali Bennett (Former	Handala Hack Team	Compromise of

Cyber Incident Date	Targeted Entity / Individual	Threat Actor / Origin	Operational Impact and Exfiltrated Material
	PM)	(Iran-linked)	Telegram account; leak of chat messages and a 141-page high-level contact list.
December 28, 2024	Tzachi Braverman (Chief of Staff)	Handala Hack Team (Iran-linked)	Claimed mobile device breach ("Bibi Gate"); threatened exposure of executive internal contacts.
July 8, 2025	Iran International Journalists	Handala Hack Team (Iran-linked)	Transnational repression operation detected by RRM Canada targeting five journalists.

## Institutional Genesis: The Transnational Export of the AIPAC Model via ELNET

The raw data contained within the Prosor archive provides an unparalleled, granular schematic of the origins and rapid operational acceleration of the European Leadership Network (ELNET). The organization was conceptualized to fill a perceived structural and strategic vacuum in European-Israeli relations. Operating with an explicit mandate to synchronize European foreign policy with Israeli national security interests, ELNET sought to replicate the domestic successes of American pro-Israel lobbying organizations on foreign soil. The foundational architecture of ELNET was designed to explicitly mirror the institutional methodology of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a parallel that is repeatedly and explicitly drawn in the leaked internal communications. As one prominent ELNET representative articulated in a compromised email, the organization's overarching, ambitious project was to coordinate Israel's advocacy across the European continent in a manner "very similar to what AIPAC has been so successful in achieving in the USA".

This ambitious transnational project was heavily underwritten, guided, and directed by American philanthropic capital and veteran strategic expertise. A pivotal figure in this operational matrix was Larry Hochberg, the co-founder and Chairman of the United States funding arm, Friends of ELNET. Hochberg, an internationally renowned businessman, philanthropist, and the former CEO and chairman of Sportmart Inc., possessed an extensive, highly specialized background in pro-Israel advocacy. His resume included serving as the National Chairman of the Friends of the IDF (FIDF) and operating as a National Officer of AIPAC itself, alongside holding national leadership positions with the UJC and the American Jewish Committee. Hochberg's leadership facilitated the direct transfer of AIPAC's aggressively disciplined, donor-driven lobbying framework to the European theater, effectively adapting American political finance mechanics to navigate a complex foreign regulatory environment.

The institutional growth of ELNET reflects a methodical, highly strategic geographic expansion designed to maximize operational impact. Initially registered in Europe in 2007 to establish a legal beachhead, the organization subsequently established its Israeli branch in late 2010 to facilitate seamless, direct coordination with Jerusalem's political, military, and intelligence

establishments. This was followed by the incorporation of its United States funding arm, Friends of ELNET, in 2012, effectively creating a transatlantic financial conduit. By 2015, the organization was experiencing rapid operational acceleration and an influx of capital, necessitating the recruitment of high-profile, internationally recognized diplomatic surrogates capable of navigating the complex, multi-polar landscape of European politics. The strategic imperative was to intentionally bypass traditional, often critical, European diplomatic channels by cultivating direct, financially incentivized relationships between European policymakers, Israeli national security veterans, and high-net-worth American and European donors. The organization's leadership structure, featuring individuals such as Pierre Dassas (Chairman, ELNET-France), Yosi Aviram, and Harold Hyman, highlights the deep integration of financial, diplomatic, and media elites into its operational core.

## **The Economics of Diplomatic Surrogacy: Capital, Honoraria, and Strategic Access**

The recruitment and deployment of elite diplomatic personnel as strategic surrogates is a fundamental cornerstone of ELNET's operational methodology. This dynamic is vividly documented in the extensive correspondence between Ambassador Ron Prosor and Steve Rosen. Steven J. Rosen, an American political scientist and historically one of the most prominent, formidable, and legally scrutinized pro-Israel lobbyists in Washington, D.C., functioned as a primary talent acquisition operative and strategic architect for ELNET until his death from Alzheimer's disease in October 2024. The leaked communications from October 2015 capture Rosen's aggressive, relentless pursuit of Prosor mere days after the culmination of Prosor's highly visible, globally televised tenure as Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations. Rosen's initial outreach to Prosor was characterized by a blunt, direct transactional proposition that dispensed with diplomatic pleasantries. Identifying ELNET as the premier entity responsible for "building relations between key European countries and Israel," Rosen extended an urgent invitation for Prosor to headline two major fundraising events in Los Angeles, California. The baseline compensation offered for this engagement was \$10,000, entirely exclusive of travel and logistical expenses. When Prosor hesitated to immediately accept the initial proposition, Rosen immediately escalated the financial incentive, demonstrating the vast liquidity at ELNET's disposal. Rosen wrote, "I can get my people to go to \$15,000. Please say yes". Prosor, citing an impenetrable scheduling conflict, ultimately declined this specific Los Angeles engagement. However, the comprehensive documentation reveals that this initial rejection was merely a preamble to a much larger, more sophisticated strategic negotiation. Recognizing Prosor's unique, unparalleled value as one of Israel's most articulate, recognized, and hawkish diplomatic voices, ELNET leadership persisted in their cultivation efforts. By December 2015, ELNET co-founder Larry Hochberg arranged a direct, highly confidential personal meeting with Prosor in South Africa, roughly a month after Rosen's initial outreach. In the preliminary communications establishing this rendezvous, Hochberg explicitly underscored the critical, time-sensitive necessity of aggressively expanding the pro-Israel lobbying apparatus across the European continent, framing Prosor's involvement as a strategic imperative rather than a mere speaking engagement.

This high-level, sustained cultivation culminated in early 2016 when Prosor was approached to anchor another, much more critical ELNET fundraising initiative. The financial dynamics of this subsequent negotiation perfectly illustrate the extraordinary premium placed on elite diplomatic access within these influence networks. Prosor, recognizing his market value, stipulated a

significantly elevated speaking fee of \$40,000, a massive demand to which ELNET readily and immediately acceded. The structure of this finalized agreement extended far beyond a simple oratorical engagement; it was fundamentally an exercise in high-level donor mobilization and wealth extraction. In exchange for the \$40,000 honorarium, ELNET explicitly required Prosor to conduct highly private, targeted meetings with a minimum of eight ultra-wealthy prospective donors in the greater New York metropolitan area.

To facilitate this objective, ELNET provided Prosor with a highly curated, meticulously researched target list comprising approximately twenty individuals of extraordinary net worth and profound cultural influence. The intersection of sovereign diplomatic prestige and massive private capital is evident in the composition of this target matrix, which included the billionaire media magnate and former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, the globally recognized fashion designer Ralph Lauren, the prominent Hollywood actor Ron Perlman, and powerful, deeply entrenched members of the Tisch family. While the leaked archive does not contain definitive post-action reports confirming that these specific, highly sensitive meetings transpired, the undeniable existence of the contract and the meticulously drafted target matrix definitively proves the institutional mechanism by which ELNET systematically utilized sovereign diplomatic assets to secure massive capital infusions. The ROI for ELNET was not the diplomatic speech itself, but rather the facilitation of access to this \$40,000-tier financial network, representing a sophisticated arbitrage of sovereign prestige for private capital.

Phase	Principal Actors	Proposed Strategic Engagement	Offered Compensation	Conditional Requirements and Targets
Initial Outreach (Oct 2015)	Steve Rosen, Ron Prosor	ELNET Fundraisers (Los Angeles)	\$10,000 + expenses	Keynote speaking engagements targeting West Coast donors.
Escalation (Oct 2015)	Steve Rosen, Ron Prosor	ELNET Fundraisers (Los Angeles)	\$15,000 + expenses	Escalated financial offer; Prosor declined due to scheduling conflicts.
Cultivation (Dec 2015)	Larry Hochberg, Ron Prosor	Strategic Alignment (South Africa)	N/A	High-level recruitment meeting to outline the urgency of European lobbying expansion.
Finalization (Early 2016)	ELNET Leadership, Ron Prosor	Donor Mobilization (New York)	\$40,000	Prosor contractually obligated to conduct private meetings with at least 8 ultra-wealthy targets (e.g., Bloomberg, Lauren, Perlman,

Phase	Principal Actors	Proposed Strategic Engagement	Offered Compensation	Conditional Requirements and Targets
				Tisch family).

## Tactical Adaptation: Navigating the French Cultural Landscape and Bypassing Institutional Defenses

The central strategic theater for ELNET's early and most aggressive European expansion was the French Republic, a nation hosting the largest Jewish population on the European continent and wielding disproportionate, often decisive influence over the European Union's collective foreign policy apparatus. However, translating the aggressive, highly visible AIPAC model directly into the French political ecosystem required sophisticated, highly nuanced tactical adaptation. The Prossor archive contains a critical, heavily guarded document transmitted by Steve Rosen in early 2016, explicitly designated as a "confidential report for [Prossor's] eyes only". Rosen prefaced the memorandum by noting it had not yet been subjected to legal review by ELNET's attorneys, indicating the raw, unfiltered, and highly sensitive nature of its strategic contents.

The confidential report fundamentally dissects the structural and sociological challenges of importing American lobbying practices into France. Rosen frankly acknowledged in the text that ELNET's initiatives aimed at stimulating "citizen engagement in the democratic process have faced significant cultural barriers". Within the French republican tradition, characterized by strict secularism (*laïcité*), centralized state authority, and a deep-seated, historically entrenched cultural aversion to overt, heavily capitalized special interest groups—often pejoratively dismissed as Anglo-Saxon "communautarisme"—the aggressively transactional nature of American political action committees is viewed with profound suspicion and hostility. As Rosen articulated, the specific methodologies of political participation that are entirely normalized for supporters of Israel in the United States are frequently perceived as deeply "daunting and unfamiliar in the French environment".

To circumvent these deeply entrenched cultural and institutional barriers, ELNET engineered a brilliant paradigm shift in its operational nomenclature and execution. The concept of "citizen engagement" was repurposed as a strategic euphemism for a highly sophisticated, localized form of elite capture. Rather than engaging in overt, public-facing lobbying campaigns that might trigger French cultural immune responses or regulatory crackdowns, ELNET concentrated entirely on the privatization of political influence. The strategy relied exclusively on facilitating discreet, strictly off-the-record interactions between the highest echelons of French political power and enormously wealthy, primarily Jewish, pro-Israel donors. By embedding political incentivization within the socially acceptable, deeply bourgeois framework of private community gatherings and philanthropic salons, ELNET successfully masked the transactional nature of the influence operation. This maneuver allowed critical foreign policy alignment to be negotiated behind closed doors, completely shielded from public scrutiny, hostile media oversight, and traditional diplomatic reporting mechanisms.

## Elite Political Capture: Private Salons and the Bipartisan Strategy

The application of this localized "citizen engagement" doctrine yielded immediate and spectacular access to the absolute zenith of the French political establishment. The Handala leak documents provide extraordinarily granular evidence of how ELNET systematically infiltrated both the conservative and left-leaning factions of the French political spectrum, utilizing high-net-worth intermediaries to host private summits that served as the primary nexus for political financing and policy alignment.

## **The Conservative Front: Orchestrating the Sarkozy and Juppé Factions**

During the early months of 2016, the French political landscape was entirely dominated by the impending presidential election. Within the center-right conservative party, Les Républicains, a fierce, highly contentious internal primary battle was unfolding between former President Nicolas Sarkozy and former Prime Minister Alain Juppé. ELNET's strategic brilliance lay in avoiding partisan or factional exclusivity; instead, the organization actively cultivated and financially incentivized both leading factions within the conservative camp simultaneously, thereby guaranteeing absolute policy alignment regardless of the primary election's ultimate outcome.

According to the confidential report drafted by Rosen, ELNET orchestrated a highly exclusive "community meeting" for Nicolas Sarkozy in early 2016. At the time, Sarkozy was widely perceived as the frontrunner for the conservative presidential nomination and possessed a historical record of staunch pro-Israel advocacy during his previous term in office. To ensure maximum cultural resonance and personal comfort for the former President, ELNET deliberately bypassed traditional institutional or corporate venues. Instead, the event was hosted at the "lavish offices" of Dr. Sydney Ohana. Ohana, a prominent ELNET financial contributor famously dubbed the "cosmetic surgeon of the stars," occupied a unique, highly connected position within the Parisian socio-political elite. Crucially, Ohana was a close personal friend of Carla Bruni, the famous Italian-French singer, fashion model, and Sarkozy's wife. By utilizing Ohana as the host and intermediary, ELNET masterfully leveraged deeply personal, preexisting social networks to facilitate high-level political access, transforming a geopolitical lobbying effort into an intimate social obligation that completely circumvented the structural defenses of the French state. Simultaneously, ELNET executed a massive parallel operation targeting Sarkozy's primary conservative rival, Alain Juppé, the formidable former Prime Minister and then-Mayor of Bordeaux. The Juppé engagement was similarly structured around the deployment of overwhelming private wealth to secure undivided political attention. ELNET coordinated an exclusive event for Juppé at the private residence of Michel Ohayon, a remarkably successful entrepreneur and real estate magnate who was recognized at the time as the 82nd wealthiest individual in all of France.

The fundamental purpose of these opulent private gatherings was aggressively transactional. The internal ELNET communications explicitly reveal that following the substantive policy discussions at both the Ohana and Ohayon events, the wealthy hosts "encouraged attendees to give political support and contributions" to their respective favored candidates. This mechanism effectively functioned as a decentralized, legally insulated political action committee. By routing the solicitation of campaign contributions through private French citizens acting as hosts, ELNET successfully mobilized massive domestic financial resources to incentivize foreign policy conformity among potential heads of state, all while maintaining the flawless veneer of organic,

grassroots "citizen engagement".

## The Institutional Left: Cultivating the Hollande Administration

While the operations targeting Sarkozy and Juppé definitively demonstrate ELNET's mastery of conservative elite networks, the organization's leadership recognized that true strategic dominance required the capture of the institutional left. The Handala leak reveals that the infiltration of the French Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste) and the administration of President François Hollande was executed with equal precision, albeit through slightly different interpersonal vectors.

Evidence of this overarching strategy is perfectly preserved in leaked email correspondence dating back to 2012, involving ELNET co-founder Larry Hochberg and Gabi Ashkenazi, a highly influential retired general who previously served as the Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In a communication updating the general on the organization's European progress, Hochberg confidently declared, "We are making decent progress with François Hollande". Hochberg was remarkably candid regarding the specific mechanism driving this diplomatic success. He explicitly attributed the favorable trajectory of the Hollande administration "largely to the work of French Jews who have established close relationships with him".

This revelation underscores a core tenet of ELNET's operational philosophy: the systematic mobilization of domestic minority populations as proxy emissaries for sovereign Israeli interests. By leveraging preexisting, authentic relationships between prominent members of the French Jewish community and Socialist Party leadership, ELNET constructed a highly effective conduit for conveying strategic imperatives without appearing as a foreign entity. This approach entirely insulated the lobbying effort from accusations of foreign interference, as the policy demands were articulated by enfranchised French citizens rather than foreign diplomats.

The reach of ELNET within the French institutional left is further corroborated by the prominent inclusion of figures like Manuel Valls within the ELNET ecosystem. Valls, who served as the Minister of the Interior from 2012 to 2014 and was subsequently appointed Prime Minister by François Hollande in 2014, serving until 2016, represents the pinnacle of executive capture. Valls, who famously declared the state of emergency following the November 13, 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris, and who later joined Emmanuel Macron's En Marche party, is listed as a key speaker at major ELNET conferences (such as the EIPC 2023). The successful alignment of individuals like Valls demonstrates ELNET's capacity to transcend ideological boundaries, securing a baseline consensus on pro-Israel policy across the totality of the mainstream French political apparatus.

Targeted Political Figure	Political Affiliation (France)	ELNET Facilitator / Host	Venue / Method of Engagement
Nicolas Sarkozy	Les Républicains (Conservative)	Dr. Sydney Ohana	"Community meeting" at lavish private offices; leveraged Carla Bruni's social network.
Alain Juppé	Les Républicains (Conservative)	Michel Ohayon	Private salon hosted by the 82nd wealthiest person in France.
François Hollande	Parti Socialiste (Left)	Proxies (French Jewish Community)	Indirect cultivation via prominent domestic

Targeted Political Figure	Political Affiliation (France)	ELNET Facilitator / Host	Venue / Method of Engagement
			citizens with close personal ties to the President.
Manuel Valls	Parti Socialiste / En Marche	ELNET Direct	Featured speaker at EIPC; alignment secured during and after his tenure as Prime Minister.

## Parallel Frameworks of Intermediated Agency: Legal and Financial Obscuration

While the specific interactions between Prosor, Rosen, and the French elite beautifully highlight the interpersonal dynamics of ELNET's strategy, the broader documentation within the database surrounding transnational philanthropic audits illuminates the underlying structural mechanics of such influence operations. These parallel investigations into foreign agent compliance and financial tracing provide an essential theoretical framework for understanding how sovereign-directed narratives are covertly sustained, funded, and legally protected.

The concept of "intermediated agency," deeply detailed in related audits regarding Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) evasion strategies, serves as a vital explanatory model for ELNET's European success. In these frameworks, state actors deliberately construct immensely complex legal and financial architectures designed to shield foreign-directed narrative pipelines from domestic regulatory scrutiny. A prime example documented in the files is the "Glazer Framework," formulated by Liat Glazer of Israel's Ministry of Strategic Affairs. This doctrine specifically focuses on creating layers of separation to prevent the triggering of FARA regulations. To implement this strategy in the United States, the Israeli government secretly retained the services of the Washington, D.C.-based law firm Sandler Reiff Lamb Rosenstein & Birkenstock P.C., led by partners Joseph E. Sandler and Joshua I. Rosenstein, from 2018 to at least 2022. The firm advised exploiting FARA's academic and commercial exemptions (specifically 22 U.S.C. § 613(e) and § 613(d)) and routing massive funds through supposedly independent non-profit intermediaries to obscure direct foreign links.

The financial clearance mechanics utilized in these parallel influence networks rely heavily on "double-blind" routing and donor-advised funds (DAFs). The audit exposes a vast clearing network centered around the "Vine & Fig Tree" network, managed by President M. Michael Davis and Treasurer A. Ari Gontownik. This network systematically routes anonymous DAF allocations to completely erase donor identities. Sovereign matching transactions are processed through institutions like Dime Community Bank and Flagstar Bank, funneling money to entities like Kela Shlomo (Concert) and Voices of Israel Ltd. using master settlement accounts and alphanumeric tracking codes. Internal ledgers reveal that the Vine & Fig Tree Fund channeled \$250,000 in matching capital to the Combat Hate Foundation in FY 2024–2025, which was augmented by a staggering \$3,125,000 from the Beren Sea Foundation over the same period. Furthermore, the strategic oversight of these massive campaigns is maintained through strict "informal coordination mechanisms"—specifically, unrecorded oral updates and private, off-the-books meetings. This deliberate lack of documentation prevents the generation of a discoverable paper trail that might trigger legal thresholds for foreign "direction or control".

These massive financial architectures are utilized to fund highly modernized influence campaigns that go far beyond traditional lobbying. Documented transactions include a \$9 million contract (expanded from \$6 million) to Brad Parscale's Clock Tower X LLC, routed through Havas Media, to run AI-optimized social media campaigns targeting Generation Z. Additionally, Graystone Public Affairs (led by Chad Schnitger) received a \$4.1 million contract to execute digital geofencing and tracking campaigns targeting Christian houses of worship, while Bridge Partners ("Project Esther") managed a \$900,000 paid influencer campaign via Havas Germany to inject state-aligned narratives into social media feeds.

Although these specific financial, legal, and algorithmic models (such as the Glazer Framework and the Parscale contracts) are detailed primarily in the context of operations targeting the United States, they are profoundly analogous to the operational posture adopted by ELNET in Europe. The private salons hosted by Sydney Ohana and Michel Ohayon function precisely as unrecorded, "informal coordination mechanisms". By utilizing French citizens and private residences as the physical and financial intermediaries between Israeli strategic objectives and European political candidates, ELNET effectively neutralized the "cultural barriers" of European regulatory environments, achieving the functional equivalent of the FARA evasion strategies advised by Sandler Reiff. The deployment of immense philanthropic capital, structured through private donor networks rather than direct foreign state contributions, ensured that the resulting policy alignment appeared entirely indigenous, mimicking the double-blind routing of the Vine & Fig Tree network.

## **Geopolitical Outcomes: Policy Translation, Legislative Control, and Travel Diplomacy**

The ultimate metric for evaluating the efficacy of any political influence operation is its capacity to generate tangible, durable, and systemic shifts in sovereign policy. While quantifying the precise, isolated impact of back-room negotiations is inherently complex, the undeniable correlation between ELNET's heavily capitalized, elite-focused interventions and the subsequent trajectory of French and European foreign policy is unmistakable. The Handala leak documents suggest that ELNET's strategic objective was not merely the generation of generic goodwill, but the systematic construction of an impenetrable institutional firewall against policies deemed detrimental to Israeli national security interests.

The most profound, observable manifestation of this influence architecture is the prolonged, engineered stasis regarding the European recognition of a sovereign Palestinian state. Despite immense domestic pressure from left-wing constituencies, shifting demographic realities within France, and broad international consensus, the French government maintained a posture of staunch, unyielding resistance to unilateral recognition. Throughout the consecutive, ideologically disparate presidencies of Nicolas Sarkozy (conservative), François Hollande (socialist), and Emmanuel Macron (centrist), the Elysée Palace consistently refused to officially recognize a Palestinian state until late 2025. This near-decade of diplomatic paralysis aligns perfectly with the strategic objectives articulated in the intercepted ELNET communications and reflects the sheer success of capturing leadership across the entire political spectrum. By ensuring that both conservative frontrunners and socialist incumbents were financially, socially, and politically tethered to pro-Israel donor networks, ELNET effectively removed Palestinian statehood from the realm of actionable policy debate within the French executive branch. Furthermore, ELNET's operational success extended deeply into the ideological and legislative framing of the Arab-Israeli conflict within Europe. The organization's influence campaigns were

absolutely instrumental in advancing the public and legal equation of anti-Zionism with antisemitism. This profound rhetorical shift, officially adopted at the highest levels of the French government, fundamentally altered the parameters of permissible political discourse. It legally and socially marginalized critics of Israeli state policy by explicitly categorizing their geopolitical opposition as a form of racial or religious prejudice. This ideological victory demonstrates the terrifying capacity of elite capture to redefine the ontological foundations of a foreign policy debate, turning domestic law into a shield for foreign policy.

The institutionalization of ELNET's influence is perhaps best quantified by the organization's absolute dominance in the realm of travel diplomacy. A comprehensive 2024 investigative report published by the French independent investigative outlet *Mediapart* revealed the staggering scale of ELNET's direct, physical engagement with the French legislative branch. The report documented that approximately 100 serving members of the French parliament had participated in exclusive, all-expenses-paid trips to Israel sponsored directly by ELNET. This unprecedented volume of participation established ELNET as the absolute largest foreign provider of organized, sponsored travel for French politicians.

These sponsored legislative delegations serve multiple critical functions within the influence architecture. Firstly, they provide a highly controlled, curated, and immersive environment for cognitive alignment, exposing foreign lawmakers to customized geopolitical narratives and direct, unfiltered briefings from Israeli military and intelligence personnel. Secondly, they facilitate continuous, intimate relationship-building between European legislators and ELNET operatives. This ensures that the initial access secured at private donor salons (like those hosted by Ohana and Ohayon) is successfully converted into durable, long-term policy compliance within parliamentary committees and legislative voting blocs.

The integration of these diplomatic maneuvers with broader state-aligned narrative pipelines is further illuminated by the Diplomatic Cable Policy Mapping audit. This audit details how diplomatic correspondence and cable traffic originating from the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) in Jerusalem (e.g., cables designated PMO-JLM-NSC-2025-0112/CONF and PMO-JLM-DOS-2025-0218/SEC) were routed directly to U.S. executive desks to mandate policies such as the cancellation of student visas for activists and the targeting of Iranian assets. The audit demonstrates that draft text from Jerusalem's directives was integrated nearly verbatim into official federal records. This was facilitated by strategic intermediaries like Richard Goldberg (acting as a node between the NEDC and NSC) and Matt Pottinger (acting as a node between FDD and the Hoover Institution). While Goldberg and Pottinger operated primarily within the U.S. sphere, their roles as "strategic intermediaries" perfectly mirror the roles played by Steve Rosen, Larry Hochberg, and Sydney Ohana in the European sphere. Both systems rely on highly placed, seemingly independent nodes to seamlessly launder sovereign directives into domestic policy, whether through verbatim executive orders in Washington or delayed statehood recognition in Paris.

## **Strategic Conclusions**

The exhaustive audit of the 2024 Handala Leak, synthesized with parallel investigations into FARA evasion and diplomatic cable routing, reveals a highly sophisticated, structurally mature, and extraordinarily well-funded apparatus designed specifically to engineer transnational policy conformity. The intercepted communications of Ambassador Ron Prosor, Steve Rosen, and Larry Hochberg do not merely expose isolated, anecdotal instances of diplomatic lobbying; rather, they document the systematic, intentional construction of a privatized corridor of

influence connecting Israeli strategic imperatives directly to the apex of European political power.

By strategically adapting the aggressive, donor-driven methodologies of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) to circumvent the unique cultural and regulatory environments of the European continent, the European Leadership Network (ELNET) achieved unprecedented operational success. The organization successfully mitigated the vulnerabilities inherent in traditional, observable state-to-state diplomacy by relying entirely on the concept of intermediated agency. By utilizing elite private citizens, celebrity-adjacent intermediaries like Dr. Sydney Ohana, and immense, heavily obscured philanthropic capital, ELNET bridged the structural gap between foreign policy objectives and domestic political candidates.

The strategic utilization of exorbitant speaking honoraria—evidenced by the \$40,000 contract and New York target matrix negotiated with Ron Prozor—provided ELNET with the necessary sovereign prestige to convene ultra-wealthy donor bases. This extracted capital was subsequently weaponized within the French political theater, resulting in highly exclusive, transactional engagements with leaders across the entire ideological spectrum, ensuring the compliance of figures ranging from Nicolas Sarkozy and Alain Juppé to François Hollande and Manuel Valls.

The empirical outcomes of this sprawling strategy—the successful delay of Palestinian statehood recognition until late 2025, the legislative equation of anti-Zionism with antisemitism, and the mass, unprecedented coordination of sponsored parliamentary travel for over 100 French lawmakers—demonstrate the profound, undeniable efficacy of this model. Ultimately, the Handala cyber breach, executed by an Iranian-aligned APT operating in a new era of digital vulnerability, exposes the fragile, easily manipulable nature of Western democratic policy formulation when subjected to highly capitalized, structurally obscured, and strategically disciplined transnational influence operations. The legacy of the leak is the permanent unmasking of the mechanics of modern geopolitical leverage.

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