



Ehud Rosen

THE SPIDER WEB

**The Roots of BDS and the Campaign
to Delegitimize Israel**

**A roadmap to the malevolent, multi-national,
global networks and their interlocking connections**



Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

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Cover photos:

Top: Anti-Israel demonstration in Cape Town, South Arica, 2014. (Reuters/
Mike Hutchings)

Bottom: Anti-Israel demonstrators march behind a BDS banner in France.

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Summary of the Main Findings

For almost two decades, Israel has been subjected to an international campaign of political subversion – known as the “Delegitimization Campaign” – aimed at undermining its existence as the sovereign nation state of the Jewish people. The campaign operates in the political, legal, academic, cultural, religious, and economic fields, and also includes “direct action” activities such as flotillas or pre-coordinated demonstrations and marches around the world.

Various organizations follow, map, analyze, and examine the central groups and their EU sources of funding. At the Jerusalem Center we have also been following and mapping the main groups that take part in the campaign. Yet, comprehensive and in-depth research is still missing; such research should isolate the main players – their structures and working methods, inner struggles and dynamics within the campaign, as well as the attempts to convey their message in Western liberal language. In this paper, which is part of our ongoing research, we aim to assist in filling this gap. This time, we will map strategically significant European countries, each having its own specific weight, as well as the United States. This mapping exercise also reveals that in spite of the unique geo-political structures in each country, when looking at the main players in the Delegitimization Campaign, the picture is very similar.

The move toward Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) on Israeli products, which comprises most of the economic aspects of the campaign, has probably gained most of the attention among the other fields of the campaign. BDS has many overlapping features with other fields of this campaign, yet also has its unique structures. In common with other fields of this campaign, BDS is presented as a Palestinian “grassroots,” “civil society” initiative; implementing “nonviolent” means to resist the occupation. Yet the reality is markedly different and highlights the main tactics of the main players in the whole campaign:

- BDS is not a Palestinian initiative to begin with; the perception of escalating boycotts against Israel has been gradually developed by international far-left elements, especially those who were previously involved in campaigns against the Vietnam War and in South Africa (including members of the ruling ANC Party); the well-known three basic obligations of BDS from July 2005 were actually published in very similar terms back in February 2005 – in the closing statement of the World Social Forum (WSF). WSF is the annual international anti-globalist gathering that counters Davos’ World Economic Forum. For many years, it has also served as one of the main international platforms in promoting anti-Israel sentiments and boycotts.
- On the Palestinian side, “civil society” has actually been built “back to front.” From the early 2000s, European countries assisted to develop “civil society” organizations as part of their efforts to promote peace and democracy. A great deal of funding was devoted to this initiative, and political activists were recruited as partners. This European-devised project thus created a politicized “civil society” network, whereby many NGOs merely serve as political fronts for Fatah and the Palestinian Authority, as well as for the Marxist and Maoist fronts (PFLP, DFLP). In this context it should also be noted that the PFLP remains a designated terrorist group in several European countries and in the United States, but those acting under the wing of “civil society” are many times exempt from revealing the nature of their affiliations and ties to problematic bodies.

- Many current PA ministers and senior advisers to President Mahmoud Abbas sit on the boards of the NGOs that take part in the campaign, helping to promote anti-Israel initiatives and boycotts – an endgame that is diametrically opposed to the purported goal of peace negotiations. Moreover, BDS is being increasingly adopted overtly by senior Fatah/PA officials.
- The “nonviolent” nature of BDS and “direct action” activities is also questionable, considering that at least several main figures and organizations that promote and initiate them have supported violence and on more than one occasion these activities have led to violence.
- As has been highlighted in several Jerusalem Center publications, the Delegitimacy Campaign is led by fringe groups, which many times utilize the Palestinian/Israeli conflict to achieve wider goals. Yet, since those who look into this campaign usually look at it in a local perspective, important aspects such as the “mainstreaming” of such groups in Western politics of the last few years, or the question of political Islamism, its activism in Western countries, and government policies toward it until now remain mostly out of the equation.

Two notes should be added here:

- Since this paper analyzes the works of the various players by countries, several cross-country (especially far-left) organizations and umbrella groups do not have their specific entries; these deserve a separate paper that will also look into the way their combined work is done.
- The role that Iranian-influenced bodies play in the Delegitimacy Campaign has not yet been analyzed properly. For many years, its “public face” expressed itself in Western countries by mobilizing the annual demonstrations and events surrounding Al-Quds Day (many times in cooperation with far-left and Sunni Islamists characterized in this paper). Lately, however, first signs of political awakening

among Shiite communities in Western countries have been noticed although Shiite communities in Western countries – their immediate target audience – are rather small. This new phenomenon could also merit a separate survey.

I wish to extend my gratitude to several friends and colleagues at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs for their assistance in the process of writing up this paper. First and foremost to Dr. Dore Gold, President of the Center, and Senior Project Manager Yossi Kuperwasser for his wise advice and guidance. Special thanks to Dan Diker, Director of the Political Warfare Project, and to Pinhas Inbari and Adam Shay for the long discussions and deep insights. Lastly to Lenny Ben David for his careful editing.

Executive Summary

- As emphasized in our previous publications, while various activities and actions instigated as part of the Delegitimization Campaign are presented as originating from grassroots, civil society organizations, in reality those initiating the battle are usually part of various NGO networks – comprising a relatively small number of activists who come together on the basis of a joint ideology and end goals, personal ties, and sources of funding. In most cases, they can be characterized along these lines; they can be identified and profiled along these parameters.
- Furthermore, in many instances, the same individuals and groups have been active in a range of campaigns. This means that while anti-Israel and anti-Semitic sentiments are growing, the number of their instigators is gradually becoming smaller.
- Yet these instigators are simultaneously becoming more focused and professional – and of course funded for the sole purpose of delegitimizing Israel. In many instances, state actors fund them behind the scenes to act as “proxies” to promote their various interests and goals.
- The advance of campaigning abilities on behalf of these players can be seen in two relevant incidents: in July 2017, following the terrorist attack on Temple Mount that brought the Israeli government to place

metal detectors in the entrance gates to Al-Aqsa; and in December 2017, around U.S. President Trump's declaration that Jerusalem should be recognized as the capital of Israel and preparation would begin to move the U.S. embassy there.

→ Many of the actions, demonstrations, and riots that took place around the world were pre-coordinated, aiming to create the impression of a wide, global mobilization that was not really there.

Following is a brief analysis of the components of the campaign; the motivations behind their agitation, and their working methods:

International Far-Left Elements¹

Far-left elements, at best supporters of the "one state solution," serve as the main mentors for the other forces involved in the campaign.

→ They commonly hold post-colonial/post-imperialist theories (inspired by intellectuals such as Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, and others), in which Israel is perceived as a Middle Eastern imperialist enclave. Ever since the 2008 recession in Europe, new players entered the scene, targeting Israel as a symbol for Western capitalism, which they abhor. The situation seems to have gone far beyond the common discussion on anti-Zionism and the "new anti-Semitism" (in fact, many of the activists are Jewish and anti-Zionist Israelis). Exploiting Israel's democratic system and freedoms, radical anti-Western groups and remnants of the Cold War-era, even though diverse in their ideologies, histories, and internal tensions, gradually come together to target Israel as a symbol for everything they object to in the Western world and values.

→ In the past few years, encouraged by the Czech Velvet Revolution (1989-1990), as well as a series of books on the history and practices of "nonviolent struggles" by the American professor Gene Sharp – far-left, mainly anarchist groups, adopted this language and methodology. In

our context, it should be noted that even actions that may potentially lead to violence are still characterized as nonviolent.

➔ Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, various far-left groups have pointed to political Islam (Islamism) as being what they perceive to be the only organized force able to resist U.S. hegemony and their perception of “empire.”

➔ “Resistance” [*muqawamah*] is often accepted and presented as a legitimate tool. Rather than acknowledging that non-state organized players are waging terrorist attacks against states, “resistance” is portrayed along Marxist lines as the natural response of “oppressed” civilians against an “oppressor.”

➔ On the other hand, the “War on Terror,” declared by U.S. President George W. Bush following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, served as a main catalyst for activism for those who perceived it as a new and unacceptable form of war against a method or an imperialist/post-colonialist scheme.

➔ The nature of far-left ideologies like anarchism necessitates continuous campaigning and activism. Its practitioners therefore constantly find new reasons to demonstrate – while inventing new groups and fronts, usually operated by the same people who claim “wide support” and “huge successes.” Such patterns also resemble the methods employed in the past by the prominent Communist propagandist Willi Münzenberg.

➔ Activism gradually expresses itself in “international mobilization”/ “direct action” (such as flotillas, pre-organized demonstrations and marches around the world, political lobbying, and online campaigns, which run simultaneously in various languages), on the one hand, and the economic BDS route, on the other.

➔ In the current battle against Israel, tactics used during the campaign against the Vietnam War, as well as the battle against South Africa’s Apartheid regime, are implemented. Furthermore, key activists and

intellectuals who were involved in the previous campaigns also play a major role.

➔ Cooperation between various far-left groups and the beginning of a long-term strategic plan to isolate Israel first manifested themselves in the NGO Forum held alongside the UN 2001 World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa. This collaboration continues on the ground via a number of international platforms – ranging from the annual anti-Globalist World Social Forum (WSF) to the regional and local gatherings that emerged from it, such as the bi-annual European Social Forum (ESF), and also to the Russell Tribunal on Palestine (RToP), which has already held several sessions (in 2015 it even held a session during the WSF in Tunis).²

➔ It is worth noting here that the original call for boycotts and divestment was published during the January 2005 WSF in Brazil,³ several months prior to the “Palestinian civil society call for BDS.”⁴ The endorsement of the Palestinian struggle and the support for such measures were part of a central call passed by the Social Movements Assembly to globalize the struggle against neoliberalism, wars, racism, castes, patriarchy, imperialism, and the destruction of the environment. The Palestinian struggle was one of several struggles across the globe that were championed in this call.

The Arab Anti-Peace Camp and the Palestinian Authority

➔ Historically, since the 1960s, far-left European elements have had ties with some of the subgroups within Fatah and the Marxist/Maoist fronts (PFLP, DFLP). In addition, the leaders-in-exile in Britain of the anti-Zionist/anti-Imperialist Matzpen Movement, in particular, became the “educators” in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict of leading figures of the “new Left” in Europe.⁵ Gradually, the conflict became an extension of other anti-colonialist struggles, and the same language and terminology were adopted. Former Matzpen leaders are still very active in the battle today.

→ During the 1990s, some key figures in Fatah and other PLO organizations who opposed the Oslo Accords and the peace process either left or remained as oppositionists leading the militant line. The most senior among them was Farouk Kaddoumi, (Abu al-Lutf), who serves as head of the PLO's Political Department in Tunis. Kaddoumi, and others in his circles, sometimes participate in activities initiated by the Islamist camp, and continue to promote the spirit of anti-normalization and anti-peace within Fatah and the Palestinian Authority against the peace process.

→ During the 2000s, "the increased donor aid into Palestine as a result of the establishment of the PA also contributed to the proliferation of NGOs that addressed a variety of social, cultural, economic as well as political agendas. The Palestinian NGO community has become vibrant and well-funded by international donors, and many NGO leaders were also politically active in various parties."⁶ Furthermore, as explained in a 2004 report, attempts by civil society organizations (CSO) to redefine the relationship with their political parties – in order to create partnerships rather than continue with patronage – were resisted during the years of the first Intifada. The NGOs evolved out of this conflict as winners and the political parties were completely sidelined. According to Salah Abdel-Shafi, "Some prominent NGO political activists marginalized the political party and use the NGO as a platform to enter the social and political arena."⁷

→ This means that the structure of Palestinian "civil society" and "grassroots activity" is very different from Western structures. Further, this structure also works in the opposite way, by allowing certain NGOs to practically serve as fronts for political organizations and forces, and sometimes serving to "absolve" those with problematic reputations and violent backgrounds. Problematic figures are thus able to deepen their political and financial cooperation with core Western "civil society" organizations and NGOs and the relevant official UN and EU institutions. Former members of terrorist-designated groups, like the PFLP, are able to both cooperate with Western "civil society" bodies and operate their own NGOs in various countries. At best,

foreign groups fail to perform basic due diligence checks to ascertain the true identity of those behind certain “civil society” structures.

→ Working through “civil society” organizations and NGOs around the world eases the way to the Durban route of 2001 – to spread and brand Israel in terms of “apartheid,” “ethnic cleansing,” and so forth.

→ Acting under “civil society” and “NGO” titles also enables rival political Palestinian camps, especially the nationalist and the Islamist camps, to collaborate over certain issues, both within the Palestinian territories and abroad.

→ On the other hand, having nurtured these artificial and heavily politicized NGO networks, European figures and decision makers often seek their advice in significant issues, when it is unclear how relevant they are, if at all, to the ordinary Palestinian in the street.

→ A more recent tendency growing within Fatah and the Palestinian Authority is the increasing participation in the campaign of figures who were in the past – at least publicly – supportive of the peace process. *De facto*, this is creating a parallel Palestinian track that continues to aspire to eliminate Israel while engaged in the peace process.

→ This bolsters the Palestinian Authority’s efforts in the past few years to override the Oslo Accords, apply international pressure on Israel via international institutions, and, on the ground encourage “popular,” “peaceful” struggle. PA support for “popular peaceful resistance [*muqawama*]” also enables its leadership’s support for BDS, as expressed, for example, by the Hebron Governor Kamil Hamid, who opened the third BDS National Committee’s (BNC) Conference in December 2011.⁸

Political Islamism, Mainly the Global Muslim Brotherhood

→ As explained in our 2010 paper dedicated to the British arena,⁹ the Muslim Brotherhood, once a Middle Eastern movement, has been

internationalized to form a network which, according to several senior figures in the Movement, is represented in up to 80 countries. This network is better known as the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and cooperation between the various affiliates around the globe can be seen in joint conferences, political lobbying groups, pre-coordinated demonstrations, or online media campaigns, “aid” flotillas or convoys, and joint sources of funding etc.

➔ In Europe and the United States, Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations started to develop in the late 1950s, and today they comprise a wide-ranging *da’wah* network that includes mosques, charities, schools, social institutions, and political lobbying umbrella groups – all claiming to speak for the Muslim communities in each country. For many years, being almost the only voice speaking for Islam in Western countries, they were indeed perceived as such by officialdom. However, there has been a discernible change in the last few years – with the whole subject being scrutinized, and with new groups of Muslims gradually being formed that counter this perception.

➔ Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations in Europe come under the umbrella of the Brussels-based Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE), which was founded in 1989 and today claims to have hundreds of member organizations spread across 28 European states.¹⁰

➔ The main spiritual leader, especially of the European part of the Global Muslim Brotherhood, is the Qatar-based Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi. Toward the end of the 1980s, al-Qaradawi developed the theory of Minorities Jurisprudence [*fiqh al-Aqaliyyat*], which for the first time treated Muslims living in non-Muslim countries as a settled fact and not as victims of circumstances who aspire to go back and live in Islamic countries. In his new theory, al-Qaradawi ruled on their daily lives and unique challenges.

➔ In 1997, FIOE initiated the formation of the European Council on Fatwa and Research (ECFR), which issues fatwas affecting the daily lives of Muslim minorities to implement the theory of *fiqh al-Aqaliyyat*.

In 2004, during a visit to London, al-Qaradawi launched his Qatari-headquartered International Union for Muslim Scholars (IUMS) to spread his theories globally.

➔ For the immediate Palestinian/Hamas context, the most relevant Muslim Brotherhood umbrella group is the Union of Good (UoG), a large coalition of European charities affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood that came together via al-Qaradawi's initiative shortly after the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000, and was designated in 2008 by the U.S. Treasury for funding Hamas.¹¹ Many of the UoG's member charities (some of which disavow the UoG's claim of their membership) are central to the financial structure of the Muslim Brotherhood, which also includes commercial companies, real-estate portfolios, and more. Some charities are also used to fund various purposes within Europe.

➔ It seems that the major boost for Islamists to join the Delegitimization Campaign came from Operation Cast Lead in Gaza (2008-2009). In the months that followed the operation, a series of international conferences was held in Istanbul. It is crucial to understand the first conference in order to understand later developments.

➔ This first conference brought together hundreds of radical Sunni Muslim scholars, who aimed to reshape the battle and open a "third Jihadist front" in Gaza, in addition to Afghanistan and Iraq.¹² It was held under the auspices of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign (GAAC), a main international umbrella organization that brings under its wing Salafist, Salafist-Jihadist, Muslim Brotherhood, and Hamas leaders, some of whom are designated terrorists in the United States and Europe.¹³ The conference gave birth to the infamous Istanbul Declaration, which among other repercussions, caused the British government to cut its ties with the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), after one of its leaders refused to withdraw his signature from the Declaration. A series of panels discussed multiple ways for civilians to "break the siege" on Gaza, such as helping Gaza by sending humanitarian aid on ships, trucks, and other means, collecting money throughout the Arab and Islamic world, peaceful demonstrations

and applying political pressure in various countries, using public polls, and via co-operation with Arab and international legal bodies. Other examples included approaching international courts in actions against the “Zionist entity” and exploiting the media with careful and credible documentation of this tragedy of history in order to shame the racism and barbarity of the occupier.¹⁴ This episode illustrates how the adoption of the civilian element in the struggle has been exploited by the wider Sunni-Islamist community – in addition to violent resistance.

➔ Similar to far-left tactics, and many times inspired by them, those affiliated with the Global Muslim Brotherhood excel in running campaigns and sending a coordinated message that creates the impression of a mass movement raising the most urgent issues concerning the Arab and Muslim world. The Islamist side in many aspects has taken over the Arab and Muslim “street,” and since Fatah and the Palestinian Authority support and promote the “popular struggle” against Israel, it is very easy to join in its initiated campaigns in spite of the fierce rivalry between the sides in the political arena as reflected above.

➔ As part of the “red-green alliance,” the two main European-based Islamist umbrella bodies that coordinated the battle against Israel (both led by UK-based Muslim Brotherhood affiliates), were:

➔ The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG), which included more than 30 NGOs, and apparently started its way at the initiative of FIOE,¹⁵ with many bodies close to the UoG;

➔ The second, chief umbrella group was the International Campaign to Break the Siege of Gaza (ICBSG), which also included Middle Eastern Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas affiliates, as well as several radical western and non-Muslim Brotherhood affiliates.

➔ The London-based Palestinian Return Centre (PRC) is probably the most active European Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated institution in promoting a pro-Hamas agenda. In 2015, the PRC was granted consultative NGO status at the Economic and Social Council of

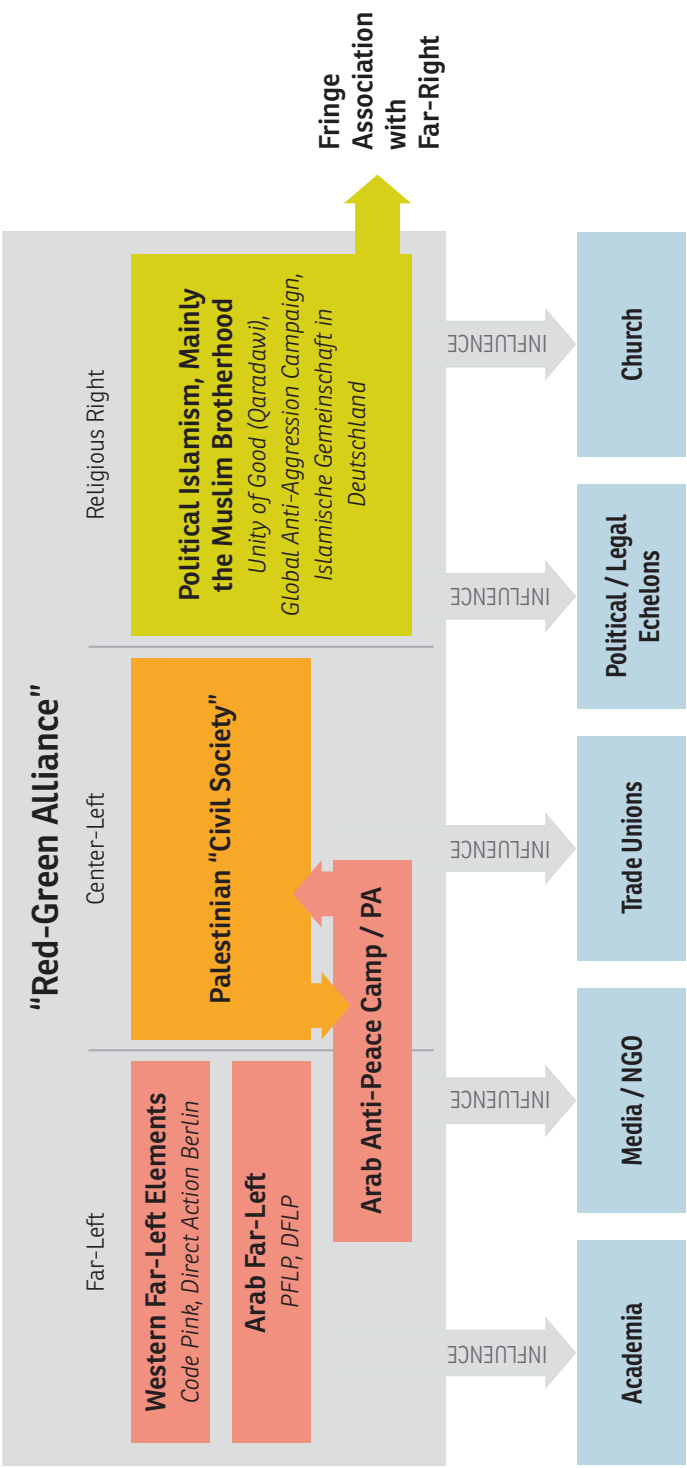
the United Nations (ECOSOC).¹⁶ Its heads are involved in political lobbying, especially with the current leadership of the UK Labour Party, and the European Parliament. Recently, with Hamas' growing aspirations to take over the PLO, and thus win the leadership of the Palestinian Authority, its leaders also started operating various inter-Palestinian initiatives on a global scale.

→ Finally, as part of their attempt to regain credibility after the rapid rise and fall of their post "Arab Spring" Middle Eastern administrations, elements affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood started to create new fronts focusing on "human rights" issues, especially in countries like Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, where the Muslim Brotherhood have recently been weakened. The "human rights" ticket allows them renewed cooperation with international and official humanitarian bodies.

→ All the above points to the gradual process of Islamization and Hamasization of the Palestinian issue in Europe (and the same applies to the United States) over the last decade. This is also evident by the changing identity, as this paper demonstrates, of the officials in Palestinian, European, and U.S. representative bodies and at various anti-war rallies and demonstrations – in which the Arab side was usually Islamist, with the nationalist side sometimes participating but not acting as initiator. In May 2013, for example, President Abbas and his ambassador to Brussels, Leila Shahid, were accused of conspiring "against the interests of all Palestinians, at home and in the diaspora, by engaging in activism against the 11th Conference of Palestinians in Europe, the biggest Palestinian gathering in the diaspora," which has been held annually since 2003 by the Islamist side (with the London-based PRC as its main organizer), and which took place in Brussels that year.¹⁷ Incidentally, this is not the first time that arguments between the two camps over the conference arose. Perhaps because of this, for example, Khaled Al-Zaher of the Palästinensische Gemeinde Berlin (PGB), when speaking at the 8th Palestinians in Europe Conference held in Berlin in 2010, felt the need to stress the diversity of organizations that took part in that conference, underlining the need for cooperation between all camps.¹⁸

- Although most Western promotion of Islamist activism has been made by far-left activists, it is interesting to see that the Muslim Brotherhood also finds common ground with the rising Right wing. For example, in August 2015, the bureau-in-exile of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood was invited by the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) to visit the parliament.¹⁹
- In recent years, U.S. Muslim Brotherhood affiliates have been on the rise, partly due to accommodating policies toward Islamism adopted by the White House and State Department in the Obama era. It is also noticeable that U.S. and European Muslim Brotherhood affiliates now work together closer than before.
- For several years, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) issued an annual list of “The Top Ten Anti-Israel Groups in America.” Among the Muslim groups that appeared on the lists, the majority can be directly identified with U.S. Muslim Brotherhood circles, and others have minimal ties with it. The whole subject still awaits a comprehensive mapping exercise, and this paper also comes to fill in some of the gaps.

The Global Network for Delegitimizing Israel



Preface

By Amb. Dore Gold

In 2011, the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs published the groundbreaking study by Ehud Rosen, “Mapping the Organizational Sources of the Global Delegitimization Campaign against Israel in the UK.” We were curious to understand how Britain emerged as a hub for anti-Israel activity in Europe. How was it possible that in the country that issued the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and was designated by the League of Nations to implement its Mandate for Palestine, political forces were growing and challenging the moral validity of the Jewish state?

What emerged from Rosen’s work was evidence of intimate links between the leading adversaries of Israel and Britain with Islamist groups, many of which had links to international terrorism. The Muslim Association of Britain was tied to the Muslim Brotherhood (MB). It invited Sheikh Yusuf Qaradawi to London in 2004, despite his role as one of the MB’s critical spiritual leaders. Some of its more anti-Western members formed the British Muslim Initiative. These groups were among the leaders of the delegitimization campaign against Israel.

With this book, Rosen has globalized his research and helps the reader understand the extensive web of the delegitimization campaign, including the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) initiatives that have grown in the last decade. While the campaign has a clear

economic side, it also has an ideological element which helps it recruit its supporters. Rosen's work uncovers these links and provides important insights that can help defeat this jihadi war against the State of Israel.

Chapter I

Delegitimization in Germany

With almost 82 million residents, Germany is one of the most important member states of the European Union. Germany's importance also derives from its economic strength. Germany has the largest national economy in Europe, which makes it very relevant to possible consequences of boycotts, especially since Germany is also Israel's largest European trading partner. Germany and Israel enjoy strong political, economic, cultural, social, and scientific relations. These relations have been substantial, also because of the painful memories of the past. In addition, the militaries of both countries have had significant cooperation for many years.

Germany is the second largest immigration destination in the world, after the United States. In 2015, the rates of immigration to Germany were at their peak, with over two million people arriving in the country and 442,000 asylum applications received.²⁰ The immigration crisis in the Middle East, which increased since the Syrian civil war, has also brought about the surfacing of Right-wing populist elements like the Alternative to Deutschland Party (AFD), which won 94 seats in the federal elections in September 2017. Reports in Germany from the past few months warn of the rise of far-right violence on the one hand, and the Islamist threat on the other.²¹ Since many of these immigrants come from Middle Eastern countries, and due to economic and social difficulties many of them are facing, they might be susceptible to influence by radical elements. A Tunisian paper,

for example, maintained in June 2017 that the Muslim Brotherhood increased its presence in Germany since the fall of the Egyptian Morsi regime, and that according to German security sources, the Muslim Brotherhood increased its activities in the eastern part of the country, building mosques and pumping in money.²² At the same time, far-left elements have also been on the rise since the financial crisis began in 2008. Today, the united Left-wing Populist Party *Die Linke* has the third largest parliamentary group in the Bundestag, and also has members in the European parliament as the largest party in the European United Left–Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) group. *Die Linke* MPs have been connected to pro-Palestinian activist groups in the country, both Islamist and far-left. In August 2017, the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) joined forces with the PFLP to be on the election ballot. The MLPD reportedly has 1,800 members.²³

In March 2017, Dr. Andreas Zick, who has been conducting surveys on xenophobia for many years, presented a survey that concluded that “20-25 percent of the German population expresses anti-Semitism when it comes to criticism of Israel.”²⁴

Another important aspect of Germany in analyzing the delegitimization campaign is the assertion that Germany has the largest Palestinian community in Europe. Although official numbers or statistics are not available, research done in 2000 found that Palestinians in Germany reside mainly in major cities and suburbs, and that the wide majority of them work in the medical and engineering sectors.²⁵ In this sense, and as will be demonstrated, Germany also serves as a case study for Palestinian activism, and lessons could be learned about tendencies and developments in other countries as well.

Several German cities hosted the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated “Palestinians in Europe Conference.” In some cases, Jewish groups tried to prevent it from taking place. In May 2011, for example, the ninth annual conference took place in the city of Wuppertal.²⁶ After the Israeli embassy said that the conference has ties to “terrorist organizations,” the chairman of the Jewish community said that the city mayor’s conduct was “shameful.” “That the mayor did not comment

on the anti-Israel conference suggests he finds everything to be fine,” community chairman Leonid Goldberg said. A spokeswoman for the mayor, on the other hand, denied seeing any anti-Semitic literature or photos at the conference.²⁷

A similar occurrence took place toward the conference in 2015, which took place in Berlin. This time, the AJC office in Berlin and pro-Israel politicians also joined the efforts to cancel the conference,²⁸ which eventually took place as planned. In July 2017, demonstrations were held in European cities following the terrorist attack on Temple Mount and the Israeli decision to place metal detectors (magnometers) in the premises. Most of these demonstrations were driven by Muslim Brotherhood affiliates.²⁹ For example, Majed Al-Zeer of the London-based Palestinian Return Centre (PRC) spoke in a demonstration in Berlin.³⁰ Majed Al-Zeer and the PRC work very closely with the Islamist scene in the country, and Al-Zeer frequently speaks in demonstrations. He also spoke in a demonstration held in October 2017 in front of the British embassy in Berlin, as part of the PRC-led “Balfour Apology Campaign” launched to mark the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.³¹ EuroPal Forum, another major Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated front, dedicated a whole chapter to the history of German politics toward Hamas.³²

In recent years, various German institutions took a hard stance against BDS. In August 2017, for example, Frankfurt City Council approved a bill that would prohibit the use of municipal funds and facilities for BDS. The measure was passed on to the city parliament for a vote. Uwe Becker, the deputy mayor and city treasurer for Frankfurt, who initiated and is steering the legislation to passage, told *The Jerusalem Post*:

The BDS movement does not only strongly resemble the “Don’t Buy from Jews” argumentation of former times of the National Socialists, but the movement is built on the same toxic ground and it is poisoning the social climate in the same dangerous way.³³

Earlier that month, Humboldt University in Berlin lodged a criminal complaint against three BDS activists who disrupted a talk by MK Aliza Lavie and an Israeli survivor of the Holocaust. The three faced charges of trespassing at the event with MK Lavie.³⁴ In September 2016, it was reported that the school authorities in Lower Saxony launched an investigation into BDS activist Christoph Glanz's comment to a YouTube clip that said moving Israel to Germany was not an "absurd idea." Glanz is a public-school teacher in the city of Oldenburg.³⁵ On the other hand, German authorities were very heavily criticized for funding organizations that promote BDS. According to *NGO Monitor*, for example –

The German federal government provides millions of euros to political advocacy NGOs in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, through a variety of frameworks, including German federal funding programs of the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the German Federal Foreign Office, government-funded church aid, and independent development NGOs.³⁶

NGO Monitor explains that officially, the funding is aimed at "combating poverty, securing food, establishing peace, freedom, democracy and human rights, shaping globalization in a socially equitable manner, and preserving the environment and natural resources." However, the funding is allocated to, among others, organizations that promote anti-Israel BDS (boycott, divestment and sanctions) and "lawfare" campaigns, anti-Zionism, promotion of a "one-state" vision, anti-Semitism, and violence.

Islamist Organizations

Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V. (IGD)

In English: Islamic Society of Germany

Site: <http://igd-online.de/>

Facebook: @IGDonline

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: anti-Israel petitions

The Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V. (IGD) was founded in 1958. The German domestic intelligence agency has long described it as the central organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany,³⁷ adding that it coordinates the activities of more than 50 mosques in the country. IGD is also a founding member of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE),³⁸ the European umbrella of Muslim Brotherhood national affiliates. Its Facebook page shares posts by FIOE quite frequently. In February 2017, Gordian Meyer-Plath, president of the regional department of the German domestic security and anti-terrorist organization, claimed the Muslim Brotherhood, which “has long been active in Saxony, although they were stealthy,” and wants a “monopoly” on mosques in Saxony. Meyer-Plath said that the Muslim Brotherhood poses a threat to Western democratic systems.³⁹

The IGD issues condemnations to Israel at times of operations in Gaza. For example, in July 2014, during Operation Protective Edge, the IGD’s website reportedly denounced the “barbaric action of the Israeli army in Gaza”.⁴⁰

Palästinensischen Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.

In English: Palestinian Society of Germany

In Arabic: *Al-Tajamu Al-Filastini fi Almanya*

Site: <http://www.pg-d-online.de/>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: pro-Hamas advocacy

According to its website, the *Palästinensische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland* (PGD) is an “independent Palestinian entity, which is nonpartisan, nonprofit, and altruistic,”⁴¹ that was founded in 2008 and is based in Berlin. The website further explains, “The founding of the association can be traced back to the sixtieth anniversary of ‘Nakba’ = ‘catastrophe,’ the expulsion of the Palestinians from their land in 1948, and the association sees itself complementary and co-operative to the already existing associations and organizations in Germany.” PGD’s stated purposes include the promotion of German-Palestinian relations, the promotion of active solidarity with the Palestinians, and establishing their own independent Palestinian state on Palestinian soil.⁴²

The PGD is probably the most active pro-Palestinian/pro-Hamas body among the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated bodies in Germany. It works with other European affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood, most notably the London-based Palestinian Return Centre (PRC), and is also a member of the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG), a coalition of over 30 NGOs, most of which are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁴³ The PGD’s annual conference in February 2017 hosted notable figures affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, like Majed al-Zeer from the PRC and Amin Abu Rashid from the Netherlands.⁴⁴ In July 2017, the PGD played a key role in organizing demonstrations in Germany “in support” of Al-Aqsa.⁴⁵

The PGD has hosted various Palestinian figures in the last few years. It signed, as part of a group of 100 NGOs, including other ECESG coalition organizations, a petition calling on the United Nations to endorse and implement the UN Fact Finding Mission Report on the Gaza Conflict (“The Goldstone Report”).⁴⁶

In May 2015, new elections were held for the posts of chairman and vice-chairman of the PGD (Majed al-Zeer attended the process as head of the Palestinians in Europe Conference). Suhail Abu Shammala was elected as head of PGD, and Fadi al-Tayesh as his deputy.⁴⁷ In 2008, when launched, Suhail Abu Shammala was in charge of the PR

Committee of the Forum of Palestinian Doctors in Europe (PalMed) (see below).⁴⁸ Khaled al-Zaher represents the PGD in Berlin.⁴⁹

In May 2016, a memorandum was handed over by the Palestinian Assembly in Germany to German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier urging the German government to work on breaking the Israeli siege on Gaza. The letter was handed to the German Foreign Ministry delegate at the ministry headquarters in Berlin. In a press conference, Suhail Abu Shammala called on the German government to “urgently intervene and work on halting Israel’s oppressive policy toward the besieged enclave of Gaza.” He slammed the silence maintained by the international community as regards the “siege crime,” saying: “This is an intolerable crime that transgresses all human ethics.” Fadi al-Tayesh appealed to the mass media to speak up for Gaza’s tragedy, adding that “preparations for the Global Week to Break the Siege on Gaza have been under way.”⁵⁰



Invitation to a PGD event in May 2017 to “stop the blockade” in Gaza and release the Palestinian prisoners

Palästinensische Gemeinde Berlin (PGB)

In English: Palestinian Community in Berlin

The story of the *Palästinensische Gemeinde Berlin (PGB)* reflects the process of change that has taken place within the ranks of pro-Palestinian activism in Europe. The Palestinians in Germany have reportedly been divided on an organizational key.⁵¹ The PGB was founded in 1996 in order to build bridges between the Palestinians and

their environment, as well as to promote interaction and constructive dialogue with other communities and cultures. The idea was to develop sharing and to get to know each other and create understanding and friendship between the Palestinians and the Germans.⁵² The PGB has a long history of involvement with anti-Israeli demonstrations, events, and other activities. These activities clustered around major events in the Middle East, such as the 2006 Second Lebanon War or the operations in Gaza,⁵³ and were, for the most part, carried out in conjunction with other German, Arab, and Left-wing organizations.

A column published in June 2008 argued there were ongoing disputes around PGB's bi-annual conference. According to the writer, a new managing committee is elected in these conferences from among those who attend them. Prior to the conference, talks were held between affiliates of the PFLP, DFLP, Fatah, and independent candidates. The writer claimed that a closed list of PLO-affiliated candidates was agreed on, leaving 25 percent to independent candidates. However the then-head of the PGB Ahmed Muhaisen (who was affiliated with Fatah) did not show up and also urged others to boycott the conference.⁵⁴ In November that year, it was reportedly decided to hold new elections, because the council failed to do any activities.⁵⁵ Complaints were raised over these elections with claims that the PFLP partnered with Fatah to take control over the PGB by banning hundreds from voting.⁵⁶

At around the same time as these elections, the PGB also started getting involved in initiatives connected to the Islamist side. The PGB was listed as part of the Islamist-led ECESG coalition,⁵⁷ which mainly comprised of Muslim Brotherhood affiliates. Muhaisen was among the signatories on a joint German-Israeli-Palestinian letter that condemned the "terrible crime" on board the *Mavi Marmara*,⁵⁸ and also criticized the German authorities for considering green flags raised in a January 2009 demonstration in support of Gaza as Hamas flags.⁵⁹ In March 2010, Khaled al-Zaher, then a PGB senior, urged all German-based organizations to participate in the Palestinians in Europe Conference that was to take place the following month, stating that anyone who believes that this conference is relevant for the followers of Hamas or those "painted in green" is mistaken.⁶⁰ In an apparent

attempt to re-unite the followers of the various Palestinian factions in Germany, a new conference was called for in May 2010.⁶¹ However, perhaps due to these ongoing disputes, a new body called *AlJaliah – Palästinensische Gemeinde Berlin EV* was also registered In January 2011.⁶² PGB no longer seems to be active.

Forum for Palestinian Doctors in Europe (PalMed)

In Arabic: *Tajamu' Al-Atiba*

Site: <http://www.palmedeurope.eu>

Facebook: @palmed.europe

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: medical care, professional umbrella, pro-Hamas advocacy

According to the *PalMed Europe* magazine, the organization originated after meetings in May 2007 between Palestinian medical doctors living in Germany, where its European headquarters is located.⁶³ PalMed has been working closely with the Islamist charity *Islamic Relief*,⁶⁴ and its leaders are frequent speakers at the annual Palestinians in Europe Conference. PalMed Europe lists branches in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, Italy, and Norway, and also operates an office in Gaza.

PalMed is probably the most significant example of a European Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated umbrella outfit structured as a professional syndicate. It has sent delegations of doctors and medical equipment to Gaza and the West Bank, and in recent years also to refugee camps in Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan.

PalMed Germany has been very active during military operations in Gaza, both in the medical and political fields. During Operation Cast Lead, for example, it collected donations for medical supplies and teams sent to Gaza⁶⁵ and accompanied Norman Paech on a tour of Gaza.⁶⁶ Paech is the former foreign policy spokesperson for the *Die Linke* Party, and served in the Bundestag between 2005 and 2009. PalMed was also close to the far-left Norwegian activist Dr. Mads

Gilbert, who used to travel to Gaza for many years,⁶⁷ and whose entry to Israel had been banned in November 2014.⁶⁸ PalMed Germany was also listed as one of the supporting organizations of *Willkommen in Palästina* (Welcome to Palestine),⁶⁹ the July 2011 attempt to fly anti-Israel activists into Tel Aviv Airport, later known as the “flytilla.”

Various PalMed Europe reports identify Dr. Mohamed Salem, a French citizen of Palestinian origin,⁷⁰ as the chairman of the organization.⁷¹ Salem was also an organizer at the French CBSP,⁷² which funded a PalMed delegation to the West Bank in December 2014.⁷³

Other Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim Organizations

Demokratische Komitees Palästinas Berlin e.V. (DKP)

In Arabic: *Lijan Filastin Al-Dimokratiyya Birlin*

In English: Palestinian Democratic Committees Berlin

Facebook: @DemokratischeKomiteesPalaestinas

Orientation: far-left, PFLP

Fields of operation: pro-PFLP advocacy, "direct action" – demonstrations and rallies

The *Demokratische Komitees Palästinas Berlin e.V. (DKP)* was registered as a company e.V. in February 2012.⁷⁴ It openly expresses support for the PFLP and promotes and organizes events and demonstrations in Berlin. DKP takes part in the campaign for the release of the PFLP's Secretary-General Ahmad Sa'adat from Israeli prison. He was sentenced in 2006 for masterminding the assassination of Israeli minister Rehavam Ze'evi. In a placard announcing an event planned for April 17, 2017 that included Sa'adat's picture marking a V sign, the DKP called to act "against the security coordination and in support of Resistance [*muqawamah*]." ⁷⁵ In May 2016, DKP held an event overseen by the Shiite Lebanese-orientated Al-Irschad e.V. Berlin⁷⁶ to mark 16 years of the "victory and liberation day" of the Lebanese Resistance. Many followers of the PFLP reportedly attended the event, according to the PFLP's own website.⁷⁷ In June 2017, the DKP was one of over 50 European organizations that signed a petition claiming that Israel prevents Palestinian children in Gaza from receiving medical treatment.⁷⁸ Many of the other organizations signed on the petition as affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, an interesting point that demonstrates again that the "red-green alliance" also applies within the inner Arab/Palestinian scene.

PFLP flags raised and material distributed, Rosa Luxemburg Memorial Day, Berlin, January 2017.⁷⁹



Muslim Markt (Muslim Market)

Site: <http://www.muslim-markt.de/>

Orientation: Muslim

Fields of operation: BDS promoting

Muslim Markt is a website operating since 1999, and it considers itself as the starting-point to Islam for German-speaking believers. The website was founded by two Muslims of Turkish origin, Dr. Yavuz Özoguz and Dr. Gürhan Özoguz. It covers everything pertaining to do with Islam in general and Muslims in Germany and Austria in particular. It aims to provide them with information about their rights that will help them in their daily lives, including co-ordination between Muslim institutions, business partners, work, and even dates for marriages. It is also intended to give insight on burning issues regarding Islam.⁸⁰

Muslim Markt supports and promotes BDS under the headline “*Boycott für Frieden*” (Boycott for Peace), publishing many links to activities and remarks on this subject.⁸¹

Owners of the site *Muslim Markt*, Dr. Yavuz Özoguz (right) and Dr. Gürhan Özoguz.⁸²



German Far-Left Organizations

Internationale Liga für Menschenrechte im Geiste von Carl von Ossietzky (ILMR)

In English: International League for Human Rights In the spirit of Carl von Ossietzky (ILHR)

<http://ilmr.de/>

Orientation: far-left, human rights

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, "direct action" – demonstrations and events

According to its website, the roots of The International League for Human Rights (ILHR) go back to 1914. It operates on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the European Treaty of 1950, and some UN covenants of 1966. Its ideal is human rights, which include equal civil, political, social, economic, and cultural protection and rights of participation regardless of race, gender, color, religion, or political persuasion. The ILHR is an NGO financed entirely by member fees and contributions. Its foremost aim is to create a critical public in order to put pressure on governments. It organizes and participates in demonstrations, protests, and petition campaigns, organizes seminars and panels, publishes books and pamphlets, and contributes to the media. It opposes violations in criminal law and calls for the return of the full fundamental right of political asylum and for adopting anti-discrimination law.⁸³ The ILHR operates committees working on various issues, among them an expert committee on International Law Palestine/Israel (IRPI), whose dedicated webpage currently calls for the release of several activists detained in Israel.⁸⁴

ILHR's current President is Fanny Michaela Reisin, an Israeli-born academic and pacifist who teaches at the Berlin University for Applied Sciences. Apparently this is the second time Reisin fills this role. In the late 1990s, she replaced the late Israeli-born, pro-Palestinian activist Alisa Fuss, who also founded *AK Nahost* (see below). Martin Forberg is a board member of the ILHR, who participated in the July 2011 *flytilla* to Ben-Gurion airport.⁸⁵ He is a prominent activist who speaks at

demonstrations and calls to promote boycotts on Israel,⁸⁶ including by the arms industry. He also translates articles from English to German for the main BDS website in Germany (<http://bds-kampagne.de/>). Iris Hefets, an Israeli far-left Mizrahi activist, who has been living in Berlin since the early 2000s, is a member of the board of ILHR and activist in Jewish Voice for Just Peace in the Middle East (JVJP).⁸⁷

Martin Forberg (right) being interviewed during a demonstration opposite the offices of the German weapons manufacturer Rheinmetall.⁸⁸



AK Nahost (Arbeits Kreis Nahost) Berlin

In English: Middle East Working Group Berlin

<http://aknahost.org/>

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, "direct action" events

AK Nahost Berlin is a group founded by the late ILHR President Alisa Fuss, and it lists its address at the ILHR Berlin office.⁸⁹ Fuss, a German-born Jew who lived in Mandatory Palestine and Israel for part of her life, was a member of the Jewish section of the Palestine Communist Party (PKP),⁹⁰ which considered Zionism as a reactionary movement and claimed it served British Imperialism. According to its website, AK Nahost Berlin was founded in 1982, following the Israeli invasion to Lebanon, by Fuss, who "fought against the injustice inflicted on the Palestinians." "Through public relations, such as educational events, rallies and vigils, she tried to raise awareness of the Palestine conflict in a broader German public." AK Nahost Berlin "aspires to

make the Palestinian narrative heard in German public, show and demand solidarity with the Palestinians in the Middle East and abroad, cooperate with like-minded NGOs, and provide information on the current social and political situation in the region so that European institutions are no longer able to tolerate violations of human rights and international law.” It holds various events with scientists, politicians, and activists and takes part in rallies to commemorate important historical events.⁹¹ AK Nahost Berlin is also a member of KoPI (see below).

Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft (DPG)

In English: German-Palestinian Society

In Arabic: *Al-Jam'iyya Al-Almaniyya Al-Filastiniyya*

<http://www.dpg-netz.de/>

Orientation: far-left, Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: “direct action” – events

The *Deutsch-Palästinensische Gesellschaft (DPG)* is a non-profit organization founded in Cologne in 1986. It aims to correct the “prejudices” against the Palestinians in German society, media, and politics, “clarify the causes and background of the Israel-Palestine conflict, and help ensure that the conflict is balanced and appropriate.” The DPG states it looks for peaceful dialogue with relevant partners from politics and society, having been committed to peace in the Middle East, which permanently secures the viability of Palestine, and advocating understanding and a just peace between Palestinians and Israelis. The DPG promotes exchanges between German and Palestinian individuals, groups, and institutions in the fields of politics, science, culture, and society. It is important for it to create friendships between people from Germany and Palestine.⁹² In March 2015, what seems to be a new branch of the DPG was launched under the auspices of the *Auslandsinstitut Europa Zentrum*, an institute for political education operated by the state government of North-Rhine Westphalia.⁹³ Atallah Hanna, Archbishop of Sebastia from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, attended the event.⁹⁴ The DPG supports the removal of

the marine blockade from the Gaza Strip and raises funds for projects such as Gaza's Ark.⁹⁵

Some of the main figures at DPG are:

→ Raif Hussein: President of DPG, born in Nazareth, who came in Germany during the first half of the 1980s. Hussein holds an MA in political sciences and wrote his dissertation on Political Islam in the Middle East, using the example of Hamas.⁹⁶

Raif Hussein, President of DPG.⁹⁷



→ Nazih Musharbash: Vice-president of DPG for political work and events. Musharbash was born in Amman and grew up in Bethlehem. He moved to Germany in 1965 and subsequently worked as a teacher of chemistry and biology.

Nazih Musharbash, Vice-President of DPG.⁹⁸



→ Gisela Siebourg: Second Vice-President of DPG for international affairs and Europe. Siebourg was born in Regensburg in 1937, and in 1961 completed her studies at the University of Geneva, Switzerland.

She worked as a translator and interpreter, mainly at the Federal Foreign Office, where she also headed its interpretation and languages services until her retirement in 2002. She has been a board member of the DPG since 2002. She represents the DPG at the European Coordination of Committees and associations for Palestine (ECCP) and has been a member of the Kairos Palestine Solidarity Network. Siebourg was also in charge, on behalf of the Free Gaza Movement (FGM), of German participation in the 2010 Freedom Flotilla.⁹⁹



Gisela Siebourg¹⁰⁰

In December 2014, Raif Hussein, Gisela Siebourg, and Nazih Musharbash visited the German Foreign Office, where they met the heads of the Middle East Department and the Palestine Department. They complained about alleged crimes committed by the IDF and the “settlers” against the Palestinians and alleged violations by Israel of agreements signed by it with the Palestinian side.¹⁰¹

Der Deutsche Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel – für ein Ende der Besatzung und für einen gerechten Frieden (KoPI)

In English: The German Coordination Committee Palestine Israel – for an end to occupation and for a just peace (KoPI)

Site: http://www.kopi-online.de/wordpress/?page_id=26

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, “direct action” – events

KoPI is an umbrella organization, which aims to bring to public attention the necessity for self-determination of the Palestinians and for the “end of the occupation.” Its website contains BDS-promoting material, accusations of Israel adopting an Apartheid policy, information, and links to various trips to Palestinian territories, and more. The website also links to several leading far-left groups connected to BDS, “direct action” against Israel, etc. *KoPI* also organizes conferences and workshops to promote BDS. In October 2011, for example, it brought the BDS National Committee (BNC) European Coordinator Michael Deas to speak about the necessity of imposing a military embargo on Israel.¹⁰²

Gisela Siebourg is a central figure at *KoPI*, where she acts as vice-president of the DPG and serves as chief editor of *KoPI*’s website (the rights of which are reserved to the DPG).¹⁰³

Gisela Siebourg hosting
European coordinator of
the BNC Michael Deas
in a *KoPI* workshop,
October 2011.¹⁰⁴



Another prominent participant in events and activities held by *KoPI* is Annette Groth, a Die Linke Party MP since 2009.¹⁰⁵ Groth has been Die Linke’s human rights policy spokesman and deputy member of the Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development, as well as on the Committee on Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid. She has also been a member of the Working Group VI Foreign Policy and International Relations. Groth is a feminist activist and a member of Pax Christi.¹⁰⁶ Alongside another two Die Linke MPs – Inge Höger and Norman Paech– Groth took part in the 2010 *Freedom Flotilla*.¹⁰⁷ In 2012, she said German Churches should be “stepping up pressure on the Federal Government so that German foreign policymakers, too, push for an end to the blockade. The Federal Government’s silence on this issue is not acceptable and must be broken.”¹⁰⁸

Annette Groth¹⁰⁹

A section in KoPI's website is dedicated to the July 2011 Welcome to Palestine *flytilla*, which was largely attended by German participants.¹¹⁰

Jüdische Stimme für gerechten Frieden in Nahost

In English: The Jewish Voice for a Just Peace in the Middle East (JVJP)

<http://www.juedische-stimme.de/>

Orientation: Jewish far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, "direct action" – demonstrations

The Jewish Voice for a Just Peace in the Middle East (JVJP) is a far-left Jewish organization that also includes several Israeli or ex-Israeli figures who were previously affiliated with far-left Israeli groups. It is also part of a coalition called European Jews for a Just Peace (EJJP).

The organization demonstrates against fundraising events by the Jewish National Fund (JNF). It connects and provides a platform to Israeli far-left activists, with an emphasis on refusal to enlist in the IDF for reasons of conscience. In late 2016, it was reported that JVJP's bank account was closed due to its support for BDS.¹¹¹ Shir Hever, a board member of JVJP and economist with the Israeli Alternative Information Centre (AIC), a leading Palestinian/Israeli far-left organization led by former Matzpen (Jerusalem) leader Michel Warschawski (Mikado), wrote an article about this in UK-based, English-language, pro-Islamist outlet *Middle East Eye*. In the article, He wrote, "This is the first time since World War II that a German bank has closed the account of a Jewish organization," adding that, "Many Jews from all over the

world support BDS, not only out of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle, but also in an effort to rescue Judaism from being equated with Zionism.”¹¹²

In October 2014, shortly after Operation Protective Edge, (which the group referred to as a “massacre,” see below) and Prime Minister Netanyahu’s speech at the United Nations, Hever wrote a post titled *Annexation and Colonization under the Guise of “Jewish Heritage” – Not in Our Name*. Hever alleged that Netanyahu “was perhaps hoping that attacking ISIS and Iran would distract the world from Israel’s war crimes” and, on behalf of JVJP, renewed the call “on European countries and especially on Germany to cease arms sales to Israel immediately.”¹¹³

The JVJP is headed by Michal Kaiser Livne, a psychoanalyst. In July 2014, Kaiser Livne was among several dozen far-left Israeli citizens who addressed a letter to the European Council, Commission, and European Parliament, calling on the European Union to pressure Israel to accept Hamas’s terms of truce during Operation Protective Edge. According to the signatories on the letter –

The terms echo previous recommendations made by the UN and the European Union and major human rights organizations, most notably the Goldstone Report. The refusal of the Israeli government to address these terms results in the sacrifice of civilian lives for the sake of ongoing occupation, and thwarting the long-awaited Palestinian national unity agreement.¹¹⁴

One of JVJP’s prominent activists is UK-born writer and novelist Ruth Fruchtmann. In September 2015, BDS Berlin hosted Ruth Fruchtmann and the late Israeli member of Boycott from Within, Renen Raz, for a talk.¹¹⁵

In November 2013, JVJP held a demonstration against the “strategic partnership” of the Congress organizers with the Jewish National Fund (JNF) at the 3rd Israel Congress in Berlin. According to a post by the European Jews for a Just Peace:



Ruth Fruchtman speaking at a JVJP-led demonstration during Operation Protective Edge, July 2014

80-100 protesters followed the call of the Jewish Voice and made clear on numerous posters, banners and leaflets, what they believed the so called “green” policy of the JNF means for the indigenous Palestinian, non-Jewish population in Israel and the occupied Palestinian Territories: Land robbery, ethnic cleansing, and apartheid. In Arabic, German, English, and Hebrew, the protesters demanded “Stop the JNF; stop the Land robbery in East Jerusalem, in Silwan, in the Jordan Valley, in Al Arakib, in the Naqab.”¹¹⁶

Direct Action Berlin

Facebook: @DirectActionBerlin

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, “direct action” – demonstrations

Direct Action Berlin is a far-left group that seems to have been active between 2012-2013. The group saw its target audience in people who are marginalized and suffering because of inequality originating from class, race, or gender issues. They include those suffering from capitalism, patriarchy, colonialism, sexism, heteronormativity, racism, imperialism, dictatorship, or totalitarianism, regardless of geographic limitations.¹¹⁷

The group focused its activities on demonstrating against, and disrupting, JNF events. In October 2012, for example, some members of the groups disrupted a JNF fundraiser, yelling slogans like, “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.”¹¹⁸ The group also expressed its solidarity with Arab-Israeli workers.¹¹⁹

A demonstration parade of Direct Action Berlin, May 2013. The activists carry a placard in German saying, “International solidarity with the Palestinian workers inside,” i.e. Arab-Israelis



F.O.R Palestine – For One State and Return in Palestine

Site: <http://for-palestine.org/en/>

Orientation: Arab far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, “direct action” – demonstrations

F.O.R. Palestine is a group dedicated to the promotion of solidarity work with Palestine in Europe and the diaspora, which was formed in late 2015 by members of Direct Action Berlin.¹²⁰ It seems that the members of the group are mainly secular and of Palestinian descent.

The group supports the one-state solution and the Palestinian right of return. It states that, “The strategy of Zionist colonization of Palestine was to combine its aggression on the ground with appeals to the major colonial and imperial powers,” and maintains that, “The abolishment of Zionist control means the de-colonization and de-Zionization of Palestine.” Furthermore, it adds that the main role in creating the process of change “would be taken by the Palestinian resistance in

all its forms.” Finally, the group sees BDS as “one of the strongest and clearest calls coming out of Palestine at the moment and as such it deserves our complete support,” adding that, “While it is certainly not the only way of resisting the Zionist occupation, and all other means are legitimate and have our solidarity, it is a simple and effective mean of fighting Zionism and offering practical solidarity to the people resisting this regime from the inside.”¹²¹

The group shares and promotes BDS material and takes part in various demonstrations and events. On its Facebook page it also publishes events by other organizations, including those belonging to the far Left.



F.O.R. Palestine – For one state and return in Palestine. Facebook profile picture, November 29, 2015.¹²²

BDS Gruppe Berlin

Site: <http://bdsberlin.org/>

Facebook: [@bdsberlin.org/](https://www.facebook.com/bdsberlin.org/)

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, “direct action” – demonstrations and events

BDS Gruppe Berlin is a significant group of activists in the city that organizes demonstrations and events in cooperation with other, previously referred to, groups. For example, the group played a key role alongside F.O.R. Palestine in organizing Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) in February-March 2016.¹²³

Doris Ghannam, a co-founder of the group, said in an interview she boycotts products of companies who profit from “Israeli policy of colonization, apartheid, and occupation.” Ghannam added she believes in the BDS movement because “it has consistently adopted a rights-based approach and an anti-racist platform that rejects all forms of racism, including anti-Muslim racism and anti-Semitism.”¹²⁴

In April 2016, Ghannam hosted an event in Berlin's Kruetzberg district, known as a hub for leftist political activism. The event featured Iyad Burnat, head of the *Bil'in Popular Committee against the Wall*, who came to Germany to promote the global BDS campaign, but fewer than a dozen people showed up. "Mainstream Germans have to understand that the non-violent, Palestinian-led BDS movement is an answer to the failure of the international community, which ignores Israel's violation of international law and human rights," Ghannam said.¹²⁵

Doris Ghannam is also listed as the contact person of the main German BDS platform (<http://bds-kampagne.de/>). In February 2016 it was reported that the DAB Bank in Munich was to close the account of *bds-kampagne*, which accepted money transfers. The report noted that DAB Munich is the German branch of its French mother company bank, BNP Paribas, and that French law outlaws BDS activity. The spokesman for the bank wrote in an e-mail: "Because of bank secrecy [financial laws], we cannot provide you with concrete information about the account. We took the information very seriously and are examining the topic and are taking, if necessary, the corresponding measures."¹²⁶ In April 2017, *bds-kampagne* held a workshop in Stuttgart with Shir Hever of JVJP and AIC, who spoke about HP and the BDS.¹²⁷

Doris Ghannam (left) and Gisela Siebourg (right), in a workshop organized by KoPI as part of "The campaign against Agrexco" October 2011.¹²⁸





Opening of the event's clip¹²⁹



A demonstration held by BDS Berlin in front of the headquarters of Fruit Logistica against the import of Israeli agricultural products, February 2016.¹³⁰

BDS Hamburg

Facebook: @bdshamburg

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, "direct action" – demonstrations and events

BDS Hamburg is a group of activists, who mainly come from a far-left background, based in that city. Its Facebook page, which has been active since 2015, also promotes events and refers to articles connected to various fields in the delegitimization campaign.



BDS Hamburg demonstration, April 2017¹³¹

BDS Gruppe Bonn

Blog: <https://bdsgruppebonn.wordpress.com/>

Facebook: facebook.com/groups/bds.bonn/

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, "direct action" – demonstrations and events

BDS Gruppe Bonn is a group of activists, who mainly come from a far-left background, based in that city. Its members share various clips and support actions presented as BDS commercial successes, and its Facebook page also provides relevant flyers. It also promotes or takes part in organizing various pro-BDS lectures and talks. In March 2017, for example, it co-organized a talk by pro-BDS activist Dr. Martin Breidert.¹³²

VPGD Deutschland – Verband der Palästinensischen Gemeinden Deutschland

In English: General Union of Palestinian Communities in Germany

In Arabic: *Itihad Al-Jaliyat Al-Filastiniyya Almania*

Orientation: Arab nationalist, Fatah

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

The Federation of Palestinian Communities Germany (VPGD) is the German branch of the General Union of Palestinian Communities in Europe,¹³³ an umbrella group affiliated with Fatah. The German group's Facebook page promotes various calls by the European umbrella, which also supports and promotes BDS,¹³⁴ as well as by other branches. In December 2017, VPGD co-organized one of the rallies against Trump's declaration that preparations began for moving the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. The rally took place in front of the U.S. Consulate General in Frankfurt. The organizers said they support the "days of wrath" and called for "no relocation of the American Embassy to Jerusalem under the breach of international law and UN resolutions."¹³⁵

Chapter II

Delegitimization in France

France is a rather active country when it comes to the delegitimization of Israel, and BDS in particular. Many activities stem from far-left elements in the country, including Jewish organizations. Various activities are co-organized by “red-green” coalitions of far-left and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated players. France is also the home base of several lawyers who represent Hamas and use technical legal restrictions to make sure it was removed (at least temporarily) from the EU list of terrorist organizations. The same lawyers are involved in “law-fare” against Israel. Recent “direct action” demonstrations on a large scale have been against the Tel-Aviv sur Seine (Tel-Aviv on the Seine) festival in August 2015, in which banks of the river were turned into a makeshift beach with sand, sun-loungers, cocktails, and beach volleyball.¹³⁶

France has Europe’s strongest anti-BDS law – the 2003 Lellouche law – and has applied the anti-discrimination statute to punish (BDS) activists. The law bars discrimination against people based on national origin. French courts view BDS as an illicit act, targeting Israelis because of their nationality.¹³⁷

In October 2015, the French High Court ruled that activists who called to boycott Israeli products were guilty of discrimination, adding that French law prohibits the discrimination of nations.¹³⁸ In early 2016, the then-Prime Minister Manuel Valls said that, “French authorities must

change their attitude,” adding that “it is perfectly obvious how we have shifted from criticism of Israel to anti-Zionism, and from anti-Zionism to anti-Semitism.”¹³⁹ The party of current French President Emmanuel Macron withdrew from its parliamentary elections ticket a candidate who promoted a boycott of Israel.¹⁴⁰

Islamist Organizations

Le Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens – France (CBSP)

Site: <http://cbasp.fr/>

Facebook: @CBSP.FRANCE

Twitter: @CBSP_FRANCE

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: "direct action," pro-Hamas support and advocacy, BDS promoting

Le Comité de Bienfaisance et de Solidarité avec la Palestine was founded in Nancy on March 20, 1990. In 2001, it changed its name to the *Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens (CBSP)*.

The CBSP's head office is in Paris, and it operates branches in Lille, Lyon, and Marseille. At least since October 2007, the CBSP has been a "partner organization" of the *Union des Organisations Islamiques en France (UOIF)*,¹⁴¹ an organization usually regarded as representing the Muslim Brotherhood in France and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood's European umbrella – the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE).¹⁴² Media reports indicate that the CBSP has operated a booth at the annual meeting of the UOIF since at least 2002.¹⁴³ The CBSP has been a founding organization of the 101 Days Campaign, the earlier name for the Union of Good (UoG),¹⁴⁴ an umbrella of European Islamist charities designated in the United States for funding Hamas.¹⁴⁵ The CBSP itself has been designated by the U.S. Treasury since August 2003 for funding Hamas.¹⁴⁶

In addition, seven individuals from CBSP participated in the May 2010 *Mavi Marmara* flotilla.¹⁴⁷ These included Salah Berguabi, head of the CBSP Lyon office, Miloud Zenasni, head of its Marseille office,¹⁴⁸ Mouloud Bouzidi, director of the Lille office,¹⁴⁹ specializing in "production control mechanical engineer, industrial computing,"¹⁵⁰ Youssef Benderbal, CBSP spokesperson or Communications Director, and Ahmed Oumimoun, head of CBSP's Paris office. In a June 2010

interview, Youssef Benderbal stated that the CBSP had provided financial support for the first Gaza Flotilla.¹⁵¹

Throughout the years, the CBSP has gathered and distributed millions of dollars in the region,¹⁵² collected mainly in mosques and Islamic centers, focusing on the Palestinian and North African communities in France. Its activities include sponsorships of groups and individuals, food aid, sponsoring health and educational issues, other sponsorships of economic development, social and leisure activities, and emergency assistance, at least some of it provided to the European Muslim Brotherhood's initiated Miles of Smiles convoys.¹⁵³

In France, CBSP activists occasionally take part in pro-BDS demonstrations.¹⁵⁴ Some CBSP leading figures are also involved in Islamist bodies and networks in Europe.

CBSP Leadership

➔ Khaled Muhammad Ahmad al-Shouli (Secretary-General): Palestinian media and the current CBSP website identify Khaled Al-Shouli as secretary-general of the CBSP.¹⁵⁵ Al-Shouli apparently lives in Sierentz, a small village north-west of Basel, Switzerland, close to the Swiss border. According to the Swiss Trade Register, since 2003, he has also been the company director of the Association de Secours Palestinien (ASP), the Swiss counterpart of the CBSP, which underwent a liquidation status in May 2015.¹⁵⁶ In June 1998, Al-Shouli introduced the ASP to an annual summer camp organized by *Baumherzigkeit*, a Swiss Islamic publication. His presentation was preceded by that of the late Ahmed Huber,¹⁵⁷ a Swiss neo-Nazi and Islamic convert who for many years cooperated with the Brotherhood affiliates in Europe, and was one of the founders of their Bank *Al-Taqwa*. In addition, Al-Shouli serves as "legal network coordinator" of the Partners for Peace and Development for Palestinians (PPDP), a closely related Muslim Brotherhood network, and he is also part of the leadership of the One Justice Organization (OJO), a pro-Palestinian advocacy group. In December 2014, Al-Shouli claimed in an interview on the UK-based,

Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated *Al-Hiwar* TV station that he played an active role in the initial court ruling that could have led the European Union to remove Hamas from the list of terrorist organizations.¹⁵⁸

→ Zuhair Mahmood (President): News reports from June 2001 identify Mahmood as the president or “head” of the CBSP.¹⁵⁹ Mahmood, a real estate businessman, is of Kurdish-Iraqi origin.¹⁶⁰ He came to France in 1983 as part of a cooperation program between Paris and Iraq under Saddam Hussein and eventually obtained a doctorate in nuclear physics at the University of Strasbourg. He claims to have been an opponent of Saddam Hussein, and following a religious conversion related to the implications of his work, he said that he became a “dissident in exile.”¹⁶¹ A French journalist reports that Mahmood was also a member of a youth group called the *Groupeement islamique en France (GIF)*, affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁶² He was one of two founders of the aforementioned *Union des Organisations Islamiques de France (UOIF)*, generally regarded as representing the Muslim Brotherhood in France.

In 1990, Mahmood was one of the two co-founders of the Islamist training facility known as the European Institute of Human Sciences (EIHS) and has served as its director.¹⁶³ EIHS was established as a joint initiative of the UOIF and FIOE. In October 1995, two of Mahmood’s daughters were expelled from the high school in Nevers because they refused to remove their headscarves that they had worn since the beginning of the school year. In January 1996, the two girls filed a lawsuit claiming “abuse of power.”¹⁶⁴ Mahmood himself was mentioned in the media several times. In 2003 he was elected to the French Council to represent Islam in the general assembly elections for that body.¹⁶⁵ In July 2006, he was one of the featured participants at the Muslims of Europe conference held in Istanbul, which also featured a large number of Brotherhood-affiliated leaders.¹⁶⁶

→ Ahmed Oumimoun (Director): A 2010 media report identifies Oumimoun as head of the CBSP Paris office.¹⁶⁷ In June 2010, Oumimoun drew media attention when he returned to France after being expelled from Israel along with several other CBSP leaders following their

participation in the first Freedom Flotilla.¹⁶⁸ A French Islamic portal also identifies Oumimoun as the president of Innocents France, which was originally registered in February 2008 as a voluntary organization.

Other leading figures are Mazen Kahel and Ali Jbara, the director of publications.¹⁶⁹

In August 2003, the U.S. government added CBSP and the Swiss ASP to the list of Specially Designated Terrorist entities, stating they were both primary fundraisers for Hamas in France and Switzerland.¹⁷⁰ A spokesman for the CBSP vehemently denied that the organization was affiliated with Hamas or supported terrorism, calling the accusations “surprising and shocking.”¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, following this act, Australia and Jordan also took action against the CBSP and other organizations identified by the United States as involved with the funding of Hamas.¹⁷² In the following years, there were several reports in the French media regarding the ongoing investigations.¹⁷³ In January 2006, French media reported that CBSP had accused the director for international relations in Paris of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of “slander and defamation” for accusing the CBSP of helping to finance Hamas.¹⁷⁴ On March 8, 2007, the director was ordered by the French court to pay a symbolic €1 fine in this lawsuit.¹⁷⁵

A July 2007 *Wall Street Journal* article reported on a method of illicitly transferring funds known as “trade-based money laundering” and cited an example that encompasses a French investigation into charities, said to involve the CBSP as well. According to the report, the authorities allegedly found that a charity “has been buying large lots of commodities for delivery to the Palestinian territories. While much of the goods constitute legitimate aid, a portion of the shipments ultimately ends up with terror groups in the Palestinian territories ... French and Israeli police are scrutinizing several commodities transactions involving goods either paid for or purchased on behalf of the Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens, or the Committee for Palestinian Welfare and Aid.”¹⁷⁶

Mouloud Bouzidi – Director of CBSP, in Lille,¹⁷⁷ was one of the organizers of the freedom flotilla in 2010.¹⁷⁸ A fluent French speaker, he studied at the Université de sciences et technologies de Lille and University of Algiers in Paris.¹⁷⁹

On December 17, 2014, the General Court of the European Union (EGC) announced that Hamas would be taken off the EU list of terrorist organizations (Hamas had been listed since December 27, 2001) unless satisfactory evidence is provided that it should remain there. The Court emphasized that its decision does not indicate its consideration of the fundamental definition of Hamas as a terrorist organization, and the European Union also said it intends to appeal against the decision.¹⁸⁰ The Court kept the sanctions against Hamas for at least three months (up to March 17, 2015) or until the completion of the appeal procedure, during which further evidence by the member-states could be presented that would help include Hamas once again in the list. Khaled Al-Shouli of the CBSP, who was active in the efforts to remove Hamas from the EU list, stressed that if an appeal against the decision is not made within three months, it would mean that the freezing of the Hamas funds will be stopped, Hamas will be able to open offices in every European country and every one of its members will be eligible for a visa to Europe.¹⁸¹

Khaled Al-Shouli was interviewed on the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated, London-based *Al-Hiwar* TV channel, where he explained that these proceedings were made by a group of lawyers commissioned by Hamas's politburo.¹⁸² The group was led by Liliane Glock, a criminal lawyer from the city of Nancy and a human-rights activist. Liliane Glock also represented nine French citizens who had been on board the *Mavi Marmara* ship and filed a complaint against Israel in the International Criminal Court in The Hague alleging war crimes and crimes against humanity. She represented the plaintiffs both in the complaint in France and in the complaint in the ICC in France.¹⁸³ In 2014, Glock represented the French serial killer Francis Heaulme in another trial for murdering two children.¹⁸⁴ Glock has close ties to Stanley Cohen – a Jewish-American lawyer, one of the lawyers who file charges against political Israeli figures who go abroad.¹⁸⁵

Liliane Glock¹⁸⁶



On December, 24, 2014, the Palestinian news portal *Dunya al-Watan* reported that Hamas' Gaza legislator Dr. Ahmad Bahr sent a letter to Liliane Glock and Khaled al-Shouli to thank them for the role they played in removing Hamas from the terror list and also thanked al-Shouli in a phone call.¹⁸⁷

According to Khaled Al-Shouli, another member of this group is Philippe Favre – secretary-general of One Justice Organization (OJO), a top lawyer in the International Coalition for Trying Israeli War Criminals, and former chairman of the Belgian Human Rights League (LDHB).¹⁸⁸

A fourth member of this group according to Khaled Al-Shouli is French attorney Gilles Devers, best known for filing a court case to the ICC against Israel concerning the 2008-2009 Gaza conflict.

One Justice Organization (OJO)

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: "direct action," pro-Hamas support and advocacy, legal

As reported by Israeli sources, *One Justice Organization (OJO)* is comprised of lawyers from 30 countries, including the United States, France, and the Arab countries, with branches in Paris and Geneva. Its mission is to prosecute Israel, its government, and military commanders for so-called "war crimes." This probably has to do with Hamas efforts in the legal field, which started immediately after Operation Cast

Lead with the launch of the Central Committee for Documenting and Prosecuting Israeli War Criminals, or *Al-Tawthiq* [i.e. documentation – affiliated to the justice ministry in the Hamas government in Gaza].¹⁸⁹ The organization's secretary general is Philippe Favre, one of the top lawyers in a group called the International Coalition to Try Israel for War Crimes (ICAWC), which aims to approach national courts having universal jurisdiction, file Individual lawsuits on behalf of those with dual citizenship, file lawsuits for aggression on European property built in territories under occupation, issue demands to stop Israel-EU partnership agreements, and approach Switzerland for issues connected to the Geneva Convention and other European tribunals. The organization has already held several conventions in Geneva and Cape Town. Khaled al-Shouli has been described as executive director of OJO.

In October 2009, the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Partners for Peace and Development Palestine (PPDP) listed OJO as one of its partner organizations, along with other organizations that are part of the network of the International Campaign to Lift the Blockade on Gaza.¹⁹⁰ OJO is currently listed as one of the organizations participating in a complaint against Israel made to the International Criminal Court.¹⁹¹ One of OJO's lawyers in Geneva (Rida Ajami) is counsel for Hani Ramadan, a top figure affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Switzerland.¹⁹²

Commission Arabe des Droits Humains (ACHR)

In Arabic: *Al-Lajna Al-Arabiyya li-Huquq Al-Insan*

Site: <http://www.achr.eu/achr.en.htm>

Orientation: pro-Islamist

Fields of operation: human rights

The ACHR was founded on January 17, 1998 by 15 activists from around the Arab world, and bases its work on the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESC), and the International Covenant

on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Formally registered in Paris, two-thirds of its members live in the Arab world and the remaining third in Europe.

The ACHR has a 15-member board of directors led by President Violette Daguerre from Lebanon. The board includes Tunisian human rights activist and interim president of Tunisia Moncef Marzouki, an intellectual belonging to the Arab Left, who connected himself with the Muslim Brotherhood by promoting their human rights in the Arab world.

Haytham Manna, a medical doctor and intellectual originally from Syria, helped create the ACHR, becoming its spokesperson. Manna resigned from his role as ACHR spokesperson, while remaining a “non-office-holding” member, when in 2011 he helped found and take a leading role in the National Coordination Committee for Democratic Change in Syria.¹⁹³

The ACHR used to hold a special consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).¹⁹⁴ In June 2008, Algerian human rights lawyer and activist Rachid Mesli spoke at a UN event in Geneva on behalf of the ACHR. Algeria complained that Mesli had been charged with terrorism in 1999, and on January 26, 2009, representatives from the United Kingdom, Egypt, Sudan, Qatar, and Algeria, along with other states, voted 18 to 0 (plus 1 abstention) to suspend the ACHR from its membership in ECOSOC.¹⁹⁵

According to *NGO Monitor*, the ACHR labeled Israel in 2009 “barbaric” and accused it of “despotism” and “operating a concentration camp” in Gaza.¹⁹⁶ It is headed by the aforementioned Violette Daguerre.¹⁹⁷

Originally from Lebanon, Daguerre acquired her PhD in Social Psychology in France.¹⁹⁸ The Egyptian security forces broke into the hotel where she stayed in 2007 because she had collected material on the subject of the State’s detaining of Muslim Brotherhood activists and removing them to military courts of state security instead of civilian courts.¹⁹⁹

Violette Daguerre²⁰⁰

Haytham Manna was also involved in other organizations and initiatives after leaving the ACHR. He served as president of an Islamist human rights organization called the International Bureau for Humanitarian NGOs, IBH [*Al-Maktab Al-Duwali li-l-Jam'iyyat Al-Insaniyya wa-l-Khayriyya*] that currently seems to be inactive.²⁰¹ Abdel al-Rahman al-Nuaimi, a board member of IBH,²⁰² was designated by the United States at the end of 2013 as an al-Qaeda financier.²⁰³ Al- Nuaimi also served as president of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign (GAAC), a main international umbrella organization that brings under its wings Salafists, Salafist-Jihadists, Muslim Brotherhood, and Hamas leaders, some of whom are designated terrorists in the United States and Europe.

Manna was also part of the International Coalition for Trying Israeli War Criminals (ICAWC), a legal coalition of Islamist and far-left activists and jurists (both Western and Arab) that aimed to bring claims against Israel. In 2009, for example, following an investigation reportedly carried out by ICAWC or its affiliates, Manna told a news conference in Gaza that during Operation Cast Lead Israel used uranium. Manna said that samples were collected from the Gaza Strip to check if they contained prohibited weapons and sent to labs in Europe. Some of the results showed that "the amount of depleted uranium in the areas of the samples was more than 75 tons and this is a very dangerous percentage for the overcrowded places in Gaza."²⁰⁴

Haytham Manna²⁰⁵



In addition, as a Syrian dissident, Manna has been involved in the attempts to bring democracy to the country.

Other Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim Organizations

Fédération Internationale de Droits de l'Homme (FIDH)

Site: <https://www.fidh.org/International-Federation-for-Human-Rights>

Orientation: Western far-left, Arab far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting, human rights

FIDH is an international human rights organization founded in 1922 and centered in Paris, with branches all over the world. *FIDH* has about 150 human rights organizations from 92 countries under its wing. It deals with human rights in various countries and promotes boycotts against Israel. It is represented in the UN Human Rights Organization in Geneva.²⁰⁶ Palestinian partners of *FIDH* include NGOs like Al Mezan, Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies, AlHaq, and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights. Israeli partners include Adalah, The Public Committee against Torture in Israel, and B'Tselem.

In 2013, *FIDH* and AlHaq lobbied the Human Rights Council and the UN Working Group on Business and Human Rights to adopt measures against corporations that conduct business activities in settlements. The NGOs argued that "corporations are contributing to the violation of Palestinians human rights, such as, inter alia, their rights to self-determination, equality and nondiscrimination, freedom of movement, the right to food, water, housing, an adequate standard of living, access to natural resources and effective remedy." Internationally, *FIDH* promotes boycotts against Israel. In August 2014, *FIDH* published an open letter against the Israeli military operation, launched in response to terror attacks from Gaza. *FIDH* calls boycotting Israeli products a legitimate response to Israel's "murderous policies for the Palestinians and suicidal [policies] for the Israelis."²⁰⁷ *NGO Monitor* notes that *FIDH*'s funding is not transparent. It most recently published a financial report on its website in 2011. Government donors include the European Union, Finland (€1,755,000 in 2014), France, Ireland (€200,000 in 2011), the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden.²⁰⁸

FIDH is headed by Iranian-born lawyer Karim Lahidji, who represented political prisoners in Iran and was forced to flee the country in 1982 for fear of the authorities. Among the leadership of FIDH is also a Palestinian delegate – Shawan Jabarin.²⁰⁹ Jabarin is the CEO of Al-Haq in the Gaza strip, and Israeli sources also associated him with the PFLP, though this affiliation had been denied. One of the member organizations in FIDH is the Al-Mezan Centre for Human Rights, the center of which is in Jabalia.²¹⁰

Union générale des étudiants palestiniens/de Palestine (GUPS)

Site: <http://gups-aixmarseille.over-blog.com/>

Facebook: @gups.france; @gups.france.3

Orientation: Arab far-left, PLO

Fields of operation: BDS, campus activism

The General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) France was founded in 1959 to unite Palestinian students in France. It is a national branch of the wider – PLO affiliated – General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS),²¹¹ the website address of which is <http://www.gups.org/>.

It currently seems to be operating mainly in Marseilles. GUPS France is a signatory on a 2010 PACBI-initiated Palestinian youth call against any form of normalization with Israel.²¹²

In December 2017, following U.S. President Trump’s declaration on Jerusalem, GUPS posted a blog charging that Israel has been implementing a process of “Judaization” since the occupation began, blaming the Israeli government for Right-wing Apartheid policies, and supporting “resistance” and BDS.²¹³

Campagne BDS France

Site: <http://bdsfrance.org>

Orientation: Arab far-left, Western far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting

A website coordinating and promoting BDS activities in France and beyond is registered to an organization called Génération Palestine (<http://generation-palestine.org/>).²¹⁴ Génération Palestine describes itself as an organization of “young European activists” that seeks to “strengthen the colonized and weaken the colonizer.” It “supports the self-determination of the Palestinians” and their right “to decide on their forms of resistance.”²¹⁵ Génération Palestine is also connected to GUPS.²¹⁶ In May 2016, Campagne BDS France had its PayPal account cut off and the option to use it for donations removed from the website.²¹⁷

Campagne BDS France has claimed to have been effective in a 2016 decision that the French military should not buy drones from the Israeli Elbit company.²¹⁸

French Far-Left Organizations

Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste (NPA)

In English: The New Anti-Capitalist Party

Site: <http://www.npa2009.org>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

This is a far-left, extremely anti-capitalist and anti-Israeli party, founded in 2009 by former Communist activists. The NPA plays a key role in French BDS initiatives, and its flags carrying the Party's logo appear a lot in demonstrations against Israel.²¹⁹ The NPA cooperates in demonstrations with CBSP and with CAPJPO-EuroPalestine.²²⁰

Main figures in the Party are:

➔ Olivier Besancenot, the chief spokesman of the party and its driving force,²²¹ in 2009 he visited the West Bank together with delegates from the party and met with Omar Barghouti and representatives of BDS in Ramallah.²²²

➔ Julien Salingue, an NPA activist, holds a PhD in political science and was among the protesters against "Tel-Aviv on the Seine."²²³

L'Association France Palestine Solidarité (AFPS)

Site: <http://www.france-palestine.org>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

AFPS is a French political NGO that promotes anti-Israel narratives, such as accusations of Apartheid, discrimination, and massacres of Palestinians. AFPS promotes BDS and a Palestinian right of return. It also mobilizes local branches for activities and demonstrations

against Israel. AFPS organizes several events in cooperation with Palestinian and Israeli NGOs that promote BDS and take part in the Israel Delegitimization Campaign. These partners include: Adalah, Addameer, Alternative Information Center (AIC), AlMezan, Badil, Breaking the Silence, Combatants for Peace, Hamoked, Health Work Committees, Jewish Voice for Peace, Ma'an Development Center, Machsom Watch, Miftah, Mossawa, Palestine Monitor, Palestine Center for Human Rights, Palestinian Medical Relief Society, Physicians for Human Rights – Israel, Public Committee Against Torture, ICHAD, PNGO, and Zochrot. These NGOs advance political warfare and legal attacks against Israel. Many rely on substantial, direct, or indirect funding by France and the European Union. In cooperation with the Belgian association Intal, AFPS participated in a Dexia shareholder protest that supported Dexia's divestment from Israeli companies.²²⁴

According to the AFPS website, it has about 4,900 members, supporters, and organizers, and more than a hundred regional groups throughout France.²²⁵ The AFPS was among the organizations which acted against the "Tel-Aviv on the Seine" happening in August 2015.²²⁶ The AFPS cooperated with CAPJPO-EuroPalestine in anti-Israel demonstrations.²²⁷ It also acted to promote flotillas to Gaza.²²⁸

Taoufiq Tahani, AFPS's President, is a Palestinian-born lecturer in a French university.²²⁹ In 2013, during an interview to the media, he said that French textbooks had been examined and were found not to include the subject of the *nakba* and "the expulsion of the Palestinians," and added he was working to bring this subject into public awareness in France.²³⁰

CAPJPO-EuroPalestine (Coordination des appels pour une paix juste au Proche-Orient)

In English: the Committee for Coordinating Action for a Just Peace in the Middle East

Site: <http://europalestine.com>

Orientation: Western far-left, pro-Islamist

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

CAPJPO-EuroPalestine is a French far-left organization founded in 2002, which supports the academic boycott and BDS, and organizes demonstrations and BDS tours in France. According to Israeli sources, EuroPalestine is also a member organization of the Muslim Brotherhood-led International Campaign to End the Siege in Gaza (ICESG).²³¹ CAPJPO-EuroPalestine is headed by Olivia Zemor, a French far-left Jewish activist who was among the organizers of the delegitimization flight to Ben-Gurion Airport in April 2012, called “Welcome to Palestine 2012,” during which activists landing at the airport made anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian exclamations. Both Zemor and her husband, Nicolas Shahshahani, are journalists. Nicolas Shahshahani was born in the United States to an Iranian Shiite father and a Jewish mother.²³² For many years, Zemor worked for the French News Agency, and in 2002 the couple started to act for the Palestinian cause, forming CAPJPO together with other Jewish anti-Zionists. In 2004, she cooperated with the anti-Semitic black comedian Dieudonne in founding Europalestine, which participated in the elections to the European Union. Dieudonne later left Europalestine under the chairmanship of Zemor. It should be noted that CAPJPO-EuroPalestine supports, at least officially, the two-state solution.²³³

CAPJPO-EuroPalestine was central to three attempts to send thousands of activists simultaneously to Israel via Ben-Gurion Airport (July 2011, April 2012) and the Allenby Bridge (August 2012). These events, intended as anti-Israel media provocations at the border checkpoints, did not have the impact expected by the organizers. The Allenby Bridge event completely failed and had no media coverage whatsoever. During 2012, CAPJPO-EuroPalestine sent an aid delegation numbering 100 activists to Gaza. It was received by Hamas officials, performed a show of defiance near the border (low profile and no provocations), and promised to promote Hamas’s propaganda messages aimed at French public opinion and international legal forums. Other members of the delegation were from other delegitimization organizations, among them nine activists of Freedom Flotilla Italia, which is involved in the project of sending flotillas to Gaza. These activists met in Gaza with senior members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and representatives of other terrorist groups. A further

indication of the affinity between CAPJPO-EuroPalestine and elements in the PFLP can be found on its website, which reported a meeting on December 8, 2012 between about 100 pro-Palestinian activists of Toulouse and a senior personality of the PFLP. Far-left elements, which had organized the meeting, thanked the organization for supporting the meeting. It is also worth noting that the organization's website reviewed widely the Salah Hamouri affair, supported him, and called for his release.²³⁴ Hamouri, a PFLP activist from east Jerusalem carrying French citizenship, planned to murder the late Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yossef. He was eventually released in the Shalit deal.



Olivia Zemor speaking against Israel in one of the May 2010 demonstrations.²³⁵



Nicolas Shahshahani, one of the organizers of "Gaza on the Beach," a response to the "Tel-Aviv on the Seine" happening.²³⁶

A demonstration of EuroPalestine activists in Paris under the auspices of BDS, in a mall at the Montparnasse quarter on March 20, 2010 against the Swedish company H&M which has stores in Israel. The demonstrators shouted "Long live the Terror," "Long live the phosphorus bombs" (allegedly dropped on Gaza by the Israelis), and

“Long live the occupation,” and broke into the shop. A large number of them were Muslims.²³⁷



Another demonstration in Paris by EuroPalestine activists on March 7, 2009, during which BDS activists broke into a supermarket and loaded carts with Israeli products. This mode of action is a blatant violation of the right of property, so they can be legally prosecuted.²³⁸



In March 2016, EuroPalestine activists participated in a demonstration in support of a pro-BDS activist who had been arrested. Among the signboards raised and slogans heard during the demonstration was the call to “separate between CRIF and the state.” CRIF (Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France) is the umbrella for Jewish organizations in France established in 1945, and this slogan implies the possible power it has over the state.²³⁹

Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples (MRAP)

In English: Movement Against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples

Site: <http://www.mrap.fr>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

This far-left movement was founded in 1949 but was re-designed in 2007. The movement deals with human rights around the world, and works against globalization, anti-Semitism, and racism. However it has also been involved in BDS, which it sees as part of efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace.²⁴⁰ It also promoted a flotilla to Gaza.²⁴¹

The leadership, since 2012, includes: Dominique Deltour, Bernadette Hétier, Renée le Mignot, and Pierre Mairat.²⁴² All four carry the titles of joint chairman. Pierre Mairat acts as the attorney of MRAP, Renée le Mignot is in charge of international relations, Bernadette Hétier is joint chairperson, and Dominique Deltour is also joint chairperson.



Bernadette Hétier, joint chairperson of the movement.²⁴³



Pierre Mairat, a lawyer acting as joint chairman of MRAP.²⁴⁴

Renée Le Mignot, an MRAP activist who participated in promoting a flotilla to Gaza.²⁴⁵



Christian Masson, director of the local committee in Nice, talking about the campaign in Nice against "Tel Aviv on the Seine."²⁴⁶ MRAP took part in these activities under the title "Gaza sur Prom."²⁴⁷



l'Union Juive Française pour la Paix (UJFP)

Site: <http://www.ujfp.org>

Orientation: Jewish far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

UJFP is a Jewish far-left organization with about 300 members throughout France. It fights "against racism and discriminations" and among various activities also promotes BDS. It was founded in 1994 and is part of the far-left Jewish European federation *European Jewish Network for a Just Peace (EJJP)*. It is signatory on the EJJP's December 2014 declaration that called "for the recognition of the State of Palestine and for strong measures against Israel until it ends the occupation of Palestinian land., These include urging the European Union to suspend the EU/Israel Association Agreement until Israel complies with UN resolutions and international law, stopping all forms of military and security cooperation, and promoting BDS throughout the world."²⁴⁸ The

UJFP's joint president and driving force is Pierre Stambul.²⁴⁹ Another prominent figure is Michèle Sibony, a feminist, anti-colonialist activist.

Toward the Palestine-focused World Social Forum (WSF) in Puerto Alegre in November 2012 and the WSF in Tunis in March 2013, the UJFP held a workshop in cooperation with several French-Arab organizations and the Israeli far-left Alternative Information Center (AIC), which dealt, among other things, with the challenge of “rebuilding an Arab-Judeo perspective” in Western societies and the Arab world. Michèle Sibony, who wrote about the workshop, said that the world today had been redrawn by American neo-Conservatism, whereas the Middle East became the new front line, and Islam took the place of Communism as the global civilizational enemy. The separation wall in Palestine replaces the Berlin wall in this division of the world, and anti-Semitism, the question of veiling of women etc. are used as ideological weapons in this war.²⁵⁰

Just before the end of 2017, UJFP issued a series of 10 clips, directed by the controversial Israeli filmmaker Eyal Sivan, in which activists of the organization are interviewed and aim to demonstrate that opposing racism is a Jewish theme that should also include the criticism of Israeli policies.²⁵¹



Pierre Stambul, joint president of UJFP, wearing a BDS shirt.²⁵²

La Plateforme des ONG Françaises pour la Palestine

Site: <http://www.plateforme-palestine.org>

Orientation: Western far-left, pro-Islamist, Christian

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

La Plateforme des ONG Françaises pour la Palestine is an umbrella body of pro-Palestinian organizations in France, which was created in 1993 in the wake of the Oslo agreements. It brings under its wings 40 member associations (28 of which are full members and the rest are observers) from far-left to religious backgrounds (both Christian and Islamist). All of these found common ground on the Plateforme's charter, which asserted the "mutual recognition of Palestinian and Israeli states, the full implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and the implementation of UN resolutions 242 and 338, as well as a fair solution to the refugees issue, based on international law."²⁵³

The Plateforme lobbies members of the European Parliament to impose sanctions on Israel. It offers resources for advancing an anti-Israeli agenda and engages in BDS campaigns. Among the Plateforme's members are: FIDH, CCFD-Terre Solidaire, and Catholic organizations involved in the delegitimization campaign – Pax Christi France, Secours Catholique, and Caritas France. Another member is the Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens (CBSP).²⁵⁴

In December 2017, the Plateforme co-organized a symposium in the French Senate titled "Palestine: Does the Occupation Seriously Affect Health?," which hosted, among others, prominent Israel delegitimization figure Mustafa Barghouti in his role as head of a medical NGO called Palestinian Medical Relief Society (PMRS).²⁵⁵ The Plateforme promoted a flotilla to Gaza in October 2010.²⁵⁶

Chairman of the organization,
Bernard Ravenel.²⁵⁷



Bernard Ravenel is a history professor at the l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris. Ravenel participated in the founding of the Socialist party (PSU) in 1960 and was later a member of the Communist Party – Parti Communiste Français. He is also one of the founders of the Comité pour le désarmement nucléaire en Europe – CODENE. Ravenel has been accused of anti-Semitism.²⁵⁸

Following is the list of member organizations of La Plateforme des ONG Françaises pour la Palestine.²⁵⁹

- Amani
- AdM – Artisans du Monde (Fédération)
- AURDIP – Association des Universitaires pour le Respect du Droit International en Palestine
- AFPS – Association France Palestine Solidarité
- AJPF – Association pour les jumelages entre camps de réfugiés palestiniens et villes françaises
- Association régionale Pays de Loire Gaza – Jérusalem
- CEDETIM – Centre d'études et d'initiatives de solidarité internationale (Cedetim)
- CEMEA – Centres d'Entraînement aux Méthodes d'Education Active
- Cimade
- CICUP – Collectif Interuniversitaire pour la Coopération avec les Universités Palestiniennes
- CCFD – Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement – Terre Solidaire
- CBSP – Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens
- CVPR-PO – Comité de Vigilance pour une Paix Réelle au Proche-Orient
- Comité Palestine Israël 44-49
- ERM/SERVICES – Enfants Réseau Monde/ Services
- FSGT – Fédération Sportive et Gymnique du Travail
- Génération Palestine
- GREF – Groupement des Retraités Educateurs sans Frontières
- La Forge
- LDH – Ligue des Droits de l'Homme et du citoyen

- LIFPL – Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté – section française
- MRAP – Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l’Amitié entre les Peuples
- Mouvement de la Paix
- MIR – Mouvement International de la Réconciliation
- MAN – Mouvement pour une Alternative Non violente
- Pax Christi France
- SCCF – Secours Catholique – Caritas France
- SIDI – Solidarité Internationale pour le Développement et l’Investissement
- UJPF – Union Juive Française pour la Paix

Collectif69 / Collectif 69 Palestine

Site: <http://collectif69palestine.free.fr/>

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Collectif-69-de-Soutien-au-Peuple-Palestinien/116919255081238>

Twitter: @palestine69

Orientation: Western far-left, pro-Islamist

Fields of operation: “direct action,” BDS

Collectif69 is an umbrella body based in Lyon and founded in 2003,²⁶⁰ and comprises pro-Palestinian organizations and far-left parties. Among its members are MRAP, CAPJPO, GUPS, the Parti Communiste Français, et al. *Collectif69* is active with the issue of removing the siege from Gaza²⁶¹ and also works for the release of Palestinian prisoners, among them Muhammad Allan, the hunger-striking activist of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). It supported Salah Hamouri, who was released in the Shalit deal.²⁶² Associate organizations are CBSP, EuroPalestine, UJFP and Tadamun.²⁶³ The president²⁶⁴ and the driving force of the *Collectif* is the far-left journalist²⁶⁵ Jérôme Faynel, active in the Green Party (des Verts du Rhône),²⁶⁶ who also promoted a flotilla to Gaza in 2011.²⁶⁷

List of the member organizations of Collectif69 and signatories of its 2013 treaty²⁶⁸

- AFAK Bethléem
- AFPS (Association France Palestine Solidarité)
- Agir à la Mulatière
- Alternatifs (les)
- ATTAC Rhône
- ATTAC Villefranche
- CAPJPO-Europalestine
- CCIPPP (Campagne Civile Internationale de Protection du Peuple Palestinien)
- CFDT commerces et services
- C.N.T Interco du Rhône
- Entr’Cultures
- Femmes en Noir
- Gauche Unitaire
- GREF (Groupement des Retraités Educateurs sans Frontières)
- GUPS (Union Générale des Etudiants Palestiniens)
- Initiatives Citoyennes
- Le PHILISTIN
- LDH (Ligue des Droits de l’Homme)
- MRAP (Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l’Amitié entre les Peuples)
- MJCF (Mouvement des Jeunesses Communistes de France)
- Mouvement de la Paix
- OXFAM Lyon
- PCF-Rhône (Parti Communiste Français)
- Parti de Gauche
- PIR (Parti des indigènes de la république)
- NPA (Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste)
- Solidaires Rhône Sud
- Union Départementale CFDT
- Union Départementale CGT
- UJFP (Union Juive Française pour la Paix)
- Europe Ecologie / Les Verts du Rhône

CCFD-Terre Solidaire

Site: <http://ccfd-terresolidaire.org/>

Orientation: Catholic, Western far-left

Fields of operation: BDS

CCFD-Terre Solidaire is a French Catholic organization that purports to promote human rights and poverty reduction. CCFD-Terre Solidaire collaborates with far-left Israeli NGOs such as SadakaReut, Zochrot, Baladna, Association of Arab Youth, the Alternative Information Center (AIC), and ICAHD. In August 2014, CCFD-Terre Solidaire published an appeal for the European Union and their member states to divest from all settlement activities. In July 2014, CCFD-Terre Solidaire published “European Measures against Israeli Occupation,” calling for settlement product labeling and divestment from business and other activities with Israeli entities beyond the 1949 Armistice Line. The document also urges the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to endorse calls for divestment from settlement activities.²⁶⁹

French Association des Universitaires pour le Respect du Droit International en Palestine (AURDIP)

Site: <http://www.aurdip.fr/>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: BDS, campus activism

AURDIP acts for an academic boycott of Israel. Its driving force is Ivar Ekeland, who serves as the organization’s president.²⁷⁰ Ivar Ekeland is a French mathematician of Norwegian descent.

Confédération paysanne

Site: <http://www.confederationpaysanne.fr/>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, trade unions

The French Farmers' Federation was founded in 1987 by two minority unions.²⁷¹ In most elections to the chambers of agriculture it won between 20-26 percent of the votes. The Federation has been supporting BDS since 2011.²⁷²

Confédération Nationale du Travail – CNT

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, trade unions

The National Confederation of Labour is a French anarcho-syndicalist union aligned with the General Confederation of Labour (CGT). In 2010, it joined the BDS Campaign, adding that this decision is “coherent with our solidarity with Palestine, defined by our statement of support of the Palestinian people’s struggle, adopted by the CNT during its 2006 congress,” and that, “It confirms our opposition to all forms of colonization and occupation, as well as our solidarity with the oppressed against the oppressor.”²⁷³

Chapter III

Delegitimization in Belgium

Belgium is a small European country, with a population of about 11 million people, 60 percent of whom are Dutch-speaking Flemish and 40 percent French-speaking Walloons. In 2008, it was estimated that Muslims consist of 6 percent of the population,²⁷⁴ the majority of whom live in the major cities, especially the Brussels-Capital Region. A large Jewish community, mostly Hassidic-Orthodox, live in Antwerp.

On the whole, there are no large scale activities connected to the delegitimization campaign taking place in Belgium. The last significant “direct action” demonstration apparently took place in 2009,²⁷⁵ toward the end of Operation Cast Lead. Almost all activities are led by far-left activists, who are sometimes joined by Islamists and Muslim Brotherhood affiliates. BDS campus activism has been recorded in the past few years, as well as small scale demonstrations. In September 2014, a pro-Palestinian conference was organized by Laurent Louis, a former member of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives who had been accused of making anti-Semitic remarks. Among those featured in the event was the French anti-Semitic comedian Dieudonné.²⁷⁶

Belgium’s importance should be seen in the context of its essential role in the European Union structures. Brussels is considered the *de facto* capital of the European Union, having a long history of hosting some of its main institutions. Thus, EU institutions are at the heart of political

and lobbying activities, either from Belgium-based organizations or from abroad.

In early November 2017, for example, the first European Conference on Israeli settlement activity took place in Brussels, bringing together “Representatives from 24 European countries, including parliamentarians, legal experts, journalists, and activists.” These signed the Brussels Declaration, which accused Israel of creating an “apartheid regime” in the West Bank.²⁷⁷ The conference was reportedly organized by two official PLO bodies headed by Tayseer Khaled – the National Bureau for Defending Land and Resisting Settlements and the Department for Palestine Expatriate Affairs (PEAD), in cooperation with other European bodies, some of which are covered in other chapters of this work. Two of the partner organizers are based in Belgium and will be covered here – they are the European Coordination of Communities and Associations for Palestine (ECCP) and the Association Belgo Palestinienne (ABP).²⁷⁸

Pierre Galand (ECCP, ABP – see below) and Tayseer Khaled at the conference.²⁷⁹



A significant opportunity for staunch supporters of the Palestinian “struggle for liberation” to affect EU policies via the professional route comes from the EU and other official institutions’ growing reliance on NGOs as consultants. An important example is Ben Hayes, a fellow of the Transnational Institute who has worked for the civil liberties organization Statewatch since 1996, “specializing in international and national security and policing policies.”²⁸⁰ Ben Hayes also serves as a consultant to the European Parliament, the European Commission, and

other agencies on subjects such as national and international security, terror laws, and the like.

In November 2010, Hayes was listed as a speaker at the London session of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine, sharing a platform with BDS leaders like Jamal Juma'a. Hayes spoke in a session dedicated to "The Security Industry and the War Industry" – "providing details relating to EU subsidies to the security industry."²⁸¹ In February 2013, Hayes was pictured at a meeting with BNC's European coordinator Michael Deas, following a BDS seminar that took place in Belgium.²⁸² In a 2005 essay titled "There is no "balance" between security and civil liberties – just less of each," while discussing the UK Terrorism Act 2000, Hayes maintained: "So the illegal invasion of Iraq by the United States and UK was justified, but the Palestinian Intifada, for example, is not. This position is not just hypocritical: the criminalization of liberation struggles brings with it the criminalization of solidarity."²⁸³



Ben Hayes delivering a TEDx lecture titled "Counterterrorism" used to crackdown on civil society.²⁸⁴

In May 2016, Hayes was an author of a report produced by the controversial British group CAGE that dealt with the UK government's counter radicalization strategy PREVENT, aiming to reveal "groups and 'products' involved in covert government propaganda programme" and demonstrate "How the Home Office has misled the British public, pushing state-sponsored propaganda at or about Muslims using seemingly independent groups and projects."²⁸⁵

Finally, the headquarters of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) have been located in Brussels approximately since 2007.²⁸⁶ FIOE is an umbrella group comprised of Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated national bodies across Europe.

Islamist Organizations

Ligue Islamique Interculturelle De Belgique (LIIB)

Site: <http://liib.be>; <http://liicb.sitew.be/> (old websites, currently inactive)

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: pro-Hamas support and advocacy

The Ligue Islamique Interculturelle de Belgique (LIIB) is one of the member organizations of FIOE. A 2001–2002 report by the Belgian Parliamentary Intelligence Committee identified the LIIB as one of several Muslim Brotherhood organizations in Belgium operating under other names.

The LIIB was founded in February 1997 by Monsif Chatar and Karim Azzouzi, the last LIIB president and its current president respectively, and two others. In June 1998, upon the dissolution of the organization, its remaining assets were transferred to the Europe Trust. Europe Trust is a UK-based asset holding [*awqaf*] trust connected with senior Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated figures living in Europe. In addition, an Islamic youth organization called “Spaces Cultural Muslim Youth” was created within the LIIB. In February 2006, the LIIB added Franck Hensch as vice president/secretary and Beji Denguir as treasurer. Hensch was listed as the secretary of an Islamic culture association in Verviers, and in March 2005 he was appointed secretary for Al-Aqsa Belgium. Hensch was removed as vice president/secretary and replaced by Karim Azzouzi.

A 2001 report of the Belgian parliamentary Intelligence Committee reportedly states:

The Ligue Islamique Interculturelle organizes conferences regularly where it invites Tariq Ramadan and his brother Hani Ramadan (who are both affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood). They note that the moderate speeches which Tariq Ramadan always gives in public do not correspond to the remarks which he makes in restricted Islamic media, where they are definitely more critical toward Western Society.

The LIIB is known to have sponsored a November 2006 conference with Hani Ramadan, and in November 2007, as noted above, the LIIB headquarters had a poster for yet other conferences with Hani Ramadan in its window. The LIIB has also been involved with a number of FIOE activities, including a 2003 joint event with the international, Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated youth group FEMYSO, signing a joint petition with 24 other FIOE affiliates, organizing conferences with and sponsoring several speakers from the FIOE French affiliate.²⁸⁷

The LIIB was a signatory to a document signed in 2008 by 100 NGOs affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, calling to lift the blockade on Gaza. The document described Israel as acting brutally and barbarically toward the Palestinians and conducting a systematic murderous policy by means of the siege.²⁸⁸

The Ligue des Musulmans de Belgique (LMB)

Site: <http://lmbonline.be/>

Facebook: @lmbelgique

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: Islamist advocacy

The Ligue des Musulmans de Belgique (LMB) was created in February 2006, apparently as a successor to the LIIB. According to its statutes, the LMB is a member of FIOE, whose assets on dissolution go to the aforementioned Europe Trust. Its founding document was signed by Karim Azzouzi and others, at least some of whom are known affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood. Since its creation, the LMB has been a signatory to several online petitions concerning Islamist issues, such as the Danish cartoon crisis. In September 2007, the LMB hosted a meeting in Brussels that brought together over 400 Islamist organizations to sign a code of conduct developed by the FIOE for Muslims who live in Europe.²⁸⁹

Like the LIIB before it, the LMB organizes conferences that host prominent Islamist figures. In November 2014, prominent Kuwaiti

Muslim Brotherhood preacher Tareq Al-Suwaidan, known for his illustrated, anti-Semitic book, *The Jews: The Illustrated Encyclopedia*, was to speak at an LMB-organized festival, but his entry to Belgium was denied.²⁹⁰ In August 2014, the LMB was among several dozens of organizations that took part in a “national demonstration” to end the blockade on Gaza.²⁹¹



Council for European Palestinian Relations (CEPR)

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: pro-Hamas support and advocacy, political lobbying

The *Council for European Palestinian Relations (CEPR)* seems to have been in operation until 2013; it was founded and operated by senior affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood in several European countries.²⁹²

- Arafat Madi Shoukri (who for many years lived in Britain and served as executive director for the Hamas-aligned Palestinian Return Centre (PRC), as well as Chair of the European Campaign To End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG). In 2014, Madi moved to Qatar, where he currently serves as head of communications at Al Jazeera Media Network).
- Anouar Gharbi (Switzerland/France)
- Mazen Kahel (France)
- Arafet Boujemaa (Britain/Tunisia)
- Amin Abu Rashid (Holland)
- Mohammad Hannoun (Italy)
- Sameh A. Habib (Gaza)
- Rami Abduh (Gaza and Switzerland, formerly a student in Britain).

Most of the CEPR's activities focused on lobbying at the European Parliament and organizing delegations of MEPs and members of syndicates and trade unions to visit Gaza (although visits to the pre-Arab Spring Syria and Egypt and to Tunisia under the Muslim Brotherhood's lead were also organized) "so that parliamentarians can witness first-hand the situation confronting the Palestinians."²⁹³

In most cases, the participants in the various delegations either belong to far-left parties, such as Helmut Scholtz from the German Left-wing Die Linke party, or prioritize the Palestinian issue in their personal agendas. Some have been known for their pro-Hamas opinions, including Alexandra Thein from the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in Germany. Thein is married to an Israeli Arab²⁹⁴ and serves as a CEPR trustee.²⁹⁵ It should also be noted that most visits to Gaza included meetings with the Hamas-led government.

The Al-Aqsa Foundation / Akshaum

Orientation: Muslim Brotherhood, pro-Hamas

Fields of operation: Islamist charitable causes, pro-Hamas advocacy

The Al-Aqsa Foundation was an Islamist foundation based in Germany, which operated branches in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and several Middle Eastern countries, and was designated by the U.S. Treasury in 2003 for Hamas funding.²⁹⁶ It was part of the Union of Good (UoG),²⁹⁷ which was designated in 2008 by the U.S. Treasury for its part in funding Hamas.²⁹⁸ The Al-Aqsa Foundation had been banned by several countries, including Germany and the Netherlands, and its founders and senior figures were connected to other charities known for Hamas funding and Muslim Brotherhood affiliations.

Al-Aqsa Humanitaire, the Belgian branch, was founded in 1993 and is currently based in Brussels. It was first registered in Verviers, an economically distressed municipality of approximately 52,000 residents located in the Belgian province of Liège and close to the cities of Aachen (Germany) and Heerlen (the Netherlands), where the Al-Aqsa branches in those countries were first registered. The original signatories to the Al-Aqsa Belgium registration were Mahmoud Amr, who had been described by Israel as a “senior Hamas figure in Germany” and was also linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, Mohamed M. El Hajjaji, Nimeh Amro, Bassem Hatahet, Abdallah Larhouasli, Ali Sonlu, and Mostafa M. Busif.²⁹⁹ Busif has been linked to the Algerian GIA.³⁰⁰ In October 2004, the U.S. Treasury said that Al-Aqsa Humanitaire was “reportedly linked” to the Islamic African Relief Agency (IARA), which was connected to both Hamas and al-Qaeda.

Since 2001, Al-Aqsa Humanitaire underwent a series of organizational changes, which included the move of its registered office to a new location, the changing of its registered board, and changing of its name to *Aksahum* (the name in Arabic remained the same). Currently, both the Foundation’s website and Facebook pages promote the third MuslimExpo festival,³⁰¹ which took place in the city of Charleroi between February 6-7, 2016. Among the featured speakers were Muslim

Brotherhood leading figure Tariq Ramadan and Michel Collon, a journalist affiliated with the tiny far-left (Marxist) Workers Party of Belgium (WPB) and member of the anti-imperialist 2005 conference, Axis for Peace. Collon escorted Omar Barghouti in an April 2013 conference in Brussels University at which he spoke.³⁰²

Belgian Far-Left Organizations

The European Coordination of Committee and Associations for Palestine (ECCP)

In French: La Coordination Européenne des Comités Palestine (CECP)

<http://www.eccpalestine.org/>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: political lobbying, BDS promoting

The ECCP is a Brussels-based association of NGOs cooperating with the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.³⁰³ According to its website, the ECCP was founded in 1986 as a network of 50 European committees, organizations, NGOs, unions, and international solidarity movements from 22 European countries, dedicated to the struggle of the Palestinian people for “freedom, justice, and equality.” It supports BDS, publishes relevant material and position papers, initiates and signs petitions, and focuses on exerting pressure on European States and EU institutions to change their policy toward Israel.³⁰⁴ It lists member organizations from Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, the wide majority of which stem from far-left backgrounds.³⁰⁵

The ECCP is headed by Pierre Galand, a former senator (2003-2007) on behalf of the Belgian Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS). Galand has been involved in international far-left initiatives like the Russell Tribunal that was held in New York in 2010 and intended to accuse Israel of committing war crimes.³⁰⁶ The ECCP was also behind the July 2014 letter addressed by several dozen far-left Israeli citizens to the European Council, Commission, and Parliament, which called on the European Union to pressure Israel to accept Hamas’s terms of truce during Operation Protective Edge (also see the chapter on Germany).³⁰⁷ The ECCP is listed as one of the partners of the French L’Association France Palestine Solidarité (AFPS).³⁰⁸

l'Association Belgo-Palestinienne (ABP)

Site: <http://www.association-belgo-palestinienne.be>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action" BDS promoting

L'Association Belgo-Palestinienne (ABP) is a Brussels-based organization that appeals to a French-speaking audience in Belgium³⁰⁹ and operates several regional branches in the country. The ABP is active in several campaigns, among them a campaign for the recognition in the state of Palestine, a campaign to promote BDS,³¹⁰ and a Gaza-focused campaign. The ABP both publishes written material and disseminates anti-Israeli and pro-Palestinian short clips. The ABP is headed by the above-mentioned Pierre Galand.³¹¹

Nadia Farkh, Coordinator
of l'Association Belgo-
Palestinienne.³¹²



Marianne Blume, activist
of l'Association Belgo-
Palestinienne, in an interview
promoting BDS.³¹³



Dominique Waroquiez, an activist of l'Association Belgo-Palestinienne,³¹⁴ is considered one of the most vociferous delegitimization activists in Belgium in recent years. She has been very active in anti-Israel demonstrations, calling to boycott Israel and to release Palestinian prisoners, and vilifies it as an Apartheid state.³¹⁵



A call for a demonstration promoted by ABP against the visit of Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu to Belgium, December 2017.³¹⁶

Gents Actieplatform Palestina (GAPP)

In English: Gent's Action Platform Palestine

Site: <http://gappgent.be>

Facebook: @GappGentsActiePlatformPalestina

Orientation: Western far-left, Islamist

Fields of operation: BDS promoting

GAPP is an umbrella organization that unites Islamist and far-left NGOs, peace groups, and solidarity committees. It is based in the city of Ghent (Gent). Among its members are the ABP, UPJB and ECCP.³¹⁷ *GAPP* is mainly active in solidarity campaigns, info evenings, and lectures. It also partners with other far-left organizations around the world in “globalizing solidarity” in general and calls for a military embargo on Israel in particular.³¹⁸ Its president is Annuschka Vandewalle, who is also the main figure of Socialistische Solidariteit (FOS).



GAPP session in support of BDS, March 2017.³¹⁹

Socialistische Solidariteit (FOS)

Site: <https://fos.ngo/>

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: trade unions

FOS is a Brussels-based Socialist organization funded by the Social-Democratic Flemish Socialist Party. *FOS* is active in several countries, including the Palestinian arena. It partners in with several Palestinian trade unions.³²⁰ Its coordinator of the Palestine file is Eric Willemaers. Its President is Annuschka Vandewalle, who is also the President of GAPP. *FOS* publishes papers regarding the financial ties between Belgian companies and Israel,³²¹ protests against trade agreements between Israel and the European Union, and more.

Annuschka Vandewalle³²²



Palestina Solidariteit vzw

In English: Palestine Solidarity Association

Site: <http://palestinasolidariteit.be/>

Orientation: anti-Zionist

Fields of operation: "direct action," BDS promoting

Palestina Solidariteit is a merger of two other organizations³²³ – Centrum voor Ontwikkeling Documentatie en Informatie Palestijnen (CODIP)³²⁴

and the Vlaams Palestina Comité, both of which were operating with limited resources and were headed by Myriam Vandecan, who is married to a Palestinian. Myriam Vandecan has equated Israel with Racism and Apartheid.³²⁵

Like one of its predecessors – CODIP – the website of this group seems to mainly serve as an online information center for various types of pro-Palestinian material and BDS petitions and campaigns. Palestina Solidariteit defines itself as a part of the BDS platform in Belgium.³²⁶ It links with many other organizations, mostly in Belgium, but also with the International Jewish anti-Zionist Network (IJSN).



Myriam Vandecan³²⁷

Union des progressistes juifs de Belgique (UPJB)

In English: Belgian Union of Progressive Jews

Site: <http://upjb.be/>

Orientation: Jewish far-left, Anti-Zionist

Fields of operation: BDS promoting

The Union des progressistes juifs de Belgique (UPJB) is a Belgian Jewish organization originally set up in 1939 as Solidarité juive (Jewish Solidarity) by anti-Fascist Jews in Belgium, becoming in 1946 Solidarité Juive (Jewish Solidarity) to help the victims of the Nazi oppression. In 1969, it took on its present name and turned into a platform for

Left-wing Jews.³²⁸ Today, the UPJB is a relatively small but significant organization, which consists of anti-Zionist Jews. The UPJB is not a member of the Comité de coordination des organisations juives de Belgique (CCOJB, Coordination Committee of Belgium's Jewish Organizations), the Belgian chapter of the World Jewish Congress.

In October-November 2014, the UPJB organized a boycott campaign against a film festival about Israeli-Palestinian relations, because of Israeli embassy involvement.³²⁹ One of its key members is Henri Wajnblum.

Henri Wajnblum speaking at a BDS conference in Belgium organized by ULB (see below), December 2010. The conference hosted members of several far-left Belgian groups, a member of PACBI, and Israeli anarchist Ronnie Barkan.³³⁰



Comité BDS de l'ULB (ULB)

Site: <http://bds-ulb.blogspot.be/>

Facebook: @ComiteBdsULb

Orientation: Western far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action" – campus activism, BDS promoting

Comité BDS de l'ULB (ULB) is a student organization based at the Université libre de Bruxelles in Brussels. It promotes boycotting Israel, and was reportedly recognized by the University of Brussels as a student organization in 2012.³³¹ On March 4, 2015, the ULB arranged a demonstration for the boycott of Israel where its members shouted "Fascists, Zionists – you are terrorists" (a BDS chant also heard in

demonstrations in France). In addition, they made anti-Semitic calls against members of the Jewish organization l'Union des Etudiants juifs de Belgique (UEJB), who sued them for this.³³²

Chapter IV

Delegitimization in the United States

Although the social and political structure in the United States differs from European countries, mapping the structure and networks of delegitimizing Israel resembles European configurations with several unique features, albeit it is more complex in terms of the main groups involved. In general, delegitimization activity in the United States focuses on the areas of New York City (seat of the UN institutions, with a relatively large Palestinian community), Washington (center of the U.S. government), and California (center of culture and communication).

At least until recently, the U.S far-left has been less dominant and organized in the public scene than in European countries. This far-left, as will be seen in this chapter, includes several Jewish groups, the activities of which should also be seen within the wider context of the changing identity of U.S. Jewry,³³³ especially younger groups from the liberal or progressive Left who gradually detach themselves from Israel, as well as the major focus on campus activism across the country, which finds the younger generation in a difficult position. Universities have been at the heart of the delegitimization campaign in the United States. According to a report by the ADL, delegitimization activity against Israel has increased on campuses during 2015. These anti-Israeli activities, on some campuses, resulted in increased tension between pro-Israel and anti-Israel students, and at times also created an atmosphere where pro-Israel students felt uncomfortable voicing

their views.³³⁴ The main groups that organize such events are Islamist, headed by Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), Muslim Student Association (MSA) and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) (see below).

Both on campuses and in other aspects of the delegitimization campaign in the United States, the Islamist presence is notable, perhaps even more than in European countries, in which far-left elements usually take the lead. A common denominator between most of the relevant Islamist groups and individuals covered here is their affiliation to the Muslim Brotherhood's U.S. structure. Like in Europe, Muslim Brotherhood presence in the United States dates back to the early 1960s.³³⁵ In a 2008 interview between an Egyptian blogger and the Egyptian Brotherhood's then top leader Mohammed Habib, the latter affirmed that there are U.S. institutions with Muslim Brotherhood members present, stating that "there are there those who do represent us, who do that role" but refusing to disclose their names since "this is a sensitive subject, and it's kind of problematic, especially after 9/11...."³³⁶ The structure of the U.S. Brotherhood was widely described during the trial of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), a major Islamist charity that in 2008-2009 had been convicted in transferring funds to Hamas, and whose leading figures were sentenced to long imprisonment terms. In the Federal Judge's ruling of the case it was stated: –

Government has produced ample evidence to establish the associations of CAIR, ISNA, and NAIT with HLF, the Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), and with Hamas. While the Court recognizes that the evidence produced by the government largely predates the HLF designation date, the evidence is nonetheless sufficient to show the association of these entities with HLF, IAP, and Hamas.³³⁷

Although most of these bodies deny any links to either Hamas or the Muslim Brotherhood to-date, they can still be tied to each other through the same leading figures, joint initiatives, and events, sponsors etc. In April 2016, a discussion titled "Israel Imperiled: Threats to the Jewish State" was held by the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation,

and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa at the House Foreign Affairs Committee in the Congress. With regards to the American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), for example, Jonathan Schanzer of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD) concluded that:

AMP's BDS campaign may be a headache for Israel, but the fact that it is based in the United States makes it an American issue. The overlap of former employees of organizations that provided support to Hamas who now play important roles in AMP speaks volumes about the real agenda of key components of the BDS campaign.³³⁸

A note of caution should be added here vis-à-vis the discourse in the United States on the Muslim Brotherhood and its activities in the country. Despite the findings presented to court during the HLF trial, and unlike in several European countries, hardly any serious debate took place on the subject of the Muslim Brotherhood or the question of Islamism as a whole. More recently, against the background of the Obama administration's sympathetic policies toward Islamism both across the Middle East and in the United States and the growing polarization in U.S. politics, the subject has been taken on and twisted by far-right and anti-Muslim, nonprofessional groups. These usually speak in terms of "infiltration" of "Muslim Brotherhood agents" into the government or link it to *Sharia* Law, which they claim Muslims aspire to implement in the United States. It remains to be seen whether a proper discussion on the subject is on the way or remains in the hands of these groups. In the meantime, very careful scrutiny is needed for any specific U.S. reporting on the subject.

In the recent years, especially after Operation Protective Edge in Gaza (2014), there have been reports of the efforts of the PLO's Expatriate Affairs Department³³⁹ to liaise and cooperate with U.S. activists affiliated with the PLO and the Marxist fronts in promoting anti-Israel and BDS activities there. The Expatriate Affairs Department in Ramallah is headed by Tayseer Khaled, a member of the PLO's Executive Committee (PLO EC) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine's (DFLP) political bureau.³⁴⁰ Since its foundation

in 2000, nationalist Palestinian activities have been affiliated with the Palestinian American Council, “a charitable, educational, civic, and political organization in the United States of America that promotes cultural and economic cooperation between the people of Palestine and the United States of America, as well as encouraging and strengthening ties between Palestinians and their motherland.”³⁴¹

Lastly, especially following the Ferguson-Missouri police shooting in August 2014 of an unarmed black youngster and other, similar cases that made the headlines, identity politics has entered the scene, and black Americans started to express their sympathy with the Palestinians. This phenomenon has increased particularly in light of international officials and media reporting during Operation Protective Edge in Gaza, which portrayed Israel as deliberately killing civilians and children.³⁴² In the background stand the slogans that refer to the Palestinians as deprived and compare Israel to the South African Apartheid, which also enable black people to draw the analogy between their perceived discrimination and Israel’s treatment of the Palestinians. Many times, the issue of cooperation between various U.S. and Israeli police forces is brought to the table, under the accusation that Israeli counter-terrorism methods also drive American policemen to shoot civilians. In July 2016, for example, it was reported that Atlanta Mayor Kasim Reed rejected a demand by a local group associated with “Black Lives Matter” that insisted on

...a complete overhaul of Atlanta Police Department’s (APD) training institutions... [and] a termination to APD’s involvement in the Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE) program that trains our officers in Apartheid Israel...³⁴³

The most relevant individuals and groups active in this field will also be covered in this chapter.

Islamist Organizations

Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)

Site: <http://www.cair.com/>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: pro-Hamas advocacy

The Council on American–Islamic Relations (CAIR) is a U.S. Muslim Brotherhood advocacy group that, as previously stated, was named in a list of co-conspirators and/or joint ventures in the Holy Land Foundation case.³⁴⁴ It is headquartered on Capitol Hill in Washington D.C., with regional offices nationwide.³⁴⁵ Since its founding in 1994, CAIR has grown into a large organization with a budget of over \$2 million; it describes itself as “the nation’s leading Muslim organization in the civil rights and advocacy arenas.” Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad, two of its original founders, continue to serve as leaders in the organization. CAIR maintains close relations with other U.S. Brotherhood outfits and, at least at one time, also had an advisory board.³⁴⁶ CAIR considers itself “the nation’s largest Muslim civil liberties and advocacy organization.” In November 2017, for example, it submitted a written statement for the record for the U.S. House Committee on Homeland Security hearing on “World Wide Threats: Keeping America Secure in the New Age of Terror.”

CAIR followed a typical Islamist pattern which criticizes governments’ attempts to confront processes of radicalization, maintaining that “Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs actively surveil, profile, censor, and divide the American Muslim community.”³⁴⁷ CAIR members, inter alia, have been involved in the delegitimization campaign against Israel. This includes signing various petitions, publishing anti-Israeli press releases, and more. For example, in August 2014 Awad tweeted: “Israel is the greatest threat to world peace and security.”³⁴⁸

CAIR has been active in attempts to stop the U.S. Congress Protect Academic Freedom Act (H.R. 4009), which states that academic institutions will not receive federal or any other form of financial assistance by U.S. official bodies if:

[The] institution, any significant part of the institution, or any organization significantly funded by the institution adopts a policy or resolution, issues a statement, or otherwise formally establishes the restriction of discourse, cooperation, exchange, or any other involvement with academic institutions or scholars on the basis of the connection of such institutions or such scholars to the State of Israel.³⁴⁹

CAIR's Executive Director
Nihad Awad.³⁵⁰



The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)

Site: <http://www.isna.net/>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: pro-Hamas advocacy

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) is another U.S. Muslim Brotherhood organization that emerged from the Brotherhood's early structure in the country.³⁵¹ Its origin had also been confirmed during the HLF trial.³⁵² On its website, however, ISNA states that it is "not now, nor has it ever been, subject to the control of any other domestic or international organizations including the Muslim Brotherhood," adding that it was

very disturbed ... when the Department of Justice named ISNA on a list of “unindicted co-conspirators” in the federal terrorism prosecution of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development. ISNA has engaged legal counsel to protect its rights and maintain its organizational integrity and credibility by immediate removal of ISNA from this list.³⁵³

ISNA’s current President Azhar Azeez, elected in 2014, has been previously involved in other U.S. Muslim Brotherhood- affiliated groups. Among his previous roles, he was a founding member and past president of the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) – Dallas/Fort Worth Chapter.³⁵⁴ Azeez also serves as director of Fund Development on the executive team of Islamic Relief USA,³⁵⁵ an independent and legally separated member of “a global family of collaborating relief organizations that share a common vision, mission, and family identity,” —connected through the use of the “Islamic Relief” name” via the UK-based charity Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW),³⁵⁶ affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.

Since its inception in the early 1980s, ISNA has grown to the point where it describes itself as “the largest and oldest umbrella organization for the estimated 6-8 million Muslims embracing over 300 community organizations and professional organizations in North America.”³⁵⁷ The organization is probably best known for its annual convention, which in the past hosted speakers who used pro-Islamist, anti-Israeli, and anti-Western rhetoric. In 2015, President Obama thanked ISNA in a video toward its annual convention, stating that:

...at a time when voices of intolerance and prejudice try to divide people along lines of faiths or sect or background, ISNA continues to be a voice for understanding and cooperation between faiths.³⁵⁸

ISNA addressed senior officials of the Obama administration a number of times to protest against Israel’s policy in Gaza. During Operation Cast Lead in July-August 2014, it protested against the “escalation of violence against the Palestinians” on Israel’s part and against

Israeli bombings in Gaza which hurt, it claims, “mainly women and children.”³⁵⁹

The Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

Site: <https://www.icna.org/>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood/*Jamaat-e-Islami*

Fields of operation: pro-Islamist advocacy, BDS promoting

The Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) is a North-American umbrella organization considered close to the Southeast Asian *Maududist Jamaat-e-Islami*.³⁶⁰ It was founded by immigrants from the Indian subcontinent, and its members are primarily of South Asian descent. In the past few years, ICNA has been holding large conferences and conventions in cooperation with the Muslim American Society (MAS), which had hosted senior Islamist figures like Hatem Bazian and Tariq Ramadan,³⁶¹ as well as the controversial scholar Suhaib Webb, who has been connected in the past with al-Qaeda’s American-Yemeni leader Anwar Al-Awlaki.³⁶²

ICNA focuses on a variety of Islamic issues around the world, including Palestinian issues. In July 2014, for example, during Operation Protective Edge, ICNA issued a press release addressed to President Obama, demanding the “end of Israeli aggression,” adding that –

The Obama Administration must demand that Israel end its ruthless assault against an occupied people who continuously undergo an illegal encroachment of their land.³⁶³

In September 2016, ICNA issued a press release, calling on the New York City Council “to reject Resolution 1058 and the limitations it places on free speech and peaceful civil protests,” adding that –

The resolution unfairly targets the peaceful and legitimate BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions) movement against Israel without

mentioning that Israel has violated more international laws and United Nations resolutions than any other nation in history.³⁶⁴

Muslim American Society (MAS)

Site: <http://www.muslimamericansociety.org/>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: "direct action" – anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies, BDS promoting

The Muslim American Society (MAS) is another U.S. Muslim Brotherhood organization that was registered in 1993, and it has grown into a national organization with over 50 local chapters.³⁶⁵ One of those who reportedly assisted with the foundation of MAS was the late Mohammed Mahdi Akef, who later served as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's seventh general guide.³⁶⁶

A protocol of a July 1994 meeting of the Brotherhood's Palestine Committee that was presented to court in the HLF trial refers to the role the MAS is expected to play within the United States, speaking about:

The activation of the role of [MAS] to educate the brothers in all work centers, mosques, and organizations on the necessity of stopping any contacts with Zionist organizations and the rejection of any future contacts.³⁶⁷

Jamal Badawi, one of the founding members of MAS and a senior Canada-based Islamist figure (who is also involved in many other Islamist outfits), was listed among those who participated in fundraising activities on behalf of the HLF on the list of unindicted co-conspirators presented during the trial.³⁶⁸

MAS had formed alliances with Left and far-left U.S. groups, notably the International A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition (see below). According to the ADL, MAS attracts sizable audiences to its anti-Israel demonstrations due in part to its affiliation with some of the largest mosques in

the country. MAS-sponsored anti-Israel rallies in the United States regularly feature virulently anti-Jewish rhetoric and expressions of support for terrorist groups, including Hizbullah and Hamas.³⁶⁹

MAS is supportive of BDS. For example, in a Friday sermon delivered in New York on August 8, 2014, activist Rami Kawas, who according to his Facebook page is youth director at MAS's Brooklyn and Staten Island subchapter, called for American Muslims to boycott companies that support Zionism. He enumerated Coca-Cola, Nestle, and the French company Danone, and said: "We will fight every corrupt leader and every corrupt government until the lands of the world are free."³⁷⁰ A blog post from May 2015 by Aber Kawas, a youth leader and organizer from New York and previous intern at CAIR New-York,³⁷¹ offers "10 Ways to Socially Prepare Your Community for Ramadan," the first of which being the promotion of AMP's "Boycott Israeli Occupation Dates" campaign.³⁷²

Islamist Activism on U.S. Campuses

➔ Specifically when campus activism in the United States is discussed, one of the central figures is Dr. Hatem Bazian, a Palestinian-American academic, currently a senior lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley's Department of Near Eastern and Ethnic Studies, and an adjunct professor of law at Boalt Hall School of Law. On his personal website, Bazian defines himself as a "de-colonial Islamic thinker."³⁷³ In 2009, Bazian was a co-founder of Zaytuna College, a successor of the Zaytuna Institute in Hayward, California, which first opened in 1996. Zaytuna College refers to itself as "the first Muslim liberal arts college in the United States."³⁷⁴ The two other co-founders are Hamza Yusuf, a popular preacher who serves as president of the College, and imam Zaid Shakir, both known to have made controversial statements about Jews and hint at unjust attitudes toward Muslims. Zaid Shakir is a frequent speaker at U.S. Muslim Brotherhood events and conventions, organized by the bodies previously covered, like CAIR and ISNA.³⁷⁵

A video is available of a 2004 anti-war rally, in which Bazian told the crowd:

Are you angry?... Are you angry?... Are you angry?... Well, we've been watching intifada in Palestine, we've been watching an uprising in Iraq, and the question is that what are we doing? How come we don't have an intifada in this country? Because it seem[s] to me, that we are comfortable in where we are, watching CNN, ABC, NBC, Fox, and all these mainstream... giving us a window to the world while the world is being managed from Washington, from New York, from every other place in here in San Francisco: Chevron, Bechtel, [Carlyle?] Group, Halliburton; every one of those lying, cheating, stealing, deceiving individuals are in our country and we're sitting here and watching the world pass by, people being bombed, and it's about time that we have an intifada in this country that change[s] fundamentally the political dynamics in here. And we know every — They're gonna say some Palestinian being too radical — well, you haven't seen radicalism yet!"³⁷⁶

Bazian later claimed he was misunderstood and meant to call for a political "intifada" and not a violent one.



Hatem Bazian³⁷⁷

American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)

Site: <http://www.ampalestine.org>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: campus activism, "direct action," pro-Hamas advocacy, BDS promoting

American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) claims to be a grassroots organization that is "all about educating people about Palestine, its rich cultural and historical heritage, and about how the people of Palestine have been living under occupation for decades."³⁷⁸ It works closely with Students for Justice for Palestine (SJP) (see below) and also organizes an annual, national Conference for Palestine in the United States.

AMP was established in 2005 by Hatem Bazian. Today, it runs several chapters in the United States, and Bazian serves as its national chair.³⁷⁹ AMP has its organizational roots in the now-defunct Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), whose name was raised in the HLF trial documents.³⁸⁰ Several of AMP's leading figures were previously connected to various U.S. Muslim Brotherhood outfits, including IAP – for example:

➔ Osama Abu Irshaid – AMP's national director who previously served on IAP's board and today sits on the board of the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO),³⁸¹ a coalition of U.S. Muslim organizations, most of which are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the ADL, Abu Irshaid has a history of making anti-Semitic and conspiratorial remarks that portray Jews as a privileged group with undue power.³⁸² In May 2016, for example, he maintained that:

As part of the Zionist movement's cultural infiltration (into American society), it has managed to convince a large part of American public opinion that the two countries share the circumstances of their establishment. In fact, there is some truth to it. (In both countries), it was a process of ethnic cleansing even the term "American Indians" is a racist and discriminating term, which has to do with annihilation. They were not really Indians. (The Westerners) thought they had discovered Indians, so they called them "American Indians," but they were, in fact, tribes living there, the original inhabitants. (The Zionists) managed to convince the (Americans) of the following: "We came to

two undeveloped countries, and managed to establish two successful states.” This is one aspect of infiltrating American consciousness. The cultural infiltration also includes the Zionist influence in the media. They have a significant impact on the media, as well as on Hollywood. They have managed to endear Israelis and the Jews upon American public opinion.

→ Rafeeq Jaber – A co-founder of CAIR, former president of IAP,³⁸³ and a frequent speaker at AMP conferences. In May 2000, following Israel’s withdraw from Lebanon, Jaber reportedly stated:

I thank ALLAH for this victory, which was due to the tremendous efforts of the Islamic resistance movement, Hizbullah Maybe the PA [Palestinian Authority] will take a hard look at the slippery road it is now traveling and join the resistance to Zionist occupation in order to liberate the land of Palestine. I firmly believe that Palestine will never be liberated by any other means.³⁸⁴

During a presentation on the risks and rewards of working for Palestine at AMP’s 2011 conference, Jaber, who is banned by Israel from traveling to the West Bank, told the audience, “Israel is a terrorist state, a rogue state, and the whole world knows that.”³⁸⁵

→ Salah Sarsour – A Milwaukee-based member of AMP’s board, who had been arrested and imprisoned by Israel for eight months for supporting Hamas. Salah Sarsour’s involvement with Hamas and the HLF had been described by his brother Jamil, and highlighted in an action memorandum that was part of the legal documents connected to the trial.³⁸⁶

→ Amira Daoud – who acted as AMP’s National Operations Manager at least until the end of 2015,³⁸⁷ and in the past was also tied to the Chicago Mosque Foundation Community Center (Bridgeview Mosque).³⁸⁸ The mosque, originally founded by Palestinian immigrants in 1954,³⁸⁹ was described as being under the control of “hard-liners.”³⁹⁰ Two of the mosque’s imams, Jamal Said and Kifah Mustapha, were listed as unindicted co-conspirators in the HLF trial.³⁹¹ Kifah Mustapha,

also a former IAP activist, was named a member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee. He also attended AMP's annual conferences.

One of AMP's main focuses has been campus activism. It also disseminates informational brochures on how to operate pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel "direct action" initiatives on campuses for the delegitimization campaign. A booklet titled *Everybody Freeze – the art of public demonstrations for Palestine on college campuses* maintains that while preparing visuals like banners and posters:

Concentrate always on international law and human rights and do not, under any circumstances, compare Israeli policies to the Holocaust or Nazi Germany, as that will only detract from your message.³⁹²

In October 2015, AMP organized several conventions across the United States under the common Islamist slogan "Our Aqsa is under threat." At least some of these conventions were hosted by and organized in co-operation with Islamic centers that were previously tied to the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood, such as the Bridgeview Mosque.³⁹³

In the field of BDS specifically, AMP has been running its own campaign for the consumption of "Occupation-Free dates" during the month of Ramadan, promoting the call for BDS.³⁹⁴ The campaign's talking points reflect the common Islamist narrative, stating that:

As Muslims, we are directed to fight injustice wherever we see it. All causes are important; But Muslims have a special obligation to Palestine because it is part of our faith.³⁹⁵

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)

Facebook: @sjpal

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: campus activism, pro-Hamas advocacy, BDS promoting

SJP is a campus activism outfit founded in the early 2000s, by, among others, Hatem Bazian.³⁹⁶ SJP was widely covered in a recently dedicated paper by the Jerusalem Center.³⁹⁷ Its chapters (or clubs) make wide use of social media, but SJP has no official national website or Facebook page, only regional and local ones. For several years, there were independent chapters operating on campuses, but since 2010 SJP has become increasingly unified and its chapters have begun to collaborate more closely. SJP became a national organization with a steering committee that has organized national conferences for four years in a row on different campuses around the United States. Today, SJP operates over 100 chapters on U.S. and Canadian campuses. Some of these chapters operate under different names, such as Palestine Solidarity Committee, Students for Palestinian Equal Rights, Students Against Israeli Apartheid (SAIA), or Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR).

According to the ADL, SJP's "unification" efforts are partially a result of the influence on college campuses of American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), which increased its focus on anti-Israel advocacy on college campuses and specifically targeted SJP for this effort.³⁹⁸

SJP chapters routinely initiate BDS campaigns against corporations and individuals that do business with Israel and frequently organize events, many of which accuse Israel of war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.

➔ Husam Zakharia, head of Berkeley University's SJP, rammed a Jewish student with a shopping cart in March 2010, when she was holding a sign stating "Israel wants peace" during a pro-Israeli event. A year later, the student and her colleague filed a lawsuit against the university, contending it violated her civil rights when it did not protect her against attacks and adding that "SJP and Zakharia have been involved in other incidents on campus to incite violence against and intimidate Jewish and other students."³⁹⁹ In July 2012, the lawsuit had been dropped by the plaintiffs and a settlement had been reached that UC Berkeley will consider potential changes to its policies regarding campus protests after collecting campus opinion.⁴⁰⁰

➔ In several campuses, such as Harvard, Yale, The University of Chicago and NYU, SJP activists hung false eviction notices in student residence halls saying that the rooms were to be evicted and demolished in three days, similarly to what they claimed to be the Israeli attitude toward Palestinians. At least at NYU, SJP denied that these notices were aimed at Jewish students in particular.⁴⁰¹

The Muslim Students Association (MSA National)

Site: <http://msanational.org/>

Orientation: Islamist, Muslim Brotherhood

Fields of operation: campus activism, pro-Hamas advocacy

MSA is a key U.S. Muslim Brotherhood student front group established in 1963 and today claims to operate over 250 chapters.⁴⁰² MSA has been playing a major role in organizing the annual Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) on campuses. For many years, a frequent speaker at various MSA events has been Amir Abdel Malik Ali, a vocal supporter of Hamas and Hizbullah who also expressed his support for suicide attacks against Israelis.⁴⁰³

Amir Abdel Malik Ali⁴⁰⁴



Other Palestinian and Arab Organizations

The Electronic Intifada

Site: <https://electronicintifada.net/>

Orientation: secular anti-Zionist

Fields of operation: media, BDS promoting

Electronicintifada.net is one of the main BDS-promoting portals in the Western world, which also serves as a communications platform for pro-BDS activists and the promotion of its ideology. It was founded in 2001 and operates out of Chicago. The portal is mostly affiliated with its co-founder Ali Abunimah, a Palestinian-American journalist and son of the veteran Jordanian-Palestinian diplomat Hasan Abunimah. Ali Abunimah is an advocate of the “one-state solution,” as reflected in a 2007 book he wrote, *One Country* and a 2009 article “Jews, Israelis, and the One Country Solution.” According to Israeli sources, Ali Abunimah supports the establishment of one democratic Palestinian state on the ruins of Israel, which “will take into consideration the affairs of the Jewish population of Israel.” He refers to Zionism as a “dying project.”⁴⁰⁵ In 2015, Abunimah wrote the foreword to a book of essays called *Against Apartheid: The Case for Boycotting Israeli Universities*,⁴⁰⁶ which focuses “on the complicity of Israeli universities in maintaining the occupation of Palestine, and on the repression of academic and political freedom for Palestinians” to explain “why scholars and students throughout the world should refuse to do business with Israeli institutions.”⁴⁰⁷ Abunimah is very active in conferences, especially at universities, and on YouTube.

The U.S. Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI)

Site: <http://www.usacbi.org/>

Orientation: academic, anti-Zionist

Fields of operation: campus activism, BDS promoting

USACBI is the American branch of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI). It is active in universities, where it organizes a large number of anti-Israel conferences. USACBI also promotes other issues like the call for a boycott of American arms supply to Israel, cultural and sports boycotts, and more. Among its advisory board members are black activist Prof. Cornel West and ex-Israeli academic, pro-boycott activist Prof. Ilan Pappé.⁴⁰⁸

The ADL notes that academic departments have sponsored or co-sponsored anti-Israel events in which USACBI took part. For example, Remi Kanazi, an organizing committee member of USACBI, spoke in September 2015 at John Jay College at an event co-sponsored by the Department of Gender Studies.⁴⁰⁹ Kanazi is a Palestinian-American poet who in his writings presents Israel as a racist Apartheid state that has robbed the rights of the country's original inhabitants who are seeking "justice." Kanazi has a personal website.⁴¹⁰ He promotes BDS over YouTube as well and sometimes writes for electronicintifada.net.

Kanazi wearing a "Free Palestine" shirt.⁴¹¹



Kanazi wearing a shirt promoting the boycott of Israeli goods.⁴¹²



Also in 2015, the ADL adds, Israeli anti-Zionist, pro-boycott author and activist Miko Peled spoke at an event at Michigan Technological University, which was sponsored by the Center for Diversity and Inclusion. Miko Peled is a San Diego-based ex-Israeli and son of the late IDF general and politician Matti Peled. He wrote a book called *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine*, which tells the story of his “transformation from a young man who’d grown up in the heart of Israel’s elite and served proudly in its military into a fearless advocate of nonviolent struggle and equal rights for all Palestinians and Israelis.”⁴¹³ His personal blog is “dedicated to tearing down the separation wall and transforming the Israeli Apartheid system into a secular democracy, where Israelis and Palestinians will live as equal citizens.”⁴¹⁴ Miko Peled was interviewed on an Israeli TV Channel 10 series that dealt with the boycotts in the United States, where he stated that his father, who was among the founders of the IDF, participated in the creation of the “most dangerous terrorist organization in the Middle East – the IDF.”⁴¹⁵

According to Miko Peled, the switch in his views came after his niece was killed in a suicide attack in Jerusalem in 1997. His niece was the daughter of his sister, Hebrew University Prof. Nurit Peled-Elhanan, who is also one of the patrons of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine (RTOP). Miko Peled’s son Eitan Peled, who completed his BA degree at UCLA in 2016, served as both the president of Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) and the programming director of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) there.⁴¹⁶ In June 2018, Miko Peled travelled to Iran, where he gave a talk to young Revolutionary Guards cadets. To a question from the audience, he answered that “Palestine was a peaceful place, where Jews, Christians and Muslims lived and worshiped together, until it was occupied, and today it is plagued with violence and war.”⁴¹⁷



Eitan Peled pictured with Cornel West.⁴¹⁸

Adalah-NY: The New York Campaign for the Boycott of Israel

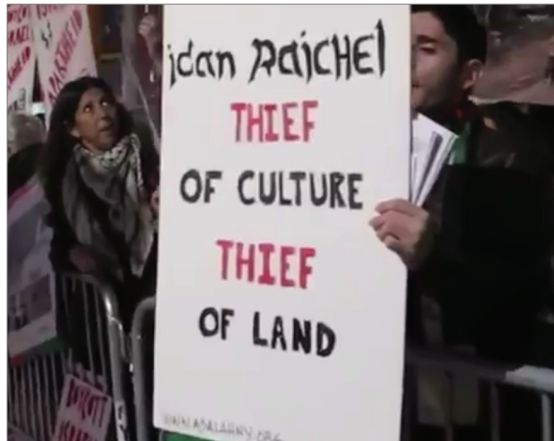
Site: <http://adalahny.org>

Orientation: Arab far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action" – anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies, BDS promoting

Adalah-NY started its activities in the New-York area in 2006, "in response to the escalation of Israeli attacks on the Gaza Strip at the end of June and the subsequent Israeli war on Lebanon in July 2006."⁴¹⁹ It previously operated under other names. Adalah-NY has been very active in promoting various fields of boycott initiatives, mainly economic and cultural. In recent years, Adalah-NY initiated activities and demonstrations for withdrawing funds from Israeli companies and performing a series of "consumer boycott" campaigns against Israeli companies working or selling products in the United States that are claimed to be connected to the confiscation of Palestinian land or resources.⁴²⁰ It also organizes demonstrations against the performance of Israeli artists, aiming to promote the cultural boycott of Israel. In February 2016, Adalah-NY uploaded a short film presenting artists who endorse the cultural boycott of Israel, the most co famous of whom was Roger Waters.⁴²¹

A demonstration of Adalah-NY against a performance there by Israeli singer Idan Raichel in October 2015. One of the posters said "Idan Raichel Thief of Culture, Thief of Land."⁴²²



The Coalition of Palestinian American Organizations (CPAO)

Site: <http://coalitionofpao.org/>

Orientation: Arab nationalist

Fields of operation: anti-Israel advocacy, BDS promoting

CPAO is a coalition of Palestinian-American organizations that seems to mainly comprise of secular, nationalist components. On its website, it links to online streaming of the TV broadcast of the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), which acts within the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. According to Maher Massis, one of its leaders, CPAO was formed within the framework of Arab and Muslim U.S. organizations in order to focus specifically on Palestinian issues.⁴²³ According to its website, CPAO aims at addressing issues that concern the Palestinian-American community. It facilitates presentations, lectures, and op-eds supporting the rights of the Palestine people, including lectures by prominent personalities at American institutions, universities, and houses of worship, as well as on television, radio, and the Internet.

In addition to supporting the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions of companies and institutions operating “within the Occupied Palestinian Territories,” CPAO aims at lobbying elected officials to support “a more balanced U.S. peace-making effort that would lead to a fair and just peace between Palestine and Israel.”⁴²⁴

In August 2014, it was reported that Rahif Lafi Awadallah, a member of the “BDS committees” and CPAO, met in Ramallah with the aforementioned Taysir Khaled at the PLO’s Expatriate Affairs Department.⁴²⁵ A video of a speech by Awadallah is available on the Facebook page of Fatah supporters in Chicago.⁴²⁶ The meeting reportedly discussed the role of the Palestinian community in the United States in pro-Palestinian advocacy, as well as on the necessity to widen the BDS campaign in various fields. This meeting was part of a greater outreach effort by Khaled’s Expatriate Affairs Department at the PLO. Later that month, another meeting with U.S.-based activists (see below) was also reported.

An edited video of the CPAO's 2015 Banquet Gala is available, featuring several leading Coalition figures and guest speakers. Maen Areikat, the ambassador and PLO's chief of mission to the United States, spoke about the importance of raising awareness of Palestinian causes in the United States specifically, and the necessity to utilize the almost half a million Palestinians in the country. Chris Henzel, Director of Israel and Palestinian Affairs at the State Department, surveyed the situation of reconstruction efforts in Gaza. The keynote speaker at the Gala was Laila Ghannam, governor of Ramallah and Al-Bireh,⁴²⁷ a senior Fatah figure and the first Palestinian woman to have been elected to the position of governor (in 2010).

Laila Ghannam was interviewed by *Al-Monitor*, probably after this tour. In the interview, she repeated a statement of hers that her most precious moments were the ones in the eyes of the mothers of the martyrs and prisoners. Ghannam referred to a controversy that erupted during her tour, when Philadelphia Councilwoman Maria Quinones-Sanchez deleted some photos taken with her after "pressures [were] placed on her" "by the media and the pro-Israel lobby." Ghannam added that some of the papers picked up Quinones-Sanchez's remarks and spread the story that she didn't know the nature of Ghannam's job, that she may have been deceived, and that she didn't know that Ghannam "supported the families of the martyrs and that I'm proud of prisoners and their families."⁴²⁸

CPAO cooperates with other U.S. Arab organizations like the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). In November 2015, for example, the two organizations held the Palestinian-American Advocacy Day on Capitol Hill. The Day was presented as a "great opportunity for Arab-Americans (and anyone who cares about human rights, peace, and justice) to participate directly in our democracy." It was opened with a session to learn "about issues that primarily affect Palestine and the Arab-American community," and continued with meetings with members of the U.S. Congress "who have the power to shape these issues."⁴²⁹

Al-Awda – the Palestine Right to Return Coalition

Site: <http://al-awda.org/>

Orientation: Arab far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting

Al-Awda – the Palestine Right to Return Coalition has been operating since 2000 in New York City and California. It was reportedly launched at a conference in Boston that featured guests like the late Edward Said and the late Palestinian-American scholar Naseer Aruri,⁴³⁰ a former PLO member, harsh critic of the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in general, and the Palestinian Authority. The conference had been organized by the Trans Arab Research Institute (TARI), which comprises of Palestinian-American academics and promotes a “one state solution.”⁴³¹ The founders of Al-Awda came from nationalist/Marxist backgrounds, like the Palestinian-American academic and medical doctor Mazin Qumsiyeh, or Zahi Damuni, an anti-war activist and academic from San Diego,⁴³² who also participated, for example, in rallies organized by the A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition and the MAS.⁴³³

According to Al-Awda’s website, “Our name, *Al-Awda* or ‘return’ refers to the central cause of the Palestinian movement – Palestinian refugees’ right to return home to all of their lands and properties stolen since 1948, with full rights and sovereignty – and more broadly, to the return of all of Palestine, the people, the land, and their rights and freedom and justice, from oppression and occupation.”⁴³⁴

Al-Awda has been active in anti-Israel and “anti-Colonialist” demonstrations, conferences, and conventions, and has been promoting BDS on international companies having ties with Israel.

A call on Al-Awda's website (January 2015) to boycott international companies which have trade relations with Israel.⁴³⁵

Say no to products that support the state of Israel!



When you buy these products you are voting for Israel.



Coca-Cola has a very close relationship with the Israeli state and the Israeli economy. In 2009 General Ben-Eliezer, who was responsible for the murder of over 200 Egyptian prisoners of war in the 1967 War, was hosted by Coca-Cola at their world headquarters in Atlanta, GA, as a guest of honor. Also Coca-Cola Israel owns dairy farms that operate in illegal settlements in the West Bank, and a dairy plant in the Golan Heights (which is occupied Syrian territory).



Hadiklaim is a date grower cooperative in Israel. They sell their dates grown on occupied land through the Jordan River, Jordan Plains and King Solomon dates companies.



Osem is the third largest enterprise in the food processing industry in Israel, according to Dun's 100 (Israel's top firm for leading risk management and identifying opportunities, which ranks Israel's top companies). Fifty-percent of Osem is owned by Nestle. Nestle makes products that include Nescafe, Nesquik, Juicy Juice, Cheerios, Hot Pockets, Kit Kat, Poland Springs, etc. Osem also owns the TRIBE Mediterranean Food company.



Sabra-Blue & White Foods (Blue and White to symbolize the Israeli flag), Sabra is 50% owned by an Israeli food processing corporation known as Strauss. Strauss, the second largest Israeli food and beverage company has donated funds to the Israeli military's Golan Brigade. The Golan Brigade is infamous for taking part in the displacement and massacres of Palestinian people from 1947-1948.

[Find us online](#)
www.al-awdany.org
www.facebook.com/AlAwdaNY (Al-Awda NY: The Palestine Right to Return Coalition)
<https://twitter.com/alawda>

U.S. Coalition to Boycott Israel

In Arabic: *Tahaluf Munazamat Muqata'at Israil fi-l-Wilayat AL-Muttahida AL-Amrikiyya*

Orientation: Arab far-left

Fields of operation: "direct action" – anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies, BDS promoting

This apparently non-formal coalition is apparently based in Chicago. Its coordinator is Senan Shaqdeh, who, according to the Foundation for Defense of Democracy, has been described on a PLO website as a former PFLP "mountain fighter" in Lebanon.⁴³⁶ Shaqdeh had been quoted in Arabic reports in the context of student bodies' endorsement of BDS⁴³⁷ and on his Facebook page (currently unavailable) promoted various BDS-related events.⁴³⁸ In early September 2014, Shaqdeh was interviewed following a trip to Ramallah, during which he held meetings with members of the PLO's Executive Committee, with the PLO's Expatriate Affairs Department, with which, he added, they coordinate their activities, and with President Mahmoud Abbas and

Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah. According to Shaqdeh, the meetings were aimed to move forward and become pro-active and start initiating various actions rather than being reactive as was the situation until then, and form a joint framework for cooperation with American Left-wing and student bodies.

He also spoke about the plans to form a new U.S. body called Americans for Justice in Palestine, aimed to bring together Palestinian businessmen, academics, and social and political activists. This body was to include three branches – one for liaising with the American administration and lawmakers, another for uniting and mobilizing the Palestinian community abroad around issues like the foundation of a Palestinian state, the right of return, and bringing down the separation wall, and a third for promoting BDS.⁴³⁹ It is unclear whether this body was eventually formed, and Shaqdeh himself appears to be less active lately. In any case, Shaqdeh referred to developing cooperation with the Palestinian authorities.

A report is available on Shaqdeh's meeting with Tayseer Khaled,⁴⁴⁰ alongside Ghassan Barakat, a long-term journalist in a Chicago Arabic language paper called *Al-Bustan* and member of the Palestinian National Council (PNC).⁴⁴¹

In April 2017, parallel to the Palestinian Prisoner's Day, a campaign in solidarity with the prisoners had been launched in the United States, probably with cooperation or coordination with the PLO's Expatriate Affairs Department. The campaign was to include demonstrations, political lobbying with Congressmen, and initiating phone calls with the relevant people at the State Department. Senan Shaqdeh, a "political activist," said that they are aiming to produce statements on the subject with Congressmen, adding that Bernie Sanders was also contacted.⁴⁴²

General Union of Palestinian Students San Francisco State University (GUPS SFSU)

Facebook: @GeneralUnionofPalestineStudents

Orientation: Arab far-left, PLO

Fields of operation: BDS, campus activism, "direct action" – anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies

In the United States, GUPS's main presence has been at San Francisco State University (SFSU), where it was founded in 1973. In April 2016, GUPS SFSU members took part in the "shouting down" of Jerusalem Mayor Nir Barkat who came to speak at the campus. The protesters held a Palestinian flag, shouting "Free Palestine!"⁴⁴³ The university held an investigation that found that this protest was disruptive. To this, GUPS SFSU answered that it only targeted the mayor for his policies, that no one had been targeted because of their race, ethnic or religious identity, and there was no threatening behavior by protesters. It added that GUPS SFSU members have themselves been targeted with death threats, rape threats, online profiling, and in-person harassment, and concluded that –

...for students of conscience, the real disruption was the mayor of occupied Jerusalem coming to campus. His explicit agenda is to remove Palestinians from the city and he was given a platform to whitewash and propagate his policies. Not only were we subjected to this hate monger, but we were investigated for months and publicly smeared as violent and anti-Semitic.⁴⁴⁴

In December 2013, several Jewish media outlets reported that the GUPS SFSU's then-President Mohammad Hammad posted a picture of himself holding a knife, uttering how much he loved his knife, and that it made him want to stab an Israeli soldier.⁴⁴⁵ In early 2014, it was further reported that the FBI and a Joint Terrorism Task Force was looking into this.⁴⁴⁶

American Far-Left Organizations

Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)

Site: <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/>

Orientation: Jewish far-left, anti-Zionist

Fields of operation: campus activism, "direct action" – demonstrations and rallies, BDS promoting

Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) is probably the largest and most influential Jewish anti-Zionist group in the United States. During the past five years, JVP has significantly expanded, and now has 35 chapters across the country, including on college campuses. JVP has assumed a particularly visible role in the BDS Campaign. According to the ADL, the group advocates for boycott campaigns targeting Israeli companies like SodaStream, and calls on mainline Christian churches and American financial investment institutions, especially TIAACREF, to divest from multinational companies that work with Israel. At the June 2014 Presbyterian General Assembly (GA) in Detroit, Michigan, JVP lobbied for a resolution calling on the Presbyterian Church to divest from three companies that allegedly profit from the Israeli occupation (Caterpillar, Motorola, and Hewlett-Packard).⁴⁴⁷ The group calls in its demonstrations to stop "Israeli occupation" and portrays Israel as an Apartheid state.⁴⁴⁸ During summer 2014, JVP organized rallies and demonstrations throughout the United States to protest Operation Protective Edge in Gaza. Demonstrations were held at locations such as Times Square in New York City and the White House in Washington, D.C., and near Jewish institutions.⁴⁴⁹

On August 27, 2015 JVP demonstrated on New York City's Eighth Avenue against Israel in commemoration of Palestinians killed in Operation Protective Edge. To the question of whether she considers Hamas a terrorist organization, the demonstration's JVP organizer Lana Povitz answered that she thinks of the U.S. government as a terrorist organization. Hamas, she added was not "her favorite," but

her first fight is with the U.S. government “because they are funding Israel.”⁴⁵⁰

Several prominent anti-Zionist or post-Zionist figures are listed as members of JVP’s Advisory Board, including Noam Chomsky and “New Historian” Avi Shlaim.⁴⁵¹ JVP runs several projects, among them J-Nay, The JVP Network Against Islamophobia, which works alongside Islamist organizations like American Muslims for Palestine (AMP).⁴⁵²

Barbara Harvey is an attorney and member of JVP Detroit who promotes BDS on campuses and also deals with legal aspects of the subject.⁴⁵³

If Not Now

Site: <https://ifnotnowmovement.org>

Orientation: Jewish far-left, Anti-Zionist

Fields of operation: “direct action” – demonstrations against “Jewish establishment” organizations

If Not Now is a group that seeks to “end American Jewish support for the occupation.”⁴⁵⁴ Following Operation Protective Edge in Gaza in 2014, several activists who “were frustrated no one was doing anything about the war” and knew each other from Jewish progressive organizations in New York City sent out a mass e-mail asking for a meeting.⁴⁵⁵

The meeting gave birth to the activities of the group, which focuses its efforts in staging sit-down demonstrations outside major U.S. Jewish bodies and speaking out against the Jewish “establishment.” One of *If Not Now*’s leaders said that “institutions should be making public statements about what’s happening. We’re tired of no progress. It’s been years and years of quiet meetings and people being let down. This moment calls for something much bigger than that.”⁴⁵⁶

Several leading figures in If Not Now were previously involved in J Street U, J Street's student body. They include, among others, Simone Zimmerman,⁴⁵⁷ whom Bernie Sanders initially picked to lead his Jewish outreach efforts in his leadership campaign.⁴⁵⁸

Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (A.N.S.W.E.R)

Site: <http://www.answercoalition.org/>

Orientation: Far-left, anti-war

Fields of operation: "direct action" – demonstrations and rallies

The A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition is a far-left, anti-war protest umbrella group established in 2001. Similar to its UK counterpart, Stop the War Coalition (StWC), the main "red-green" coalition there, A.N.S.W.E.R., was founded soon after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.⁴⁵⁹ A.N.S.W.E.R. has a close relationship with former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, the founder of the International Action Center, which has its roots in the far-left Worker's World Party.⁴⁶⁰ A.N.S.W.E.R. regularly cooperates with Islamist groups. In June 2009, for example, it co-organized the "Gaza solidarity day" rally and march with the Muslim American Society (MAS).⁴⁶¹ In September 2007, MAS took part in the organization of A.N.S.W.E.R.'s Stop the War rally next to the White House.⁴⁶²

According to the ADL, A.N.S.W.E.R., which has an ability to partner with a wide array of anti-Israel groups, has positioned itself as one of the leading coordinators of rallies against Israel. Some of these rallies included the chanting of the slogan "Occupation is a Crime: Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine." The U.S. military and the IDF are accused of being the "real terrorists in the Middle East."⁴⁶³ On its website, A.N.S.W.E.R. lists the "major events" in its history. A rally that took place in August 2014 "protested the ongoing massacre in Gaza and the U.S. government's support for Israeli war crimes." "In one of the largest mobilizations in solidarity with Palestine in the United States ever," the organization claimed, "tens of thousands of people from all across the country converged in Washington, D.C.," next to the White House.⁴⁶⁴

An A.N.S.W.E.R.- organized rally against Israel in Washington D.C. in January 2009, where Hizbullah flags were carried.⁴⁶⁵



U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR)

Site: <https://uscpr.org>

Orientation: Far-left

Fields of operation: political lobbying

The U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights (previously known as the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, USCEIO) is a coalition which comprises of pro-Palestinian groups of nationalist and far-left orientations. It currently employs a staff of five, several of whom were previously involved with the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) or far-left organizations like Code Pink.⁴⁶⁶ Its executive director is Yousef Munayyer, who previously served as executive director of the Jerusalem Fund and Palestine Center, nationalist organizations that were founded by figures like the late Palestinian-American Professor Hisham Sharabi.⁴⁶⁷ It also has a steering committee made up of members of far-left organizations.⁴⁶⁸ According to the ADL, USCEIO was the primary organizer of efforts to persuade the U.S. government to cut off aid to Israel. It organizes a variety of campaigns and petitions toward this end, alleging that the United States is complicit in Israel's "crimes" because of its financial support for Israel.⁴⁶⁹

USCPR currently operates campaigns both in the fields of “Government Affairs,” aiming to affect government policies, and several specific BDS campaigns.⁴⁷⁰ In the past few years, Anna Baltzer (see below) has served as the USCPR’s Director of Organizing & Advocacy.⁴⁷¹

Code Pink

Site: <http://www.codepink.org>

Facebook: @codepinkalert

Twitter: @codepink

Orientation: Far-left

Fields of operation: BDS promoting, “direct action” – demonstrations

Code Pink is a radical far-left, women-led, non-profit organization founded in 2002 that aims to “end U.S. wars and militarism, support peace and human rights initiatives, and redirect our tax dollars into health care, education, green jobs, and other life-affirming programs.”⁴⁷² It made a name for itself by interrupting hearings on Capitol Hill, and for its members’ perennial ejections from congressional hearings. Leading founding members of the group are Medea (formerly Susan) Benjamin and Jodie Evans. Under the title “Justice for Palestine,” Code



Pink runs several BDS campaigns targeting commercial companies. It further supports Palestinian “human rights defenders,” and calls to end U.S. military aid to Israel and looks into the “deteriorating” situation of Palestinian children, in a joint campaign with American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP).⁴⁷³ In November 2015, two Jewish members of Code Pink posed next to the Western Wall in Jerusalem carrying banners supporting BDS. The two were part of a Code Pink delegation to the West Bank.⁴⁷⁴

Code Pink and its members have a long history of taking part in provocative and controversial initiatives, meetings, and delegations. In June 2005, for example, Code Pink members participated in The World Tribunal on Iraq conference, which supported the right of the Iraqi “resistance” to kill Americans: “It is the occupation and its brutality that has provoked a strong armed resistance and certain acts of desperation. By the principles embodied in the UN Charter and in international law, the popular national resistance to the occupation is legitimate and justified.”⁴⁷⁵ In November 2008, Code Pink members travelled to Iran at the personal invitation of the then-President Ahmadinejad.⁴⁷⁶ Other visits were made to Afghanistan in 2009, after which Medea Benjamin said that the Taliban are merely “poor rural people, \$10-a-day Taliban, who are doing this for economic reasons. If you want to encourage people to stop fighting, encourage them to work.”⁴⁷⁷ After returning from Afghanistan,⁴⁷⁸ Evans maintained that the Taliban “deliver peace and justice and we, the United States, do not deliver that. We deliver chaos and corruption.”⁴⁷⁹

In October 2009, Code Pink published on its website a guide to conduct a citizen’s arrest against former President George W. Bush, his wife Laura, and former officials in his administration. It also issued an Action Alert, telling its members to use Code Pink’s website to “track where the war criminals will be and how to do citizen’s arrest action!”⁴⁸⁰

Members of Code Pink have also taken part and engaged with Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas-affiliated initiatives. In May 2009, *Ikhwanweb*, the Muslim Brotherhood’s official English website, reported that Code

Pink led several delegations to Gaza. In mid-2009, a delegation of 66 people went to Gaza,⁴⁸¹ where they met several times with Hamas officials and encouraged them to write a letter to President Obama inviting him to visit Gaza to see the damage of the Gaza war and the border blockade. One Hamas official “stayed up all night” and wrote the letter for the delegates to deliver to Obama.⁴⁸² Jodie Evans was a donor to Obama’s Presidency Campaign, an issue that was also highly criticized in the United States.⁴⁸³ Medea Benjamin said that “While Osama bin Laden used the occasion of President Obama’s visit to deliver a scathing attack, Hamas reached out to a feminist U.S. peace group to deliver a letter to Obama urging dialogue, mutual respect, and adherence to international law.” Benjamin delivered the letter to the U.S. Embassy in Cairo on June 4, 2009.⁴⁸⁴

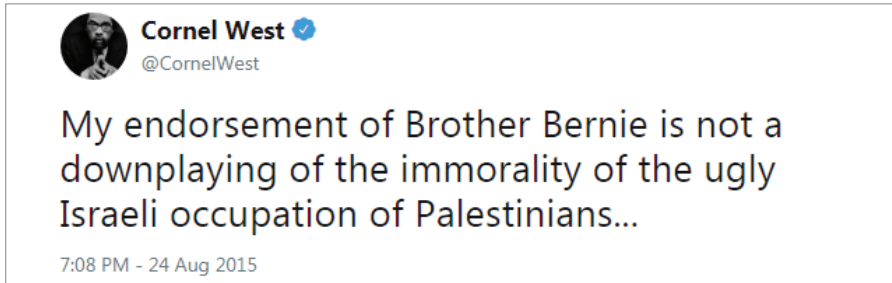
Code Pink participated in international “direct action” initiatives such as the December 2009 Gaza Freedom March⁴⁸⁵ or the Muslim Brotherhood-initiated 2012 Global March to Jerusalem (GMJ), which was endorsed by both Code Pink and Medea Benjamin.⁴⁸⁶

Black American Individuals and Organizations

Two Black American academics are worth highlighting vis-à-vis their far-left, activist background –

→ Cornel West – West is a Professor of Philosophy and Christian Practice at Union Theological Seminary and Professor Emeritus at Princeton University, as well as a political activist and campaigner for racial justice.⁴⁸⁷ Among his various activities, West promotes the boycott of Israel. He is a social democrat who was influenced by Marxism, the Black Panther Party, and Malcolm X.⁴⁸⁸ West has taken part in a large number of protest events against discrimination against Blacks in the United States and also wrote several books about Black leadership. He had stated that President Obama and other past U.S. presidents Nixon and Bush were “war criminals” due to their policies of applying drone attacks.⁴⁸⁹ Prior to the 2016 U.S. elections, he wrote that “the neo-Fascist catastrophe called Donald Trump and the neo-Liberal disaster named

Hillary Clinton are predictable symbols of our spiritual blackout.”⁴⁹⁰ West himself endorsed Bernie Sanders’s campaign for the Democratic Party presidential campaign, and was appointed as one of the latter’s advisers to the Democratic Party’s platform committee.⁴⁹¹ In one of his Tweets,⁴⁹² West seems to refer to Sanders’s Jewish background, stating that –



West speaking at Princeton University for BDS in April 2015⁴⁹³



West has appeared in a short film identifying with the Palestinians in which he participated alongside Angela Davis (see below). It was widely disseminated on the internet, its message being: “When I see them I see us.”⁴⁹⁴

➔ Angela Davis – Davis is an academic, author and political activist, one of the leaders of the “Black Panthers” in the United States. She is a prominent activist not only in the United States, but also in other countries. In January 2014, for instance, she spoke for BDS at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, in an event organized by the School of Law in cooperation with War on Want and Russell Tribunal on Palestine (RToP).⁴⁹⁵



Angela Davis speaking for the BDS movement at the University of California Santa Cruz, July 2014⁴⁹⁶

Black Solidarity with Palestine

Site: <http://www.blackforpalestine.com/>

Facebook: @black4palestine

Orientation: Black American

Fields of operation: BDS promoting

This group crystalized around a wide-scale anti-Israeli petition published by Blacks in the United States in identification with the Palestinians. It was signed in October 2015 by more than 1,000 Black personalities and more than forty Black organizations in the United States.⁴⁹⁷ The petition called upon the American government to stop its economic and diplomatic assistance to Israel. The petition was written by two young Blacks:

→ Khury Petersen-Smith, a Socialist, anti-Imperialist activist who visited Iraq in 2004 and Gaza in 2009, with delegations.⁴⁹⁸ Petersen-Smith is very active in the social media and manages the Facebook page. He has participated in a convention against “American Imperialism,” racism, and war in the United States.⁴⁹⁹ In 2015, he co-organized the “Black solidarity with Palestine” statement, “on the anniversary of last summer’s Gaza massacre.” This was a very harsh statement that stated, for example, that “Anyone who takes an honest look at the destruction to life and property in Gaza can see Israel committed a one-sided slaughter.”⁵⁰⁰

→ Kristian Davis Bailey, a young activist and journalist from Detroit. In August 2015, Davis Baily was interviewed regarding the petition, where he appeared wearing a *Keffiyeh*. He pointed out that the affinity of the American Blacks to the Palestinians had already existed in the training camps in Algeria in the 1960s, where “Black Panthers” activists trained alongside PLO activists as part of the international struggle against colonialism.⁵⁰¹ He was also co-organizer of the 2015 “Black solidarity with Palestine” Statement alongside Khury Petersen-Smith.⁵⁰²

Dream Defenders (DD)

Site: <http://www.dreamdefenders.org/>

Orientation: Black American

Fields of operation: advocacy, BDS promoting

Dream Defenders (DD) is a group of Black Americans from Florida that describes itself as “an uprising of communities in struggle, shifting culture through transformational organizing.” The group operates a project called DDPalestine, “a part of the resurgence of internationalism within the U.S.-based movement for justice, especially inspired by the connections of Black & Palestinian liberation.” This relationship with the Palestinian issue is explained as follows –

Palestine is the site of a continued settler colonial project, the state of Israel. The colonial project was born out of a political ideology called Zionism, established in the late 19th century. Zionism as a movement was born out of Europe and they were seeking to establish a homeland for Jews outside of Europe, and after looking at several locations in Africa and South America, they settled on Palestine. While of course the native, indigenous population, which was mostly Muslim and Christian with a smaller Jewish population, rejected this colonial entity, the international community led by the British ushered it into statehood. In 1948 the state of Israel was declared on top of stolen Palestinian land, with Zionist militias committing massacres and forced evictions, they immediately ethnically cleansing over 750,000 Palestinians from the lands, and internally displacing thousands more.⁵⁰³

As part of this project, DD activists led at least two delegations to Israel and Palestinian territories. Pictures and reports reveal that they met, among others, with MK Haneen Zoabi and leading BDS figure Omar Barghouti.⁵⁰⁴ DD Palestine activists promote BDS, demonstrate, publish various petitions, and write songs for the Palestinians.

Other Organizations and Individuals

If Americans Knew

Site: <http://ifamericaknew.org>

Orientation: far-left

Fields of operation: media, publications

If Americans Knew is an organization whose mission is “to inform and educate the American public on issues of major significance that are unreported, underreported, or misreported in the American media,”⁵⁰⁵ declaring that “The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the world’s major sources of instability. Americans are directly connected to this conflict, and increasingly imperiled by its devastation.”

Its founder is the freelance journalist Alison Weir, who, according to the ADL, has “established herself as a prominent voice in the anti-Israel movement,” framing it as “a violent aggressor in the region and charges that the United States, through its aid, is the driving force behind this aggression.”⁵⁰⁶ Alison Weir writes and speaks at university campuses. In the past, she published content that relied on a report by the Swedish journalist Donald Bostrom, who accused Israel of harvesting organs from Palestinians. Weir added to this report a long list of past examples.⁵⁰⁷

The Center for Constitutional Rights

Site: <https://ccrjustice.org/>

Orientation: minority rights

Fields of operation: legal

The CCR is a human rights organization founded in New York in the 1960s. The Center runs various legal projects, mainly within the American arena (focused around the rights of migrants, Blacks etc.), but it also runs a department for judicial assistance for Palestinians.⁵⁰⁸ The

CCR's Executive Director is Vincent (Vince) Warren, a Black American Doctor of Law (LLD), who "oversees CCR's groundbreaking litigation and advocacy work, which includes using international and domestic law to hold corporations and government officials accountable for human rights abuses, challenging racial, gender and LGBT injustice, and combating the illegal expansion of U.S. presidential power and policies such as illegal detention at Guantanamo, rendition, and torture."⁵⁰⁹

In April 2016, Israeli TV *Channel 10* aired a series of reports on the boycott movement in the United States, where Warren was described as one of the leaders of the Black Lives Matter campaign. Warren explained that Black people look at the question of "resistance." Therefore, an emotional connection is made with the Palestinians because of the "militarized response" of the Israeli police or the IDF when knife attackers in Israel are sometimes killed following their attacks.⁵¹⁰

The CCR has been involved in several relevant legal cases. For example, it sued Caterpillar for selling bulldozers to Israel, filed a Freedom of Information Act (FIOA) lawsuit regarding U.S. knowledge of the treatment toward the 2010 Freedom Flotilla, and more lately partnered with an organization called Palestine Legal to document "efforts" in the United States "to silence advocates for Palestinian human rights and provide them with legal support and advocacy."⁵¹¹

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

Site: <https://www.afsc.org>

Facebook: @AmericanFriendsServiceCommittee

Twitter: @afsc_org

Orientation: Quakers

Fields of operation: "direct action" – BDS promoting

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a central U.S.-based Quakers aid organization founded in 1917. The Quakers (Society

of Friends) are a small pacifist religious movement founded in England during the 17th century. A fundamental tenet of Quaker belief is that every person contains a divine “inner light” of God, which leads many of its followers to respond to human suffering with compassion and active assistance regardless of race, religion, or ethnicity. During World War II, the Quakers, the AFSC in particular, assisted many refugees, including Jews who fled to Lisbon.⁵¹² The AFSC and its British counterpart were awarded the Nobel Prize in 1947 for their post-war record in refugee relief.

The shift in approach began when the AFSC was invited by the United Nations to run Palestinian refugee relief in Gaza in late 1948. The Gaza experience—where in fact the AFSC excelled at providing relief and creating infrastructure, despite resistance from the refugees themselves—was enough to convince the leadership to get out of the relief business altogether. At the same time, a faction of the organization’s leadership advocated a radical pacifist, and anti-American, agenda, aimed at nuclear disarmament and elevating the status of the Soviet Union and Communist China. By the 1960s, the AFSC became a liberal pressure group, one that openly supported North Vietnam. Support for Saddam Hussein and North Korea quickly followed.⁵¹³ Today, AFSC supports BDS and coordinates its efforts with other far-left and Islamist organizations.

The UK Quakers joined a politicized campaign for the first time when the Enough! Coalition, which comprises of far-left and Islamist groups, was launched in January 2007 to mark the “40th anniversary of Israel’s military occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.”⁵¹⁴ In the United States, for example, the AFSC launched in February 2014 a five-day summer camp for students hoping to become BDS activists, who were to receive a “fun, comprehensive” training program on the subject, including sessions on grassroots organizing, media, and messaging training, and nonviolent direct action planning. It was organized in conjunction with the Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP).⁵¹⁵

In September 2017, the AFSC announced the appointment of Joyce Ajlouny as its new general secretary. Ajlouny is a Palestinian-

American experienced in strategic planning, financial and personnel management, fundraising, and communication. She served, among other posts, as the director of the Ramallah Friends School in Palestine, the country director for Palestine and Israel with Oxfam-Great Britain, and more.⁵¹⁶ In an interview, Joyce Ajlouny stated that “my interest to and commitment for social justice programs is amplified with having lived through a horrific and continuing injustice in Palestine, and also after seeing the present social and political turmoil taking place in the United States ... As someone who has lived through horrific injustice and violence myself, I am able to draw the parallels and appreciate the complexity and intersectionality of the social justice issues that are very important in AFSC’s work in the United States and internationally.” Ajlouny added she hopes to “engage in meaningful dialogue on social justice issues like Black Lives Matter.”⁵¹⁷



Joyce Ajlouny⁵¹⁸

Christ at the Checkpoint

Site: <https://christatthecheckpoint.bethbc.edu>

Facebook: @christatthecheckpoint

Orientation: Christian

Fields of operation: anti-Israel Christian lobbying

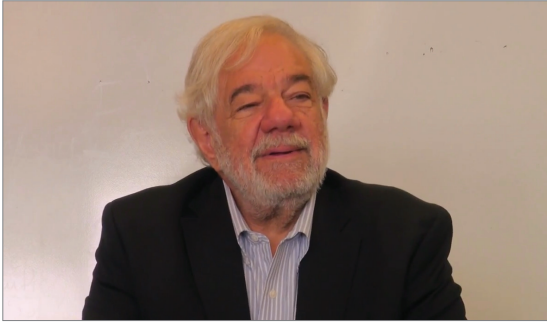
Christ at the Checkpoint is a Christian organization whose mission is to “challenge Evangelicals to take responsibility to help resolve the conflicts in Israel/Palestine by engaging with the teaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God.”⁵¹⁹ Among other themes, its manifesto maintains that, “Any exclusive claim to land of the Bible in the name of God is

not in line with the teaching of scripture.”⁵²⁰ The organization purports to research religious extremism and its effect on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Its members maintain ties with Christians in Bethlehem and seem to be close to the Bethlehem Bible College there, whose address is also provided for contacting the organization. The organization’s director is Munther Isaac, Dean of the College.⁵²¹ Members of Christ at the Checkpoint go on tours along the Separation Wall and its surroundings and hold the bi-annual Christ at the Checkpoint Conference (CATC) at which anti-Israeli rhetoric is heard.⁵²²

American Lawyers Promoting Anti-Israel Agenda:

→ Stanley Cohen is a New York-based anti-Zionist lawyer of Jewish origin, known for his long-term relations with Hamas leaders. Cohen is among the lawyers who sue Israeli senior political figures who go abroad – he sued Ariel Sharon and George Bush for murder at the international court in the early 2000s. He represented Hamas’s Mousa Abu Marzouk during his trial in the 1990s, and prevented his extradition to Israel. In July 2010, he partnered with other lawyers, including Hamas’s French attorney Liliane Glock, to file a legal complaint with chief prosecutor to arrest senior Israeli figures who led the Cast Lead operation in Gaza.⁵²³ In January 2015, Cohen was sentenced to 18 months in prison for tax evasion.

→ Abdeen Jabara is an American-born human rights lawyer of Lebanese descent, who was once president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).⁵²⁴ The ADC was founded by former Senator James Abourezk in 1980 and is devoted to the protection of the rights of people of Arab descent and promoting their cultural heritage. Jabara has been an activist for Arab and Palestinian issues since the 1960s, and throughout his legal career took on several nationally prominent cases of Arabs, Arab-Americans, and Palestinians accused both in the United States and Israel of terrorist acts.⁵²⁵ In December 2013, Jabara was one of the organizers of the “Gaza Freedom March” that took place in New York.⁵²⁶



Abdeen Jabara at a BDS conference at the Fordham University School of Law in New York in September 2013.⁵²⁷

Media:

➔ Max Blumenthal is an anti-Zionist Jewish journalist, author, and blogger who promotes the delegitimization of Israel.⁵²⁸ In 2015, he published a book about his findings from Operation Protective Edge while reporting from Gaza, where Israel is described as immoral. Prior to this, in 2013, he published a book describing Israel as Goliath in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He is very active in social media and frequently appears on TV. His personal blog is mainly dedicated to Israel, especially attributing to it characteristics of Apartheid and promoting BDS.⁵²⁹ Max's father, Sidney, a journalist as well, had been a close associate of Hillary Clinton⁵³⁰ and served as her consultant on Libyan issues. Sidney Blumenthal regularly passed on to Hillary Clinton his son's articles and opinion pieces which, as revealed in her leaked e-mail correspondence, were warmly welcome.⁵³¹

➔ Anna Baltzer is a Jewish-American public speaker, lecturer, author, and activist for Palestinian human rights and "nonviolent resistance" and protests. Baltzer has toured across the United States and abroad with a presentation, and she also wrote a book describing her experiences, observations, and photographs from documenting the situation in the West Bank. Her book was endorsed and praised by several prominent far-left scholars. She has also published many articles on various media outlets.⁵³² In the past few years, Baltzer has been serving as Director of Organizing & Advocacy of the aforementioned USCPR. She is also a co-founder of a far-left group and member of the USCPR coalition named St. Louis Palestine Solidarity Committee.⁵³³

Baltzer has been known for her 2009 joint appearance with prominent Israel delegitimization figure Mustafa Barghouti on Jon Stewart's *Daily Show*. Baltzer claimed that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is rather new, that historically, Jews and Palestinians lived together in peace, and Jews "lived better within the Arab world than virtually anywhere in the Western world." According to her beliefs, Israel's policies are fundamentally violating the principles of Judaism. On his side, Mustafa Barghouti claimed that the Palestinians have been subjected to the "longest occupation in modern history." He added that the current Palestinian struggle for liberty is "maybe 99.5 percent non-violent," and that the Palestinian issue is no longer Arab but a "human issue," referring to figures like Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King.⁵³⁴

About the Author

Ehud Rosen specializes in modern political Islam, focusing on the ideology and history of the Muslim Brotherhood. He received his PhD from SOAS, University of London. He is currently a senior researcher at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

Notes

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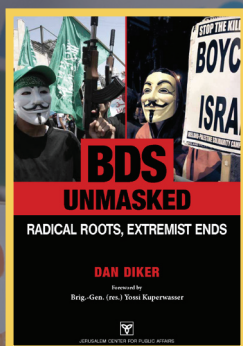
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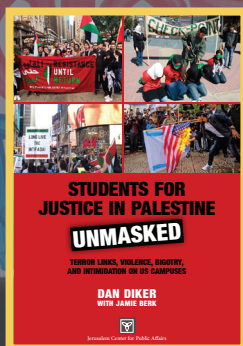


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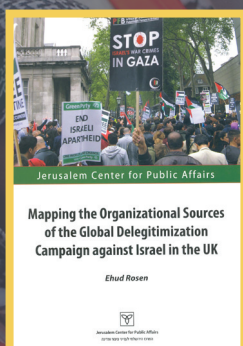
BDS Unmasked: Radical Roots, Extremist Ends

Dan Diker



Students for Justice in Palestine Unmasked

Dan Diker with Jamie Berk



Mapping the Organizational Sources of the Global Delegitimization Campaign against Israel in the UK

Ehud Rosen

