

NGOs and the New Antisemitism

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1. INTRODUCTION

The intensification of the Palestinian terror campaign in the 2000s has been coupled with a renewal of attacks on Israel's legitimacy and Jewish self-determination rights not seen since the 1970s during the Cold War.¹ These attacks have been particularly severe in the United Kingdom, where senior Israeli officials have avoided travel for fear of being arrested for alleged "war crimes"² and anti-Israel boycott campaigns have a strong following in the country.³ Violence has also accompanied these initiatives. In one case, Israel's second highest-ranking diplomat in Britain was assaulted by Palestinian protesters after lecturing at Manchester University in May 2010.⁴

This demonization is not confined to the United Kingdom, however. In August 2009, one of Sweden's largest circulation dailies, *Aftonbladet*, revived the medieval blood libel, claiming that the Israeli army deliberately killed Palestinians in order to harvest their organs for profit.⁵ "Israel Apartheid Week" originated in Canada, where it continues to proliferate.⁶ The United States has also not been immune. In April 2010, the Israeli

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¹ In the early to mid 1970s, the Arab League boycott of Israel was at its height. Backed by the Soviets, the League launched a campaign in various UN fora to brand Zionism a form of racism. These activities culminated in the 1975 "Zionism is racism" General Assembly resolution.

² Uri Blau, "Vice Premier and ex-IDF chief cancels U.K. visit over arrest fears," *Ha'aretz*, October 5, 2009, available at: <<http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/vice-premier-and-ex-idf-chief-cancels-u-k-visit-over-arrest-fears-1.6702>>. For more information on the politicization of universal jurisdiction laws, see Anne Herzberg, "'NGO Lawfare': Exploitation of Courts in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," NGO Monitor Monograph Series (2nd ed. 2010), available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/lawfare-monograph.pdf>>; and Anne Herzberg, "Lawfare Against Israel," *The Wall Street Journal (Europe)*, November 5, 2008, available at: <<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122583394143998285.html>>.

³ Jonny Paul, "UK trade union federation to continue boycott support," *Jerusalem Post*, September 14, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=188104>>; Assaf Uni, "U.K. union backs calls for boycott of Israel academe," *Ha'aretz*, May 30, 2007, available at: <<http://www.haaretz.com/news/u-k-union-backs-calls-for-boycott-of-israel-academe-1.221819>>.

⁴ Hagit Klaiman, "British protesters attack Israel's deputy ambassador," *Ynet*, April 29, 2010, available at: <<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3882700,00.html>>.

⁵ Donald Bostrom, "Our sons are plundered of their organs," *Aftonbladet*, August 26, 2009, available at: <<http://www.aftonbladet.se/kultur/article5691805.ab>>.

⁶ Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid (<<http://www.caiaweb.org>>).

ambassador was heckled at the University of California, Irvine; at several other UC schools (San Diego, Berkeley), resolutions were introduced calling for divestment from companies doing business with Israel.⁷

These incidents represent extreme manifestations of a “new antisemitism,” described by Canada’s former Justice Minister, Irwin Cotler, as “a new, globalized, virulent antisemitism” that “denies the Jewish People the right to live as equal members of the Family of Nations.”⁸

An often overlooked aspect of this “new antisemitism” is the role played by human rights and humanitarian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in contributing to the environment of demonization via politicized campaigns and lobbying. Disturbingly, many of these activities are funded by the European Union and European governments; large humanitarian Christian organizations that receive substantial government funding, such as Diakonia (Sweden), Trocaire (Ireland), and Christian Aid (UK); large foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, George Soros’ Open Society Institute, and Oxfam NOVIB; and even the progressive Jewish New Israel Fund (NIF).⁹

These NGO campaigns can be traced to the NGO Forum at the UN’s 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, which marked a major increase in the re-emergence of antisemitism.¹⁰ At the forum, officials from more than 1,500 participating NGOs, including international NGO superpowers, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, singled out Israel for condemnation, accusing it of perpetrating “holocausts,” “ethnic cleansing,” and “genocide,” and declared Israel to be a “racist, apartheid state in which Israel’s [sic] brand of apartheid” is a “crime against humanity.” The Conference revived the hateful 1975 “Zionism is racism” slogan, repealed in 1991 by the UN General Assembly, but still promoted by anti-Israel actors. At Durban, anti-semitic flyers were distributed at official UN events, including one featuring Hitler’s visage asking, “What if I had won? The good things: There would be NO Israel and NO Palestinian’s [sic] blood shed” (see Appendix, Image 1). Mass demonstrations included the chant, “What we have done to apartheid in South Africa, must be done to Zionism in Palestine.” In preparatory events held in Tehran and at the conference itself, Jewish and Israeli participants were intimidated or excluded from meetings.

As Professor Gerald Steinberg notes, “the NGO Forum’s Final Declaration established the ‘Durban Strategy’ — a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state,’ and cal[ed] for ‘the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive

⁷ “Oren heckled at US college,” *Jerusalem Post*, February 9, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=168199>>; “Berkeley student divestment veto upheld,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 16, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=173318>>.

⁸ Prof. Irwin Cotler, “Beyond Durban,” *The Agenda*, June 17, 2002, available at: <<http://www.jafi.org.il/agenda/2001/english/wk3-22/6.asp>>.

⁹ Funding information available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org>>.

¹⁰ NGO Monitor’s Submission to Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism, “Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the ‘Durban Strategy’: The Emergence of an Antisemitic Global Movement,” August 31, 2009, available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/canada_canadian_international_development_agency_cida_>; Gerald Steinberg, “NGOs and Antisemitism: Oxfam’s ‘Blood Oranges,’ Christian Aid’s ‘Bethlehem’s Child,’ and HRW’s ‘Indiscriminate killings,’” *NGO Monitor*, January 28, 2007, available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=1313>>.

sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation, and training) between all states and Israel.”¹¹

The “Durban Strategy” has underpinned a decade of anti-Israel efforts by NGOs, including the global boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel; NGO-initiated lawsuits throughout Europe and North America against Israeli officials for “war crimes” (“lawfare”); campaigns in the UN (e.g., the Goldstone mission, Human Rights Council) and other international fora such as the European Parliament; and “pursuing the parastatal Zionist organizations worldwide” by “dealing with them legally as racist, colonial institutions.”¹²

NGOs carrying out the Durban Strategy invest millions in publications, public relations blitzes, and lobbying efforts utilizing the rhetoric of human rights and international law to single out Israel as their ultimate violator and abuser.¹³ By couching political attacks in these terms, NGOs seek to create a veneer of credibility and expertise, thereby increasing international pressure against Israel. Since the 2001 Durban conference, this process has played itself out on many occasions—Jenin in 2002, the International Court of Justice’s case against Israel’s “apartheid wall” in 2004, the 2006 Lebanon War, the 2008-2009 Gaza War and the Goldstone process, and the May 2010 “Free Gaza” flotilla.

These cases have followed a standard pattern. Israel is faced with a spate of terror attacks and responds with counter measures of increasing severity in order to protect its population. NGOs immediately issue numerous condemnations, almost all against Israel, with accusations of “war crimes,” “crimes against humanity,” and the intentional targeting of civilians. These allegations are generally based on speculation with little to no hard evidence. The media and the international community adopt these claims at face value, rarely conducting independent verification. The UN, particularly the structurally biased Human Rights Council,¹⁴ engages in further condemnations, calling for international investigations and war crimes trials. NGOs are recruited to play an integral role in these processes further entrenching their influence and claims. The context of terror is completely erased, as are Israel’s rights to self-defense and self-determination. At the same time, virulent antisemitism from Iran, Hamas, and Hezbollah is completely ignored.¹⁵

¹¹ Gerald M. Steinberg, “Soft Powers Play Hardball: NGOs Wage War Against Israel,” *Israel Affairs* 12(4), October 2006, at p. 753; “The Centrality of NGOs in the Durban Strategy,” *Yale Israel Journal*, Summer 2006, available at: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article.php?id=196>>.

¹² Palestinian BDS National Committee, “Palestinian Civil Society Strategic Position Paper Towards the UN Durban Review Conference,” November 28, 2008, available at: <<http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/222>>.

¹³ For instance, at a conference sponsored by Swedish NGO Diakonia, Hassan Jabareen of the EU- and NIF-funded Adalah announced a strategy where pro-Palestinian activists would try to portray Israel as an “inherent undemocratic state” and to “use that as part of campaigning internationally.” Diakonia, “Conference Report: Palestine/Israel: Making Monitoring Work: (Re-)Enforcing International Law in Europe,” September 2008. Report available on file with the author.

¹⁴ Close to two-thirds of the HRC membership are representatives from the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned Movement. See: <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/membership.htm>>.

¹⁵ NGO Monitor has documented dozens, if not hundreds, of examples of these activities. See: <<http://www.ngo-monitor.org>>.

Significantly, under the Durban Strategy, the concepts of Zionism and a Jewish state per se (not specific policies or territorial disputes) are the causes of Israeli “racism,” “apartheid,” and “occupation.” As such, NGO campaigns based on the Durban Strategy meet the working definition of antisemitism developed by the EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, and recommended for adoption by the United Kingdom’s All-Party Parliamentary Groups Against Antisemitism. The guidelines note the following as forms of contemporary antisemitism:

- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel.¹⁶

Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz has also presented criteria that distinguish antisemitism from legitimate criticism of Israeli policies or actions. Dershowitz’s criteria include:

- Comparing Israel to the Nazis or its leaders to Hitler, the German army, or the Gestapo. Denying, minimizing, or trivializing the Holocaust as part of a campaign against Israel.
- Characterizing Israel as “the worst,” when it is clear that this is not an accurate comparative assessment.
- Singling out only Israel for sanctions for policies that are widespread among other nations, or demanding that Jews be better or more moral than others because of their history as victims.
- Blaming Israel for the problems of the world and exaggerating the influence of the Jewish state on world affairs.¹⁷

Similarly, British lawyer Anthony Julius has observed that this new antisemitism “became hegemonic in the 1990s and 2000s.... It is to be distinguished from the ‘old antisemitism’ because it takes Israel and the Zionist project as its collective term for the Jews.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, it is “continuous with the ‘old antisemitism’ in its principal stratagems and tropes, while novel in its specific focus upon the Jewish State — uniquely evil and without the right to exist.” He further notes that

¹⁶ European Union Monitoring Center, “Working Definition of Antisemitism,” available at: <<http://www.european-forum-on-antisemitism.org/working-definition-of-antisemitism/english>>.

¹⁷ See Alan Dershowitz, “When Legit Criticism Crosses the Anti-Semitism Line,” *Huffington Post*, July 1, 2005, available at: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/when-legit-criticism-cros_b_3524.html>.

¹⁸ Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora* (Oxford University Press, 2010) at pp. 441-588.

in its milder form, it seeks to fix the world's attention on the injustices of the Occupation ... and its one-eyed refusal to find fault with any party other than Israel. In its stronger form it recasts the 1948 War as an originary act of persecution.... In both forms it tends to seize upon misjudgments and acts of injustice as proof of fundamental iniquity.

The following examples reflect several themes adopted by NGOs in carrying out the Durban Strategy that manifests this "new antisemitism."

2. NAZI-ERA ANTISEMITIC STEREOTYPES

Several NGOs promote antisemitic stereotypes in their anti-Israel campaigning reminiscent of the most virulent images published during the Nazi era. One of the most egregious examples was posted on the website of the Bethlehem-based NGO Badil, which advocates for a Palestinian "right of return" to Israel, a policy intended to erase demographically the Jewish character of the country. A 2010 monetary award winner of its annual "Nakba"¹⁹ Commemoration" poster contest shows a grotesque caricature of a Jewish man, garbed in traditional Hasidic attire with a menacing grin, hooked nose, and sidelocks. Surrounded by skulls, he stands on a platform dated "1948," crushing to death an Arab woman and child. He holds a pitch-fork dripping with blood (see Appendix, Image 2).²⁰

In addition to its poster contest, Badil is often involved in inflammatory activities that antagonize Jews. In 2007, Badil launched "A Call to Action" to mark 60 years of "Nakba." The campaign called upon "global civil society" to take part in "BDS, legal actions, media work, and public education and publicity campaigns." One program sought to enlist journalists "to organize a targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community's double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation." Several large, European-government funded NGOs including Trocaire (Ireland), DanChurchAid (Denmark), and Oxfam Solidarity Belgium co-sponsored these activities.²¹ Badil has also been funded by the Norwegian, Swiss, Swedish, and Dutch governments.

3. THE GLOBAL BDS MOVEMENT: SINGLING ISRAEL OUT FOR CENSURE

The global anti-Israel boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement is another manifestation of antisemitism that is spearheaded by NGOs. As noted by Anthony Julius, this movement is a way of "segregating Jews" and directed solely at Israel as opposed to the dozens of other countries that engage in far worse abuses both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Promoting the "Zionism is racism" slogan is a cornerstone of BDS. For proponents of this strategy, the term "occupation" does not refer to an Israeli presence in territories acquired in the 1967 war, but rather refers to the establishment of Israel in 1948. In other

¹⁹ The term "Nakba" or "catastrophe" is used by pro-Palestinian activists to refer to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

²⁰ Image available on Badil's website at: <<http://www.badil.org/award2010/2010-winners/02-caricature.jpg>>.

²¹ Campaign materials on file with the author.

words, this movement rejects a State of Israel within any boundaries. BDS rallies are frequently marred by violence, particularly in the United Kingdom, where patrons of Israeli goods are often threatened and intimidated.²² According to the BDS National Committee, a coalition of dozens of organizations that includes many EU- and European-funded NGOs:

The sources of Israel's regime are found in the *racist ideology of late 19th century European colonialism* which was adopted by the dominant stream of the Zionist movement (World Zionist Organization, Jewish Agency, Jewish National Fund, a.o.) in order to justify and recruit political support for its *colonial project of an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine* (i.e. in the area of current Israel and the OPT). Thus, *secular political Zionism translated ancient religious-spiritual notions of Jews as "a chosen people" and of "Eretz Israel" into an aggressive and racist, political colonial program, which—based on the doctrine that Jews were a nation in political terms with superior claims to Palestine—called to "redeem" Palestine, which was declared to be "a land without people."*²³

BDS campaigns also frequently utilize classic theological antisemitic tropes such as the blood libel. In a notorious campaign in 2004, Oxfam Belgium released a poster of a Jaffa orange dripping with blood, reading "Israeli fruits have a bitter taste ... reject the occupation of Palestine, don't buy Israeli fruits and vegetables" (see Appendix, Image 3). In May 2010, representatives from the NIF- and EU-funded Coalition of Women for Peace (CWP) and the EU-funded Israel Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHAD), participated in an anti-Israel divestment rally in Brussels, targeting Dexia, a bank with an Israeli subsidiary. During the event, one rally leader drank "blood" out of a wine glass—an apparent reference to the Medieval-era libel of Jews drinking Christian blood—supposedly to symbolize Israel's alleged brutality (see Appendix, Image 4).

International NGO "superpowers" are active in the BDS movement as well and as such contribute to the spread of contemporary antisemitism as defined by the EU and others. Human Rights Watch (HRW) is a proponent of the Caterpillar boycott campaign,²⁴ and Oxfam is involved in the boycott effort against Israeli cosmetics manufacturer Ahava.²⁵ Amnesty International and Oxfam campaigned for an arms embargo against Israel at a March 2009 session of the UK House of Commons.²⁶ Oxfam joined NGOs Trocaire, Diakonia, Christian Aid, and others calling for the suspension of the

²² UK NGO War on Want frequently organizes such demonstrations. See Jonny Paul, "UK Regulators to Look at War on Want," *Jerusalem Post*, April 14, 2010, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/International/Article.aspx?id=173088>>.

²³ "Palestinian Civil Society Strategic Position Paper for the Durban Review Conference," available at: <http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC_Position_Paper-Durban_Review.pdf>; see also an ad placed by the BNC in the *International Herald Tribune* in May 2009 admonishing that, "celebrating 'Israel at 60' is tantamount to dancing on Palestinian graves...." Available at: <<http://www.pacbi.org/pdfs/No-Reason-to-Celebrate-Ad-FINAL.pdf>>.

²⁴ Electronic Intifada, "NYC Activists Call for End of CAT's Support for Israeli Human Rights Abuses," April 14, 2005, available at: <<http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article3762.shtml>>.

²⁵ E.B. Solomont, "'Charlotte' gets no love for Ahava link," *Jerusalem Post*, August 7, 2009, available at: <<http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=151124>>.

²⁶ UK House of Commons hearings on Scrutiny of Arms Export Controls (2009), "Examination of Witnesses," March 11, 2009, available at: <<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200809/cmselect/cmquad/178/9031102.htm>>.

EU-Israel Association Agreement.²⁷ These organizations also engaged in lobbying throughout Europe, hoping to block Israel's entry into the OECD.²⁸

The BDS National Committee (BNC) not only targets companies doing business with Israel, but has waged aggressive attacks against Zionist and Jewish organizations as "parastatal agents" of Israel. These attacks involve

[e]ngaging in judicial and criminal pursuit and accountability against, and applying pressure to remove the charity status and tax exemptions from, the Zionist organizations worldwide, including the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, and the Jewish National Fund, and dealing with them legally as racist, colonial institutions.²⁹

As noted above, Badil (which is also a BNC leader) organized a "targeted campaign to expose the lies of AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League and to expose the Jewish and Zionist community's double standards regarding Nakba & Occupation."

4. APARTHEID RHETORIC

A key component of the Durban Strategy is to equate Israel with apartheid South Africa, despite the manifest differences between the two countries.³⁰ Former South African dissident Benjamin Pogrund has remarked that the term "apartheid" is used "because it comes easily to hand: it is a lazy label for the complexities of the Middle East conflict." Irwin Cotler notes that "the indictment of Israel as an apartheid state ... also involves the call for the dismantling of Israel...." The singling-out of Israel as an "apartheid state," therefore, is a form of incitement and in itself may be an expression of racism.

NGO campaigns invoking the apartheid canard take several forms, including: (1) gratuitous use of apartheid rhetoric; (2) characterizing the Arab-Israeli conflict as motivated by alleged Jewish race-hatred of Arabs, rather than one based on competing national and territorial claims; (3) disregarding the role of Arab bigotry; (4) ignoring the context of terror; (5) claiming all alleged violations of human rights and humanitarian law rise to the level of "apartheid," albeit only if committed by Israel; (6) hypocritically accusing Israel of "apartheid" while actively participating in the political process and enjoying the benefits conferred by the state; and (7) ignoring practices in Arab and Muslim countries that more closely resemble apartheid South Africa.

²⁷ Although the EU has association agreements with Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and other abusive and authoritarian regimes, these NGOs have not engaged in any substantive lobbying efforts to suspend these agreements.

²⁸ "Aid agencies call for suspension of enhanced EU-Israel agreements," January 7, 2009, available at: <http://www.diakonia.se/Documents/public/MEDIA_SERVICE/Gaza_Media_release_full_version_Jan_7th2009.pdf>; NGO Monitor; "NGOs protest Israel's OECD acceptance," April-May 2010 Digest, available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/digest_info.php?id=2924#ngsoecd>.

²⁹ "Palestinian Civil Society Strategic Position Paper for the Durban Review Conference," available at: <http://bdsmovement.net/files/English-BNC_Position_Paper-Durban_Review.pdf>.

³⁰ For more on these campaigns, see Anne Herzberg, "NGO 'Apartheid State' Campaign: Deliberately Immoral or Intellectually Lazy?" NGO Monitor, March 22, 2010, available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/ngo_apartheid_state_campaign_deliberately_immoral_or_intellectually_lazy>.

Despite claims of being founded in principles of universal human rights and international law, many of these NGO allegations and legal arguments originate with the PLO's Negotiations Affairs Department and were developed for propaganda purposes. Again, European and foundation funding plays a significant role in facilitating these campaigns, including grants from the New Israel Fund. Such funding is clearly inconsistent with a March 2010 statement by NIF CEO Daniel Sokatch, claiming that NIF "deeply disagree[s] with the use of 'apartheid' in the Israeli context. It is a historically inaccurate and inflammatory term that serves only to demonize Israel and alienate a majority of Jews around the world, including those who care deeply about issues of democracy, human rights, social justice and peace."

Some notable examples of "apartheid" rhetoric from NGOs include a statement by Sarah Leah Whitson, director of HRW's Mid-East North Africa Division, who claimed that Israel has put "a vastly discriminatory system of laws and policies in place that create a system of apartheid under any legal definition." Jessica Montell, Executive Director of the NIF- and European-funded B'Tselem, commented that "the word apartheid is useful for mobilizing people because of its emotional power. *In some cases*, the situation in the West Bank is worse than apartheid in South Africa." NIF- and EU-funded Adalah joined with European-funded Al Haq to issue a 302-page publication entitled, "Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid? A Re-Assessment of Israel's Practices in the Occupied Palestinian Territories under International Law." The publication declares Israel guilty of "colonialism" and "apartheid" and purports to catalogue Israel's "violations" including implementing a "Grand Apartheid" policy by placing Palestinians in "reserves and ghettos." The report concludes by demanding the international community "request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice regarding Israel's practices of apartheid and colonialism."

5. "JUDAIZATION"

Many of the NGOs invoking the Durban Strategy use the terms "Judaization" or "Judaize" in their campaigning. The PLO developed these expressions to erase the Jewish historical connection to the region, as well as to suggest that the very presence of Jews is alien and unacceptable. The use of the term "Judaize," therefore, is an articulation of anti-Jewish discrimination.

This terminology bolsters several NGO themes, including that Jews are "foreign, colonial occupiers" in the region; that Jewish self-determination is "racist" and illegitimate, as opposed to Palestinian self-determination, which is an international legal obligation; and that the Law of Return and symbols such as the Israeli flag or national anthem are "racist" even though most European countries and all Islamic countries have official state religions and official state religious symbols. The term "Judaize" is not only used for East Jerusalem and the West Bank,³¹ but also to delegitimize Jewish neighborhoods in Jaffa, Acre (Akko), and the Negev — or, in other words, challenging the legitimacy of a Jewish presence even within the Green Line. While it is perhaps not surprising that the

³¹ Regardless of one's views on the current legal status of East Jerusalem and the West Bank, the continual historical Jewish presence in these areas prior to 1948 is also denied by these organizations as is the destruction of Jewish symbols and infrastructure in this area during the Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967.

PLO would employ such terminology, it is immoral for human rights organizations to use phrases supporting ethnically-based exclusion.

Ir Amim, an Israeli NGO funded by the EU, NIF, Sweden, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, claimed in an October 2009 update that

[T]his process of accelerated Judaization and Israelization in East Jerusalem, ... is part of an effort to change the existing discourse ... of which the Muslim Quarter becomes "the renewed Jewish Quarter," the Old City and the Holy Basin become "ancient Jerusalem."

Similarly, in a September 2010 publication on alleged Israeli policy in Jerusalem, entitled *Unsafe Space*, the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) stated the report's purpose was "to bring to light the stories of the Palestinian residents, to reveal the experience of life in the neighborhood as others attempt to 'Judaize' it."³² Other NGOs that frequently invoke "Judaization" terminology include European-funded NGOs Defence for Children International—Palestine Section, the Alternative Information Center, and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights.

6. NAZI/HOLOCAUST COMPARISONS

As highlighted in the EU working definition, "accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust" and "drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis" are forms of antisemitism. Many NGOs engage in these accusations and comparisons and use Nazi or Holocaust rhetoric in their campaigns to describe alleged Israeli abuses toward the Palestinians. Terms such as "ghettos," "ethnic cleansing," "genocide," and "concentration camps" frequently appear.

In a June 2007 report, Amnesty International referred to Israel's security barrier, erected to protect against a wave of Palestinian suicide bombings targeting restaurants, malls, and buses that had killed hundreds and wounded thousands, as "the Wall of Death."³³ This phrase mirrored an appellation used to describe the notorious site near Block 11 at Auschwitz where thousands of prisoners were summarily executed.

Many NGOs exploited the Gaza War and the Goldstone process to engage in this form of demonization. For instance, Michael Warschawski of the European-funded Alternative Information Center³⁴ issued highly inflammatory remarks during the war, offensively stating:

Ehud Barak, Tzipi Livni, Gabi Ashkenazi and Ehud Olmert don't you dare show your faces at any memorial ceremony for the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto, Lublin, Vilna or Kishinev.... You are not representing any continuity with the Warsaw Ghetto, because today the Warsaw Ghetto is right in front of you, targeted by your own tanks and artillery, and its name is Gaza....³⁵

³² ACRI is funded by NIF, EU, Sweden, UK, Norway, the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, the Ford Foundation, and Christian Aid.

³³ Amnesty International, "Enduring Occupation: Palestinians under siege in the West Bank," June 2007.

³⁴ For more on the Alternative Information Center, see <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/article/alternative_information_center_aic_profile>.

³⁵ Michael Warschawski, "Absolutely Not in Their Name, Not in Ours," AIC, January 18, 2009.

Al Mezan, a Gaza-based NGO that receives substantial funding from the EU, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Ireland accused Israeli officials of “inciting a ‘holocaust’ (genocide).”

In its submission to the Goldstone panel, a group of NIF- and EU-funded NGOs³⁶ (Gisha, ACRI, Adalah, Yesh Din, HaMoked, Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, and the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel) claimed that “a shocking picture emerges of harsh, inhuman and degrading conditions ... [m]any prisoners ... were held in pits in the ground, 1-3 meters deep, apparently dug by the army,” harkening to the execution and cremation pits used by the Nazis to exterminate Jews.

During the public hearings of the Goldstone mission, member Desmond Travers asked pre-vetted³⁷ representatives of the Gaza-based NGO Gaza Community Mental Health Project (funded by the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Torino) a question laced with antisemitic undertones and which elicited a comparison of Israelis to Nazis:

We have heard testimony of great, uh, violence, *seemingly un-militarily, unnecessary violence* inflicted particularly on children. There have been instances of the shooting of children in front of their parents. As an ex-soldier I find that kind of action *to be very, very strange and very unique*. I would like to ask you if you have any professional insights as to *what mindset or what conditioning or what training could bring around a state of behavior that would cause a soldier, a fellow human being to shoot children in front of their parents*. Do you have any professional insights into that kind of behavior? [emphasis added]

In response, the representatives stated that:

With time the Israeli soldier has the image of absolute superiority.... There we see the arrogance of power and he uses it without thinking of humanity at all ... inside Israel there is an identification with the aggressor, the Nazis.

Imagery associated with the Holocaust such as emaciated prisoners caged behind barbed wire or children holding up their hands while being threatened at gunpoint by soldiers is also commonly used by NGOs (see Appendix, Images 5 and 6). Other NGOs, like NIF-funded and EU-funded Mada al-Carmel and Adalah, accuse Israel and Jews of “exploiting” the Holocaust at the expense of Palestinian self determination:

We believe that exploiting [the Holocaust] and its consequences in order to legitimize the right of the Jews to establish a state at the expense of the Palestinian people serves to belittle the universal, human, and moral lessons to be learned from this catastrophic event, which concerns the whole of humanity.³⁸

³⁶ Adalah, “Submission of Human Rights Organizations based in Israel to the Goldstone Inquiry Delegation,” June 2009, available at: <[http://www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/jun09/goldstone%20report_and_appendix\[1\].pdf](http://www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/jun09/goldstone%20report_and_appendix[1].pdf)>.

³⁷ Witnesses chosen by the Goldstone mission to appear at the public hearings were extensively interviewed prior to their “testimony.”

³⁸ Haifa Declaration, May 15, 2007, available at: <<http://www.mada-research.org/UserFiles/file/haifaenglish.pdf>>.

7. CHRISTIAN ANTISEMITISM, SUPERSESSIONISM

Classic Christian antisemitism accuses Jews of deicide, the blood libel, and the libel of “poisoning wells” and advances supersessionism (replacement theology). Many NGOs have adopted these themes, substituting Palestinians as the new victims of these alleged Jewish crimes. These campaigns are highly offensive and reflect a gross insensitivity to interfaith relationships.

Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, a Jerusalem-based NGO, is a leader in the anti-Israel church divestment movement and frequently campaigns against a two-state solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Palestinian Anglican, Naim Ateek, heads the organization and frequently employs antisemitic theological themes and imagery in his speeches and publications. His 2001 Easter message stated that “it seems to many of us that Jesus is on the cross again with thousands of crucified Palestinians around him. ... The Israeli government crucifixion system is operating daily.” In a February 2001 sermon, Ateek intimated that Israel was responsible for the death of Jesus (the Palestinians): “Israel has placed a large boulder, a big stone that has metaphorically shut off the Palestinians in a tomb. It is similar to the stone placed on the entrance of Jesus’ tomb...” Sabeel is funded by the Swedish government via Diakonia, a Christian humanitarian aid organization.³⁹

Other NGOs exploit Christian holidays to issue condemnations of the Jewish state that invoke these classical antisemitic theological themes. In 2006, British NGO War on Want issued a Christmas card entitled, “Mary and Joseph being frisked on their way to find an inn for the night,” showing a pregnant Mary and Joseph being searched by IDF officers at the security barrier in Bethlehem (see Appendix, Image 7). Similarly, Amos Trust sells a “wall nativity” scene where a model of the security barrier runs through a traditional nativity setting (see Appendix, Image 8). Christian Aid promoted a Christmas appeal, entitled “Child of Bethlehem,” featuring the story of “Jessica,” a seven-year-old Palestinian girl allegedly injured by Israeli soldiers (see Appendix, Image 9) Christian Aid was heavily criticized by both Jewish and Christian groups for exploiting Christmas for its anti-Israel advocacy.

These anti-Israel theological campaigns are not only confined to Christian NGOs but are also promoted by NGO “superpowers.” During the 2006 Lebanon War, Human Rights Watch’s executive director, Ken Roth issued a supersessionist anti-Jewish slur that denigrated the Old Testament, claiming that Israel’s actions were motivated by “an eye for an eye—or more accurately in this case twenty eyes for an eye” which “may have been the morality of a more primitive moment.”

Modern-day expressions of these Medieval libels frequently reoccur in NGO campaigning. These include accusations of Israel uniquely imposing “collective punishment” on the population of Gaza and claims of a systematic Israeli policy to deliberately target Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in counter-terror operations.⁴⁰ The context of Hamas and Hezbollah attacks against Israeli citizens are minimized or even erased.

³⁹ For more on Sabeel’s activities, see NGO Monitor, “Sabeel Conferences: Fuelling the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” October 8, 2007, available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/sabeel_conference_101107.pdf>.

⁴⁰ For examples of these campaigns, see NGO Monitor’s monograph, “The NGO Front in the Gaza War: the Durban Strategy Continues (February 2009),” available at: <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/data/images/File/NGO_Front_Gaza.pdf>.

During the Gaza War these types of accusations were particularly pronounced and also underlay the conclusions of the Goldstone report. Diakonia, for instance, declared that “[Israel’s] policy amounts to the collective punishment of the entire Gaza population...” Oxfam charged that Israel engaged in “... massive and disproportionate violence against Gazan civilians in violation of international law.” A joint submission to Goldstone by ACRI, Gisha, Adalah, PHR-I, HaMoked, PCATI, and Yesh Din claimed Israel “deliberately and knowingly shelled civilian institutions...” PCHR joined the chorus by alleging that Israel perpetrated “indiscriminate killing and continued systematic destruction of all the Palestinian institutions and civilian facilities in the Gaza Strip.”

Ken Roth also played a highly public role in promoting these charges. In December 2009, Roth wrote, “[t]oday, the prevailing U.S. doctrine—most notably in Afghanistan—stresses the importance of protecting civilians...”⁴¹ Israel’s view [is] that one prevails in asymmetric warfare by pummeling rather than protecting civilians...”⁴² To support his claim, Roth misrepresented remarks of former Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni:

there is strong evidence that Israel wanted Gazan civilians to pay the price for Hamas’s abuses ... as ... Tzipi Livni, said...: ‘I heard that Hamas declared the man killed by a rocket in Ashkelon “one of the Zionists” despite being an Israeli Arab. They don’t make a distinction, and neither should we.’

Roth used this quote as proof that the IDF was ordered by the highest levels of the Israeli government to indiscriminately kill Palestinians in Gaza. In fact, Livni was actually rebuking Israeli Knesset Member Ahmed Tibi for his remarks exacerbating racial divisions between Israeli Jews and Arabs and was encouraging Israelis to embrace a common identity in the face of rocket attacks from Gaza. Roth omitted this context entirely from his article, including Tibi’s remarks, in order to bolster his anti-Israel slander.⁴³

Several Christian NGOs, including Christian Peacemaker Teams and other groups active in the BDS movement, accuse Israel of poisoning the Palestinian water supply. Amnesty International has also aided these claims. In October 2009, Amnesty released a 112-page report, entitled “Troubled Waters—Palestinians Denied Fair Access to Water,” claiming that Israel enacts “water policies and practices” in order to “discriminate against the Palestinian population of the OPT.” However, the report ignored evidence not only that Israel provides West Bank Palestinians with more water than required

⁴¹ Roth repeatedly advances this claim even though the empirical evidence does not support his charges. In fact, the United States and NATO have a much higher ratio of civilian casualties to combatants than Israel. For instance, in the November–December 2004 Battle of Fallujah in Iraq, US and British troops were alleged to have killed several thousand civilians. A forthcoming study examining the effectiveness of US targeted killings in Afghanistan and Pakistan have found that an average of nine civilians are killed for every combatant. The rate for Israeli operations was found to be two civilians for every combatant.

⁴² Ken Roth, “Geneva Conventions Still Hold Up,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, December 30, 2009, available at: <http://www.fpif.org/articles/geneva_conventions_still_hold_up>.

⁴³ When NGO Monitor pointed out that Roth had distorted Livni’s remarks, HRW posted an “explanation” on its web page reprinting the op-ed, claiming the statement was “ambiguous” (even though it was not). No correction, however, was posted on the *Foreign Policy in Focus* site where the original piece is still available, nor did HRW amend its earlier reports that had made this same claim.

under the Oslo framework but also that in some areas Palestinian water thieves were responsible for stealing up to 50% of supplies. Amnesty also claimed that Palestinian water consumption (60-70 liters per person per day), is “the lowest in the region” even though this level is similar, if not better, than that of comparable cities like Amman, Tunis, and Algiers. Notably, the report was issued to coincide with a November 2009 speaking tour in the United States organized by the Palestinian Cultural Academic Boycott of Israel (PCABI) movement, entitled “Israel’s Control of Water as a Tool of Apartheid and Means of Ethnic Cleansing.”

Similarly, Amnesty International was also responsible for originating a claim during the Gaza War that Israel had “wantonly” destroyed Gaza’s only flour mill in order to hamper the Palestinian food supply.⁴⁴ It further claimed that the mill’s “owners are adamant that the site was neither a launch pad for rockets nor a weapons cache, and the Israeli army has provided no evidence to the contrary.”⁴⁵ Documentary evidence released by the UN (UNITAR)⁴⁶ and the IDF refuted Amnesty’s version of events, clearly showing that the mill was damaged by artillery during a firefight with Hamas combatants.

8. CONCLUSION

Given the tens of millions of dollars funneled each year by European governments and prominent foundations to NGOs that are used to promote themes that fall under the EU’s own definition of antisemitism, it is important to highlight these examples and bring them to the attention of those underwriting such NGO activities. These funding agencies must recognize their role in spreading antisemitism by financing organizations that engage in these highly offensive and inflammatory activities. It is critical that funders adopt guidelines to prevent further abuse of taxpayer largesse and generous donations. It is also essential that such funding is regularly monitored and independent evaluations are conducted with mechanisms put in place for oversight. At present, little to no substantive evaluation of NGO activities is conducted by the European Union, governments or foundation funders.

Peace between Israelis and Palestinians is one of the most complex political issues of our time. Solutions cannot be found, however, when problems are solely viewed through a narrow ideological lens and morality and universal principles are exploited to promote bias and racism. Palestinian self-determination cannot be considered a just cause if it is obtained by propagating antisemitism—the “oldest hatred”—or by denigrating and seeking to exterminate Jewish self-determination rights. Hopefully, the critical questions raised in this paper will inform the debate and lead to the necessary reforms. Without such changes, peace and co-existence will be farther away than ever.

⁴⁴ Amnesty International, “22 Days of Death and Destruction,” July 2009, at 71.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ UNITAR, “Satellite Image Analysis in Support to the United Nations Fact Finding Mission to the Gaza Conflict”, July 31, 2009, at 33, available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hr_council/specialsession/9/docs/UNITAR_UNOSAT_FFMGC_31July2009.pdf>. The UNITAR report notes that most of the damage found at the mill appeared to have occurred on January 16-18, 2009 (not January 10 as claimed by Amnesty) and was the result of “ground fire,” not an airstrike.

APPENDIX: NGO IMAGERY

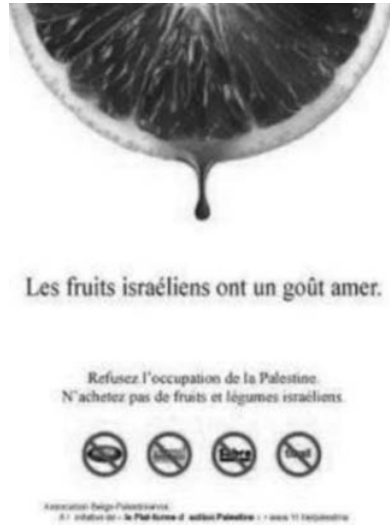
Image 1: Flyer distributed at the NGO Forum of the 2001 UN Durban Conference



Image 2: Award-winning submission to Badil's 2009-10 Annual Al-Awda Award



Image 3: Oxfam "blood orange" poster



**Image 4: Anti-Israel divestment rally
in Brussels, May 12, 2010**



Image 5: "Civilians Under Siege"



Source: B'Tselem, *The Gaza Strip: One Big Prison* (2007)

Image 6: Poster advertising Israeli Apartheid Week



Image 7: War on Want Christmas Card



Image 8: Amos Trust's "Small Wall Nativity"



Image 9: Christian Aid's "Bethlehem's Child" campaign poster

